

The Impact of the Exchange of Populations on the Social
and Economic Life of the City of Adana

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ABSTRACT

The Impact of the Exchange of Populations on the Economic and Social Life of the City
of Adana (1875-1927)

by

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This study investigates a particular phenomenon, the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923 and its impact on the social and economic life of the city of Adana. It proposes the comparison of the economic and social life of the city before and after the Exchange of Populations, between the years of 1830-1927. It also focuses on the repercussions of the Exchange of Populations on the Turkish public; it particularly examines the approach of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and Turkish media to the Exchange of Populations issue.

ÖZET

1923 Nüfus Mübadelesinin Adana Şehrindeki Sosyal ve Ekonomik Etkileri (1875-1927)

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Bu çalışma Türkiye ve Yunanistan arasında 1923'te gerçekleşen Nüfus Mübadelesini ve onun Adana şehri üzerindeki sosyal ve ekonomik etkilerini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma Adana şehrinin Nüfus Mübadelesi öncesi ve sonrasında, 1830-1927 yılları arasında, ekonomik ve sosyal hayatının karşılaştırılmasını sunmaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışma Nüfus Mübadelesinin Türk kamuoyundaki etkilerini, özellikle Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin ve Türk medyasının Nüfus Mübadelesine yaklaşımlarını incelemektedir.

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INTRODUCTION

The Exchange of Populations Convention was signed on 30 January 1923 during the Lausanne Peace Conference. The agreement actually set down a compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey which involved the Turkish and Muslim inhabitants of Greece as well as the Greek islands and the Greek and Orthodox inhabitants of the various towns in Turkey. The Greek dwellers of Istanbul and the Turkish and Muslim groups in Western Thrace were exempted from the scope of the Exchange of Populations Agreement, which was put into force after the ratification of the Lausanne Peace Agreement on 24 July 1923. In accordance with this agreement, approximately 1,5 million of people from both binding countries, Greece and Turkey, were forced to leave their hometowns behind and build up a new life in a different territory.¹

The Exchange of Populations was discussed and still is a highly debated topic by various groups of people including academics, authors and researchers in several publications such as books, journals, articles and dissertations. The initial publications considering the social and economic impact of the Exchange of Populations were produced in the 1920s and 1930s by English, American or Greek authors. These publications were mainly published in English, French or Greek and focused on the impact of the Exchange of Populations mainly on the Greek side but some of them have sections considering the Exchange of Populations in Turkey. Some of the authors and the titles of their books are: Charles B. Eddy, *Greece and Greek Refugees* (1931), P. Frans, *The Refuge Settlement in Greece* (1925), Stephen Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities*:

¹ For detailed information about the Lausanne Peace Conference, see Seha Meray, ed. *Lozan Barış Konferansı: Tutanaklar, Belgeler* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1993). For the text of the Exchange of Populations Agreement, see Appendix I.

Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey (1932), Stylianos Podromou Sepheriades, *L'Echange des Populations* (1928), A. Deimezis, *Situation social cree en Grece la situation de l'echange des populations* (1927), P. N. Gunarakis, *Peri tis Sinthikis tis Lozannis, tis Simvaseos peri andallayis ton plithismon ke ton sinafon pros aftas diatakseon tis ellinikis nomothesias* (1927). During this period, only one publication was available in Turkish considering the Exchange of Populations called *İskan Tarihçesi: Anadolu Rumları ve Yunan Türklerinin Mübadelesi* (1932).²

In fact, *İskan Tarihçesi* remained the sole Turkish source about the Exchange of Populations until then 1960s. However, the ensuing publications that were produced in the 1960s were not exclusively concentrated on the Exchange of Populations but examined this phenomenon together with the other migration flows of Turkish and Muslim groups from the Balkans. Some of these publications that were written in the 1960s are *Türkiye'ye Göçler* (1966) by Kadircan Kafılı, *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler ve Göçmenlerin İskanı (1923-1961)* (1962) by Cevat Geray, *Türkiye'de Göçler* (1966) by K. Kılılı and *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmenler Meselesi Tanzimat Devri İlk Kurulan Göçmen Komisyonu* (1966) by Ahmet Cevat Eren. These publications slightly discuss the Exchange of Populations issue and instead of giving precise information about the subject, they prefer to supply general statistics indicating the number of migrants who had come during the years 1924 to 1930 and their distribution in each point of settlement in Turkey. During this period, in the 1960s, no dissertation was available in Turkish focusing on a thorough examination of the Exchange of Populations.

² For the complete list of publications about the Exchange of Populations, see Müfide Pekin and Çimen Turan, ed. *Mübadele Bibliyoğrafyası Lozan Mübadelesi ile İlgili Yayınlar ve Yayınlanmamış Çalışmalar* (Istanbul: Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı, 2002).

The Exchange of Populations firmly entered on the agenda of the Turkish scholars and researchers in the 1990s. During this period a noticeable interest did surface in literary and academic studies towards the Exchange of Populations issue. Eight dissertations were written between the years of 1990 and 2003. These dissertations have a similar context; they generally focus on the emergence of the Exchange of Populations as a proposal and thereafter as an agreement during the Lausanne Peace Conference, the transportation of the migrants from Greece, the official organization in Turkey considering the settlement of the migrants and finally settlement of migrant groups in various towns of Anatolia as well as the problems that they faced during and after their settlement in these previously determined settlement points.³

In the case of the books that are written on the subject of the Exchange of Populations, an apparent increase in their number could also be observed during the same period, the years from 1995 to 2004. Some of them are oral history studies and they compile the memoirs of the first generation of migrants. The most cited works of this genre are Kemal Yalçın's *Emanet Çeyiz* (1999), İskender Özsoy's *İki Vatan Yorgunları* (2003) and recently Emin Akdağ's *Şahitlerin Dilinden Unutulan Büyük Göç 1923 Türk-Yunan Mübadelesi* (2005). Instead of using a similar context, as in the case of the dissertations, the genres of the books differentiate from each other. In addition to the oral history studies, an increasing number of books were written considering the discussion of the Exchange of Populations on a provincial basis. They contain specific information about the impact of Exchange of Populations in specific towns and regions. Ramazan Tosun's *Türk Rum Nüfus Mübadelesi ve Kayseri'de Rumlar* (1999), Raif Kaplanoğlu's *Bursa'da*

³ For the list of the dissertations considering the Exchange of Populations issue visit the web site www.yok.gov.tr or see Mübadele Bibliyografyası.

Mübadele: 1923-1930 Yunanistan Göçmenleri (1999) and Mustafa Hatipler's *Selanik'ten Edirne'ye İnsan Ziyanlığı* (2003) could be given as examples for this genre. Recently, specific studies could be found on the subject of the Exchange of Populations such as *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri* (2004) by Ali Cengizkan and *Mübadele, Şiirlerle Mübadil Fotoğrafları* (2005) by Berkant Çolak. These works reflect the untouched aspects of the Exchange of Populations. One of them examines the migrant villages and the types of residences that were distributed to the migrants. The other one is a compilation of migrant photos, which are enriched by the poems of the well-known Turkish poets. In addition to dissertations and books, forty articles were published in various Turkish journals between the years of 1990 and 2000. These articles appear as additional sources for the ones who desire to be informed about the Exchange of Populations issue.⁴

Besides the curiosity towards the settlement of the Turkish migrants, their distressing adjustment period in Turkey and their former hometowns in Greece, general interest recently emerged in Turkish literary and academic fields towards the Greek refugees who had to leave their Turkish hometowns behind and were subsequently settled in Greece. Several publications considering the situation of these Greek refugees were translated into Turkish. Some of them are *Mübadele Çocukları* (2000) by Rene Hirschon, *Hacıustalar Akdağmadeni'nden Aridea'ya Bir Mübadele Öyküsü* (2004) by Argiris Petronotis and *Göç (Exodos)* (2001) by the Centre for Asia Minor Studies. These books are composed of the memoirs of the Greek refugees including their departure from Turkey and their adjustment period in Greece.

⁴ For detailed information about the name of the articles and their authors also see, *Mübadele Bibliyografyası*.

In addition to the gradually increasing number of publications considering the Exchange of Populations, a non-governmental organization was also established in 2001 called the Foundation of Lausanne Treaty Emigrants (Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı). The founders are among the second generation of migrants who gathered for the purposes of researching the material about the Exchange of Populations, to protect the cultural heritage of the Turkish migrants and to strive for the development of cooperation between Greece and Turkey. After its establishment, the foundation spent quite remarkable efforts for publicizing the Exchange of Populations issue.⁵ Several conferences and workshops were organized both in Greece and Turkey under the supervision of Lozan Mübadilleri Vakfı in order to draw public attention to the Exchange of Populations. Besides, the foundation organizes excursions to Greece every year and the second and third generation of migrants participate these excursions to become acquainted with the former hometowns of their predecessors. During these excursions, people have an opportunity to meet the second generation of the Greek refugees and they try to build close relations with these people. They usually prefer to use Greek in their colloquial conversations in Greece, even in their conversations with the other Turkish migrants, and they make an effort to reinforce their bonds with the hometowns of their parents and grandparents.

I prefer to call this academic and literary interest toward the Exchange of Populations issue as its rebirth. Before the arrival of the first migrant groups from Greece and Crete, a general interest and an apparent sensitivity began in Turkey especially in the Turkish press and in the Turkish Grand National Assembly toward these migrant groups in 1923 and also in the first half of the year 1924. In their articles, journalists deeply examined the

⁵ For detailed information about the foundation, visit the web site www.lozanmubadilleri.org.

Exchange of Populations as well as its social and economic contributions to the new Turkish Republic. They did not hesitate to give much importance to these Turkish and Muslim migrants despite the difficult social and economic circumstances of the period. In addition, in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the deputies made touching speeches about the Exchange of Populations in which they underlined the importance of this migration flow.⁶ As a place which was quite accustomed to Turkish and Muslim migrations from several places for quite sometime, this noticeable concern toward the Exchange of Populations in Turkey could be accepted as unusual. However, this enthusiasm of the period toward the Exchange of Populations did not last very long and the issue of the Exchange of Populations vanished from the agenda of the Turkish Grand National Assembly as well as the Turkish press shortly after the arrival of the migrants. As mentioned above, no detailed academic or literary study was published considering the problems of the migrants and their adjustment period in Turkey until 1990s. This period could be accepted as the rebirth of the Exchange of Populations in Turkey. During this period, from 1990 until today, the Exchange of Populations has been studied and continues to be studied so frequently that it could be nominated as one of the most popular subjects of the Turkish academic and literary fields in these times.

During this rebirth of the Exchange of Populations, the first generation of migrants were given the chance to express their problems, disappointments and sorrows for the first time since their arrival to Turkey. As the ones who were neglected for decades, the migrants used this opportunity to express their distressing adjustment period in Turkey. However, during this rebirth of the Exchange of Populations, it could be observed that the migrants created a distant identity for themselves. They do not desire to be classified

⁶ See Chapter 3.

together with the other Turkish and Muslim migrant groups from the Balkans. They prefer to call themselves as *mübadil*, the person who is subject to exchange, rather than the common word that refers to migrant in Turkish, *muhacir*. This dualism in terms also reinforces the distance between them and rest of the Turkish and Muslim migrants who had come to Turkey from Greece before 1924. In addition, the frequent excursions of these migrants, mübadils, to Greece actually increase their bonds with the hometowns of their predecessors as well as with the Greek refugees. The additional importance that is assigned to Greek language by some of the second generation of migrants as the mother tongue of their parents consolidate the distant identity of these migrants. This distant identity of the migrants makes the Exchange of Populations a very specific subject to study.

In order to contribute to the Exchange of Populations studies that were produced after 1990, in my thesis, I will examine the social and economic impact of the Exchange of Populations in the city of Adana, a region that has not been studied in any of the works written before. The main reason behind such an approach of the researchers toward Adana is mainly depended on the lack of a remarkably high number of Greek inhabitants in the city in the pre-Republican period. Since the Exchange of Populations Agreement instructed an exchange between the Greek inhabitants of Turkey and the Turkish and Muslim dwellers of Greece, the regions and towns which had a noticeable amount of Greek dwellers such as İzmir, Edirne or Bursa are mainly associated with the Exchange of Populations rather than Adana. Because the main non-Muslim group in Adana was not the Greeks but the Armenians whose leaving the city was not determined by an agreement such as the Exchange of Populations Agreement.

