EMIGRATIONS FROM THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: AN ANALYSIS IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

A Master's Thesis

by

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THE DEPARTMENT OF
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BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

September 2006

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"EMIGRATIONS FROM THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: AN ANALYSIS IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW ARCHIVAL MATERIALS"

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

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ANKARA

September 2006

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this study is to describe and evaluate a recently founded special registry book in the Ottoman Archives catalogued as *BEO 291/1*. The book gives various statistical data about the emigrants who were forced by the Russian Empire to emigrate to the Ottoman lands during the second half of the 19th century. Including the information about the immigrants, the registry book encompasses the six different places within the borders of Ottoman Empire.

Besides the description of the book of 291/1, the thesis attempts to explain the settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire by analyzing the Adyge/Circassian settlements on the province of Ottoman Syria based on the data in the book with the help of other existing archival documents and monographs. Evidently, Ottoman Empire put deliberate policies into practice for the settlements of the immigrants who would become the loyal subjects to the Sultan in the next decades.

Keywords: Emigration, Emigration Movements to the Ottoman Empire, Syria, Settlements of the Immigrants, Circassians, Adyges, Crimean Tatars, Nogays, Ajarians, Dagestanis, Abkhazians.

ÖZET

Yıldız, Berat

Master tezi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Osmanlı Arşivlerinde yeni ortaya çıkartılan ve *BEO 291/1* olarak kataloglanan defteri tavsif etmek ve değerlendirmektir. Defter Osmanlı sınırları dâhilindeki altı değişik yeri kapsamaktadır ve 19.yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Rusya imparatorluğu tarafından Osmanlı topraklarına göçe zorlanan muhacirlerle alakalı çeşitli istatistikî bilgiler içermektedir.

Defterin tavsifinin yanında bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun iskân siyasetini, Adige/Çerkes muhacirlerin Suriye'deki yerleşimlerini defterdeki bilgiler, diğer arşiv belgeleri ve monograflar dâhilinde inceleyerek anlamaya çalışacaktır. Şurası açıktır ki Osmanlı imparatorluğu muhacirlerin yerleşimleri için basiretli siyasalar uygulamış ve bu da muhacirlerin birkaç on yıl içerisinde padişaha bağlı tebâ olmalarını sağlamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Göç Hareketleri, Suriye, Muhacirlerin İskânı, Çerkesler, Adigeler, Kırım Tatarları, Nogaylar, Abhazlar, Dağıstanlılar, Acaralılar.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Beginning with the 18th century onwards, the appearent Russian supremacy over the Ottomans enabled Russian Empire to put the expansionist policies into practice on the newly acquired lands from the Ottoman Empire and the adjacent areas, particularly the Crimea and the Caucasus. Following the invasion, Russian Empire put the expulsion policy of the Muslims into practice aiming at forcing out the Muslim population from its native lands. The result was the emigration of millions of Muslims to the lands of their coreligionist brethren in the Ottoman Empire. According with the Russian advance the bulk of the Muslim emigrants left their homeland in two waves after the Crimean War and the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 respectively though certain waves of the emigrations had taken place before the Crimean War.

Though quite a few important studies were made on the emigration movements and its influences upon the demographic structure of the Ottoman Empire, an all-encompassing analysis of the emigration or its impacts is yet to be published. As the existing monographs are usually more descriptive in content, new some analytical approaches at the subject seem necessary. The depth of the topic

and the fact that it is largely untouched requires a comprehensive study based on extensive archival research especially by utilizing the material which has recently been made accessible. Of course, a better understanding of the effects of the immigration movement will certainly shed more light on the policies of the Ottoman Empire during its final years and on the establishment of the Republic of Turkey.

By that manner, this work was conceived as an introductory study for further research on the topic. The focal archival source material for this study will be a recently discovered special registry book from the Ottoman archives, which constitutes one of the first attempts by the Ottoman bureaucracy to keep systematic records on the emigration issue. The registry book is catalogued as "Sadâret 291/1" and contains partial records of emigration pertaining to the reigns of Sultan Abdülmecid and Sultan Abdülaziz and to the period after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 and up to 1882.

The book also distinguishes among the emigrating peoples by ethnicity: it was compiled in the *year 1298 of Hegira* [28 September 1882] with separate entries for Circassian*, Dagestani, Crimean Tatar and Nogay, Sohumi, Batumi, Albanian, Rumelian Turkish, and Bosnian immigrants. Furthermore, the book provides information regarding the number of immigrants, their place of origin and the

* The term of "Circassian" literally means to a set of various Adyge-speaking tribes such as Abzekh, Kabardey, Shapsugh, Besleney, Bjedugh etc. Apart from that, there are also other Caucasian peoples which may be included within the umbrella definition of 'Circassian', i.e. Abkhaz, Chechen, Ingush, Karachay, Balkar and Dagestanis in the Caucasus. These peoples differ from Adyge-speaking groups in terms of the distinct languages they speak. The term Adyge is the self-designation of the North Caucasian tribes speaking the language Adigabze, the Circassian language.

settlement areas (both temporarily and permanently). Therefore, the book of 291/1 may shed light on the issues about when the immigrant settlements existing today were established and more importantly, where the immigrants came from.

Although there is no similar comprehensive volume among the archival documents; obviously, the register of "Sadâret 291/1" covers only a part of the emigration movement. However, when combined with other existing documents and monographs, the study may be complemented by the researchers.

In that manner, in the study, the chapters of the book concerning the immigrants originating from the Russian Empire will be portrayed and the settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire will be briefly commented on. The method of the study will be as follows: in the introductory paragraph a brief review of the existent literature is presented with some examples. Then, in the second chapter, a general historical outlook will be presented regarding the emigration groups and their arrival time within the frame of the politics of the Ottoman and Russian Empires.

In the main part, the third section of the study, the book recording details of the settlements will be given in tables and examined according to this information. The fact that, the registry book is containing population records and giving the numbers of the immigrants together with their ethnic origins. This information allows us to examine the settlement of immigrants in some sancaks in great detail. The information herein might allow for detailed studies on each group or sancak.

By that approach, the third section aims to draw a settlement picture from the information provided in the book by making a case study on the settlements of Circassian immigrants in the province of Syria. The information in the registry book together with other existing documents and monographs may elucidate the settlement policies of the Ottoman Empire. As demonstrated in the 3rd section, the settlement policy implemented in Syria is typical to the Ottoman Empire and provides important insights.

The conclusion part will focus on the examination of the contribution of the register of 291/1 to the study of emigration and Ottoman settlement policies in the long run. The example case study will be a guide for the conclusive statements. Without doubt, the emigration movement in the late 19th century has had a profound effect on the Ottoman state as well as on modern Turkey, and is a major factor in the construction of a new identity in the Anatolian heartland.

1.1 Literature Review

Although millions of people were directly affected by the forced emigration movement as a consequence of the Ottoman-Russian conflict in the second half of the 19th century, the phenomenon has yet to be examined comprehensively. Apart from a few good monographs written about the phenomenon, other published works are generally repetitive. Furthermore, the writings of many authors who descended from the immigrant origin approach the subject in an emotional fashion and are quite subjective. Another significant problem regarding the emigration historiography is that the majority of the immigrants themselves left no written

records. As many were illiterate, no internal observations regarding the movement are possible.

Despite the inhibiting factors described above, a number of monographs which utilized the various archival materials will help to see the big picture of the emigration movement to the Ottoman lands in the 19th century.

Some significant studies in the emigration literature originating from Europe bring remarkable approaches to the issue such as the academic works of Mark Pinson and Aleksandr Popovic. Pinson's doctoral dissertation "Demographic Warfare" in which the settlements of the emigrants in the Balkans and the settlement policies of the Ottoman and Russian Empires are discussed, and some of his published articles are important as they shed light of the history of the Balkans in the late 19th century and on the situations of the Muslim emigrants in the region.[1] Similarly, Alexander Popovic details the settlement of the Crimean emigrants in the Balkans and their relations with non-Muslim peoples existing in the region after the Crimean War, focusing on the Crimean Tatar and Circassian immigrants and their conditions in Rumelia.[2]

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[1] Mark Pinson, Demographic Warfare: An Aspect of Ottoman and Russian Policy, 1854-1866, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University: (Harvard, 1970) and as one example of his articles on the issue see "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1862", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol.I (1972), pp.38-63; "Ottoman Colonization of the Crimean Tatars in Bulgaria, 1854-1862" in *Proceedings of the Seventh Congress of the Turkish Historical Society*, (Ankara, 1970).

[2] Alexandre Popovic*, L'Islam Balkanique: les musulmans du sud-est Europeen dans la periode post-Ottomane* (Wiesbaden, 1986) and "Les Cerkesses dans les territoires Yougoslaves", *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, Vol. 30, (1978), pp. 159-171.

Justin McCarthy is another prominent scholar and has generally examined the population movements in the problematic areas at the late Ottoman period.[3] McCarthy also studied the methods used by the Christian forces against Muslims in the population conflicts by utilizing the European and Ottoman archival sources. He examined the rising nationalism in the Balkans in great details and has focused on the intra-communal frictions from a viewpoint more sympathetic to the Muslims.

Kemal Karpat is one of the leading authorities on the issue of the emigration movements to the Ottoman lands. He has conducted many studies on immigration and the demography of the Ottoman Empire. Karpat's writings based on the Ottoman and European archives are the main references for the related studies. Karpat in particular has tried to determine the total number of immigrants arriving in the Empire during the 19th century, drawing upon a series of census materials in his main work *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914*.[4]

The Russian sources hold an important place in the emigration issue. There is a wealth of unpublished documents regarding the subject in the archives of Russia, Ukraine and Georgia. One of the documentary studies published by Tugan Kumıkov includes 350 archival documents about the situation in the Caucasus and the expulsion of the native people from 1850 till 1874. By utilizing the Russian

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[3] Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire*, (New York, 1983); *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*, (Princeton, 1995); *The Ottoman Peoples and the End of Empire,* (London, 2001).

[4] Kemal Karpat produced a considerable number of books and articles about the forced migration of the Muslims particularly about the Crimean Tatars and the Circassians; *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics,* (Wisconsin, 1985); "Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/82-1893" *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* Vol.9 (1978), pp. 237-274; "The Status of the Muslim under European Rule: the Eviction and Settlement of the Cerkes", *Journal of the Institute Minority Affairs*, Vol.1, No.:2, pp. 47-65.

archives, Kumıkov gives a fine illustration of the situation of Circassian emigrants from the Caucasus.[5]

Another significant monograph in Russian language by G.A.Dzidzariya is about the relations between Abkhazians and Ottoman Empire. It dwells on the two waves of the emigration of the Abkhazians to the Ottoman Empire in 1867 and, after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878. The author utilized the main Russian archives and monographs and portrayed of the situation of Abkhazia during the second half of the 19th century. The book is significant not just for Abkhazian emigrants but for the other ethnic groups expelled from the Caucasus.[6]

One of the pioneering studies regarding the issue in the history of Turkey was published by Ahmet Cevat Eren in 1956. He focused on the immigration movements and the settlement policies of the Ottoman Empire, as well as providing some official documents of the period.[7]

The main studies conducted by some historians in Turkey directly related to emigration and settlements appeared in the 90's. The first one is Abdullah Saydam's *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri* (Crimean and Caucasian Immigrations), which covers the period between 1858 and 1876.[8] Saydam's book is remarkable as it draws from Ottoman archive documents to synthesize new information. The

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[5] Tugan Kumykov*, Dokumenty ob Adigov,* (Maikop, 1999). Similar to that work, the retired Turkish ambassador Bilal Şimşir's documentary study which included large number documents in three volumes compromising from Ottoman and European diplomatic archive materials provides good detailed example papers about the emigration movements from Rumelian lands to the Anatolia between the years of 1877 and 1885. Bilal Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri I-II-III,* (Ankara,1989).
[6] G.A. Dzidzariya, *Makhadjirstvo i problemyi istorii Abkhazii XIX stoletii,* (Sukhumi,1982).
[7] Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri,* (Istanbul, 1956).
[8] Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri 1856-1876,* (Ankara, 1997).

monograph provides valuable information on many issues including the historical context of the immigration movement and the problems regarding the settlement of the immigrants, and is one of the most important works on the emigration to the Ottoman lands after the Crimean war, despite deficiencies related to the analysis of the immigration issue. [9]

The study of emigration between 1879 and 1905, written by Süleyman Erkan complements Saydam's study and is indeed an extension of the former, using more or less the same methodology. Even as Ottoman archive documents are used extensively in both studies, the lack of sources from other archives and in other languages is noteworthy.[10]

These two studies provide an insufficient in-depth analysis of the immigration. For those studies the main concern is the process of migration itself. By and large they ignored how the immigrants were received by their host communities and more importantly how they were viewed by the agents of the settlements. They were written in a descriptive and narrative style, failing to portray the Ottoman demeanor especially related to the settlement policies.

Besides these studies, Nedim İpek has written about the emigration providing clues to the structured plan and strategies used by the Ottoman government to settle the immigrants. İpek is a leading authority in Turkey on the

[9] For the critics of the Saydam's book see Ahmet Akgündüz, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna Bir Göçü İncelemek", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol.11, No.: 56, (January, 1999), pp.45-47.
[10] Süleyman Erkan., *Kırım ve Kafkasya Göçleri (1878-1908): Tatarlar, Çerkezler, Abhazlar, Gürcüler, Ahıskanlılar, Dağıstanlılar, Çeçenler, diğerleri*, (Trabzon, 1996).

subject and has authored the book *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri* (Turkish Emigration from Rumelia to Anatolia) and various papers related to emigration.[11]

On the other hand the authors of emigrant origin produced some books on the subject. Authors of Caucasian and Crimean immigrant descent such as Kadircan Kaflı, İzzet Aydemir, Bedri Habiçoğlu, Hayati Bice, Nihat Berzeg, Ethem Fevzi Gözaydın, and Ahmet Özenbaşlı have published books which approach to the immigrations relatively in a subjective way yet, are still significant and interesting as they contain oral accounts of the immigration.[12]

In the recent years, two significant doctoral dissertations emerged on the subject of migrations to the Ottoman Empire by Alexander Toumarkine and David Cameron Cuthell JR. The former focuses on the non-Turkic immigrations to the Ottoman Empire. The thesis examines mainly the emigrations and settlements of the Northern Caucasians, the Lazes, the Ajarians (Georgian speaking Muslims) and the Cretan Muslims into the Ottoman lands. Toumarkine has used the details of the reports of the French Consulates as well as the Turkish monographs. The study, including an analysis of the role of the emigrants in the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic may fill an important gap when it is published. Apart from this dissertation, written over 3 volumes in French, the author has written papers

[11]Nedim İpek, *Rumeli'den Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri, (1877-1890),* (Ankara, 1999); "Kafkaslardan Anadolu'ya Göçler (1877-1900)", *Ondokuzmayıs Üniv.Eğ.F.Dergisi,* Vol.6, (Samsun, 1992), pp. 97-134.

[12] Kadircan Kaflı, *Türkiye'ye Göçler,* (İstanbul, 1966); İzzet Aydemir, *Göç: Kuzey Kafkasyalıların Göç Tarihi*, (Ankara, 1988); Bedri Habiçoğlu, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler*, (İstanbul, 1993), Hayati Bice, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler* (Ankara, 1991); Nihat Berzeg, *Gerçek Tarihi ve Politik Nedenleriyle Çerkes Sürgünü,* (Ankara, 1996), Ethem Feyzi Gözaydın, *Kırım : Kırım Türklerinin Yerleşme ve Göçmeleri: Coğrafi, Tarihi, Harsi, İktisadi ve Siyasi,* (İstanbul, 1948), and, Ahmet Özenbaşlı, *Çarlık Hakimiyetinde Kırım Faciası yahut Tatar Hicretleri,* (Akmescit,1925).

published in various journals and books regarding different aspects of the emigration movement. [13]

The second dissertation by David Cameron Cuthell JR was completed in 2005 and is invaluable as an in depth analysis of the emigration movements.[14] The study, named *The Muhacirin Komisyonu* (The Emigrant Commission) may be lacking in the variety of sources used, but examines the policies implemented for the settlement of the immigrants as well as the effects of the immigrants on the process of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The author emphasizes that the migration movement held an important place in the transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the modern Turkey.

Apart from the aforementioned thesis, there are several postgraduate theses written on the issue of emigration in the universities of Turkey. Generally, these studies focus on the settlement of immigrants in a certain provinces in the 19th century such as Konya and Eskişehir.[15]

Studies using the Ottoman archives as a main reference have increased in recent years, as many new documents have been made accessible to researchers. It is estimated that only 40% of all the documents in the Prime Ministry of Ottoman

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[13] Alexander Toumarkine, "Entre Empire Ottoman Et État-Nation Turc: Les Immigrés Musulmans Du Caucase Et Des Balkans du Milieu Du XIXe Siecle À Nos Jours", Unpublished Phd dissertation, Université Paris-Sorbonne , (Paris, 2000) ; "Kafkas ve Balkan Göçmen Dernekleri", *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum ve Milliyetçilik,* (Istanbul, 2001), pp. 425-450.

[14] David Cameron Cuthell**,** "The Muhacirin Komisyonu: An Agent in the Transformation of Ottoman Anatolia, 1860-1866", Unpublished Phd.dissertation, Columbia University, (Columbia, 2005).

[15] There are pretty good works includes the settlements of the immigrants in some provinces of Ottoman Anatolia; Mehmet Yılmaz, "Konya Vilayetinde Muhacir Yerleşmeleri", Unpublished Phd.dissertation, Selçuk Üniversitesi, (Konya, 1996); Engin Kırlı, "19. Ve 20. Yüzyılda Eskişehir'e Yapılan Göçler", Unpublished Phd.dissertation, Osmangazi Üniversitesi, (Eskişehir, 2001).

Archives in Istanbul have been catalogued. The remaining documents are most likely to contain information on the various aspects of the immigrations. Furthermore, a significant number of Ottoman documents are in the archives of those countries, which were established on the former Ottoman lands, especially in those of Bulgaria.[16]

The indeterminacy of the number of emigrants may be the main problem in the works on immigration. Different sources are giving the different numbers. Because there are no conclusive records showing how many traveled to Anatolia, how many died during the journey and how many were settled, however, the emergence of new documents and the discovery of the registry of Sadâret 291/1 that we presently examine demonstrate that the Ottoman officials have kept detailed records on the emigrant populations.

[16] Apart from Turkey, Bulgaria comes to be first place having the Ottoman archival documents. In addition to the remaining documents from the Ottoman period in Bulgaria, most of the parts of the archival materials were purchased from Turkey in 1920s. See more information about the sold Ottoman archival materials, İsmet Binark, *Bulgaristan'daki Osmanlı Evrakı,* (Istanbul, 1994).

CHAPTER II.

THE PROCESS OF IMMIGRATION TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: A GENERAL OUTLOOK

2.1 Emigration Phases

The migrations of the Muslim peoples to the Ottoman Empire in connection with the Russian imperial expansionism may be chronically divided into three main periods. The first period includes the time span from the Küçük Kaynarca Treaty in 1774 to the Crimean War in 1853. With the signing of the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, the Crimean Tatar and the Nogay groups began to emigrate to Ottoman Anatolia and Rumelia, a process which continued during the subsequent decades.

The second mass exodus of the Muslim population escaping from the Russian rule occurred after the Crimean War and resulted in a most dramatic population loss for Adyges, Crimean Tatars and, Nogays. Especially strong influx of the immigrants had been observed throughout the fifteenth years after the Crimean War. Such a situation necessarily created a number of problems for the Ottoman authorities, which had to deal with resettling of the newly arrived masses of the people.

The third massive wave of the emigration occurred after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878. Following the Ottoman defeat on the Caucasian front,

the Abkhazians, Dagestanis and Muslim Ajarians started to leave their native lands in addition to the Adyges, Crimean Tatars and Nogays.

As a result of the aforementioned processes, it is estimated that millions of people settled in the Ottoman Empire.[17] Obviously, the phenomenon of the immigration, starting at the end of the 18th century and lasting until the beginning of the 20th century occupies an important place in the late Ottoman history.

2.1.1 Emigration Prior to the Crimean War

Prior to the Crimean War, the majority of the emigrants to the Ottoman Empire were Crimean Tatars. There were some other emigrations from the Caucasus but their numbers were relatively few. As a result of the anti-Tatar policies of the Russian Empire since the annexation of the lands of the Crimean Khanate, the Crimean Tatars had to immigrate in great numbers to the Ottoman lands, especially to the Balkans.[18]

Despite the initial problems that Ottoman authorities had faced because of a large-scale inflow of immigrants, the question of their settling to a certain extent had been successively completed within a relatively short space of time. The fact that the Crimean Tatars were speaking a Turkic dialect, which is very close to that spoken within the Sultan's domains, as well as their skills in agriculture and trade,

[17] The estimation of the numbers of immigrants varied in different sources from two up to eight millions whatsoever.
[18] See an example for the establishment of a special town and villages for the Crimean Tatar in the Balkans: Kemal Karpat, "The Crimean Emigration to Dobruca and the Founding of Mecidiye" *International Journal of Turkish Studies,* No.: 1, (1981), pp. 1-25.

allowed their relatively easier integration into the Ottoman society.[19]

Having faced the phenomenon of mass migration of the Muslim peoples, the Ottoman bureaucrats viewed the newcomers as an important factor for the state demographic policy. The immigrants were used as a counter-balance against the non-Muslim population both from economic and political points of view. Thus, the Ottoman authorities settled the newly arrived peoples in the Balkan Peninsula to counteract the Orthodox population, which had been supported by Russia in forming its own nationalistic organizations. In this way, the Crimean Tatars came to inhabit the areas of the Ottoman Empire where the Muslims were less populous. [20]

2.1.2 Emigration after the Crimean War

The Crimean War became a turning point for the peoples of the Black Sea region. Even though the allies, including the Ottoman Empire, managed to defeat Russia, the Crimean and Caucasian Muslims were negatively affected from the victory in the subsequent years. As a result of the Crimean War, Russia learned not to threaten the interests of the Western powers directly, and turned her attention to the Caucasus and Central Asia, assigning her best units and commanders to these regions in preparation for a total invasion of these areas.[21]

The Sublime Porte could not exert a serious influence over the Caucasus

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[19] Hakan Kırımlı, "Kırım'dan Türkiye'ye Kırım Tatar Göçleri", *Uluslararası Göç Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, (Istanbul, 2006), p.151.
[20] Alan W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783*, (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 90-95.
[21] Semen Esadze, *Pokorenie zapadnogo Kavkaza i okonchanie Kavkazskoi voiny,* (Maikop, 1993), p.75.

after the Crimean War. Russia's organized and heavily armed military units finally overwhelmed and captured Shamil in Gunib in 1859, effectively ending the main resistance movement in the east part of the Caucasus. After the fall of the Eastern Caucasus, Russia focused on the western part of the Caucasus. After about half a decade of fighting, Russia managed to subjugate the dispersed Circassians. After the last attempt of resistance the region of Kbaada was surrendered by the Ubykhs on May 21st, 1864, the Caucasus was put completely under the Russian rule.

After the Russian invasion of the Western Caucasus, the Circassians were given two options: were either to come down from the mountains and settle in the valleys where the Cossacks constituted the majority of the population, or to leave the region en masse.[22] The second option meant emigration to the Ottoman lands. An important factor in Circassians' decision to emigrate was the hope that the Ottoman Sultan, who was also the Caliph of Islam, would give them the necessary assistance. As a result, more than one million emigrants the majority of them being Adyges, left for the Ottoman Empire.[23] The main objective of the Russian authorities was to get rid of the local Muslim population.[24]

However, the Sublime Porte was not ready to receive such a great number of immigrants. Millions of people were dispatched by sea in unhealthy conditions, which caused the spread of disease among the immigrants. Many lives were lost not only because of poorly organized process of transportation, but also as a result of numerous hardships related to the settlements of the Ottoman lands.

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[22] Esadze, p. 77.
[23] Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 111.
[24] Berzeg, p.122.

The emigration of both the Crimean Tatars and the Circassians had been marked by bad organization, diseases, accidents at sea and food shortages. It is estimated that 25% of immigrants had died before their settlements in the Ottoman soil.[25]

2.1.3. Emigration After the Ottoman -Russian War of 1877–1878

In the years between the Crimean War and the War of 1877–1878, the number of immigrants reached the highest point in 1860s, and then gradually decreased, though immigration did continue. As a consequence of that the Russians emerged victorious from the War of 1877-1878; Ottoman Empire lost large lands in Rumelia, and Trans-Caucasus.

A considerable proportion of the Crimean Tatars and the Caucasians that immigrated to the Ottoman Empire as a result of the Crimean War had been settled in Rumelia. As the Ottoman Empire lost vast territories in the Balkans in accordance with the Berlin Treaty, many of the immigrants settled earlier here, had to emigrate for the second time. However, by now the Porte had much more experience in settling immigrants.[26] A specially established immigration commission and settlement units assured the better organization of the process. For this reason, the immigrants arriving from the Caucasus and Rumelia were dispatched to other parts of the Empire according to a systematical plan.[27]

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[25] McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, p. 45.
[26] Nedim İpek, *Rumeliden Anadolu'ya Türk Göçleri*, p. 156.
[27] Cuthell, p. 93.

As a result of the fightings on the Eastern front in the 1877-1878, the Abkhazians, Ajarians and Dagestanis had to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire along with the Crimean Tatars and Circassians. Moreover, the Rumelian Turks, Bosnian Muslims and Albanians from Rumelia were also immigrating to the Ottoman lands. Comparing to the period after the Crimean War, the ethnic origins of the immigrants became much more diverse after the years following the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878.

2.2 Emigrating Ethnic Groups

Throughout the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was receiving immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds, though most of them were from the Crimean Peninsula and the Caucasus. In the book catalogued as Sadâret 291/1, these immigrants are categorized as Circassian, Crimean Tatars and Nogays, Dagestanis, Abkhazians, Ajarians, Albanians, Bosnians and Rumelian Turks. All except the last three groups will be described in details. Of these groups, the Circassians/Adyges, the Crimean Tatars and the Nogays had been emigrating both before and after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878, while the Abkhazians, Ajarians and Dagestanis generally emigrated after the war.

2.2.1 Circassians

The peoples known under the name of *Çerkes* (Circassians) though the Turkic Karachay-Balkars, and some other groups were also mentioned under this

umbrella mostly were the Adyges. The Adyges probably constituted the largest emigrant group to the Ottoman Empire and the Adyges had established close relations with the Ottomans in the struggle against Russia, were forced to immigrate to the Ottoman Empire after the Russian invasion.

The Adyges lost thousands of their people during the emigration and the settlement processes, due to diseases and the harsh living conditions.[28] Their failure to adopt and conform to the laws of the lands where they settled made the Circassian settlement a quite problematic one for the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans gave the duty of supervising the settling process to the bureaucrats who were themselves of the emigrant descent with the aim both to ease the settlement process and to further the incorporation of the immigrants into the framework of the Ottoman society.[29] The chairman of the Emigrant Commission, Hafız Pasha, a Circassian and the members of the commission were of different ethnic origins.[30]

Even before the immigration, there were many high-ranking Ottoman generals of the Circassian descent.[31] Therefore, the Ottoman government was assigning the Circassian generals to various emigrant groups requesting them to form military units. Especially during the interwar period Circassians, who settled in Rumelia, were in conflict with the local elements and in some places were acting independently from the Ottoman government.[32] As a result, they were accused of the massacre of Bulgarians in 1875, known as the Bulgarian Horrors. In accordance

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[28] Hasan-Ali Kasumov, *Genotsid Adigov. İz İstorii Borby Aiıgov za Nezavisimost ve XIX veke*, (Nalchik, 1992), pp.269-275.
[29] Cuthell, pp. 113-126.
[30] Cuthell, p. 108.
[31] Hotko Samir, *İstoriya Çerkesii*, (S.Petersburg, 2001), p. 231.
[32] Popovic, *Les Cerkesses dans les territoires Yougoslaves*, p.162.

with the Berlin Treaty, the Circassians were not allowed to be settled in the Balkans again. Following their second immigration from Rumelia, the Circassians were resettled in various locations throughout the Empire, mainly the Uzunyayla Corridor, the Province of Canik, Düzce and its' surroundings, the interior of the Aegean region and the Province of Syria.[33]

The Circassians, who emigrated in great numbers before and after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 did take an important role in the Ottoman military during the final period of the Empire, as well as participated in the process of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Being loyal subjects, as well suitable and reliable for the military purposes the Circassians were settled in the overwhelmingly non-Muslim regions in order to balance the percentage of the Muslim population there. [34] In the next decades, although their language and culture were quite different from those of Anatolian people, it is possible to say that the Circassians managed to get successfully integrated within the Ottoman society.