My aim in this thesis is to make a comparison between the economic and social structure of the city of Adana before and after the Exchange of Populations in order to understand the impact of this migration flow on the city. I will also try to prove in my thesis that instead of migrants who came to Turkey in 1924 from Greece, the other Turkish and Muslim groups from different Anatolian cities actually shaped the economic life of the city of Adana from 1922. I divided my thesis into three parts and four chapters. In the first part, I will focus on the economic and social life of Adana before the Exchange of Populations. In the second part, I will give information about the Exchange of Populations. Finally, the last part will be preserved for the reorganization of the economy and society of Adana after the Exchange of Populations, during the first four years of the Turkish Republic.

I will start my thesis by giving descriptive remarks about the region. Therefore, Chapter 1 will be reserved for the examination of the geography of the Adana region and the political and administrative developments until 1875, which had an enormous impact on the economic, financial and social reshaping of the region. In Chapter 2, I will examine the economic and social framework of the city of Adana between the years of 1875 and 1922. I will divide this chapter into two parts. In the first part, I will give detailed information about the various sectors of economy such as agriculture, trade and industry. In the second part of this chapter, I will focus on the main communities who had been living in the city during the same period. I will examine their weight in the economic as well as in the social life of the city of Adana. In this part, I will also discuss the social structure of the city of Adana by examining the impact of the Muslims, Armenians and Greeks separately indicating their origin, number and occupations.

Finally, I will mention the rather early departure of the non-Muslims from the city, which, in my opinion, has a considerable impact on the further settlement of the migrants in the city as well as in the neighboring districts. In Chapter 3, I will specifically focus on the Exchange of Populations. I will try to make connections between the Exchange of Population and the former migration moves from the Balkans. I will give a detailed account of the former migrations to Anatolia and the settlement of the migrants during this period. Then I will examine the apparent concern of the Turkish Grand National Assembly as well as the Turkish press with the Exchange of Populations issue. I will discuss the reasons behind such sensitivity towards the Exchange of Populations. On the following sections of the Chapter 3, I will give information about the settlement schemes that were developed for the settling of migrants in the various points of settlement in Turkey and I will examine the migrant settlement in the Adana region. In the last chapter, Chapter 4, I will examine the economic and social life of the city of Adana after the Exchange of Populations exactly between the years of 1923 and 1927. In this chapter, I will focus on the reshaping of the economic life of the city of Adana and discuss the impact of the migrants in this reorganization of the economic life of the city.

PART I THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE IN ADANA BEFORE THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS AGREEMENT

CHAPTER I

THE PROVINCE OF ADANA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Geography and Politics

The Province of Adana, which was situated on the southeastern part of the Anatolian Peninsula, was precisely the name of the region that was bordered by the Mediterranean in the south, the Taurus Mountains in the north, the Province of Aleppo (Halep) to the east and the Sanjak of Konya and the Sanjak of Kayseri to the west.⁷

The region, which was formerly called Cilicia, composed of highly mountainous regions in the north that surrounded large-sized fertile plains on the south. The formation of these plains occurred as a result of alluvion, which was carried by the main rivers of the province, called Tarsus (Cydnus), Seyhan (Saros) and Ceyhan (Pyramus). The plains, which were formed on the southwestern part of the province, the region, which extends from Mersin to Misis and comprising of the towns of Adana, Tarsus and Karataş, are collected under the title of the Lower Plain (Çukurova). The plains, which are surrounded by the towns of Kozan, Kadirli, Osmaniye and Ceyhan, form the Upper Plain (Yüksekova). The Lower Plain is the delta of the three mentioned rivers, the Tarsus, Seyhan and Ceyhan. On the other hand, the Ceyhan River and its estuaries, which are still the main sources of water for the district, formed the Upper Plain.⁸

⁷ See Map I.

⁸ Süha Göney, *Adana Ovaları I* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1976), p. 1-2. See also Map II.

Map I. The Province of Adana and Its Administrative Units (From Hilmi Karaburan, “Die Stadt **Osmaniye** in der oberen Çukurova : Entwicklung, Etruktur und Funktionen einer Türkischen Mittelstadt,” [Ph.D diss, Universitaet Heidelberg, 1975])

Map.II The Geography of the Adana Region (From Faik Sabri Duran, *Büyük Atlas*
[Istanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 2001])

The rivers Seyhan and Ceyhan have plenty of water whose supply multiplied in the spring due to snowmelt and rain, which “has caused the rivers to overrun their meandering courses and inundate the plain.”⁹ However, in the summer, the receding waters left swamps behind them, which were the main sources of mosquitoes that led to malaria epidemics in the province. The threat of malaria coupled with the endurable heat of the summer, gave rise to the migration of the inhabitants to the mountainous regions where the weather was more moderate and pleasant. However, their departure caused the discontinuation of the cultivation of the rich alluvial soil and bred a factor that was working against the maintenance of a sedentary society in the plains.¹⁰ Considering their negative impact on the social and economic life of the province, the draining of the swamps would found the core of every further project that aimed to raise provincial revenues and output.

The Taurus and the Amanos Mountains, which were situated on the north side of the province, acted as natural barriers against the cold winds of the north; therefore, they contributed to the formation of temperate climate conditions in the region. In addition, these chains of mountains were the main sources of timber¹¹, which constituted a considerable portion of the total exports of the province. The Cilician Gates in the Taurus Mountains also facilitated the transportation and connected the inner zones to the Mediterranean and then to faraway districts via ports in Mersin, Karataş and Yumurtalık.¹²

⁹ Andrew Gordon Gould, “Pashas and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and Its Impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885” (Ph.D., diss, University of California, 1973), p.12.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.13.

¹¹ Kasım Ener, *Tarih Boyunca Adana Ovasına Bir Bakış* (Istanbul: Berksoy Matbaası, 1961), p.31.

¹² The port in Yumurtalık was the ancient port of the region. However, its importance gradually faded away. (Victor Langlois, *Voyage dans La Cilicie et dans Les Montagnes du Taurus Exécute pendant Les Années 1852-1853* [Paris: Benjamin Duprot, 1861], p.32) The port in Karataş was not preferred generally

The region on which the Province of Adana was established fulfilled every conceivable prerequisite, if not more, for the settling of masses, such as the availability of the plains for cultivation, the existence of rivers for water necessity and the irrigation of the plains, suitability of the chains of mountains on the north for the military fortification and the existence of passes through the mountains that facilitated the transportation between the seaside and the inner zones. This combination of the region's potential was exploited by various groups who founded states in the region or annexed it to ones already existing. The land, which was later, named as the Province of Adana was controlled by the Hittites (1530 BC-1200BC), the Assyrians (713 BC-663BC), the Persians (623BC-333 BC), the Hellenes (333BC-323 BC), the Romans (12 BC-395 AD), the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuks, the Armenian Kingdom (1080-1375), the Mamlukes and the Ramazanoğlu Dynasty. The Ottoman control in the region went back to the 16th century, after the campaign of Sultan Selim I against the Mamlukes in 1516.¹³

The administration of the province was left to the members of the Ramazanoğlu Dynasty who gave their word to remain loyal to the Ottoman Empire. The hereditary rule of the Ramazanoğulları ended in 1608 and the governors who were appointed by the Capital succeeded them.¹⁴ However, these governors were the representatives of nominal Ottoman rule in the province. Especially after the termination of the Ramazanoğlu rule,

due to lack of efficient communication network between the inner zones and Karataş. The construction of a road, which would connect Adana to Karataş, began during the governorship of Ziya Pasha in Adana (1878-1880). However, Ziya Pasha passed away just a short while after the initiation of the project. After his death, the construction of the road was left uncompleted and the communication between the inner zones and Karataş was not realized until the Republican period. (Taha Toros, *Şair Ziya Paşa'nın Adana Valiliği* [Adana: Yeni Adana Basımevi, 1940], p.33.) The port in Mersin was turned into the international port of the Adana region in the second half of the 19th century due to increase in the volume of trade. For further information about the emergence of Mersin as the main international port of the region see, Meltem Toksöz, "Ottoman Mersin: The making of an Eastern Mediterranean port-town," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 31 (Fall 2004): 71-89.

¹³ *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, 1981 ed., sv. "Adana", p.22-27.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.27.

real control passed into the hands of the nomadic tribes who subsequently transformed into the dynasties of quasi-feudal lords called derebeys.¹⁵ These local autocrats, derebeys, were strictly opposed to the central authority of the Ottoman Empire and they did not hesitate to impede Ottoman control, expansion or undertaking in the region.¹⁶

The occupation of the province by İbrahim Pasha in 1832 created a kind of impairment in the authority of these local autocrats. İbrahim Pasha who occupied the region on account of reluctance of the Ottoman Empire concerning the compensation for the losses from the Egyptian side during the Greek Rebellion (1821-1829), engaged a couple of derebeys to keep the others from interfering with his administration.¹⁷ After he managed to keep the local autocrats under control, İbrahim Pasha set about several projects that aimed to alter the face of the province by exposing the economic potential of the region. He set out with the project of constructing irrigation channels for the Tarsus region. The drainage of the swamps was also taken very seriously in order to increase the portion of land under cultivation, at the same time to reduce the risks of epidemics. The cultivation of cotton as well as new crops such as sugar cane was promoted by supplying workers mainly from Egypt who were settled in the region between Yumurtalık and Ceyhan. İbrahim Pasha brought along Egyptian and Syrian landowners to the region in order to populate the land, which was contemporarily opened to cultivation, with an adequate workforce.¹⁸

¹⁵ Gould, p.14.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Meltem Toksöz and Emre Yalçın, “Modernleşen Adana’nın Doğuşu ve Günümüzdeki İzleri” in *Aptullah Kuran için Yazılar*, ed. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu and Lucienne Thys Şenocak (Istanbul: YKY, 1999), p.437.

The rule of İbrahim Pasha brought dynamism to the region, which did not continue after his withdrawal from Adana in 1840. The economic and social conditions returned to their former situation and control was replaced by disorder.¹⁹

Economic regression and a lack of an adequate population who could deal with the cultivation of the plains was not the fate of the province. The economic and social conditions took a turn for the better when the British textile manufacturers sought new regions for cotton cultivation due to the American Civil War, which gave rise to the cotton crises in the world. As in the case of İbrahim Pasha, the province needed some compulsory projects in order to seize a kind of economic growth.

However, a huge problem still remained before further projects could continue. It was the existence of disobedient local autocrats who were opposed to each and every investment in the region that would deteriorate their firmly established authority. In spite of her former defeats against her subjects in the region, the Ottoman Empire was very determined to uproot the authority of these derebeys this time to provide an adequate population for the cultivation of plains by forcing the tribes, many of whom were under the control of the derebeys, to settle in vacant places. Opening the plains for the settlement of the tribes would lessen the scarceness of the labour problem. In order to see the long-term consequences of the further projects that aimed to heal the economic and social conditions of the province, in January 1865, it was decided that eight battalions from the First, Fourth and Fifth Armies would be sent to the Adana region under the command of Derviş Pasha accompanied by Cevdet Pasha as Extraordinary Commissioner

¹⁹ Kasım Ener, p.202.