2.2.2 Crimean Tatars and Nogays

The Russian Empire's annexation of the Crimean Khanate in 1783, followed with its vigorous efforts to colonize the Crimean peninsula. Both using the internal migrants from the Russian heartland and Germans, Bulgarians, Armenians, and Greek settlers, Russia inaugurated a steady process of the incorporation of the Crimea into the territories of the Russian Empire.

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[33] Erkan, pp. 133-136.
[34] Cuthell, pp. 102-121.

Alan Fisher estimates that between the outburst of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768-1774 and the Treaty of Yaş in 1792, about 200,000 Crimean Tatars out-migrated from the Russian Empire to the Ottoman Empire.[35] Moreover, in the first decades of the nineteenth century there was a quiet and steady migration of tens of thousands of Crimean Tatars to the lands of the Ottoman Empire.[36]

With the support and encouragement of the Ottoman officials, the Crimean Tatars established noteworthy diaspora unities on the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Crimean Tatars had long been welcomed into the Ottoman lands and in return for service in the empire. Furthermore, the Crimean Tatars were pleased with large estates in the Ottoman Empire. Crimean Tatar noble clans owned lands in Rumelia and Anatolia and the members of the Crimean Tatar royal dynasty, the Gerays, preserved an official dwelling in the İstanbul suburb of Büyükdere.[37]

Those Crimean Tatars, who stayed in the peninsula, subsequent to the first wave of emigration were forced to immigrate to the Ottoman lands after the Crimean War. The mass migration movement of the Crimean Tatars came to be as a direct response to the war and the popular viewpoint was that the people collided with the Ottomans and their allies during the Crimean War.[38] In the consequent years, especially between 1860 and 1862, two thousand Crimean Tatars emigrated from Tavrida region. Many of the Crimean Tatars who were settled in Rumelia

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[35] Alan Fisher, "Emigration of Muslims from the Russian Empire in the Years After the Crimean War", *Jahrbücher für Geschicte Osteuropas*, Vol. 35, (1987), p. 357.
[36] Kırımlı, p. 149. Between 1783 and the start of the Crimean War, tens of thousands of Crimean Tatars and Nogays settled in Dobruca and this settlement was so dense and compact that Dobruca was then known as *Küçük Tataristan*.
[37] Brian Glyn Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration from nineteenth-century Russia to the Ottoman Empire", *Cahiers du monde Russe*, Vol.41, No.:1, pp. 79-108.
[38] Williams, p.94.

were forced to emigrate again after the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878. The populations at Köstence, Varna, and Şumnu in the Balkans emigrated once more to Anatolia and were settled in many places, though primarily in the various parts of the Anatolia. The scale of the Crimean Tatar immigration decreased after that although it did continue well until the beginning of the 20th century.

The settlements of the Crimean Tatars had been facilitated by the fact, that their language and cultural ties allowed them to communicate easily with the Ottoman Turkish population and, therefore they were settled in a relative harmony. Furthermore, the Ottomans were giving priority to the settlement of the Crimean Tatars in the process of accommodation of immigrants.[39] For that reason, the Crimean Tatars experienced relatively lesser losses than many other ethnic groups. This was also the reason of quicker assimilation of the Crimean Tatars at the new place.

The Nogays were a nomadic people who shared the same origins with the Crimean Tatars but retained the nomadic style of the life. Following the mass migration of the Adyges in Caucasia, the migration movement soon spread to the Nogays on the plains north of the Crimean peninsula and Kuban. Fearing the Russian menace many of the Nogays moved to westwards and left for the Ottoman lands in 1860 and 1861 in a great number. Thousands of Nogays arrived in the Ottoman soil. Many settled in the Balkans and following the war of 1877-1878 the Nogays were resettled mainly in Central and Southern Anatolia, experiencing great

[39] Cuthell, pp.139-148.

losses in the course of their resettlement in the Cilician region.[40]

As the Ottoman bureaucracy had no previous contacts with the Nogays, they were not provided with the same privileges given to the Crimean Tatars. On the other hand, they were hard to be kept under control, as the Nogay society lacked a strong hierarchical structure. Furthermore, they lacked any possessions and agricultural skills, which made their settlements more difficult for the Ottoman government.[41] The Nogays were mainly settled alongside the Circassians in the parts of Anatolia, where the government used the Nogays with the other immigrants to cope with troubles with the local population composed of Turkmen tribes, Kurds and Armenians.[42]

2.2.3 Abkhazians

The Abkhazians, living on the Black Sea coast were one of the autochthon peoples of the Caucasus closely related to the Adyges and the Ubkhys. Within the Georgian territory, the colonization of the Abkhazian terrains by Russians began with the annexation of Georgia in 1801.

After the annexation of Abkhazian lands many inhabitants rose up against the tsarist rule. Consequently, in the 1860's approximately half of the population - nearly two hundred thousand- was forced to emigrate to the Ottoman lands.[43] This

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[40] Leon Dominian, "The Peoples of Northern and Central Asiatic Turkey", *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, Vol.: 47, No.: 11, (1915), p. 842. Dominian mentions the great loss of the Nogays in the Cilician plains due to contagious diseases, which reduced the number of Nogay immigrants from 60.000 to 25.000 in 1910's.
[41] Cuthell, p.152.
[42] Cuthell, p.155.
[43] Dzidzariya, p.157.

migration had two important consequences firstly most of the populations left from Abkhazia were Muslims, so that the majority of the Abkhazians who stayed in Abkhazia became Christian. The other main consequence was that the Abkhazians became a minority in their own lands and the large territories lay open to resettlement immigration by Russians.[44]

The second greatest wave of the Abkhazian emigration reached its peak point after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878.[45] When the war broke out, many Abkhazians sided with the Ottomans. They rebelled against Russia with the intent to displace the Armenians and the Cossacks who were settled in Abkhazia after the Crimean War. Furthermore, Maan Kamlet, an Abkhazian noble who had immigrated to Anatolia, organized the Caucasian militia forces in Anatolia and played a major role in the offensive known as the Sohum offensive.[46]

This militia, contacting their kinsmen in the region provided weapons and ammunition to the rebels, and forced the Russians under the command of General Kravchenko to retreat from the region. These forces, which were successful at the beginning of the war, did not get reinforcements and were scattered by the regrouped Russian army. After the war, the Russians expelled the Abkhazians from their lands and the majority of the Abkhazians emigrated like their kin before them, to Anatolia.[47]

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[44] V.A.Chirikba, "Distribution of Abkhaz dialects in Turkey", *Proceedings of the Conference dedicated to the memory of Tevfik Esenç*, (Istanbul, 2002).
[45] Dzidzariya, p.174.
[46] Sefer Berzeg, "1877-1878 Osmanlı Rus Savaşında Kafkasya", *Birleşik Kafkasya*, No.: 21, (1993), pp. 43-55.
[47] Bruno Coppieters, "Introduction", *Georgians and Abkhazians The Search for a Peace Settlement*, edited by Bruno Coppieters, Ghia Nodia and Yuri Anchabadze, (Brussel, 1998), pp.4-15.

The Abkhazians were generally settled by the Ottomans in Eastern Marmara region, although some Abkhazians were settled with the Adyge groups in various parts of Anatolia. The Ottomans generally treated the Abkhazians in the same way as the ethnically close to the Adyges.[48]

2.2.4 Ajarians

The region of Ajaria is located around the city of Batum, in present-day Georgia. The main ethnic group in the region from the Ottoman conquest onwards was the Ajarians, i.e., the Georgian-speaking Muslims.

By the middle of the 19th century, the Ottoman influence began to decrease and the local nobles started to play a more independent role. Yet, until the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878, the Ajarians were the Sultan's subjects and sided with the Ottomans in wars waged by the Porte.[49] The Ajarians fought against the Russians in the War of 1877-1878, and the region was the only front where the Ottomans were not defeated. In the Berlin Treaty, the Ottomans agreed to submit the region to Russia, despite the protest of the local population. This made Ajaria to become a part of the Russian Empire. Many of the bellicose Ajarians decided to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire rather than live under Russian rule.[50] A group of Ajarian emigrants arrived under the leadership of their famous commander;

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[48] V.A. Chirikba mentions a large number of Abkhazians are now living in cities and towns, the most numerous communities being in Istanbul, Ankara, Düzce, İnegol, Bilecik, Eskişehir, Samsun and Sinop. As well as in Turkey, there are also some 5,000 Abkhazians in Syria.
[49] W.E.D.Allen, P.Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields: A History of the Wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border 1828-1921*, (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 197-207.
[50] İpek, *Kafkaslardan Anadolu'ya Göçler (1877-1900),* pp. 189-194.

Çürüksulu Ali Pasha who tried to defend the interest of the immigrants periodically, was entering into conflict with the local administrators with a moderate success. [51]

Under the supervision of Ali Pasha the Ajarians chose to settle mainly in the districts of Ordu and Samsun, although some were dispatched to be settled in Bursa, Bolu, İzmit, Adapazarı, Amasya, and Tokat by the local emigrant commissions.

2.2.5 Dagestanis

The Dagestan region situated in the Eastern Caucasus on the Caspian Sea coast was home to peoples such as the Avars, Dargis and Lezgis. Comparing to the west of the Caucasus Dagestan was under a greater Islamic influence and against Russia together with Chechenya on many occasions. Dagestan, the center of Shamil's resistance against Russia, witnessed emigration to the Ottoman Empire, with some groups leaving after the Crimean War together with the Circassians.[52]

The peoples of the Dagestan had vivid memories of the 1877-1878 War, when they forced St. Petersburg to keep many of its important military units in the region. Shamil's son Gazi Muhammed managed to convince the many Chechens and peoples of Dagestan to help the Ottomans against Russia, despite their doubts that the Ottomans would render them any help. The Dagestanis fought using guerilla tactics, but were not able to hold out for long against the organized Russian army, equipped with heavy artillery. The resistance was quelled by the famous Russian general of Armenian descent Loris-Melikoff. At the end of the resistance,

[51] Oktay Özel, "Çürüksulu Ali Paşa Üzerine Notlar", *Kebikeç*,Vol. 16, pp. 89-144.
[52] Jaimoukha, p.31.

the Russian government deported many Chechens and Dagestanis to Siberia.[53] Also thousands of the remaining people were forced to emigrate to the Ottoman Empire together with the emigrating the Adyges. The people exiled to Siberia eventually succeeded to return, though the Chechen and Dagestani immigrants to Anatolia and the Middle East were destined to see their homeland never again.

The Sublime Porte granted special privileges to the relatives of Sheikh Shamil and some Dagestani ulema and settled them in the surroundings of Istanbul. These people were also provided with financial support (ta'yinât).[54] Apart from this privileged group, the ordinary Dagestani immigrants were treated in the same way as the Circassians and Abkhazians, and were settled with them in the same areas.[55]

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[53] Jaimoukha, p.34.

[54] There are a lot of Ottoman documents related to Dagestani religious men and their *ta'yinât;* The Ottoman Archives of the Turkish Prime Ministry [*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri*, hereafter to be cited as *BOA*] *A.MKT.MHM*, Dosya No.: 123, Gömlek no.:15; *BOA İ.HUS*, Dosya No.: 32 Gömlek No.: 1301.

[55] Cuthell, p.156.

CHAPTER III:

THE BOOK OF "SADÂRET 291/1"

3.1 Description of the Book of "Sadâret 291/1"

The material focused on in this study is a newly catalogued special register recorded as "BEO Sadaret 291/1" which was composed by the Ottoman officers relying upon the information about the immigrants and their settlement conditions in the sancaks and vilâyets. The justification for keeping this book, which is unprecedented in the Ottoman archives, is provided in a document dated 23 Zilhicce 1298 (November 15th, 1881) and numbered *BOA Y.PRK.KOM* 3/24.[56] According to this document, Sultan Abdülhamit had published a decree requesting information about the number and state of immigrants coming into the country.

The book is kind of a statistical study made by Ottoman bureaucrats based on the information regarding the immigrants flowing from the provinces. The special registry book or *defter* indicates the attempt of the Ottoman bureaucrats to find out the number of the immigrants and the places of their resettlement within the empire. Furthermore, the book had been prepared systematically, having included various aspects of the immigration movements in terms of the classification of the immigrants according to their ethnicity and number, along with their present status.

[56] *BOA Y.PRK.KOM* Dosya No.: 3 Gömlek No.: 24.

The book has lined paper and each page measures 49x34 and 31 of the 156 pages remain empty.

The register contains the chapters regarding the sancaks of Biga, Niğde, Canik, Ankara and the provinces of Aydın and Syria. Although such provinces as Canik and Syria are given in detail, the rest requires supplementing with other sources to draw an accurate picture. Moreover, instead of giving exact time of their settlement the book categorized the immigrants basing on two periods: those who came during the era of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz and those who arrived in after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878.

The number of immigrants covered in the records of the book was 107,742. Nearly 60 percent of the immigrants were males. The sixty-six thousand of the total immigrants had been settled in their permanent settlements.

The ethnic groups of the immigrants are divided into two parts according to their time of arrival. The first part is comprised of three groups, *Çerkes*, (Circassians) *Dağıstan* (Dagestanis) and *Tatar and Nogay* (Crimean Tatars and Nogays), who arrived during the reigns of Sultan Abdulmecid and Abdülaziz actually it means that these immigrants arrived in to Ottoman Empire after the Crimean War.

The second group is included of *Rumeli Türk Muhâcirîni* (Rumelian Turkish Immigrants), *Çerkes , Dağıstan, Tatar ve Nogay, Sohum Muhâcirîni* (Abkhazian Immigrants), *Batum Muhâcirîni* (Ajarian Immigrants) and *Arnavut ve Boşnak*

Muhâcirîni (Albanian and Bosnian Immigrants). The second group described as the *Mesele-i Zâileden Sonra* (after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878).

We will be examining the chapters regarding the Biga Sancak, the Niğde Sancak, the Province of Aydın, the Canik Sancak, the Ankara Sancak and the Province of Syria respectively. The immigrant groups that fall in the scope of this study are those that are out-migrated due to struggles with the Russian Empire directly: Circassians, Crimean Tatars and Nogays, Dagestanis, Abkhazians and Ajarians. The remainder providing information on the Rumelian Turkish, Albanian, and Bosnian Muslim immigrants will not be examined in the study.

The immigrant groups listed above will be studied in terms of their places of settlements in the Ottoman Lands. Except Syria, the other settlements' records will be presented with a brief examination within the context of the immigration policy of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the records in the registry book regarding the province of Syria will be studied in next chapter broadly with other existing archival materials and monographs to provide commentary on the settlement policies of the Ottoman Empire.

3.2 Biga

The sancak of Biga neighbours on the Aegean Sea in the West, the Sea of Marmara in the North and is located near the Dardanelles. As the area is not very

large, it was home to a population of 118,835 in the year of 1881.[57] The Sancak had the districts of Kale-i Sultaniye (Çanakkale), Lapseki, Ezine, Ayvacık, Bayramiç and Biga and a total of 499 villages within its' borders.[58]

The sancak of Biga is in close proximity to the ports of İzmir and İstanbul, and accordingly had a high concentration of the immigrants. There was a considerable Greek population living in the Sancak of Biga.[59] The population Balance was attempted through the settling of Muslim immigrants. As the sancak of Biga was strategically located being very close to the Dardanelles Ottoman officials made an effort to increase the Muslim population.[60] The sancak of Biga had a dense settlement of immigrants in Ottoman times. The existence of 80 immigrant villages established in that period confirms the importance placed on the region in Ottoman settlement policy. [61]

Another concern of the Porte was to prevent lands from being sold to Christians, for whom military enrolment was not compulsory, as the farmlands were left untilled due to military enrolment. Some lands were purchased from the local population and assigned for the use of the immigrants.[62] Despite these efforts, some of the immigrants were not able to become landowners. This predominantly Circassian group started to pillage the farms owned by the Greek population. After the local Christian population complained to foreign consulates and European

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[57] Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 170.
[58] M. Nasrullah, *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, ed. by Rahmi Tekin, (Istanbul, 2003), p.123.
[59] Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie D'Asie , Le Vilayet de Smyrne et Mutessariflik de Bigha,* (Istanbul , 2001), p.152.
[60] Erkan, p. 91.
[61] İpek, Rumeliden Türk Göçleri, p. 196.
[62] İpek, Rumeliden Türk göçleri p. 197.

authorities, the Ottoman government was warned by the latter to take precautions to prevent such attacks. [63]

In this period, the relatively weak Ottoman gendarmerie proved to be insufficient to prevent the inter-communal conflicts in the region. Some immigrant groups became bona fide bandits and started to threaten the government that if they were not given lands, they would continue to terrorize the local populace. Some of these immigrant bandit groups continued to put pressure on the government for quite a while. [64] The insufficiency of the officials assigned for immigrant settlement is also a factor in the events.

Regarding the information based on the book of 291/1, it seems that most of the immigrants in the Biga Sancak were yet to be settled. In the Biga sancak, The Circassians came both in the first and the second period and included 749 people.[65] The Dagestanis and Crimean Tatars arrived in the first period and the former group included 723 and the latter 304.[66]

Despite all such setbacks, the government tried to implement its settlement policies within the legal framework. Some examples of conventional settlement policy are observed in the sancak of Biga. One method was settling a small immigrant population in a populous Muslim village in the region for assimilation. In Geredeli, a Yörük Turkish village founded in the 17th century, four men and four

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[63] *BOA DH.MKT*, Dosya No.:1441, Gömlek No.: 112.
[64] *BOA Y.PRK.KOM*, Dosya No.:4, Gömlek No.: 80.
[65] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1, pp.2-6.
[66] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1, pp.2-6.

women of the Crimean Tatar immigrants from Sofia were settled.[67] The same method was used with another eight immigrants from Sofia who were settled in the village of Yenice.[68] In this way, the assimilation of the smaller population into larger one was assured. As the Turkic Crimean Tatars shared cultural elements and similar languages with the local Muslim Turkish population, these immigrants were assimilated more easily compared to the other non-Turkic peoples.

There are also a few examples, which illustrate different cases. For example, when some Rumelian Turks were settled in the Aşağı Demirci village, established 25 years previously in 1879 by Circassian immigrants, as we would expect, the existence of different ethnic groups in the same village caused a whole different set of problems. Fighting broke out for the lands, and some immigrants lost their lives in the events.[69]

Though, the conflict between the local Christian and the Muslim immigrants waned as the pace of the settlement decreased, such troubles would flame up again before the World War I. The nuclei of the Kuvây-ı Milliye militia groups that fought against the non-Muslim militia in these regions were formed by the immigrant elements. Especially the Circassian immigrants who flocked around Çerkes Ethem to form a militia force, fought as much against the Greek Army as against the local Greek population. These conflicts, which had been ongoing since the settlement of these immigrants, increased with the activities of the Greek Army in the area. The fact that immigrant villages played an active role against the local

[67] Kemal Gözler, *Les Villages Pomaks de Lofça aux XVe et XVIe Siècles D'apres le Tahrir Defters Ottomans*, (Ankara, 2001), p.13.
[68] Kemal Gözler, p. 15.
[69] *BOA DH.MKT*, Dosya No.:1554, Gömlek No.: 99.

Christian population shows that the Ottoman settlement policy was planned on a long term, strategical basis.

Table.1 THE DISTRICT OF BİGA

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	Kal'a-i Sultaniye The Quarterhood of Kayalı		36	14	22	36	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	Kal'a-i Sultaniye The Quarterhood of Kayalı	31		14	17	31	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	The Quarterhood of Cami-i Kebir	31		14	17	31	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	The Quarterhood of Arslanca	21		12	9	21	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	Tulça and Lofça	The Quarterhood of Çınarlık	23		13	10	23	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	The village of Aziziye		92	44	48	92	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	The Village of Karacaviran	3		1	2	3	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	The Village of Karacaviran	3		1	2	3	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Kızanlık and Karinâbâd	The Village of Kurşunlu		4	2	2	4	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Hacıoğlupazarcık	The Village of Aşıklar		4	2	2	4	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Hacıoğlupazarcık	The Village of Kemal		4	2	2	4	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Hacıoğlupazarcık	The Village of Kemal		7	3	4	7	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Babadağı	The Village of Sarıcaelli		4	2	2	4	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Babadağı	The Village of Sarıcaelli		14	5	9	14	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The Village of Sıracık		3	1	2	3	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The Village of Sıracık		3	1	2	3	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Köstence	The Village of Terziler		6	2	4	6	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Köstence	The Village of Terziler		6	3	3	6	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The Village of Ortaca		4	2	2	4	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Sofia	The Village of Cedid		6	3	3	6	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Mezâr-ı Atik	The Village of Kadı ?		7	4	3	7	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Babadağı	The Village of Kulaklı		2	1	1	2	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The Village of Bağcılar		2	1	1	2	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The Village of Okçular		8	4	4	8	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The District of Eceâbâd The Village of Anafarta-i Kebir		6	2	4	6	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The District of Eceâbâd The Village of Anafarta-i Kebir		36	22	14	36	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The District of Eceâbâd The Village of Anafarta-i Kebir	31		14	17	31	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Anafarta-i Sagir		15	6	9	15	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Anafarta-i Sagir		30	11	19	30	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Anafarta-i Sagir	21		12	9	21	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Emir Son ?		10	4	6	10	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Emir Son ?		14	8	6	14	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Emir Son ?	9		4	5	9	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Karainebeyli		21	10	11	21	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Karainebeyli		46	23	23	46	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Karainebeyli	15		9	6	15	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Ilgarlı		6	4	2	6	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Ilgarlı		16	7	9	16	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Keçili		11	6	5	11	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Keçili		21	10	11	21	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Hazarlı ?		7	2	5	7	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Hazarlı?		14	4	10	14	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Hazarlı?	4		2	2	4	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Yolâbâd		8	2	6	8	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Yolâbâd		41	18	23	41	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Yolâbâd	15		7	8	15	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Suyolu?		5	2	3	5	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Suyolu?		12	5	7	12	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Suyolu?	18		10	8	18	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Bigalı		3	2	1	3	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Bigalı	19		8	11	19	Circassian
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Kurucadere	7		2	5	7	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Sıraca		13	4	9	13	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Kara Mustafapaşa	The Village of Günaçar		4	1	3	4	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karinâbâd	The Village of Bergos		48	20	28	48	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Sofia	The District of Biga		10	5	5	10	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Sofia	The Village of Karabiga		26	16	16	26	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	Sofia	The Village of Geredelli		8	4	4	8	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	Sofia	The Village of Yenice		8	4	4	8	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878	Sofia	The Village of Hisarlı		6	4	2	6	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karlık	The Village of Sarıköprü		26	10	16	26	Dagestan

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karlık	The Village of Sarıköprü		29	16	13	29	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karlık	The Village of Ahmedpaşa		77	34	33	77	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karlık	The Village of Akköprü		69	38	31		Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karlık	The Village of Azîziye		130	67	63	130	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karlık	The Village of Doğancı?		127	57	70	127	Dagestan
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe and Karlık	The Village of Çınardere		86	46	40	86	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Tutrakan	The Town of Dimetoka		50	21	29	50	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Filibe	The Village of Havdan		12	5	7	12	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Sofia	The Village of Karabiga	65		35	30	65	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The Village of Sazlı		3	1	2	3	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The Village of Sazlı		1		1	1	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Tatarpazarcığı	The Village of Pınarlar Akçesi		15	4	11	15	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Lofça	The town of Ezine		10	2	8	10	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Rusçuk and Lofça	The town of Keşanpınar		3	1	2	3	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Pleven and Lofça	The Village of Geyikli		9	4	5	9	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Pleven and Lofça	The Village of Geyikli		7	6	1	7	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Pleven and Rusçuk	The Village of Kemal		3		3	3	Circassian

3.3 Niğde

Niğde was a sancak of the Konya Province and, had a total of 366 villages included a considerable number of Greek ones. The sancak of Niğde, including the districts of Nevşehir, Ürgüp, Aksaray, Arabsun and Bor had a population of 201 thousand in 1881.[70]

Upon the order to determine the empty lands for assignment to immigrants, a few immigrant groups were settled in Niğde. As the local officials were unprepared for immigrants when they arrived in 1892, they were settled temporarily and settlements were constructed for them in a short time.[71] During their temporary settlement, immigrants, who didn't feel that the Sancak of Niğde was suitable for them, requested that they be settled in another location from the government in Istanbul. The government set aside funds to develop the conditions of the immigrants in Niğde and the desired that local populace organize the help effort. As a result, the immigrants selected the Kavlaktepe region as their permanent settlement and established villages. These villages were named Hediyye-i Hamîdiyye and Orhaniye in a later decree.[72]

The book contains just a few lines about the settlements in Niğde.[73] That fact may indicate that the immigrants possibly due to climate and the infertile lands did not prefer the Niğde sancak. The existing documentation on Niğde shows that three Circassian and one Ajarian groups were settled in the Sancak of Niğde. While 1423

[70] Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, p. 182.
[71] *BOA İ:DH*, Dosya No.: 64146, Gömlek No.: 8.
[72] *BOA Y.MTV*, Dosya No.: 74, Gömlek No.: 100.
[73] *BOA B.E.O,291/1*,p. 23.

Circassian immigrants were living in the temporary settlements 109 Ajarian immigrants from Batum arriving in the wake of the 1877–1878 War were settled permanently in the Aksaray district.[74] In general, immigrants from Batum were not settled in central Anatolia, and today there is no trace of these immigrants.

The majority of the Circassian groups were recorded as yet to be settled. A large group of 809 people from Köstence (Constanta) arrived in Aksaray and had been settled temporarily. As far as we know today, this group was probably sent to another region. The same goes for the 277 people settled temporarily in Ürgüp. The only group remaining was that of 289 people coming from Priştina and settled in Arabsun.[75]

Despite the records in the book showing that hundred of immigrants were settled in the 2 villages and many districts, only the village of Orhaniye still exists. The village still includes members of the Circassian/Adyge clans Abzekh, Shapsugh and Kabardey.

[74] *BOA B.E.O, 291/1,*p. 23.
[75] *BOA B.E.O, 291/1,*p. 23.

Table.3 THE DISTRICT OF NİĞDE

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Üsküp, Vidin and Köstence	Aksaray		109	52	57	109	Batum
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Üsküp, Vidin and Köstence	Aksaray	803		381	422	803	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Province of Rumelia	Ürgüp	277		119	158	277	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Priştine and Vidin	Arabsun	60	289	180	169	349	Circassian

3.4 Aydın

Aydın Vilâyeti (The Province of Aydın) had one of the highest concentrations of immigrant settlements in Anatolia. The fertility of the farmland in the province and proximity to the port of İzmir were important factors for the density. Indeed, these attractive attributes caused the immigrants to flock to the province, and at one point, local officials requested that the central authority stop the flow of immigrants to the province.[76] In 1884, Aydın, which had the total provincial population of 1,396,000, had been home to at least 200 thousand immigrants arriving at different times.[77]

The number of immigrants using the highway from İstanbul to the province had reached 66,000 by December 1878. Nine thousand were diverted to Syria, and another group to other provinces such as Adana and Konya. During their time in İzmir, the immigrants lodged in mosques, schools, and madrasahs and the attempts were made to fulfil their needs, however, their conditions worsened with the onset of winter.[78]

The continuous settlement of immigrants in a region that already had a high population density brought complications for local officials and special precautions were taken for the Province of Aydın. Firstly, a commission was formed in the province to handle the situation as the waves of emigration were threatening safety and economic life in the city. The Emigration Commission was formed by the

[76] *BOA AD*, Dosya No.: 1149, Gömlek No.: 79.
[77] Aydın Vilayet Salnâmesi, (1298).
[78] *BOA ŞD*, Dosya No.:2256.

central government to manage settlement procedures, and affiliated provincial boards were formed to coordinate at the provincial level. According to the guidelines of the settlements of immigrants, published by the Emigration Commission, salaried officials were to be assigned to the provincial boards to carry out the settlement procedure. The official assigned to the Province of Aydın was the ex-governor of Filibe, Nafiz Bey.[79] Due to the high concentration of immigrants in the Province of Aydın, and various complications caused by this, a separate set of regulations specific to the province was published and used under the name of *Aydın Vilayetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacirlerini İskan ve İdareleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Quarterhoodsusa*, (Special Instructions for the Settlement and Administration of the Rumelian Immigrants Coming to the Province of Aydın) together with the regular emigration instructions.[80] The special regulations prescribed the distribution of settlement of immigrants in proportion with the sizes of the existing settlements in the province. The regulations also included the ways and means of the settlement of the craftsmen among the immigrants whose services were particularly demanded.