(Fevkalade Memur), who would be in charge of civilian affairs and administrative reforms.²⁰

The Reform Division

The Reform Division (Fırka-i Islahiye) was the name of the special military and civilian unit, which was charged with the controlling of the rebellious groups who gathered densely in Kozan (Sis), Gavur Dağı and Kürd Dağı. The military forces under the command of Derviş Pasha landed in the port of İskenderun in 1865. According to their plan, the armed forces would initially take Gavur Dağı and Kürd Dağı under their control and subsequently they would advance to Kozan through the route passing from Kars-ı Zülkadriye (Kadirli) to Kozan. A statement planned to be sent to Kozanoğulları, the illegal rulers of the towns, Kozan and Haçin, which was about the reluctance of the Ottoman army to open fire against them if the members of the Kozanoğlu family decided to surrender to the Ottoman forces without using force. The statement was sent by Hüseyin Hüsnü Bey, aide-de-camp of Cevdet Pasha, to Kozanoğulları, while the army was engaged in the reform of Gavur Dağı and Kürd Dağı.²¹

While the troops were advancing through the inner zones, new towns were established such as İzziye, Islahiye, Hassa and Osmaniye after the resistance of the rebellious leaders was broken which subsequently facilitated the settlement of the tribes who were strictly loyal to these rebellious leaders. Moreover, the straightforward advance of the forces caused discord in public opinion in Kozan. The inhabitants were divided into two camps, one of which kept supporting the Kozanoğulları contrary to the ones who passed on to the

²⁰ Gould, p.80.

²¹ Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, ed. Cavid Baysun, vol.3 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1967), p.136-137.

Reform Division's side.²² The partial support for the Reform Division was considered as an important success against the independent rule of the Kozanoğlu family that could not have been put to an end even after the establishment of the Ottoman rule in the region in the 16th century.²³

The troops reached Kozan in the summer of 1865 when the inhabitants migrated to mountainous districts as usual, a characteristic of their nomadic nature. The arrival of the Ottoman forces precipitated their return to the town; it also led to the submission of the Kozanoğlu family to the Ottoman authorities without using force. They were in a position to avoid conflict with the armed forces and to accept the terms of the Reform Division. It was decided that the members of the Kozanoğulları family were to be exiled to the towns of Sivas, Konya and Kayseri with the provision of reasonable incomes.²⁴ It was taken as an imperative step for the reestablishment of the Ottoman control in the region.

The success of the Reform Division in the region was shaded by the appearance of a malaria epidemic among the Ottoman soldiers and the flight of Yusuf Ağa, one of the important leaders of the Kozanoğlu family, from his point of exile.²⁵ The rebellion of Yusuf Ağa altered the plans of Cevdet and Derviş Pasha who had decided to return Istanbul due to the epidemic of malaria that affected the majority of the soldiers. The military operations were restarted and the uprising was eventually suppressed and Yusuf Ağa was put to death.²⁶

The insurgence of Yusuf Ağa demonstrated that the exiling of the Kozanoğlu family to neighboring provinces such as Kayseri, Konya and Sivas was not a conclusive solution

²² Ibid, p.157.

²³ Ibid, p.108.

²⁴ Ibid, p.177-178.

²⁵ Ibid, p.179-182.

²⁶ Ibid, p.188.

to the reestablishment of absolute Ottoman rule in the region. Therefore, the members of Kozanoğlu family together with the other disobedient families including Menemencioğulları and Karsantioğulları were exiled to Istanbul or various towns in the Balkans. The exile of the derebey families concluded the first phase of the reform movement in Adana.²⁷

Due to the Provincial Reform Law of 1864, the historical administrative units called eyalets were going to be replaced by the new provincial units called vilayet. The reason behind the promulgation of this law was to increase the power of the governors and to provide them enough space for the formation of regulations not only dealing with the security and finance issues of the province but also the ones concerning public interest such as education and the improvement of communications.²⁸ In order to provide sufficient sources for the continuation of reform in the Adana region²⁹ the Provincial Reform Law of 1864 was applied to this area and the Vilayet of Aleppo was formed due to the unification of eyalets of Adana and Aleppo with the sanjaks³⁰ of Maraş, Urfa and Kozan. Cevdet Pasha was appointed as the governor of this newly established province.³¹

During his governorship, Cevdet Pasha worked on the further settlement of tribes, the establishment of new towns and villages together with the modification of the appearance of the already established ones by way of constructing official and communal buildings

²⁷ Ibid, p.190.

²⁸ Ezel Kural Shaw and Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol.2 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.89.

²⁹ It was decided to use the local tax revenues in order to meet the cost of further reform as a consequence of the uprisings in Walachia and Moldavia that impeded the sustaining of troops in Cilicia, see Gould, p.120.

³⁰ According to the Provincial Law of 1864, each province was divided into livas or sanjaks. Each liva or sanjak had several kazas and each kaza was a collection of nahiyes, see Shaw and Shaw, p.89.

³¹ Gould, p.120.

such as government-buildings (Hükümet Konağı) and mosques which were lacking.³² Agriculture was also positively affected in the course of Cevdet Pasha's governorship. The swamps that were situated between the towns of Kars-ı Zülkadriye and Sis were drained and opened to cotton cultivation.³³ Furthermore, communication between the towns was gradually furnished due to the security of the roads that eventually facilitated traffic and travel.³⁴

The Reform Division turned into a wise project and undertaking considering the ensuing economic growth in the Adana region. Travel accounts that were written before and after the establishment of the Reform Division show clearly that the Reform Division did work to improve the situation of Adana both in economic and social aspects.

Huge differences did exist in language that was used to describe the city of Adana before and after the undertakings of the Reform Division in the region. In fact, the travel accounts that were written in the first half of the 19th century, in the period before the establishment of the Reform Division, did not describe the city of Adana as a pleasant place to live but they actually presented it as a lifeless or a deserted town. Kinneir who had visited the city between the years of 1813 and 1814 mentioned in his book the insecure environment of the region, which impeded the facile and rapid communication of Adana with the neighboring towns.³⁵ Labord who had been in the city of Adana, almost a decade after Kinneir, described the general outlook of the city of Adana in 1825, which could be summarized according to his words as a small town whose residences were dilapidated and roads were covered by a thick layer of mud. He also added that the

³² Cevdet Paşa, p.208.

³³ Ibid, p.205.

³⁴ Ibid, p.226.

³⁵ Kasım Ener, p.178.

city had been lacking official buildings and institutions.³⁶ The general outlook of Adana did not show any difference even in 1836 when it was visited by another traveler called Charles Texier. In his travel account, he wrote that the city of Adana had had a more despairing appearance than the rest of the Turkish towns in Anatolia. The houses had no windows opening to the streets, which turned these streets actually into aisles situated between two brick walls.³⁷

It could be observed that the pessimistic air of the former accounts were beginning to change when later accounts are examined such as the one of E.J. Davis who visited the city of Adana and its environs in 1875, almost a decade after from the undertakings of the Reform Division. In his account, he mentioned the cotton fields, which were situated in the area that remained exactly between two main rivers of the region, the Seyhan and Ceyhan. His account includes some remarks that had not been available in any of the former accounts such as the rich non-Muslim landowners, especially the Armenian ones,³⁸ who were steadily emerging in the city of Adana and the neighboring towns and the seasonal agricultural workers who kept coming to the Adana region from various places during harvest time.³⁹ What makes Davis different from the former travelers is that he actually described the city as a lively one, which also had a huge economic potential. It could be observed that the economic growth of the city of Adana was efficiently continuing in the first decades of the 20th century. W.J. Childs visited the city in 1912. His remarks about the city were exactly “...instead of stagnation and ruin I found shops lit up, cafes thronged, cotton mills humming, the streets crowded, and from

³⁶ Ibid, p.179.

³⁷ Charles Texier, *Küçük Asya Coğrafyası, Tarihi ve Arkeolojisi*, vol.3, trans. Ali Suat (Ankara: Özkan Matbaacılık, 2002), p.487.

³⁸ E.J. Davis, *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (London: Edward Stanford, 1879), p.56.

³⁹ Ibid, p.172.

the railway station, such a rush of furiously driven cobs as no other Turkish town can show. I found, in fact, a throbbing town of 100.000 inhabitants, with an unmistakable air of prosperity and confidence in the future.”⁴⁰

The Reform Division was a crucial step that was taken for the elimination of the local autocrats as the main sources of disobedience as well as the obstacles standing before the region’s economic advancement, which mainly depended on keeping the interests of the foreign entrepreneurs and merchants alive for the Adana region. The Reform Division did not yield instant beneficial results but in the long term, it facilitated the region’s unification with the world market. The establishment of a steady secure environment continued with the growing European confidence in the potential of the Adana region. It paved the way for further European undertaking.⁴¹

The Establishment of the Province of Adana and Its Administrative Units

In 1869, the Adana region was separated from the Province of Aleppo and was established as an independent province whose formation depended on the unification of the Sanjaks of Adana, Kozan, Payas and later the Sanjak of İçel which was transferred from Kayseri.⁴² Thereafter the name of the Payas Sanjak changed into the Sanjak of Cebel-i Bereket and the center was moved from Payas to Yarpud and later to Osmaniye. The administrative divisions of the Province of Adana in 1890 and in 1904 were as follows:

⁴⁰ W.J. Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1917), p.343.

⁴¹ See Chapter 2.

⁴² Gould, p.141.

Table I. The Administrative Division of the Province of Adana in 1890 and in 1904

1890			1904		
Vilayet	Sanjak	Caza	Vilayet	Sanjak	Caza
Adana	Adana	Adana	Adana	Adana	Adana
		Tarsus			Karaisalı
		Mersin		Mersin	Mersin
		Karaisalı			Tarsus
	İçel	Silifke		İçel	Silifke
		Ermenek			Mut
		Mut			Gülnar
		Gülnar			Anamur
		Anamur		Kozan	Sis
	Kozan	Sis			Haçin
		Kars			Kars
		Haçin			Feke
		Feke		Cebel-i	Yarput
	Cebel-i	Yarput		Bereket	Osmaniye
	Bereket	Osmaniye			Islahiye
		Islahiye			Hassa
		Hassa			Bulanık
		Bulanık			Payas
		Payas			Yumurtalık
		Yumurtalık			

Source: Lothar Rother, *Die Stdte der Cilicia: Adana-Mersin-Tarsus* (Tubingen, 1971),

p.90.

The Sanjak of Adana was the heart of the whole province whose area extended from Mersin to Karaisalı, which comprised the entire Lower Plain, and a large portion of the Upper Plain. The importance of its position lied in the fact that the sanjak covered the majority of the cultivation area and the international port of the province, the Mersin Port. Especially after the construction of the Adana-Mersin Railway in 1886, an apparent increase occurred in the volume of traffic from the Mersin Port due to low transportation costs.⁴³

The Sanjak was the most populated district in the province. As an important agriculture and trade center, the population of the sanjak increased due to the visitation of the merchants from various countries, also the migration of the workers who came from diverse districts in order to work in the cotton fields.⁴⁴ The population of Adana included almost every minority group who dispersed and gathered in certain towns and villages. The Armenians, for instance, mainly settled in Adana and Misis. The town, which was situated on the southern part of the sanjak, on the shore of the Mediterranean, called Karataş had a remarkably high native Greek population. On the other hand, the Greeks who were settled in Mersin and Adana were mainly non-natives and the principal reason behind their settlement in these mentioned cities was chiefly related to commerce and manufacture.⁴⁵ Yarsuvat or Muhacirin were the former names of the today's town of Ceyhan, which was quite a new settlement area. The settlement in this region initiated in

⁴³ Meltem Toksöz, *Ottoman Mersin*, p.74-75. See also Map I.

⁴⁴ Vital Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie: Géographie administrative statistique descriptive et raisonnée de Chaque Province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol.6 (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001), p.160.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

the second half of the 19th century with the settlement of migrant groups from Caucasus and the Balkans.⁴⁶

The mountainous districts on the western part of the Province of Adana, which was bordered by the Mediterranean on the south and the Province of Konya on the north, formed the Sanjak of İçel. Although the environment was suitable for the cultivation of various crops such as wheat, barley, tobacco, sesame, beans and cotton, the underdevelopment of the agricultural techniques, contrary to the highly commercialized and developed agriculture in the Sanjak of Adana, impeded the existence of an agricultural surplus and limited the capacity of the region's agricultural output by the demands of its inhabitants. Moreover, animal husbandry was fairly developed in the region. The cattle constituted an important portion of the region's total exports and the wool, as an animal product, was used for the weaving of carpets and rugs.⁴⁷

The majority of the population was Turkish. The town called Silifke had a minor Greek and Armenian population. The nomadic groups who were called Yörük in Turkish mainly populated the rest of the sanjak.⁴⁸

The Sanjak of Kozan was composed of four cazas, which were called Sis, Feke, Haçin and Kars. It was the only district where the Armenian community held the majority of the population. Especially, the towns of Sis and Haçin had a surprisingly high Armenian population. It was strictly related to the past of these kazas. Sis was the former capital of the Armenian Kingdom, and also the seat of the Armenian Patriarch whose jurisdiction comprised thousand of families dispersed throughout Cilicia and Syria, 20 monasteries

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.160-163.