Despite the efforts made to settle immigrants in Aydın as smoothly as possible, it is hard to say that these efforts were very successful. The insufficiencies of the settlement officials and the lack of authority upon the immigrants caused some groups, especially the Circassians, to attempt to pillage the region. The local population complained to the governor about the harassment. As the number of immigrants waned through the years and the location of the settlement became better defined, the number of disturbances decreased.

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[79] Erkan, p.133.

[80] Adil Adnan Öztürk, "Rumeli'den Aydın Vilâyeti'ne Yapılan Göçler ve Aydın Vilâyetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacîrinin İskân ve İdâreleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Mahsusa", *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi,* Vol.3, No.9, (1999-2000), pp. 123-131.

The Aydın province hosted 12,623 immigrants, where half of them were waiting their final settlements.[81] The immigrants' settlements include the districts of Bayındır, Tire, Urla, Menteşe, Karaburun, Kuşadası, İçbiga, Emirler, and Ödemiş.[82] The big proportion of the immigrants came to the Aydın province after the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-1878. Those statistics indicates the immigrants preferred to settle in the province of Aydın. The majority of the immigrants were Circassian and Crimean Tatar groups. In addition, a small Muslim Georgian population of 17 from Çürüksu was settled in Urla.[83]

One of these settlements, recorded in the Bayındır area in the book consisted of 362 people, 149 women and 213 men emigrating from Circassia after the Ottoman-Russian was of 1877-1878. Prior to arrival at their final destination, as with many other immigrant groups, they were settled in the Marmaris area but did not take a liking to the lands assigned to them and finally settled in the Bayındır area where they remained.[84] The village was named Arıkbaşı after a small beck located in the near surroundings. Along with the others this immigrant group, from the *Shapsugh* clan of the Adyge peoples suffered great losses through an epidemic when they first settled.[85]

In the time since the village was founded, Arıkbaşı has experienced a degree of cultural erosion, however, it is one of the only Circassian immigrant villages in

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[81] *BOA B.E.O, 291/1,*pp. 27-37.
[82] *BOA B.E.O, 291/1,*pp. 27-37.
[83] *BOA B.E.O, 291/1* pp. 27-37.
[84] İpek, p.183.
[85] *BOA DH.MKT*, Dosya No.: 1324, Gömlek No.: 89.

the region to retain its' cultural elements and language. Among the other immigrant groups, a great majority has been assimilated and very few retain their original culture. The number of immigrants in the village and the fact that they were not settled in a pre-existing settlement were factors that allowed the retention of many cultural elements.

Table.3 THE PROVINCE OF AYDIN: THE DISTRICT OF BAYINDIR

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Circassia	The Town of Bayındır The Village of Havuzbaşı		105	43	62	105	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Circassia	The Village of Boğazkale		45	23	22	45	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Circassia	The Village of Büründcek		97	48	49	97	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Circassia	The Village of Arıkbaşı		362	149	213	362	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Circassia	The Village of Kızılcaboğaz		153	71	82	153	Circassian

THE DISTRICT OF MENTEŞE

After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Belgradcık and İnecik and Lom	The town of Urla		105	43	62	105	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Hırsova	The Town of Muğla		45	23	22	45	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Hırsova	The Town of Urla		97	48	49	97	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tuna	The Town of Bozüyük		362	149	213	362	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

THE DISTRICT OF TİRE

The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Caucasus	The Town of Tire The Village of Hisarlık		82	41	41	82	Circassian

THE DISTRICT OF ILGIN

The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Kuyucak	The Town of Ilgın		43	20	23	43	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Province of the Crimea	The Town of Ilgın		39	18	21	39	Circassian

THE DISTRICT OF KUŞADASI

The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Fortress of Kuşadası The Village of İslamcıklı		97	48	49	87	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Fortress of Kuşadası The Village of İslamcıklı		43	20	23	43	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Fortress of Keşan	The Fortress of Kuşadası	12	303	139	176	315	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Rusçuk	The Village of İslamcıklı	7	29	18	18	36	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Babadağı	The Village of Kurtkale ?	158		79	79	158	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Balçık and Kızancık	The Fortress of Kuşadası	102		51	51	102	Circassian

THE DISTRICT OF URLA

After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Çürüksu	The Town of Urla		17	7	10	17	Batum
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The town of Urla		48	23	25	48	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

THE DISTRICT OF ÖDEMİŞ

The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Köstence	The Town of Ödemiş	37		20	17	37	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Ödemiş		67	35	32	67	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Ödemiş		71	33	38	71	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Village of Mürselli		19	9	10	19	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Rahvan	The Town of Ödemiş		24	12	12	24	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of İvrica	The Town of Ödemiş		3	1	2	3	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Fortress of Anapa	The Town of Ödemiş		5	3	2	5	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Fortress of Anapa	The Town of Ödemiş		4	2	2	4	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Fortress of Anapa	The Town of Ödemiş		23	12	11	23	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Vidin	The Town of Ödemiş		5	1	4	5	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of İvrica	The Town of Ödemiş		139	64	75	139	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Orhaniye	The Town of Ödemiş		99	49	50	99	Circassian

3.5 Canik

The Ajarians, who fought with the Ottomans against the Russian forces in 1877-1878, were Georgian-speaking Muslims who lived in the regions of Batum and Çürüksu. Despite the fact that Russia could not take Ajaria by force during the war, the region was surrendered to the Russia as the Ottomans requested a decrease in the war indemnity and Ajaria was invaded by Russia as a stipulation of the Berlin Treaty.[86] Following the Ottoman withdrawal from these lands, approximately 200 thousand immigrants came to Ottoman Anatolia from areas such as Ajaria, Maçaheli, Livane, Gönye, Çürüksu and Batum.[87]

Most of the immigrants arrived by sea at the ports of Trabzon and Samsun. The Batum emigration that started during the war had two main destinations. The first was the Black Sea coast, which shared the climate of Ajaria. Those immigrants were settled along the coast at nearly every district from Artvin to Sinop. The second destination was Gemlik and İnegöl in the Hüdâvendigâr Province. About 50 Batum immigrant villages are located here. According to the *Hüdâvendigâr Salnâme* (The Yearbook of the Hüdâvendigâr Province) the population of these villages was 3,775.[88]

The famous Çürüksulu Ali Pasha played a great role in the settlement of Batum immigrants especially in the districts of Ordu and Canik. During the War of

[86]W.E.D.Allen, P.Muratoff, p. 200.
[87] Oktay Özel, "Notes on the Settlement of Georgian Migrants of '93 Harbi' in Ottoman Central Black Sea Region: a Socio-Historical Analysis (on the Politics of Migration)", Unpublished Conference Paper, The Conference of the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878, METU (Ankara, 2006).
[88] Hüdevendigar Vilayet Salnâmesi, (1298).

1877-1878, Ali Pasha was the commander of the militia made up of the local population and was a leader trusted by the people and respected by the Sublime Porte. Ali Pasha observed that he had a great deal of influence over the Governor of Trabzon and used this influence to direct and settle a large number of immigrants. Ali Pasha later became the emigration official for the region with the approval of the Sublime Porte. [89]

The greatest problem with Ajarian immigrant groups in the region was bandit groups. As Ali Pasha protected these bandits composed of immigrant elements, the state had difficulty in keeping the peace in Terme, Fatsa, Ünye and Ordu. [90] The complaints of the local population about the lawless immigrants harassing them were continuously reported to the government. Especially Greek groups were petitioning Christian powers to put pressure on the Ottoman government to provide security in the region; however the government had no other choice than re-locating the lawless immigrant groups to central Anatolia.[91]

The book records that a total of 12,404 immigrants settled in the Sancak of Canik, mainly originating from Batum and surrounding settlements.[92] The book contains very detailed records regarding the sancak of Canik and also regarding

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[89] Özel, "Çürüksulu Ali Paşa", p. 93.
[90] Özel, "Notes on the Settlement of Georgian Migrants", p. 6.
[91] *BOA DH.MKT*, Dosya No.: 1511, Gömlek No.: 100. "*Canik Livası Dahilinde iskân edilmiş olan gürcü Şer Tâifesinin Ankara ve Konya'ya sevk edilmesi*". Besides Ajarians, Circassians were also complained about their assult to Armenian inhabitants. *BOA DH.MKT*, Dosya No.: 1350, Gömlek No.: 37. "*Canik Sancağına bağlı Ünye ve Terme Kazaları Ermeni ahalisine Çerkes muhacirleri tarafından tecavüzde bulunulduğuna dâir Ermeni Patrikhanesinin şikayeti*"
[92] *BOA B.E.O, 291/1,*pp. 58-71. Furthermore, according to calculation of Çürüksulu Ali Paşa in February 18th 1882 the total number of Ajarians who immigrated to Ottoman lands roughly 120.000 and another 80.000 were waiting to emigrate., Oktay Özel, "Women, Justice and Power in the Late Ottoman Society: the Story of Firûze Hanım", The revised Version of the article titled "Seeking Justice in a Wild World: the Story of Firûze" Unpublished Conference Paper presented at the *CIEPO Conference* held in Warsaw, Poland in June, 2004.

immigrants arriving in Trabzon after the war. For example, an immigrant group from Rumelia was settled temporarily in Samsun. Not many were settled temporarily, probably due to Çürüksulu Ali Pashas' success as an immigrant official. Apart from immigrants from Batum, more than 40 Abkhazians from Sohum settled in the Sancaklı, Dibekli and Karmaçan villages of the Terme district are recorded in the book.[93] Apart from this, the register book also records 326 Crimean Tatar immigrants from Rumelia that were settled in Samsun.[94] In the Canik Sancak, there were no other settlements of immigrant other than Georgians apart from the four mentioned.[95] The emigration from Batum was well documented up to the details of villages in which immigrants were settled in. Due to difficulties in the pronunciation of the Georgian place names and their corrupted Turkish adaptations or their altogether remainings in the Ottoman and Republican periods, many villages have lost their original toponomies. Apart from this, the fact that many Greek villages have also lost their names is a point to be considered.

The highest concentration of immigrants in the Sancak is the Ünye district. Of the 3,900 Georgian immigrants in the district, only 389 are recorded as not yet settled. The situation is similar in other districts. For example, 82 people from Çürüksu were settled in the Düğünlük village. In the Terme district, 77 Adjarians were settled in the village of Meşeli. 243 immigrants from Batum were settled in Çarşamba Kumköy.[96]

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[93] *BOA B.E.O,291/1*,pp. 58-71.
[94] *BOA B.E.O,291/1*,pp. 58-71.
[95] *BOA B.E.O,291/1*,pp. 58-71.
[96] *BOA B.E.O,291/1*,pp. 58-71.

Compared to the immigrants settled in other regions, the Ajarian immigrants established their own settlements more frequently. With the exception of a few groups such as 16 people from Batum was settled in a Turkmen village, Kuşdoğan, the rest of the Ajarian immigrants did not prefer to live amongst the native population.[97] The main factor behind this may be that the Ajarians did not want to live in the predominantly local villages. Furthermore, the Ottoman government had recognised that there were some Christian immigrants from Batum and had decreed that non-Muslims would not be allowed to immigrate to Ottoman lands.[98]

The book of 291/1 also refers to immigrants settled in other districts of the Trabzon Province apart from the Sancak of Canik. Here we see that apart from immigrants from Batum, Circassian immigrants also make up a significant part of the immigrant population. Many of the Circassian immigrants are those who migrated from Anapa to places like Pazar and Rize before the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878. After the war these immigrants were relocated further west to areas such as Çarşamba and Vezirköprü where the Circassian population was more concentrated.

[97] *BOA B.E.O,291/1*,pp. 58-71.
[98] *BOA İ.HUS*. 60.

Table. 4 THE DISTRICT OF CANİK

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Livane The Village of Erge	The Town of Samsun The Village of يـرمحيا		45	18	27	45	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Livane The Village of Erge	The Town of Samsun The Village of Âhi		46	25	21	46	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Livane The Village of Erge	The Town of Samsun The Village of مماروس		28	13	15		Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Livane The Village of Erge	The Town of Samsun The Village of مورك		7	3	4		Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Samsun The Village of امـرنرس		13	5	8		Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Murgul The Village of Murgul	The Town of Samsun The Village of Kazköylü ?		47	21	26		Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu and its Villages	The Town of Samsun The Village of بغنمـــار		92	41	52		Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu and its Villages	The Town of Samsun The Village of Canbeyli		24	11	13		Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Livane The Village of قميــق	The Town of Samsun The Village of مورك		28	13	15		Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Province of Rumelia	The town of Samsun	101		75	101		Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Livane The Village of Erşe	The town of Samsun The Village of Aksu	37	42	36	43	79	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The town of Samsun The Village of Aksu	1	37	14	24	38	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of The Village of Duvelhane	The town of Samsun	49		21	28	49	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Livane	The town of Samsun The Village of محدوس		32	14	24	38	Batum
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Rumeli Town	The Town of Samsun		326	165	161	326	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