⁴⁷ Tekin Ergül, "1293H. (1876 M.) Tarihli Adana Vilayeti Salnamesinin Yeni Harflere Çevrilmesi ve Değerlendirilmesi" (M.A thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi, 1998), p.53-60.

⁴⁸ Cuinet, p.181.

and 36 bishoprics.⁴⁹ Haçin, which was formerly under the control of the Kozanoğlu family, was another religious center for the Armenian community. The well-known Armenian monastery, today called as Kalekilise, is situated in this town.⁵⁰ The bulk of the Armenian population of Haçin was engaged in mining and they were well-known iron craftsmen.⁵¹

The Sanjak of Cebel-i Bereket was founded mainly due to the efforts of the Reform Division. The towns, such as Islahiye, Hassa and Osmaniye that remained inside the borders of this sanjak were established by the forced settlement of the tribes who had habituated themselves to nomadic life conditions.⁵² Therefore, the Turkish groups mainly populated these towns. The Armenian and Greek communities were grouped mainly in three towns, which were called Bulanık (Bahçe), Payas (Dört Yol) and Yumurtalık (Ayas). These towns were fairly ancient places of settlement, contrary to the ones established by the forced settlement policy of the Reform Division. Their long history was one of the main reasons behind such comparatively larger non-Muslim communities.⁵³

The Sanjak of Cebel-i Bereket, with a land of dense forests, supplied an important portion of the timber, which was used for construction. Timber was also exported to the regions that were lacking forests such as Syria and Egypt and provided a reasonable

⁴⁹ M.A.Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey: An Account of the Religious, Political, Social and Commercial Conditions of the Ottoman Empire*, trans. Lady Easthope, vol. II (London: John Murray, 1856), p.253-254.

⁵⁰ Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.63.

⁵¹ Cuinet, p.201.

⁵² Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.63.

⁵³ The towns where the forced settlement of the tribes as well as the migrant settlement took place such as Islahiye, Hassa or Ceyhan had rather more homogeneous population than the other towns which had a long settlement history, such as Sis, Haçin, Karataş or Adana. These places had been the hometowns of various groups of people for centuries. That is one of the main motives behind the existence of non-Muslim groups in these towns rather than the newly established villages or towns, for detailed information about the history of these towns, see Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.58-64.

income to the province.⁵⁴ Carpentry was also very widespread throughout the sanjak due to the abundance of timber. The rest of the population was engaged in cotton cultivation besides cattle and horse breeding which were highly esteemed all through the Province of Adana.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Cuinet, p.204.

⁵⁵ Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.63.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY 1875-1922

A.ECONOMY

Agriculture in the province of Adana depended on the cultivation of several products, mainly wheat, cotton and sesame, whose plantation went back centuries. Even during the administration of Adana by Ramazanoğulları (1353-1517), the fields of grain, cotton and sesame were described and praised by the travelers who visited the province in the 16th Century.⁵⁶

Among the diverse crops that were cultivated in Adana and its environs, cotton took the leading role and was mostly referred to as the most important and valuable product of the region. As mentioned above, cotton was a typical product of Çukurova and had a reasonably long cultivation history. However, after the beginning of the 19th century, cotton production had no competitive nature and cotton was mostly consumed within the domestic market. The first attempt for the extension of cotton production occurred during the occupation of the region by İbrahim Pasha (1833-1840). During the rule of İbrahim Pasha for seven years, adroit and robust workers together with the cottonseeds were brought mainly from Egypt in order to contribute to the intensification of cotton production in the district.⁵⁷ The efforts of İbrahim Pasha bore fruits and cotton output reached 10.000 tons in 1852-1853.⁵⁸

However, international demand for Çukurova cotton occurred at the beginning of the 1860s due to the American Civil War, which deeply threatened the world cotton supply. In order to provide cotton for the European textile manufacturers, especially British ones,

⁵⁶ Kasım Ener, p.194.

⁵⁷ Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.32.

⁵⁸ Victor Langlois, p.38.

expansion of the cotton cultivation area was attempted and new alternatives to American cotton were sought by European powers that were led by Britain.⁵⁹ An Imperial Decree was prepared on January 27, 1862 by the Ottoman Empire based on the promotion of the cotton production by granting tremendous support to the ones who attempted to cultivate cotton.⁶⁰

The suitability of the region for the cotton production combined with the international demand for the cotton resulted in the extension of cultivable land, which was accumulated into the hands of large landowners.⁶¹ The average farm size in Adana was 45 donums and 46% of farms were over 50 donums.⁶² As the size of the farms was increasing, contrary to the number of owners, the cultivation of these large-sized farms required additional work force like wage laborers or sharecroppers. Towards the end of the 19th century, agricultural machinery appeared as an alternative to the workers mentioned above and the province began to export agricultural equipment from the United States and Great Britain.⁶³ During the harvest time, Adana welcomed laborers whose number changed from 50.000 to 70.000. Some of these laborers were Syrian Arabs and came from the districts of Latakia, Tripoli and Antioch. The rest migrated seasonally from Maraş, Antep, Harput or Diyarbakır in order to work on the fields of the large

⁵⁹ Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia 1876-1908" (Ph.D., diss. UCLA, 1973), p.157.

⁶⁰ Bülent Varlık, *Emperyalizmin Çukurova'ya Girişi* (Ankara: Tüm İktisatçıları Birliği, 1977), p.42.

⁶¹ Meltem Toksöz, "The Çukurova: From Nomadic Life to Commercial Agriculture, 1800-1908" (Ph.D. diss., SUNY Binghamton University, 2000), p.248-249.

⁶² Eliot Grinnell Mears, *Modern Turkey: A Politico-Economic Interpretation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p.296.

⁶³ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Reform*, p.167.

landowners.⁶⁴ From 1880s, agricultural machinery was preferably used to avoid the threats of scarce labor affecting the prosperity of large estates.⁶⁵

As new actors appeared in the agricultural process such as large landowners, wage laborers, sharecroppers and agricultural machinery, the area under cultivation, mainly cotton, tried to be increased by the drainage of swamps. Moreover, irrigation projects, agricultural credits and usage of fertilizers and insecticides were applied to increase the crop of the areas under cultivation and to promote further grain and cotton production.⁶⁶ These incentives mainly worked for the extension of the cotton cultivation. The total cotton output of the Adana region increased from 45.000 bales⁶⁷ in 1905 to 76.000 bales in 1909 and then to 115.000 bales in 1912.⁶⁸ In 1913, 829.690 donums of land was reserved for cotton production out of which 27.072 tons of cotton was produced annually.⁶⁹

Improvement in the agricultural sector that gradually aimed to specialize in cotton production changed the face of Adana from an ordinary production center to a highly commercialized and developed district. Agricultural growth affected other sectors like trade and industry and consolidated Adana's position in the domestic and international market.

Adana, which had been one of the main commercial centers of the Cilician Plain since the Phoenician times⁷⁰, returned to its former situation in the second half of the 19th century, after the expansion of cotton cultivation. Adana was connected to the

⁶⁴ E.J.Davis, p.172.

⁶⁵ Donald Quataert, Ottoman Reform, p.168.

⁶⁶ Meltem Toksöz, The Çukurova, p. 249.

⁶⁷ 1 bale is approximately 200 kg.

⁶⁸ Remzi Oğuz, *Adana Ticaret Rehberi* (İstanbul: Cihan Biraderler Matbaası, 1924), p.56.

⁶⁹ Tevfik Güran, ed., *Osmanlı Dönemi Tarım İstatistikleri 1909, 1913 ve 1914* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1997), p.117-119.

⁷⁰ Victor Langlois, p.30.

international trade center via the port of Mersin, mainly after the 1880s. The Mediterranean port cities like Alexandria, Jaffa, Haifa, Beirut, Tripoli, Latakia, Mersin, Smyrna and islands including Chios, Rhodos and Cyprus acted as depots of agricultural and manufactured goods. These cities and islands were the main stops for the steamships, which even brought goods from several European cities like Hamburg, Antwerp, Napoli or Geneva.⁷¹

The Adana region was a main supplier of raw materials and exported significant amount of its agricultural output to various regions including France, Cyprus, Italy, Syria and Austria. Cotton, sesame, various grains, mainly wheat and barley,⁷² were exported alongside timber and animal products such as wool and leather.⁷³ In return, Adana imported manufactured goods such as English, French and Indian clothing, Russian petroleum and other consumable goods including sugar, coffee and rice.⁷⁴

In addition to the international trade, Adana had close commercial links with the interior, mainly with Kayseri. “The Kayseri merchants operated a very widespread network, buying cotton from Adana and distributing it to the spinners throughout central and northern Anatolia.”⁷⁵

As a major supplier of raw materials, expansion in the volume of trade in the Adana region mostly depended on the extension of cultivation. Landowners cultivated their fields to meet the demands of both internal and international markets. They generally chose to cultivate cotton, which was a highly esteemed and demanded commercial crop.

⁷¹ Lothar Rother, *Die Städte der Cilicia: Adana-Mersin-Tarsus* (Tübingen: Im Selbstverlag des Geographischen Instituts der Universität, 1971), p.83-85.

⁷² W.B. Barker, *Lares and Penates or Cilicia and Its Governors* (London: Ingram, Cooke and Co., 1853), p.118.

⁷³ Vital Cuinet, p.150.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.33.

Cotton cultivation actually increased the volume of trade, also turned the Ottoman Empire into an exporter of raw cotton to the international markets. The table below shows the total amount of cotton exports in tons from the Ottoman Empire as well as from Adana.

Table II. The Export of Raw Cotton from the Province of Adana and the Ottoman Empire, 1878-1896.

Years	Export of Adana	Export of the Ottoman Empire	%
1878	4.320 tons	7.143 tons	60.4
1880	2.900 tons	5.604 tons	51.8
1886	4.250 tons	10.490 tons	40.5
1890	3.000 tons	6.312 tons	47.5
1896	4.005 tons	9.150 tons	43.7

Source: Bülent Varlık, *Emperyalizmin Çukurova'ya Girişi* (Ankara: Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği, 1977), p. 55.

Due to the export of cotton, the Ottoman Empire gained significantly important income, a third of which was provided from the Adana region.⁷⁶ The income that was gained from cotton steadily increased that in 1907, the value of the cotton export of the Ottoman Empire reached 608.428 Ottoman liras. 29% of this income belonged to the Adana region whose income from the cotton trade was 178.835 liras.⁷⁷

On the subject of the impact of expanding cotton cultivation on the industrial sector, it actually required to examine the past of the region regarding the cotton weaving and yarn manufacture. It could be said that the population of Adana and its environs was

⁷⁶ Bülent Varlık, p.55.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.56.

experienced in cotton spinning and weaving. Between the 1840s and 1870s, the weavers were engaged in “the manufacture of some coarse cotton and hairsacks almost exclusively for home production.”⁷⁸ In addition, British and American groups in Adana and Haçin organized Armenians to weave cotton.⁷⁹

The establishment of the first mechanical, market-oriented cotton gins was intensified in the second half of the 19th century, just after the promulgation of the decree of the Sultan considering the promotion of cotton cultivation in 1862. The first mechanized gins were generally established by the British and French manufacturers in Adana. These British and French businessmen were followed by the Greek immigrants in the region who subsequently established further mechanized cotton ginneries in the region.

In 1864, a French engineer called Justin Daudet established a ginnery in Adana. This ginnery was moved to Ceyhan, due to social and economic reasons and bought later by Hasan Yeşil because no successors from the Daudet family existed.⁸⁰ A British businessman called Gout also established three cotton ginneries in Adana, Tarsus and Mersin.⁸¹ In 1885, a Greek called Tripani built a cotton gin and approximately 13 years later in 1898, he began yarn manufacture.⁸² The second “Greek cotton yarn mill in Adana was set up by Cosma Simyonoğlu in 1906. Both families operated these several enterprises until the Greek occupation of İzmir, but left Turkey by 1922.”⁸³

The factories of Tripani and Simyonoğlu were the most famous ones that were founded in Adana. In 1914, Tripani’s factory contained 3.220 active spindles and

⁷⁸ Donald Quataert, *Manufacturing*, p.85.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.86.

⁸⁰ *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, p.34.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.32-33.

⁸² Edward Clark, “The Emergence of Textile Manufacturing Entrepreneurs in Turkey: 1804-1968” (Ph. D., diss., Princeton University, 1969), p.99.

⁸³ *Ibid*.

produced 160 tons of yarn and 530.000 meters of cloth.⁸⁴ Simyonoğlu's factory produced 150 tons of yarn and 470.000 meters of cloth through 3.000 active spindles.⁸⁵

Furthermore, two gins were founded in Tarsus. A Greek family called Mavromati owned one of them and the second was belonged to Rasim Dokur, a Turkish Muslim from Egypt.⁸⁶ "In 1914, the spinning and weaving mills in Tarsus and Adana contained an aggregate of 42.000 spindles that used 10.000 bales of local cotton. In good years, the four mills together consumed 40% of the local cotton crop and daily produced some 72.000 kg of yarn."⁸⁷ Fluctuations in the production of these factories were usual and occurred due to cotton shortages. During cotton crises in Europe, merchants mainly preferred to send cotton abroad instead of selling it to local manufacturers.⁸⁸

Besides these four well-known factories, there were additional mills operating in the Adana region called Akarcalı, Kalagoğlu, Bosnalı Salih, Hekim Bedros, Aşıkyan, Zotos, Kokkonaki, Pabuçcuoğlu, Şalvarcıoğlu, Boduroğlu and Habiboğlu. Only, Akarcalı, Kalağoglu and Bosnalı Salih factories belonged to Muslim subjects, the rest belonged to members of the Greek and Armenian communities.⁸⁹

The establishment of the mechanized gins also positively affected the economic growth of the region, especially the city of Adana, in other words the steadily growing agricultural, commercial and industrial region of the Ottoman Empire. In order to increase the volume of trade and subsequent integration of the city of Adana and the rest of the cultivation zones with the international market, the communication network of the

⁸⁴ Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İktisadi Şartları Hakkında Bir Tetkik* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994), p.75.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Donald Quataert, *Manufacturing*, p.44.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.43.

⁸⁹ Naci Akverdi, *Cumhuriyetten Evvel ve Sonra* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1938), p.28.

whole Adana region was developed in the second half of the 19th century, especially after 1880.

Before the entrance of the railways, caravan routes were the main means of transportation. One of these routes connected Adana to Tarsus and to Mersin. Another route went from Adana to Sis and Misis. An additional route connected Konya to Mersin, Tarsus and Adana.⁹⁰ In order to ameliorate the conditions of transportation, the routes, mainly the Adana-Tarsus-Mersin route, were repaired several times in the second half of the 19th century. The conveyance of cotton by carts tried to be secured due to its further advantages concerning the difficulties and low profitability of animal transportation. It was mainly aimed to facilitate the transportation of goods from Adana to Mersin and to reduce the costs the transportation.⁹¹ The conditions of the roads, especially during the winter, became even worse due to the rain that created a thick layer of mud on the surface of these roads. This situation negatively affected the volume of trade due to problems relating to the transportation of commercial goods.⁹² Therefore, before the entrance of the railroads to the region caravan routes were regularly mended by reason of eliminating factors working against the economic growth of the Adana region.

Railroad construction in the Adana region went back to the last twenty years of the 19th century. A decree (ferman), issued on January 20, 1883, gave the concession of railway construction to Mehmed Nahid Bey and Costaki Theodoraki. However, the construction of the railroad was entrusted to a corporation instead of individual capital and a corporation was constituted for the construction, administration and exploitation of

⁹⁰ Vital Cuinet, p.144.

⁹¹ Meltem Toksöz, *The Çukurova*, p.137-138.

⁹² E.J. Davis, p.58.

the railroad.⁹³ This corporation was founded on January 31, 1885 mainly by the financial support of British investors. After the establishment of this corporation, Mehmet Nahid Bey and Costaki Theodoriki resigned their rights within the administration of the railroad.⁹⁴ The British and French financiers held the great majority of the corporation's shares and managed the construction of the railroad, which planned to be built from Mersin to Adana.⁹⁵ The construction of the railway lasted for two years and was opened to human and goods transportation on August 4, 1886.⁹⁶

In 1906, Germany retained full control over this line from Mersin to Adana and planned to connect it to her ambitious program, the Berlin-Baghdad Railway Construction Project. The Anatolian part of the mentioned project, led through İzmir, Eskişehir, Kütahya, Afyon, Konya, Adana, Halep and Ambarlı.⁹⁷ During the construction of the Anatolian Railway, Germany was granted some concessions including the exploitation of the mines and forests of the districts within the construction project. She was also allowed to develop irrigation projects in order to increase the agricultural output of the mentioned towns.⁹⁸ As a result of these concessions, a German company called German Levantine Company (Deutsche Levantinische Gesellschaft) was established in Adana and began cotton cultivation.⁹⁹ This company provided financial support to cultivators and claimed no government assistance for its further investments in the region.¹⁰⁰ The aim of the company was to develop and encourage smallholdings, in order

⁹³ E. Pech, *Manuel des Societes Anonymes fonctionnant en Turquie* (Paris, 1906), p.54.

⁹⁴ Adem Erol, "Mersin-Tarsus-Adana Demiryolu" (MA.thesis., Marmara Üniversitesi, 2003), p.28.

⁹⁵ Ibid. The width and length of the line would be 1.44 meters and 67 kilometers respectively, see E. Pech p.54.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.70.

⁹⁷ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003), p.131.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p.139.

⁹⁹ John Todd, *The World's Cotton Crops* (London: A. & C. Black, ltd., 1915), p.79.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

to lessen the risks of scarce labor, and to assist these small landowners by providing capital.¹⁰¹

As the Adana-Mersin line was bought by Germany, the economic life of the region gradually entered into German influence. German goods began to dominate the markets of Adana. German merchants tried to learn the language and customs of the city and to discover what would appeal to the natives. As a result of these efforts, Germany turned into the most influential European power in the region.¹⁰²

The railroad construction in the Adana region was not limited to the line that was operating between Mersin and Adana but a further railway was constructed from Adana to Osmaniye due to German financial contribution. This line was operating through the Upper Plain, which was the second cotton cultivation region. However, the initiation of cotton cultivation was rather late in the Upper Plain when it was compared with the fields in the Lower Plain. The construction of railroad could incite the portion of land under cotton cultivation in the Upper Plain.¹⁰³

The railway connected towns with each other and facilitated trade. It also strengthened the position of the Europeans in the economic life of Çukurova. The railway construction was an irreversible move, which accelerated the process of commercialization of agriculture and consolidated the position of the Adana region in the international market.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p.82.

¹⁰² Delane Stebbing, "Along the line of the Baghdad Railway," in *Fortnightly Review* (Spring 1913), p. 435.

¹⁰³ For further information about the commercialization of agriculture in the Adana region, the initiation of cotton cultivation in the Upper Plain and the integration of the Adana region with the international market, see Meltem Toksöz, *The Çukurova: From Nomadic Life to Commercial Agriculture, 1800-1908*.

B. SOCIETY

1. Muslims

The groups, which were collected under the title ‘Muslims’, were the Turks, Kurds, Turcoman and Arabs. They formed the most populous group. The majority of these groups had a nomadic nature and their sedentarization took almost twenty years after the creation of the Reform Division (Fırka-i Islahiye) in 1865 which was the severest step ever taken for their settlement.¹⁰⁴

The table below shows the population movements of the Muslim groups from 1893 to 1914.

Table III. Muslim Population of the Province of Adana, 1893-1914.

Year	Muslim Population
1893	341.376
1894	349.636
1896	351.649
1897	355.912
1906/07	435.795
1914	341.903

Source: Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu 1830-1914 Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri*, trans. by Bahar Tırnakçı (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003) p.164, 166,193,196,198,206.

¹⁰⁴ For detailed information about the forced settlement of the tribes in the Adana region and the efforts considering their sedentarization, see Andrew Gordon Gould, “Pashas and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and Its Impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885.”

The Muslim population showed a regular growth until 1906 in the Adana region. During this period, from 1893 to 1907, the number of Muslims increased by almost 100.000. However, as it could be observed in the table above, the Muslim population strictly decreased from this date to 1914. The number of Muslims was once more calculated as 341.000, which was equal to their number in 1893. It means that approximately 100.000 people passed away in a period as short as eight years. These fluctuations in the number of Muslims could not be understood properly without taking into account the main historical circumstances of the period. As it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the Muslim groups began to migrate to Anatolia from the Balkans and Caucasia largely in the second half of the 19th century. During and after the Crimean War (1856), Russia tried to advance in the Caucasia towards the Ottoman border and mostly achieved in her goals considering this particular region. During her conquests, Nogay Tatars, a Turkic group, which lived in the Southern Caucasia, decided to leave their hometowns and migrate to Anatolia. Almost 100.000 Nogay Tatars sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire and they settled in various parts of Anatolia.¹⁰⁵ Some of them were sent to the Adana region. 2500 families of Nogay settled on the bank of the Ceyhan River, near the town called Misis in 1855.¹⁰⁶ The settlement of these migrants could have a positive impact on the Muslim population throughout the Adana region. However, the remarkable increase that could be observed in the Table III was generally depended on the additional migration of the Turkish groups who kept coming to Anatolia mainly from the Balkans and Caucasia. The Ottoman government continued to settle a noticeable proportion of these further groups on the bank of the Ceyhan River, especially in the

¹⁰⁵ Alexadre Toumarkine, *Les Migrations des Populations Musulmanes Balkaniques en Anatolie (1876-1913)* (Istanbul: İsis, 1995), p. 27-28.

¹⁰⁶ Cevdet Paşa, p.124.

region between the towns of Misis and Yumurtalık. Besides the crowded groups from the Balkans, Circassians, Crimean Tatars and Caucasian Turks continued to migrate to Anatolia and they were subsequently settled in the mentioned places especially during the period from 1880s to 1890s.¹⁰⁷ New villages were also set up for the settlement of these migrant groups. The name and the place of these villages can be observed in the table below. For the exact location of these villages also see Map III and IV.

Table IV. The Names and Ethnic Composition of the Newly Established Villages

Old Name of the region	New Name	Name of the Group	Year of Settlement
Şevkiye	Ünlüce	Balkan Turks	1900
Belören	Belören	Balkan Turks	1880-1890
Havraniye	Geçitli	Cretans	1895
Akpınar	Akpınar	Balkan Turks	1885
Yeniköy	Yeniköy	Balkan Turks	1899
Yellibel	Yellibel	Crimean Tatars	1879-80
Hamidiye	Hamidiye	Balkan Turks	1895
Salihîye	Kuzucak	Balkan Turks	1900-02
Toktamış	Toktamış	Nogay Tatars	1855-60
Yılankale	Yılankale	Nogay Tatars	1855-60
Hamitbeybucağı	Hamitbeybucağı	Albanians	1892
Hamitbey	Hamitbey	Nogay Tatars	1855-60

¹⁰⁷ Mustafa Soysal, *Die Siedlungs und Landschaftsentwicklung der Çukurova: mit besonderer berücksichtigung der Yüreğir-Ebene* (Bamberg: Palm & Elke, 1976), p.57.

Kurtpınar	Kurtpınar	Cretans	1890-1900
Mahmudiye	Irmaklı	Balkan Turks	After 1913
Akdam	Akdam	Balkan Turks	1910

Source: Mustafa Soysal, Die Siedlungs und Landschaftsentwicklung der Çukurova: mit besonderer berücksichtigung der Yüreğir-Ebene (Bamberg: Palm&Elke, 1976) p.59-61.