THE DISTRICT OF ÜNYE

After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu The Village of Suvanlı?	The Town of Ünye The Village of سســـبلدن	25	114	62	77	139	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu The Village of Saçebe ?	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kanlı		153	68	85	153	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Agara	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kanlı		97	48	49	97	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Dandalo	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kuşdoğan		16	9	7	16	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Mahoşet	The Town of Ünye The Village of Koruklu		40	16	24	40	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of جـــانولي	The Town of Ünye The Village of Koruklu		54	26	28	54	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçaheli The Village of Mindiyeti	The Town of Ünye		137	67	73	137	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye The Village of Saçe		76	40	36	76	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of قرنـــة	The Town of Ünye The Village of Çatalpınar		55	28	27	55	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Arsin	The Town of Ünye The Village of Zikiryolu		72	35	37	72	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Papazi?	The Town of Ünye The Village of Sarayca		141	67	74	141	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Mahoşet	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kurteli?		14	6	8	14	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Çutaris ?	The Town of Ünye The Village of Çaydere		38	17	21	38	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of دربـرن	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kadıhan		33	16	17	33	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Daper ?	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kadılar	18	74	47	45	92	Batum
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of قســره	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kadıhan	5	8	4	9	13	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Kabda ?	The Town of Ünye The Village of Çınarlık		8	3	5	8	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-ı Sufla The Village of Arsnam	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kenar	15	38	27	26	53	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-ı Sufla The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Ünye The Village of Denizyolu		19	11	8	19	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-ı Sufla دلـزهلى	The Town of Ünye The Village of دارضـةم		16	6	10	16	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Batum	The Town of Ünye The Village of ابخىلـــو	6	47	26	27	53	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Batum	The Town of Ünye The Village of Çatalbeyli		10	1	9	10	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Çürüksu The Village of Husubani	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kadılar		103	58	45	103	Batum
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye The Village of İncirli		127	68	59	127	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Batum The Village of Çığyol	The Town of Ünye The Village of نـــرنو		62	34	28	62	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Maçaheli	The Town of Ünye The Village of قورنـــى		66	29	37	66	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Çürüksu	The Town of Ünye The Town of Ünye Nadirler		93	49	44	93	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Çürüksu The Village of Husuban	The Town of Ünye		82	37	45	85	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Çürüksu The Village of Husuban	The Town of Ünye The Village of Seyran		32	15	17	32	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye		36	17	19	36	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel The Village of Mindiyet	The Town of Ünye The Village of Dizdar		135	57	78	135	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel	The Town of Ünye		38	17	21	38	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel The Village of Mindiyet	The Town of Ünye		129	74	55	129	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel The Village of Mindiyet	The Town of Ünye The Village of Yaycı		17	8	9	17	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Mezidne	The Town of Ünye The Village of Manstır		40	25	15	40	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kürtderesi		40	25	15	40	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Zevharis	The Town of Ünye The Village of لخة		31	18	13	31	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kurgan		137	69	68	137	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Gönye The Village of Manadit	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kızılkebir		236	133	113	236	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye The Village of Saraycık		113	50	63	113	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye The Village of Uncular ?		27	18	9	27	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Ünye The Village of Örmeli		60	26	34	60	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum The Village of Erge	The Town of Ünye The Village of Keşan		35	14	21	35	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Ünye The Village of جرمرنر		38	20	18	38	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel	The Town of Ünye The Village of Gülverdi		51	26	25	51	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye The Village of İncirli		42	19	23	42	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye The Village of İncirli		109	53	56	109	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel	The Town of Ünye The Village of Mezarlık		66	31	35	66	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Ünye The Village of İncirli	16		8	8	16	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Ünye The Village of Pınarderesi		55	28	27	55	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kuşdoğan		25	13	12	25	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Ünye The Village of مخنم		13	6	7	13	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Arsnaul	The Town of Ünye The Village of Kuşculu		52	24	28	52	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Ünye The Village of Karadere ?		4	3	1	4	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Ünye The Village of Örmeli		90	40	50	90	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Ünye		8	3	5	8	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Ünye	70		37	33	70	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Ünye	77		37	40	77	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu Batum	The Town of Ünye	40		18	22	40	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu Çürüksu	The Town of Ünye	55		29	26	55	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Ünye	20		9	11	20	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu The Village of Kıvrike	The Town of Ünye	18		11	7	18	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu The Village of Kıvrike	The Town of Ünye	15		8	7	15	Batumi

THE DISTRICT OF ÇARŞAMBA

After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		240	112	128	240	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		63	31	32	63	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Ayazma		25	11	14	25	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Çarşamba		129	61	68	129	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Kestanepınarı		87	42	45	87	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Kumköy		129	67	62	129	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		243	121	122	243	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		72	31	41	72	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		62	35	27	62	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Kestanepınarı		414	201	213	414	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		28	12	16	28	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		83	39	44	83	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Paşa		19	9	10	19	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Hacıbeyli ?	42		19	23	42	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		3	2	1	3	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		519	250	269	519	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba	29		11	18	29	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		14	6	8	14	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Paşa		17	8	9	17	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		17	10	7	17	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		33	15	18	33	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Karacaviran		58	24	34	58	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Ayazma		39	21	18	39	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Yukarı Dikencik		45	16	29	45	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba		17	8	9	17	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba	53		25	28	53	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Yukarı Neşd		129	61	68	129	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Çarşamba The Village of Değirmen Paşa		54	27	27	54	Batumi

THE DISTRICT OF FATSA

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa	1	24	13	12	25	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Fatsa		73	38	35	73	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Fatsa The Village of İsmailpaşa		61	37	24	61	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Gürmencik		70	32	38	70	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Aşağıtepe	5	45	26	24	50	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Çınar		12	8	4	12	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa		12	9	3	12	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Fatsa		67	43	24	67	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Duayeri		20	12	8	20	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Maçahel	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Aşağıtepe	6	65	32	39	71	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara The Village of Mahoşet	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Aşağıtepe	4	6	8	2	10	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa		56	29	27	56	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Duayeri	3	72	48	34	82	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Çayyolu		40	18	12	40	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Çayyolu	2	55	26	31	57	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Hoylu		16	9	7	16	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Aşağıtepe		72	37	35	72	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa		52	34	18	52	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa		55	28	27	55	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa		65	33	32	65	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Durali Village	18	83	61	40	101	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Akçakeçi	3	76	47	32	79	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Alderesi	2	12	9	5	14	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Küller		63	39	24	63	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Baştev	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Kızıkça	8	119	56	71	127	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Keçili		84	49	35	84	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Duayeri		90	51	39	90	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa	5	129	74	60	134	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Köroğlu		39	20	19	39	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara-i Sufla	The Town of Fatsa		44	26	18	44	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Divane		78	42	36	78	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Kırkoca		20	13	7	20	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Düğünlük	4	78	48	34	82	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Duayeri	7	197	111	93	204	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Kurdali		6	2	4	6	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Kırkoca		4	2	2	4	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa	4	25	13	16	29	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Çerkesdağı		13	5	8	13	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Duayeri	2	12	8	6	14	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Duayeri		489	241	248	489	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Kırkoca		489	202	287	489	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Gülorman		155	77	78	155	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Fatsa The Village of Çerkesdağı		350	159	191	350	Batumi

THE DISTRICT OF TERME

After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Terme		140	67	73	140	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Terme		74	35	39	74	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara The Village of Mahoşet	The Town of Terme		22	12	10	22	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu The Village of Kıvrike	The Town of Terme	8	58	37	29	66	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Terme		82	40	42	82	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Ardahan	The Town of Terme The Village of Çakallar	43		23	20	43	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara The Village of Zendidi	The Town of Terme		176	91	85	176	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Terme		164	83	81	164	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu The Village of Kıvrike	The Town of Terme The Village of Meşeli		77	30	47	77	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Terme		34	16	18	34	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Rusçuk	The Town of Terme		10	4	6	10	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Sohum	The Town of Terme The Village of Sancaklı		41	18	23	41	Sohumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Sohum	The Town of Terme The Village of Dibekli		224	113	11	224	Sohumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Sohum	The Town of Terme The Village of Karmaçan		155	88	67	155	Sohumi

THE PROVINCE OF TRABZON

After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Batum	The Town of Akçaabat	13	147	83	77	160	Batumi
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Küre		15	6	9	15	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Küre		43	15	28	43	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Tirebolu		129	50	79	129	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Trabzon		18	10	8	18	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Hopa		8	5	3	8	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Hopa		29	16	13	29	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Sürmene		37	19	18	37	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Gümüşhane		10	58	42	100	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Giresun	590	544	554	570	1124	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Çürüksu	The Town of Piraziz	685	798	722	761	1483	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Piraziz	935	1243	1220	961	2181	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Piraziz	1756	244	1031	969	2000	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Piraziz	609	237	448	398	846	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Piraziz	256	271	281	246	527	Batumi
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Piraziz	78	1526	899	705	1604	Batumi

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	The Town of Acara	The Town of Piraziz		18	8	10	18	Batumi

THE DISTRICT OF ORDU

The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Piraziz		71	34	37	71	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Piraziz		16	6	10	16	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Piraziz		32	14	18	32	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of شـعرها	The Town of Piraziz		29	14	15	19	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of شـعرها	The Town of Piraziz		58	26	32	58	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of شـعرها	The Town of Piraziz		81	32	49	81	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of شـعرها	The Town of Piraziz		38	21	17	38	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Atina		21	11	10	21	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Rize		25	12	13	25	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Anapa	The Town of Ordu		177	92	85	177	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Batum	The Town of Of		160	85	75	160	Batumi
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	The Town of Batum	The Town of Hopa		11	6	5	11	Batumi

3.6 Ankara

In the geographically large province of Ankara, the population density was among the lowest. Therefore, it was unthinkable that the Emigration Commission would not use these vast and uninhabited lands for settling immigrants. At various intervals, emigration officers would settle immigrant groups in the empty lands in the region. This allowed Sublime Porte a breathing space while assigning lands to immigrant groups, however, the geographical characteristics and climate of the region were not conducive to immigrant settlement and many tried to find an alternative area to settle. The infertility of the farmlands also contributed to this. In any case, the Porte was determined to settle immigrants in the region. By hegira year of 1278, 9,342 immigrants had been settled in the region in 1282 households.[99]

The immigrant profile shows that many ethnic groups were settled here. Also, as Ankara constitutes a crossroads for Anatolia, was a center at station from where immigrants were dispatched to other regions. As various immigrant districts and settlement units were established in the province of Ankara, the immigrant flow, sometimes too intense for effective management, led to the temporary settlement of immigrants in inns, madrasahs and even the households of wealthy citizens.[100]

The pages in the book of Sadâret 291/1 related to Ankara demonstrate that the majority of immigrants were from Köstence, Vidin and Rusçuk in Rumelia who were Crimean Tatars, Nogays, and Circassians who had settled there after the Crimean War and redisplaced after the 1877-1878 war. The document indicates that

[99] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1,pp. 58-71.
[100] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1,pp. 58-71.

all of these groups were settled temporarily in Ankara but there is no information regarding their final destination. Some immigrants were settled in the Ulucanlar, Hacıdoğanlar and Kayabaşı quarters of the city of Ankara, and mostly Circassian immigrants were in the districts of Karapürçek, Ayaş and Bâlâ.[101]

An examination of the settlement areas shows that many immigrants were settled in quarterhoods purpose built for temporary settlement and also religious and educational buildings were also used for immigrant settlement. For example, the Nakşibendi, Şengül and Hacıeski madrasahs were used as temporary shelter of more than 200 men and women. 135 immigrants from Köstence used the Nakşibendi madrasah as a temporary lodging.[102]

Another point of interest is that many wealthy citizens opened their own property to immigrants. Kerim Ağa, a wealthy figure in the Ulucanlar quarterhood was assigned to host 18 Crimean Tatar immigrants, illustrating the efforts made by the well-to-do people in the province to fulfil the needs of the immigrants.[103]

All of the Crimean Tatar, Nogay, and Circassian groups mentioned in the registry book save for one, arrived after the conflict of 1877-1878. The exception is a 117-person Circassian immigrant group, which was settled in Sarıköy. This group, arriving in Sarıköy towards the end of Abdülaziz's reign was registered in the book as "not yet settled". Another Circassian group of 62 persons from the port city of Anapa on the Black Sea coast was settled in Sarıköy. It is possible that the

[101] *BOA B.E.O*,291/1,pp. 58-71.
[102] *BOA B.E.O*,291/1,pp. 58-71.
[103] *BOA B.E.O*,291/1,pp. 58-71.

migration of part of the clan later pushed the remainder to follow. Perhaps, the immigrants later made efforts for the emigration of those remaining in the homeland to emigrate to Ottoman lands. In the Sarıköy example, we do not know whether the second wave of emigration was directly related to the first, or the later-coming 200 people were settled permanently in Sarıköy, though it is highly possible that the two waves were somehow related.[104] The absence of a settlement named Sarıköy in modern day Ankara shows that the name of the settlement has changed over time.

[104] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1,pp. 58-71.

Table.5 THE PROVINCE OF ANKARA

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Crimea	The Town of Ankara The Quarterhood of Muhacir	97		47	50	97	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Nakşibendi Madrasah	135		66	69	135	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Öksüzce	25		12	13	25	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Yenice	49		22	27	49	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Rusçuk	The Quarterhood of Mukaddem	35		17	18	35	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tulça	The Quarterhood of Direkli	26		17	9	26	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Sururi	20		12	8	20	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Hacıdoğan	61		32	29	61	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Rusçuk	The Quarterhood of Kayabaşı	38		21	17	38	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Âhi Turan	13		6	7	13	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Uzunyayla	The Quarterhood of Mollabüyük	16		6	10	16	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Çöpler	The Quarterhood of Pazar-ı Ganem	17		8	9	17	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tavşan	The Quarterhood of Hacı Arab	58		34	24	58	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Yusuf Aga	12		8	4	12	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Kenekli	3		1	2	3	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Hacı Halil	2		1	1	2	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Misafir	7		2	5	7	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Crimea	The Quarterhood of Kırisen ?	11		4	7	11	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Dobruca	The Quarterhood of Ulucanlar, The House of Kerim Ağa	18		8	10	18	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Varna	The Quarterhood of Baklacı	35		15	20	35	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tulça	The Quarterhood of Hacı Bayram	71		32	39	71	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tulça	In the Tahtakale Han	4			4	4	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tulça	The Quarterhood of Hocapaşa	36		17	19	36	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Varna	The Quarterhood of Tülüce	11		6	5	11	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Varna	The Quarterhood of Ahi Yakup	12		8	4	10	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Rusçuk	The Quarterhood of Buryacı	25		11	14	25	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	İşkodra	The Quarterhood of Çeşme	8		4	4	8	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Mecidiye	The Quarterhood of Çınarlı ?	8		3	5	8	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Papani ?	36		15	21	36	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Akşemseddin	11		5	6	11	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Varna	The Quarterhood of Emir Gökçe	21		9	12	21	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tırnova	The Quarterhood of Emir Gökçe	7		4	3	7	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Varna	The Quarterhood of Teke Ahmed	17		7	10	17	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tulça	The Quarterhood of Dellal Karaca	60		33	27	60	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Varna	The Madrasah of Şengül	7		5	2	7	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Adacık ?	The Madrasah of Hacıeski	13		6	7	13	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Aman	17		9	8	17	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Dobruca	The Quarterhood of Saburlu	15		6	9	15	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of İğneci	4		1	3	4	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Sultan Abdulmecid	3		2	1	3	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Quarterhood of Killik	39		23	16	39	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Bosnalı	5		3	2	5	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Köstence	The Quarterhood of Balcı	6		2	4	6	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin, Tulça, Rusçuk	The Villages of Karacaviran and Küçük.	119		54	65	119	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Dobruca, Tulça	The Town of Ayaş	22		12	10	22	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Gözleve, Mecidiye	The Town of Beypazarı	121		59	62	121	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tulça, Mecidiye	The Town of Nallıhan The Village of Çırak-ı Kebir	409		190	219	409	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tırnova	The Town of Nallıhan The Villages of Cemşid and Karendos	387		196	410	387	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Dobruca, Vidin	The town of Bâlâ The Village of Yemişli and Hocalar	786		376	410	786	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Pleven, Silistre	The town of Torbalı The Village of Yabanâbâd	189		89	100	189	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tataristan	The Villages of Yabanabad and Kızılhisar and Şeyhler	43		18	25	43	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Minkalye, Hırsova	The Quarterhood Seferhisar iclal	198		103	95	198	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Rusçuk	The Villages of Çardak and İhlas	114		56	58	114	Crimean Tatar and Nogay
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Hırsova, Minkalye	The Villages of Deniz and Küçük	26		13	13	26	Crimean Tatar and Nogay

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Circassia	The Villages of Helvacı	7		3	4	7	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Circassia	The Villages of Çeşme	1			1	1	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Tırnova	The Villages of Emirgökçe	7		4	3	7	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Rumeli Köstence	The Villages of Karapürçek	44		19	25	44	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Varna	The Town of Ayaş	14		3	11	14	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Dagestan	The Village of Kürd	19		9	10	19	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Circassia	The Town of Zir The Village of Viran Yakup	106		55	51	106	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Temporary Emigrants	The Number of the Permanent Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
					Female	Male	Total	
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Vidin	The Town of Bâlâ The Village of Şehriyân	25		13	12	25	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Mecidiye	The town of Bâlâ	4		2	2	4	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Circassia	The Village of Yaylacaaltı	81		34	47	81	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Anapa	The Village of Sarıköy	62		25	37	62	Circassian
The reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz	Anapa	The Village of Sarıköy	117		56	61	117	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Anapa	The Quarterhoods of Günyüzü and Karar	27		10	17	27	Circassian

CHAPTER IV:

THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE CIRCASSIANS IN SYRIA

4.1 The Lands of the Syrian Province

Resting upon the respective part of the registry book, along with the use of other archival records and scholarly monographs, this section of the study will present an attempt to examine the settlements of Circassians in the Ottoman Syria.

The register of Sadâret 291/1 contains specific information relating to the early Circassian settlements in Syria, and may well be regarded as the first organized official records concerning the region. The studies, akin to the subject, usually cover the population censuses of the 20th century; however, the information provided by the book relates to the second half of the 19th century. On the basis of the given the book of 291/1 it is possible to trace the number of immigrants, the places where they came from as well as the areas of their resettlement. The abovementioned information stemmed from the archival records will be presented at the end of the chapter in the tables.

The Ottoman Syria at the end of the 19th century had been administratively divided into the following provinces (sancaks): Suriye (Syria), Halep (Aleppo),

Beyrut (Beirut), Kuds-i Şerif (Jerusalem), Zor and Lübnan (Lebanon).[105] According to the census of 1878, the majority of the local population consisted of Muslim peoples indicated as Arabs, Bedouins, and Druzes, though there were some non-Muslims including Greeks, Armenians and Maronites[106]

Until the end of the 19th century the Ottoman Empire faced with the continuous revolts of both the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples in the region, in addition to the interventionist foreign politics of the European powers in the area.[107] Having found oneself in such a precarious situation, the Ottoman government was gradually losing the means of effective control over the region. It was natural that the Ottomans sought to increase their influence here in any possible way.

With all growing instability, the Syrian plains were largely populated by the nomadic peoples, and for that reason could not boast in developed agriculture. Considering this fact, the Ottoman government deemed it possible to transfer the immigrant groups to the vast areas of Syria.[108] Initially, the Sublime Porte was intending to send here 100.000 immigrants, but did not succeed in realizing this plan.[109] Yet, some Circassian groups who were temporarily settled in the Uzunyayla region in central Anatolia were directed to Middle East lands of the Ottoman

[105] Suriye Vilayet Salnâmesi, (1298).
[106] Justin McCarthy, "The Population of Ottoman Syria and Iraq, 1874 to 1914", *Asian and African Studies*, Vol.15, No: 1.pp. 46-62.
[107] Georgi Chochiev and Bekir Koç, "Migrants From the North Caucasus in Eastern Anatolia: Some Notes on Their Settlement and Adaptation", *Journal of Asian History*, Vol. 40, (2006), pp. 97-100.
[108] Norman Lewis, "Circassian and Chechen Settlements",in *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan, 1800-1980*, (Cambridge, 1987). Anzor Kushabiyev, *Cherkesiy v Sirii*, (Nalchik, 1993).
[109] Bilal Şimşir, *Rumeliden Anadolu'ya Göçler*, Vol.: 1, p. 123.

Empire particularly to the province of Syria. The special registry book of 291/1 recorded the 6755 people who were settled within the 33 villages.[110]

The waves of emigrants arriving in the Ottoman lands met with severe living conditions, though in the long run they would accommodate themselves in their new places of settlement. The immigrant settlements in the Province of Syria may serve as a typical example. It is hard to say that the Syrian lands satisfied the expectations of the immigrants, as the fertility of the land was low and the climate was totally different from their homeland. Thus, in order to encourage the settling of the immigrants, and to ensure their serving to the interest of the empire, it was necessary to provide them with property and offices, which could be larger than those held by the local peoples. This was the tactic applied by the Ottoman bureaucrats in the Syrian Province.[111]

4.2. Circassian Settlements in Syria Prior to the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878

In the 19th century the new settlers originating from the Russian Empire came to Syria, The constant military conflicts in the region caused large groups to leave their homeland and flee to Anatolia, where they were resettled in various provinces. Syria was one of the provinces where the immigrants had been sent, the majority being constituted by the Adyges. More than 90% of these immigrants in

[110] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1,p.45.
[111] Kemal Karpat, "The Status of the Muslim under European Rule: The Eviction and Settlement of the Cerkes" *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 1, No.:2, p. 19.

Syria were Adyges, although there were also some Chechen, Dagestani and Crimean Tatar groups.

In general, the larger part of the Adyge settlements in Syria were established by the immigrants who had arrived from Rumelia after the war of 1877-1878 and had been temporarily settled in other provinces of Anatolia, expecting their permanent settlements. However, there were already Circassian groups who had arrived before the conflict of 1877-1878 and founded settlements in the province of Syria. The Circassian settling in Syria started in the 1860's. These immigrants were accommodated in the provinces of Aleppo and Damascus and established quarterhoods.

Then in 1865, an immigrant group of 5,000 Chechens had been settled in the Resul'ayn region of the Sancak of Zor.[112] The first immigrant groups, which came to the region were belittled by the existing population and came into conflict over the land ownership with the Kurdish and Bedouin alliance. Some conflicts emerged between the immigrants and the local residents. The spread of epidemics was also a problem for the newcomers. Eventually, many Chechen immigrants lost their lives due to clashes with the natives and various contagious diseases.[113]

The Circassian immigration in the region increased throughout the 1870s. The first immigrant groups, were transferred from the port of Samsun on the Black Sea coast to Kayseri and Uzunyayla near Sivas and finally to the Sancaks of Hama, Humus and Havran. In the Hama district, the book records the villages of Mireic

[112] Kushabiyev, p.65.
[113] Lewis, p.97.

Eddar with 122 people, Tel Adda with 82, and Tel Snan with 59 Circassian immigrants coming from the Circassia in the 1870s.[114] Besides that, in the Hama district itself there are 18 people who came from the Rumelia after the Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878. In 1871, some Circassian groups were already settled in the northeast part of the Sancak of Humus totally 1739 Adyge immigrants in the villages of Ayn-ı Ziwan, Tel Amr, Nâime, Tlil, and Asil besides 82 people in the center of Humus.[115]

In 1874, Circassian groups were settled in the Golan Heights and the Kuneytra district in the Havran. In 1876, more immigrants arrived and were settled through the establishment of more villages, such as those near Kuneytra.[116] Prior to the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-1878 the immigration to Syria, as in the given example, occurred along the route from Circassia to the distribution points on the Black Sea coast and further to other Provinces, in our case, Syria.

The project to alter the demographic structure of the region, which would affect a very significant population movement after the War of 1877-1878, was initiated in this way.

The special registry book of Sadâret 291/1 provides detailed information regarding the Circassian settlements in Syria, especially under the reigns of Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz. For instance, the village named Reyhaniye was

[114] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1,p.45.
[115] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1,p.45.
[116] Kushabiyev, pp. 64-69.

established by 151 Circassian immigrants settled in the Golan Heights under the reigns of these sultans.[117]

Those villages, established earlier in the settlement process, prior to the War of 1877-1878 grew with the immigrants arriving during and after the war. The Ottomans preferred to dispatch immigrants to previously established villages, rather than founding the new ones. In this way, the villages were strengthened against the local rebel forces and the additional expenses for building of the new settlements were avoided.

4.3 The Circassian Settlements After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878

As there were immigrants arriving from Caucasus after the war, the majority of the Circassian population settled in Syria emigrated from the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire and began to arrive in during the 1877-1878 Russo-Ottoman war.

The majority of the Circassian immigrants who landed the eastern Mediterranean ports left the Balkans either through the Black Sea ports of the recently emerged Bulgaria and Romania or the Ottoman Balkan ports on Aegean Sea where they had reached by using the land route.

The ships carrying the immigrants to the ports such as Akka (Acre), Trablusşam (Tripoli) and Lazkiye (Latakia) were overloaded, which sometimes led to catastrophes. In one case, as the overloaded Austrian ship Sphinx caught fire off

[117] *BOA B.E.O,*291/1,p.45.

Magosa (Famagusta), and 500 of the 3000 Circassian emigrants on board drowned. The survivors would establish the Circassian villages in Jordan as well as Amman itself.[118]

These events made it hard for the immigrants to endure. According to the information sent from the Russian consulate in Aleppo to the Russian embassy in Istanbul, from 20.000 emigrants from Caucasus and Crimea debarked at Iskenderun in March 1878, one third died of neglect and disease and the remainder either returned to Istanbul or set out into the desert, never to be heard again.[119] From February 1878 until the end of that year, 25,000 Circassian emigrants came to the sancak of Syria, while another 15,000 arrived in Aleppo, both by sea and land, and were dispatched into the Syrian interior for settlement.[120] They and other immigrants, expected from Selanik (Thessalonika), were planned to be settled in the hinterland of Nablus. A small number of Circassians were settled in the city centers of Damascus and Aleppo. Indeed, the Caucasian immigrants arriving from Bulgaria in 1878 established a small quarterhood in Damascus.

Furthermore, the emigration from Northern Caucasus increased after the end of the 1877-1878 Russo-Ottoman war due to the anti-colonial revolts in Abkhazia and Dagestan. Some of these emigrants were dispatched to Syria and Palestine. Moreover, some Circassian emigrant groups from Kars and Batum, the Ottoman areas that had been lost to Russia, were also sent to Syria. There were also some immigrants who came directly from the Caucasus. Thus, the total number of

[118] Lewis, p. 107.
[119] Kushabiyev, p.33.
[120] Lewis,p. 98.

Caucasian immigrants to Syria is estimated to be around 70.000 people in the period of during and soon after the War of 1877-1878. [121]

The intensity of the immigration decreased somewhat through the 1880's, but the process did continue until the 1920s. The last group of Circassian immigrants arrived in Syria after the World War II. These were mainly ex-soldiers of the Red Army who had been captured by the Germans and drafted into the German army during the occupation of the Northern Caucasus by Nazi Germany in 1942, and who did not wish to return to the Soviet rule after the end of the war.

4.4 The Ottoman Settlement Policies Regarding the Circassians in Syria

The local authorities in Syria were ill prepared for the immense flow of immigrants. The Circassians were in dire need of accommodation and food, and were not able to bring much with them. As a result, many immigrants got caught up in crime, and started to threaten the security of the cities. The state made efforts to gather extra taxes from the populace to assist the immigrants, but the aid was still insufficient.[122] The great numbers of the immigrants made it hard to keep them under control. For the Circassians, the first years of their settlements or the period in which they awaited permanent settlement abounded in problems. Their population would also decrease, as they were not accustomed to the climate of their new homes. For example, 30 out of the 40 households in-group settled in the Kuneytra region would perish due to the diseases.[123] However, their greatest problem was the

[121] Kushabiyev,p.34.
[122] Şimşir, Vol.I. p.360.
[123] Şimşir, Vol.I. p.368.

conflicts with the native Druzes and Bedouins. It should be noted that, the Ottoman Empire granted various privileges to the Circassians to keep them in the region and supported them against the opposing groups.

Eventually the situation stabilized. Most of the immigrant settlements did endure the hardships, partly due to the continuation of the flow of immigrants after 1878, which enlarged the earlier settlements.[124] The flow of immigrants in the later years was more manageable and the settlement process was better organized in general. The immigrants were generally provided with financial assistance and other forms of support. They were granted exemptions from tax and sometimes from military service, although there are many immigrants who did enlist in the army voluntarily.

The lands provided to the emigrants were state owned (mîrî) lands. The procedure of the distribution of the mîrî lands was as follows: A household of 3 would be given about 70 *dönüm*s *(hectares)* of land, while a household of 4-5 would be given 130 *dönüm*s.[125] The Circassians also contributed to the economic development of the regions they settled in. They started to make developed agricultural tools, carts, stone buildings and windmills.[126] Also, the Circassians were using traditional farming techniques to cultivate crops like corn and oats.

The settlement policy implemented by the Ottoman Empire in Syria was based on balancing the population in the problematic areas by settling the

[124] Lewis, p. 101.
[125] Lewis, p. 105.
[126] Dominian, p.845.

immigrants. The Ottomans were deeming to boast the central authority in the region and increase the number of pro-Ottoman inhabitants against the Druze and Bedouin tribes.