These migrant groups especially the Nogay Tatars did actually contribute to the agricultural development of their settlement points, which actually remained inside the borders of the region that was generally known as the Upper Plain.¹⁰⁸ However, their contribution only provided a partial cultivation of the Upper Plain in 1875. The majority of the fields were left uncultivated during this period.¹⁰⁹ Their apparent impact on the population growth seemed to be not properly realized on the economic field. They partially affected the agricultural production of the region. In a way, they consolidated the position of the Muslim groups who dominated the Adana region in quantity, and not in quality. Out of thousands of Muslim groups including the incoming migrants as well as the former dwellers, only a small minority had a high-ranking position in the economic life of the region. Among the members of this minor group, two people achieved to capture an important position in the economic life of the Adana region and accomplished to continue their businesses also in the Republican period. They were two well-known factory owners, Salih Bosnalı and Rasim Dokur, who migrated to the region from Albania and Egypt respectively. Rasim Dokur established a factory specialized in

¹⁰⁸ Cevdet Paşa, p.124.

¹⁰⁹ E.J. Davis, p.72.

Map III. Newly Established Villages Between Adana and Ceyhan (From Yücel Yaman ed. *Köy Köy Türkiye Yol Atlası* [Istanbul: İki Nokta, 2004])

Map IV. Newly Established Villages Between Ceyhan and Osmaniye (From Yücel Yaman ed., *Köy Köy Türkiye Yol Atlası* [Istanbul: İki Nokta, 2004])

cotton weaving in Tarsus.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, Salih Bosnalı had been operating a small cotton gin and a flourmill in Adana.¹¹¹

Besides these two exceptions that contradict with the general outlook of the Muslim groups considering their rather inefficient position in the economic life of the Adana region, two different groups of Muslims did exist in the region. The ones who settled in the country, in other words in villages and in plains, were generally cattle breeders and the size of their cattle was the basic determinant of their wealth. These Muslim families, generally Turcoman and Kurd, sold the wool and leather of their animals and kept some of their wool for carpet and rug weaving.¹¹² In the case of the Muslims who lived in the cities, it could be said that they were usually government officials and a small proportion of them owned shops.¹¹³

The situation of the Muslims on the large extent became worse when the French forces occupied the Adana region including the main towns, Adana, Tarsus and Mersin. The Armistice of Mudros, which was concluded between Admiral Calthorpe, the commander of the British Black Sea squadron and an Ottoman delegation under Hüseyin Rauf Bey, the Navy Minister, on 31 October 1918, marked the end of the fighting between the Entente Powers and the Ottoman Empire which had lasted throughout World War I.¹¹⁴ The Armistice entailed the transfer of the strategic points and the means of transport and communication such as railways, telegraph lines and straits to the Entente Powers. In order to prevent an Ottoman resistance, all the Ottoman troops decided to be

¹¹⁰ Damar Arıkoğlu, *Hatıralarım* (Ankara: Tan Gazetesi ve Matbaası, 1961), p.315.

¹¹¹ Sadun Tanju, *The Life of Hacı Ömer Sabancı*, trans. Geoffrey Lewis (Saffron Walden, UK: World of Information, 1988), p.109.

¹¹² Vital Cuinet, p.135-136.

¹¹³ Kasım Ener, p.223.

¹¹⁴ Erik Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p.138.

demobilized and disarmed, contrary to the right of the Entente Powers to use force whenever and wherever they found it necessary.¹¹⁵

In accordance with the Armistice of Mudros, the French forces gradually began to control the whole Adana region. The French occupation commenced under the command of General Allenby on 18 December 1918. On 1 February 1919, at the disposal of General Allenby, Colonel Bremond took charge of the administration of Adana, which eventually became the headquarters of the French forces. It was the beginning of the impenetrable French presence in all official institutions and municipal offices.¹¹⁶

The initiation of the French occupation meant hardship and distress for the Muslim groups in the city of Adana. Various incidents occurred between the French forces who were reinforced mainly by the Armenian¹¹⁷ soldiers and the Turkish and Muslim groups, which resulted in the suffering of the Turkish civilians in many towns under French occupation including the city of Adana.¹¹⁸ These events precipitated the counter attack plans of the Turkish side, which were based on the evacuation of the foreign elements and afterwards the reestablishment of the Turkish domination in the province. The plans about the reformation of Turkish authority were not unique to the province of Adana but they actually showed similarities in almost every town that was under military occupation where the Turkish and Muslim resistance groups gathered around their faith in independence. These resistant groups who were also demanding the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of all lands within the armistice lines, organized two important

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.42.

¹¹⁷ For detailed information considering the situation of the Armenian groups during and after World War I, see the following “Armenian” section.

¹¹⁸ The detailed information about the incidents that took place between the Armenians and the Turkish and Muslim groups in the course of the French occupation of the whole region can be found in Kemal Çelik Milli Mücadele’de Adana ve Havalisi 1918-1922 and Damar Arıkoğlu Hatıralarım.

congresses, one in Erzurum (23 July 1919) and the other one in Sivas (4-11 September 1919) under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. These congresses provided a legal base for these clandestinely organized and self-determining groups and contributed to their unification under the title of Society for the Defense of the National Rights of Anatolia and Thrace (Anadolu Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Milliye Cemiyeti)¹¹⁹

The leaders of the resistance movement in the Province of Adana showed their willingness to cooperate with the rest of the resistant bodies by sending a committee to Sivas after the Congress in order to talk the situation in Adana through with Mustafa Kemal. The establishment of an armed force was decided after the talks between the representatives of the province and Mustafa Kemal. This military force, called as the Cilician National Army (Kilikya Kuva-i Milliye Komutanlığı) was established on 1 November 1919.¹²⁰ After the establishment of the army, armed conflict started between the Turkish and the French as well as Armenian soldiers on January 1920.¹²¹

The first phase of the fighting ended up with a cease-fire demand from the French side, on May 25, 1920. The battles started on 17 June 1920, just after the French side reinforced her troops. This time the conditions were in France's favor. The French forces seized control of the province in July.¹²² The French advance created a wave of panic among the Turkish population of Adana, who decided to leave the city in order to save themselves from an imminent French attack. Therefore, the Turkish families started to

¹¹⁹ Erik Zürcher, p.156-157.

¹²⁰ Kemal Çelik, *Milli Mücadele'de Adana ve Havalisi (1918-1922)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), p.149.

¹²¹ Erik Zürcher, p.155.

¹²² Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.44-45.

evacuate the city of Adana, as well as the plains and moved towards the mountainous districts, which were mainly under the control of the Turkish forces.¹²³

The flight of the Turkish population gave rise to a noticeable decrease in the agricultural production of the region. Their departure impeded the cultivation of an important portion of the fields and caused a severe drop in agricultural output, which subsequently emerged as a severe threat considering the imminent food shortages.¹²⁴ The amount of wheat production was not available between the years of 1919 and 1922. However, the decrease in cotton production could be used as an evidence for the general cutback in agricultural output. The cotton production of the Adana region dropped to 20.000 bales in 1919, then to 15.000 bales in 1921.¹²⁵ These amounts covered almost one ninth of the pre-war production, which reached 135.000 bales in 1914.¹²⁶

The situation of the French military advance took a turn for the worse at the beginning of the year 1921. The Turkish troops emancipated some regions such as Feke, Kadirli, Kozan, and Karaisalı from French domination.¹²⁷ The military advance of the Turkish forces compelled the French officers to prepare a favorable ground for reconciliation. The expectations concerning the peace settlement between the two parties gained a firm legal ground when the French government sent Frank Boullion, a former minister, to Ankara in order to discuss terms with the representatives of the Grand National Assembly (Büyük Millet Meclisi) -the decision-making body of the armed resistant groups in Anatolia and

¹²³ Kemal Çelik, p.407.

¹²⁴ Paul du Veou, *La Passion de la Cilicie, 1919-1922* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1937), p.395.

¹²⁵ Vedat Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1994), p.163.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p.38.

¹²⁷ Kemal Çelik, p.473.

Thrace- on behalf of the French government. The negotiations took almost five months and ended up with the subscription of the Ankara Agreement on 21 October 1921.¹²⁸

This agreement was going to reestablish Turkish authority in the whole province in two months, after its ratification by the binding states. The evacuation of the French troops would be held from 4 November 1921 to 3 January 1922.¹²⁹

The end of the French occupation did not only necessitate the departure of the French forces but hastened the leaving of the Armenian and Greek inhabitants from the Adana region.¹³⁰ These flights of the non-Muslim groups deeply affected the structure of the population of the Adana region, especially the city of Adana that used to have a heterogeneous nature. However, the end of the War of Independence in the city of Adana vanished such a structure and founded the basis of a noticeable Turkish and Muslim control not only in the administrative means but also in the economic and financial sectors. The Turkish and Muslim groups actively participated in the reshaping of the economic framework of the city of Adana after the War of Independence. It could be accepted as a quite new phenomenon considering the situation of the Turkish and Muslim groups who had remained in the background for years regarding the economic issues. The end of the war marked a new period in the city of Adana when the gradually maturing nucleus of Turkish and Muslim businessmen, tradesmen and landowners began to emerge.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.474-475.

¹²⁹ Paul du Veou, p.399-401.

¹³⁰ The leaving of the Armenians and Greeks will be discussed in the following sections in details.

¹³¹ The gradual turkification of the economic life of the city of Adana will be discussed in Chapter 4.

2.Armenians

Armenians were the most populous non-Muslim community in the region whose number reached 74.930 in 1912 and formed 11.2 percent of the total population of the whole province of Adana.¹³² Their appearance in the region went back centuries. Even since the Phoenician times, Armenians had had commercial ties with the region. They settled in the Adana region due to Persian and Arabian raids and established a Kingdom in 1080 whose presence came to an end by the Mamlukes in 1375.¹³³

However, the dissolution of the Kingdom did not end the Armenian presence in the region. Some of the Armenian groups preferred to stay on the plains and gathered in the towns, Adana, Misis, Sis (Kozan) and Tarsus. They were generally peasants who were engaged in small commerce and gardening. The rest of the community sought refuge in the mountains and chose proceeding towards the northern part of the country and they settled in Haçin (Saimbeyli) and its environs. These groups had actually specialized in mining, crafts and horse breeding.¹³⁴

However, in the second half of the nineteenth century a noticeable wealth accumulation did occur among the members of the Armenian community in the Adana region, especially in the city of Adana as well as the towns of Kozan and Haçin. Some of the Armenian dwellers of these towns turned into important merchants, moneylenders, middlemen or rural traders of the whole Adana region.¹³⁵ This emergence of the Armenians as wealthy businessmen, tradesmen and landowners of the city of Adana is

¹³² Justin McCarthy, *Population History of the Middle East and the Balkans* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2002), p.283.

¹³³ Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.25-26.

¹³⁴ Victor Langlois, p.19.

¹³⁵ Donald Bloxham, "Determinants of the Armenian Genocide" in *Confronting the Armenian Genocide Looking Backward Moving Forward*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2003), p.28.

generally associated with their cooperation with the European merchants whose commercial bonds with the Adana region quite reinforced particularly after the promotion of cotton production in this region, after 1860s.¹³⁶ The documents in the local archive¹³⁷ also prove that the Armenians had controlled various sectors in the city of Adana. Most of them were among the important landowners. They had possessed a remarkably high portion of land especially in the regions that constituted the green belts of the city of Adana. These places were called as Zincirli, Karaenbiya, Yılanlı, Dilberler Sekisi, Kurttepe and Demirköprü. They are located just outside the center of the city and served as a kind of summer residences for the Armenian merchants and businessmen. These summer residences were located in these districts because of their proximity to the center of the city of Adana where the business centers were situated alongside. It was very beneficial for Armenian merchants who would not like to leave Adana for a long time even during the summer.¹³⁸ Numerous members of the Armenian community in the city of Adana had possessed various amounts of land (generally between 100 and 300 donums) and vineyard (on an average of 50 donums) in these mentioned districts. Some of the names that could be found in the local archive are Kirgori Pandali, Hacı Nikoli, Hasırcıoğlu İlyas, Habercioğlu Avram, Arariyan, Ayvazoğlu Agop, Pabuççuoğlu Nikoli, Kunduracı Karabet, Bızdıkoğlu Agop, Bızdıkoğlu Ivan, Hacı Panos, Kazancı Avin,

¹³⁶ Çağlar Keyder, *The Definition of a Peripheral Economy: Turkey, 1923-1929* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.21.

¹³⁷ Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, KHGMA.

¹³⁸ Damar Arıkoğlu, p.43. Damar Arıkoğlu told in his memoir that the Armenians had summer residences in the districts called Zincirli, Karaenbiya, Yılanlı, Dilberler Sekisi, Kurttepe and Demirköprü. The places that he gave are perfectly matched with the location of the abandoned Armenian estates that I found in the local archive, KHGMA. (The information about this archive will also be given in the next chapter.) Therefore, it is quite possible that these districts were actually the places where the summer residences of the Armenian dwellers were located.

Kasap Kirkor, Berberoğlu Yuvan, Arakiloğlu Kirkor, Hacı Anton, Demirci Agop, Palancı Simon, Sarraf Yorgi, Berber Nikoli, Balıkçı Agop and Doktor Abraham.¹³⁹

Besides these summer residences, some documents, also in the local archive, indicate the large estates of the Armenians which were also located in the outer regions, mainly in the villages that scattered all over the Lower Plain.¹⁴⁰ In these villages, contrary to the location of the summer residences, which were actually registered under the name of various owners, few families possessed a considerably high portion of land. For instance, in a village named Belören, an Armenian inhabitant of the region called İsakyan possessed almost 9000 donums of land.¹⁴¹ Also, in one of these villages, Akbenli, another Armenian family, Deliferyan, had owned 1451,5 donums of land. Furthermore, there are additional documents that show the Armenian ownership in various villages called Abdioğlu, Büyükkapılı and Şihmurat. The Armenian landowners had also bought land from İncirlik and Köprüköyü.¹⁴² In these large Armenian estates generally commercial agricultural was practiced on the basis of crop rotation of wheat, cotton and sesame.¹⁴³

In addition to their investments on land, the Armenian groups seemed to have an important weight on the commercial life of the city of Adana, because they had owned reasonably high number of workshops in the main bazaars of the city. These bazaars were called Sacbedesten, Eski Bağdad Pazarı, Kapalı Çarşı, Kazancılar, Yeni Pazar, Orta Bedesten, Yeni Bedesten, Siptilli Pazarı, Pamuk Pazarı, Un Pazarı and Yeni Çarşı.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ KHGMA.

¹⁴⁰ For the exact location of these villages see Map III.

¹⁴¹ KHGMA, Adana Merkez Köyler Defteri.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Mübeccel Kıray and Jan Hinderink, *Social Stratification as an Obstacle to Development: A Study of Four Turkish Villages* (New York: Praeger, 1970), p.14.

¹⁴⁴ KHGMA. In his memoirs, Damar Arıkoğlu also told that the Armenian merchants had owned a good number of shops located in the bazaars that were mentioned above. These merchants had been generally trading silk or cotton clothes in their shops. For details, see Arıkoğlu, p.38. Also see Map V.

The economic power of the Armenian groups, especially the ones in the city of Adana, was followed by their gradually increasing weight in the political life of the city, mainly in the municipal level. Further Tanzimat reforms broke the monopoly of Muslims in bureaucracy and opened the door to government offices for non-Muslim communities. Thanks to these regulations which brought equality between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities concerning their recruitment to official institutions, the Armenians began to work in various state institutions and even became members of the Provincial Administrative Councils (Vilayet İdare Meclisleri) which were established in order to prevent the monopoly of the governors in the administration of the provinces.¹⁴⁵

Predominance of the Armenian community in the governmental posts showed itself also in two towns Sis (Kozan) and Haçin (Saimbeyli) where the Armenians held the majority of the population. In these two towns the Armenians were so powerful that they occupied the bulk of the high standing government offices and even represented their hometowns in the Assembly as deputies.¹⁴⁶

Economic and later political power brought courage and self-confidence to the Armenian community. They were a highly populous group of people. A reasonable amount of wealth was accumulated in their hands. They had had a reasonably long past in

¹⁴⁵ For further information about provincial regulations of Tanzimat, see Musa Çadırcı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapıları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991).

¹⁴⁶ Mesrob Krikorian, *Armenians in the Service of the Ottoman Empire 1860-1908* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p.62-69.

Map V. The Center of the City of Adana (From Lothar Rother, *Die Stade der Cilicia: Adana-Mersin-Tarsus* [Tubingen, 1971]).

the region where they could claim themselves as natives. The realization of their power began with the awakening of the Armenian community and it gradually underlined the differences between them and the Muslim and Turkish population of the region, which were the members and representatives of the ruling class. The realization of the other eliminated the tolerance between these communities and ended up with suppression, fighting and finally killing. On April 14, 1909 severe fighting broke out between the Armenians and Muslims in Adana, Tarsus, Azizli, Erzin and Dörtyol. These fighting finalized with the death of thousands of Armenians.¹⁴⁷

The aloofness between the Turkish and Armenian groups grew much wider that the cohabitation of these groups turned even impracticable. The scary results showed the gravity of hostility between them. Six years later, the Ottoman government was unsure about the settlement of disputes between the two communities and included the Adana region to the scope of the Armenian Deportation Law (Ermeni Tehciri Kanunu), on May 27, 1915. The Armenians left the city of Adana and its environs in crowded groups. The first to be deported were the Armenians of Zeytun, Haçin, Hasanbeyli, Entilli and Bahçe.¹⁴⁸ The Muslim migrants who came from the Balkans subsequently received the abandoned Armenian houses in the center. According to an inspection that was done by the local authorities at the disposal of the forthcoming Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement in the city of Adana in 1924, it could be observed that the

¹⁴⁷ Nurşen Mazıcı, *Uluslararası Rekabette Ermeni Sorunu'nun Kökeni 1878-1920* (Istanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2005), p.70.

¹⁴⁸ Hilmar Kaiser, "The Baghdad Railway and the Armenian Genocide 1915-1916," in *Remembrance and Denial The Case of the Armenian Genocide*, ed. Richard Hovannisian (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1999), p.78-79.

migrants who had come to the city from the various Balkan towns in the course of the Balkan Wars and World War I, had been settled in the Armenian residences that were located in the center of the city of Adana. However, in these documents, nothing was mentioned considering the illegal occupation of these residences. It was exactly stated that these migrants received residences that formerly belonged to Armenians after their arrival to the city during the mentioned period.¹⁴⁹ A few years later the Armenians returned to their hometowns, during the French occupation of the Adana region between the years of 1918 and 1922.

During the return journey of the Armenians from their points of exile in Syria to their hometowns in the Adana region, some Armenian groups were recruited by the French forces as soldiers. Besides the colonial forces of the Entente Powers, an Armenian Legion was created under the supervision of the French officers for the security of the French commanders in the Adana region. In fact, until the arrival of the first reinforcements, in June 1919, the Armenian Legion was the only force in Cilicia. As a part of the French Legion d'Orient, the Armenian Legion consisted of four battalions, approximately 5.000 soldiers and officers who had enlisted in Egypt.¹⁵⁰

The return of the Armenian groups gained a legal ground when the Ottoman government on 31 December 1918 prepared a decree, in order to set down regulations for the return of these groups to Cilicia. The underlying aims of this decree were to take necessary measures in order to provide a safe return for the Armenians and to reestablish their former life in Cilicia as soon as possible. The articles of the decree, which worked on these purposes, included regulations such as the redistribution of the estates to their

¹⁴⁹ KHGMA.

¹⁵⁰ Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1995), p.204.

former Armenian owners, the reopening of churches and community schools, entrusting the Armenian orphans to their families and communities and granting the converts the right to proselytize and to perform their former Christian rites. In addition to those articles, the Ottoman Ministry of War was charged with the return project and was given the responsibility of providing additional funds for the transfer of penurious families who were not in a position to meet the expenses of the demanding return journey.¹⁵¹

As it could be observed in the articles of the decree that was mentioned above, some unpleasant occurrences had taken place regarding the Armenian groups in the Adana region after 1915. According to the articles, forced conversions to Islam, confiscation of the Armenian estates as well as the closing down of the churches and community schools did actually take place during and after the deportation of the Armenians throughout the Adana region. The decree promised the Armenian groups that the unpleasant events on their side were not going to occur and their lives in their hometowns would return to their former situation, in other words before their deportation from the Adana region. The propitious nature of the articles as well as the promises that were given to the Armenians accelerated the return of many of them from the Syrian land to Anatolia even before the decree had come into force. 120.000 Armenians migrated to Cilicia under the control of the French officers until the end of the year 1918.¹⁵² “Eight thousand Armenians were sent to Mersin by ship and many more arrived in Cilicia by land.”¹⁵³

120.000 Armenians were dispersed throughout the former Armenian towns and districts in the Province of Adana. 60.000 Armenians settled in Adana, 15.000 in Misis, 12.000 in Dörtöyl, 12.000 in İncirlik, 8.000 in Haçin, 4.000 in Tarsus, between 2.000 to

¹⁵¹ Ali Güler, *Rakamlarla Türkiye’de Azınlıklar* (Ankara: Berikan, 2001), p.103-104.

¹⁵² Paul du Veou, p.91.

¹⁵³ Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile*, p.205.

3.000 in Mersin and 1.000 each in Osmaniye, Nacarlı, Hasanbeyli and Abdioğlu. The rest of the Armenians were sent to Bahçe, Islahiye, Hıristiyan Köy and the plains.¹⁵⁴

It seems this decree did not incite only the former Armenian population of the Adana region to return their hometowns, but also various Armenian groups from different places who must have come to Adana and the neighboring towns because the number of the Armenians who returned was more than the former Armenian population of the region which was approximately 75.000. It was also claimed that the Armenians who were not subject to the deportation and remained in their hometowns such as Kayseri throughout the World War I also migrated to the Adana region during the French occupation.¹⁵⁵

The return of the Armenians brought about a change in the roles between the Turks and Armenians. It was the time for the Armenians to empower the Turks. In order to prevent any repetition of their past experiences, which ended up in their suffering, the Armenians tried their level best to take advantage of this situation and to suppress the Turkish element in the region. As it was examined in the previous section, this situation led to severe Turkish resistance and fighting started between these two communities as well as the French forces. The fighting lasted for two years and the French side accepted to evacuate the region.

The evacuation of the French forces caused a wave of panic among the minorities mainly among the Armenian dwellers of the various towns in Cilicia. They hastened to leave the whole province as well as the city of Adana. It is claimed that a huge Turkish pressure caused such dismay among the Armenians who were actually forced to leave the city of Adana. It was stated that several pressure tactics were used to induce the

¹⁵⁴ Paul du Veou, p.91.

¹⁵⁵ Justin McCarthy, Death and Exile, p.205.

Armenians to leave “voluntarily”.¹⁵⁶ “The British consul in Aleppo reported that Armenians “driven out” of Cilicia were not allowed to dispose their property, being “told that the Government alone has the right to dispose of their property and in effect the Government confiscates it.”¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the Armenians began to leave the region in crowded groups. During the time given for the French side in terms of the Ankara Agreement, 30.305 Armenians departed from Cilicia by vessels; 10.000 of them, who were mainly the inhabitants of Dörtyol, chose to leave the town by train. Another 4.500 Armenians migrated from Antep and Kilis to the districts under French control. The total number of the Armenian migrants, together with the clandestine flights, reached 60.000 most of whom subsequently settled in Syria.¹⁵⁸

The number of the non-Muslim subjects who did stay in Cilicia at the turn of the year 1922 was only 3.761 out of which 637 were Armenians and 518 were Greeks. The rest of them were Syrian Christians.¹⁵⁹ This number shows that there is a high inconsistency between the number of those who had come in 1918 and those who migrated in 1922. 120.000 Armenians had migrated to Cilicia in 1918 under French supervision. But only half of them left the province. It could be possible that some of these people stayed in the Province of Adana and hid their identities; some could migrate to other provinces from which they came to Adana in 1918. Some of the families had the opportunity to migrate to such other places as the United States rather than the districts under the control of the French forces such as Syria.