From the beginning, the Ottoman government drafted the Circassians into administrative and military service, especially in the police force.[127] The police cavalry units, composed of Circassians policemen, were installed in Kuneytra, Aleppo, Ceraş and Kerak. These units were charged with gathering taxes, protecting trade routes and combating the Bedouin tribes that refused to subordinate to the Ottoman rule. The Circassians were used to suppress the rural rebellions. So, they were active in ending the Bedouin tribal raids on farmlands and some of these tribes were brought to order under the government.[128]

The Circassian immigrants were in conflict with the local tribes over land disputes. The lands awarded to the Circassians by the Sultan were considered by the Druzes, Kurds, and Arabs to be their own pastures. Negotiations would generally prove unsuccessful and on many occasions the sides would resort to fighting. The Circassians people were left in a difficult situation. The fact that they remained loyal to the Ottoman state caused other peoples that saw them as the soldiers of the empire, and to increase their hostile actions.[129]

Due to conflicts with neighboring clans and the infertility of the lands some Circassians groups emigrated from Syria while others, seeking fertile lands, were

[127] Karpat, "The Status of the Muslim Under European Rule", p. 14.
[128] Kushabiyev, p. 92.
[129] Lewis, p. 106.

settled inside the country until the 1920's. Those plagued by diseases in Damascus moved to live with their kinsmen in Kuneytra. Although due to the mobility and high death ratio, the exact number of losses could not be determined, profound decrease of the Circassian population was observed in those years.[130]

4.5 Circassian Settlements in the Golan Heights

Golan is the mountainous area located in the Kuneytra district.[131] Prior to the arrival of the Circassians in the late 19th century, the lands were used as pasture by the Druze, Bedouin, and Turkmen groups. The first immigrants were the members of a Circassian group that was dispatched to the region by the imperial emigrant commissions from Sivas at the beginning of the 1870's.[132] In later years, Circassians emigrants dispatched from various parts of Anatolia would establish more than ten villages around Kuneytra.[133] According to the book of 291/1 the names of the villages were *Ayn-ı Zivan, Cuveyza, İbreyka, Bir-i Acem, Ruhina, Mansura, Mumsiya, Surman and Ayn-ı Surman*. The total Circassian immigrants were 2714 in the newly founded immigrant villages and all of them emigrated from the Circassia.

The registry book provides the information of the first settlers of the villages of the Kuneytra region as well as the district of Kuneytra. According to the book of 291/1, Kuneytra district was founded by the 494 Circassian immigrants from

[130] Kushabiyev, p. 93.
[131] Aydemir, p. 169. The name of the Golan actually derived from a Circassian notable Jowlen Beg. He was the leader of the group which arrived in the region.
[132] Lewis, p. 105.
[133] *BOA*, *B.E.O,291/1,*p. 45.

Circassia.[134] During the course of the subsequent years of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 they were joined by the thousands newcomers from Rumelia. The villages were reinforced with the new arrivals. As one example indicated in the book the Circassian group including 302 people founded the village of İbreyka in the early years of 1870's. In 1885 the number of inhabitants in the village increased the 85 families about 425 people.

Furthermore, in a few years roughly 300 buildings were erected in the previously deserted Kuneytra and by the end of the 1890's the number of inhabitants increased 1300 in the district of Kuneytra.[135] Consequently, at the turning of the century, immigrant groups had established more than 20 villages in the Golan Heights.[136] According to the 1906 census the population in the villages of the Kuneytra region, including the Kuneytra district, there were 1635 families roughly 9000 people.[137]

The settlement places of the Circassian immigrants were suitable for the control of the Golan Heights and Circassians were compelled into conflicts with the Druzes. The government formed fighting units from the loyal soldiers of the empire; the Circassians to deal with the Druze rebellion of 1895. The Circassian were pushed into the fighting with peoples insubordinate to Ottoman rule and used by the government extensively in the military service.

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[134] *BOA*, *B.E.O,291/1,*p. 45.
[135] Lewis, p. 105.
[136] Lewis, p. 105.
[137] Kushabiyev, p. 102.

4.6 Two Surviving Immigrant Villages : Kfar Kama and Reyhaniye

Having witnessed extreme violence due to the conflicts for more than a century, only two of the villages, which had been established in the 1870's in the province of Syria, survived until today. The first one, Kfar Kama, is located 13 km to the southwest of Lake Tiberia in Lower Galilee, while the second Circassians village, Reyhaniye, is located km from Kfar Kama in close proximity to the Lebanese border.

Kfar Kama was established by one of the first Circassian groups departing from Circassia to Anatolia and then arriving in the region. The special registry book of Sadâret 291/1 indicates that 208 women and 241 men, a total of 449 people were settled in the village of Kfar Kama in the period of Sultan Abdülaziz.[138] On the other hand Reyhaniye was established under the reign of the same sultan, but by emigrants from the Province of Rumelia.[139] The early settlers of the Reyhaniye were compromised of 66 female and 60 male totally 126 people.[140] In short, both villages were established before the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878.

Kfar Kama and Reyhaniye became parts of the newly established Syrian state under the French Syrian rule. The Circassian population in the Syrian lands decreased as many migrated to Jordan and inland Syria. When Israel captured the Syrian part of the Golan Heights in 1967, many Circassians were forced to move to Damascus, while others emigrated to the U.S.A.[141]

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[138] *BOA, B.E.O*,291/1,p. 45.
[139] *BOA, B.E.O*,291/1,p. 45.
[140] *BOA, B.E.O*,291/1,p. 45.
[141] Jaimoukha, p. 35.

Of these two villages that still persevere in the Israel, Kfar Kama is home to almost 3000 people, the vast majority being Adyges. Approximately 1000 Adyges still live in Reyhaniye where they still constitute the dominant ethnic group, although the proportion of Arabs is on the rise.

4.7 Some Notes on the Settlements of Circassians in Syria

Circassian immigrants built villages near the desert fringes in Golan Heights in the Kuneytra region along with the others. A number of villages were founded by those immigrants who would have been adding in the subsequent years from the waves of immigrants who served as ballasts for providing the stability in the region. According to the book, in the 34 different immigrant places in which most of them newly founded village, there were more than five thousands immigrants settled in the province of Syria.[142]

Regarding the Syrian example, the Ottoman settlement process of the Circassians gives clues for the settlement policy of the Sublime Porte; to occupy and cultivate lands and to weaken and to act as a buffer against the local tribes including Druzes, Bedouins and Turkmens. [143]

In the majority of the cases involving vast plains in Syria the lands had been abandoned or underutilized for centuries. Thus the transfer represented a golden opportunity for the Ottomans to enlarge its tax revenue base though its gift or sale

[142] *BOA, B.E.O*, 291/1, p. 45.
[143] Kushabiyev, p. 110.

of lands to the immigrants who would serve as agents for the extension of Ottoman state's power in the region. Furthermore as their numbers grew they would become a powerful demographic counterweight to the nomadic populations. Unlike Druzes, Bedouins, and Turkmens these Muslim immigrants presumably would look to the Ottoman state as their advocate and protector.

Table.6 THE PROVINCE OF SYRIA

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
			Female	Male	Total	
The Era of Abdülaziz and Abdulmecid	Circassia	The Province of İskenderun The District of Murmanc	158	178	336	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Havsu'l-Merir	107	145	252	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Rumelian Province	The town of Baalbek	44	49	93	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The District of Havran The Town of Kuneytra	236	258	494	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Ayn-ı Zivan	126	134	260	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Cuveyza	34	35	69	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
			Female	Male	Total	
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of İbreyka	135	167	302	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Bir-i Acem	53	62	115	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Ruhina	48	52	100	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Mansura	331	278	609	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Mumsiya	31	36	67	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Surman	133	154	287	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Ayn-ı Surman	56	54	110	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
			Female	Male	Total	
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	The Province of Rumelia	The Village of Reyhaniye	66	60	126	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Kfar Kama	208	241	449	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of غمأىر	145	251	396	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Amman	72	90	162	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of جيـول	35	47	82	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of بخـــةين	40	52	92	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
			Female	Male	Total	
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of نعبينمـــــدر	82	94	176	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Arabe'l-Mulk	130	154	284	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Dagestan and Rumelia	The District of Hama	4	5	9	Circassian
After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878	Dagestan and Rumelia	The District of Hama	4	5	9	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Mireic Eddar	51	71	122	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Tel Adda	38	45	82	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Tel Snan	26	33	59	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
			Female	Male	Total	
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Nefs-i Humus	38	45	82	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Ayn-ı Zat	161	191	352	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Tel Amrı	109	135	244	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Nâime	30	44	74	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Tlil	65	71	141	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Asil	117	111	228	Circassian

The Arrival Time of the Emigrants	The Departure Place of the Emigrants	The Settlement Place of the Emigrants	The Number of the Emigrants			Ethnicity
			Female	Male	Total	
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Ebu Hemâme	33	32	65	Circassian
The Reigns of Abdülaziz and Abdülmecid	Circassia	The Village of Deyr-i Fur	191	192	383	Circassian

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSION

One can be curious about the numbers of the emigrants landed in the Ottoman Empire. Yet, the question of the number of emigrants has always been a difficult one to give an answer. The number of all emigrants who came to Ottoman Empire due to Russian opression is a matter of debate with figures ranging from 500 thousand to 5 millions in the different sources. Therefore, how many emigrants arrived in Ottoman lands can not be determined due to lack of a complete record indicating the exact number of the newcomers.

The register of Sadaret 291/1 may give a clue about the possibility for the existence of further materials in the archive which may be useful for figuring out if the number of the immigrants though to reach a final number is nearly impossible. Including the systematical data of immigrants who settled in only few regions, the register recorded the number of immigrants as more than one hundred thousand. Moreover, the book was arranged at an earlier date -in the year of 1882. Obviously the later emigrations were not mentioned. The immigration to the Ottoman landscape continued till the early years of the republican years of modern Turkey, even afterward.

It is clear that determining the exact number of immigrants arriving in the Ottoman lands is difficult, but we may use the existing numbers in the book to make estimation. One of the most significant qualities of the book of 291/1 used is that it

allows us to make a guess of the Ottoman emigrant population. The administrative divisions listed in the book only cover a small portion of the Ottoman geography at the time, yet the populations of the peoples listed in the book, compiled immediately after the War of 1877-1878 exceed 100 thousand, logically suggesting that the real number of emigrants, including those who were dispatched to other regions for settlement will be well over this total. This figure illustrates the dimension of the emigration movement.

The distribution of the peoples mentioned in the registry book shows that the Circassians are featured more than the others. This is consistent with other sources that reveal that the largest emigrant group arriving in Ottoman lands was the Circassians. The Crimean Tatars are also featured frequently in the book. The mass emigration of the Crimean Tatars started earlier than the other groups. The mass emigration of the Nogays started at the beginning of the 1860's and in general, the Nogays emigrated together with the Crimean Tatars and in part, with the Circassians. In the Dagestan region mass emigration did not occur, but some people did emigrate together with the Circassians. The emigration of the Abkhazians occurred mainly in two waves, firstly on a mass level in 1867 and then after the failure of the Sohum offensive by the Ottoman military in the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War. The Ajarians were another group who experienced mass emigration, in this case as a result of the War of 1877-1878.

The registry book of 291/1 does contain very significant information regarding this phenomenon; however, there are some shortcomings. The most important one is that the exact time of arrival of emigrant is not provided. but

provided as one of two periods. Determination of the details of the time of settlement for the emigrants may be possible only by using other existing documents from the Ottoman archives. In any case, the book examined is the main source in this study for the examination of the emigrant populations in these regions.

The book of 291/1 includes important information regarding the situations of the emigrants at the time of the compilation. At the date that the registry book was compiled in September 28 1882, 40% of the emigrants had been settled temporarily. In the next few years after the war the number of emigrants vastly increased, and the Ottoman settlement officials were hard pressed to complete the settlement of emigrants, leading to a high ratio of temporary settlement. The immigration movement occurred during a time of economic hardships for the Ottoman state, evident from the fact that the necessary resources were not able to be allocated for the settlement process.

Maybe the most important contribution the special registry book makes to the immigration historiography is the provision of the names and origins of the emigrant villages that were established. The histories of many villages that still exist today have been partly unveiled in this way. Information regarding the two villages in the Province of Syria that were established during settlement was reached in this study. This information is unique and significant for the local history.

Evidently, the settlement of the immigrants on a large scale had profound effects on the Empire. The impacts of the phenomena were felt especially in the next decades after the settlements of the immigrants. A new and profoundly

different Anatolia had emerged over time; nearly all provinces were now home to substantial number of immigrants. Undoubtedly, the outcome of this swift introduction of numerous newcomers into the Anatolian landscape whose total population was not more than ten million would have had an enormous effect under any circumstances.

The immigrants who were settled in the Ottoman territories often tried to return to their own lands. While some of their attempts were concluded with success, most of them ended in failure. The intentions of the emigrants to for return to their native lands might be either because of recovering the property left behind or resettling in their native country due to the disappointment with the new lands where they were settled.

These efforts continued for some time but the immigrants in the end lost all their hopes of going back to their native lands due to the strict Russian barrier on the border and the precautions taken by Ottomans to prevent their return. Finding no choice apart from the settlement on the lands of the Caliph, the immigrants were inclined to adapt to the new environment in order to survive.

The immigrants served as the agents of the new government venture. They were given lands and animals on the vast plains of Anatolia. The immigrants not only did the revitalization of the Anatolian countryside, but they also joined the Ottoman establishment itself, particularly in the army. The emigrants became a key element in the military and provided a backbone of unquestioned loyalty and service. The results were visible in the War of Independence leading to the creation

of the Modern Turkey. At that time the descendants of the immigrants played a crucial role in the national struggle.

A lot of immigrant figures in the War of Independence indicate that a great number of those soldiers to have come from Russian occupied territories to the Ottoman Empire. The fact is that, many leading figures of the Turkish Independence War were the sons, daughters and grandchildren of emigrants of the previous century.[144]

The impact of the process of the rapid and effective Turkification of the immigrants, though largely ignored in the historiography of Modern Turkey was profound. Taken from a broader perspective, the settlements of immigrants brought about not only a demographic reordering of Anatolia but also had a great impact to transform the Anatolian heartlands into a land dominated by Muslim population.

[144] Cuthell, p.197.

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