¹⁵⁶ Levon Marashliyan, “Finishing the Genocide Cleansing Turkey of Armenian Survivors 1920-1923,” in *Remembrance and Denial* ed. Richard Hovannisian (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999), p.136.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Paul du Veou, p.430.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

3.Greeks

The Greeks could be accepted as a minor community in the Province of Adana. Their number did not exceed 12.000 in the whole province in 1914.¹⁶⁰ However their influence in the region was not as insignificant as their number. Actually, numerous members of the Greek community were the people of wealth that formed the majority of the notables of Adana, Mersin and Tarsus.

Two groups of Greeks existed in the region, the natives and the migrants. The number of natives was approximately 2000. This Turkish-speaking group was composed of peasants and small shop owners who did not have a significant impact on the economic life of the region. The members of the other group had migrated to the region from Kayseri, Niğde, Konya, Cyprus, Mitylene and mainland Greece and comprised one of the highest-ranking classes in society.¹⁶¹

Kayseri, Konya or the Aegean islands were not randomly selected points of departure. In fact, the Province of Adana had firm commercial relations with these mentioned districts for decades, which strengthened in the second half of the 19th century. From the beginning of the 19th century, the merchants of Kayseri and Cyprus traded the products of their region taking cotton and wheat in exchange. The traffic between Adana and Kayseri was so intense that the merchants visited Adana 30-40 times a year.¹⁶² It is possible that some of these merchants decided to settle in Adana to control their businesses from the center, Adana, rather than from the periphery. Their migration to Adana was a very conscious act and comprised of further financial profits.

¹⁶⁰ Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), P.97.

¹⁶¹The Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Adana File, Population Section.

¹⁶² W.B.Barker, p.118, 374.

The migrant Greeks were merchants, brokers, engineers, land owners and businessmen. Tripani who migrated from Chios founded the first mechanized gin in Adana. Kosmo Simyonoğlu, a migrant of Kayseri, followed in Tripani's footsteps and established the second gin. Simyonoğlu also owned two large sized farms called Madama's Farm (Madama Çiftliği) and Kosmo's Farm (Kosmo'nun Çiftliği). The former farm was located just outside the center of Adana and the latter was situated 12 kilometers ahead of Karataş. In addition to them, Palcoglu, Mihailidis, Boduroğlu and Kokkinaki owned gins and flourmills in the region.¹⁶³

The Greeks densely settled in quarters called Döşeme, Kiremit and Çınarlı. The Greek shops were mainly situated in the Buğday Pazarı (the Wheat Market).¹⁶⁴

The end of the War of Independence in the Adana region, in other words the end of the French occupation, brought about the departure of the Greeks from the region. The Greeks departed from the province via the port in Mersin. The vessels, which were provided by the French command post, carried 500-600 Greeks in each cruise.¹⁶⁵ 6.393 Greeks who left the Province of Adana¹⁶⁶ later sought refuge in mainland Greece, Cyprus and various Aegean islands.¹⁶⁷ However, according to the official documents that are found in the Turkish Republican Archive (Türkiye Cumhuriyet Arşivi) some of the Greek families stayed in the city of Adana, until 1924 and they left the city due to the terms of the Exchange of Populations Agreement. According to the document, it is understood that

¹⁶³ The Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Adana File. Economy Section.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, Geography Section.

¹⁶⁵ Yannis Mourelous, ed., *Exodos*, vol. B (Atina: Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon, 1982), p.517. (Γιαννη Μουρελου, ed. *Εξοδος*. Αθηνά: Κεντρώ Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών, 1982)

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p.535.

¹⁶⁷ Yannis Mourelous, "Afieroma sti Mikrasiatiki Katastrofi" in *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon*, vol.3 (Atina: Kentro Mikrasiatikon Spoudon, 1983), p.255. (Γιαννη Μουρελου "Αφιέρωμα στη Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή." In *Λεττιο Κεντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 251-261. Vol.3. Αθηνά: Κεντρώ Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών, 1983.)

388 Greeks in 107 houses had not yet left the city of Adana in 1924. Their transportation to Greece tried to be accelerated due to accommodations problems in the city of Adana.¹⁶⁸ Therefore, it could be said that the situation of the Greeks was different from the Armenians. Some of them did stay in the city of Adana until the Exchange of Population came into the picture and they left thereafter. Not all of them hastened to leave the city or they were forced to leave the city with the French forces.

As in the case of the Armenians, the Greeks left a noticeable amount of estates behind them especially the ones who were engaged in industry. These abandoned estates of the Greeks did actually constitute the core of the newly developing industry in the Adana region after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

After the departure of the Greeks and Armenians, the Turkish authority in Adana had firmly consolidated itself before the appearance of the Exchange of Populations Protocol even as a proposal. The Turkish migrants who were subject to the Exchange of Populations and migrated from Greece to Turkey in 1924 found a steadily established Turkish administration in the Adana region.

¹⁶⁸ TCA, 272..0.0.11, 19.92..7,24.08.1924.This subject will be discussed in the next chapter.

PART II THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS AGREEMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON ADANA

CHAPTER III

THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS AND MIGRANT SETTLEMENT IN ADANA

The Exchange of Populations as an Extension of Former Muslim Migrations to Anatolia

The Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey was not a dissociated migration move but it actually contained aspects of the former flows of migrations of Turkish and Muslim subjects from the Balkans as well as from Crimea and Caucassia to the areas of the Ottoman Empire such as Macedonia, Eastern and Western Thrace and Anatolia. From the turn of the 19th century until the exchange of populations in 1923, various Turkish and Muslim groups had to change their location due to political and social reordering in the Balkans.

The main reason behind the relocation of these Turkish groups is generally associated with the emergence of the independent or autonomous states of the Balkan peoples such as Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians and Rumanians in the course of the period from 1800 to 1912.¹⁶⁹ Unity in language and religion was the basic motto of the nationalist leaders of these newly established Balkan states¹⁷⁰, which naturally impeded the maintenance of Turkish and Muslim presence in most parts of the Balkans. Therefore, the Turkish groups began to move forward to the areas under Ottoman control, as the new states were established on the lands that were formerly part of the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁶⁹ Faruk Kocacık, “Balkanlar’dan Anadolu’ya Yönelik Göçler” (Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1978) p.42-43.

¹⁷⁰ Barbara and Charles Jelavich, *The Balkans* (NJ: Englewood Cliffs, 1965), p.45.

A serious flow of migration took place after the subscription of the Treaty of Edirne (1829), which brought independence to Greece and autonomy to Serbia.¹⁷¹ However large-sized migrations came about mainly after the Russo-Ottoman War (1877-1878) and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913). The exchange of populations constituted the third phase of the large-scale Turkish and Muslim migrations from the Balkans to the Eastern Thrace and Anatolia.¹⁷² During the period before and after the Russo-Ottoman War- exactly from 1876 to 1882- nearly 600.000 Muslims left mainly for Anatolia.¹⁷³ In the course of the first Balkan War (October 1912- March 1913) about 104.000 Muslims migrated to Eastern Thrace. In 1913, 49.000 Muslims migrated to Anatolia in accordance with the Istanbul Convention between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire that required an exchange of populations between negotiating states.¹⁷⁴

Each new flow of migrations intensified the burden of the Ottoman Empire who shouldered the primary responsibility of providing shelter for the thousands of migrant families. This demanding task was initially carried out by the already existing administrative institutions such as offices that were at the disposal of the Ministry of Interior or Ministry of Trade. After 1860¹⁷⁵, settlement of the migrants began to be conducted by specifically established Migrant Commissions (Muhacirin Komisyonu).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ Faruk Kocacık, p.44.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Justin McCarthy, Population History, p.143.

¹⁷⁴ Alexandre Toumarkine, p.31-32.

¹⁷⁵ 1860 was not a randomly selected year for the establishment of an institution that was specifically engaged in the settlement of migrant groups as well as their nourishment, but it actually marked the period when the Turkic groups in the Crimea and Caucasia began to migrate to the Ottoman Empire in large groups. In 1859, 17.971 people from the Crimea and 1.060 people from Caucasia, mainly Nogay Tatars and Caucasians, migrated to Anatolia. The flow of migrations intensified in the years between 1860-1864, in the course of which 227.361 people from Crimea and in the order of 400.000 subjects from Caucasia migrated to the Ottoman Empire. (Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri, 1856-1876* [Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997], p.86-88)

¹⁷⁶ Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası 1913-1918* (İstanbul:İletisim Yayınları, 2001), p. 57-58.

However the intensity and continuity of the migrations both from the Balkans and Caucassia required additional rearrangements in the structure of these institutions in order to deal with the migrant problems, which continued to multiply due to coming of further groups to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, a Migrant Directorate (Muhacirin M d riyeti) was established in every province that settlement would take place. These directorates were at the disposal of the General Administrative Commission for Migrants ( dare-i Umumiye-i Muhacirin Komisyonu), which was established in 1878 and replaced the former Migrant Commissions of 1860.¹⁷⁷ In 1913, just after the Balkan Wars, the Migrant Settlement Regulation ( skan-ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi) was put into effect and the Ministry of Interior was charged for its implementation. With reference to this regulation, a General Directorate for the Settlement of the Tribes and Migrants ( skan-ı A sair ve Muhacirin M d riyeti) was founded in 1914 whose powers were broadened in 1916 due to amelioration of the settlement policies of former institutions that disregarded ethnic and climatic conditions of migrant groups and eventually caused their suffering.¹⁷⁸ During the War of Independence, the settlement issue was handed over to the Directorate of Migrants (Muhacirin M d riyeti) under the supervision of the Ministry of Health and Social Aid (Sihhiye ve Muavenat-ı   timaiyye Vekaleti) which thereafter was succeeded by the institutions of the Republican era which were primarily engaged in the settlement of those subjected to the Exchange of Populations in the few of years after their establishment.¹⁷⁹

The impact of these Turkish and Muslim migrations showed itself by a noticeable increase in the Muslim population of Anatolia, which was increased by almost 50%

¹⁷⁷ Faruk Kocacık, p.106.

¹⁷⁸ Fuat D ndar, p. 60-61.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p.61-62.

during the period of 1878-1912.¹⁸⁰ Even though this increase in population did not solely result from these migration moves¹⁸¹, but they nonetheless balanced the population losses of the Ottoman Empire due to grievous wars such as the Russo-Ottoman War (1877-1878) that resulted in numerous casualties in the Ottoman forces.¹⁸²

However, the impact of these migrations was felt more deeply on the moral side. In spite of the fact that the migrants were from different places of origin, religion as their common point united these large groups on the same ground. The term that was used to call these migrants, *muhacir*, was also related to Islam, which was used in the Qur'an for the ones who left Mecca for Medina with the Prophet Mohammed.¹⁸³ Mecca was defined in the Qu'ran, as the city of the infidel and Medina was the city of believers after the migration (Hicret) of the followers of Mohammed to Medina. The utilization of this term, *muhacir*, could be served for the circulation of the idea that these migrants were migrating from the cities of the infidel to the towns of believers and coreligionists. This could also mark the beginning of the awakening of the Turkish and Muslim groups who started to see themselves different from the rest of the peoples who were also living under the same flag of the Ottoman Empire but were members of different religious and ethnic groups.

¹⁸⁰ Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities*, p. 117.

¹⁸¹ Historian Justin McCarthy listed the reasons behind the increase in population as the internal peace of Anatolia during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), improvement in health conditions such as the prevention of plague epidemics and the development in communications such as the construction of new roads and railways which facilitated the grain transportation and struck a blow against famine in Anatolia. See his *Muslims and Minorities*, p.117.

¹⁸² Justin McCarthy, *Muslim and Minorities*, p.117.

¹⁸³ Toumarkine, p.32.

The Significance of the Exchange of Populations

As stated before, the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey constituted an important phase of the Turkish and Muslim migrations from the Balkans, which started at the turn of the 19th century. However, the articles on the newspapers, the parliamentary talks and the efforts of the civil institutions considering the settlement of the migrants make people think that the Exchange of Populations was more than an unexceptional migration flow. In these articles, speeches of the deputies at the Grand National Assembly as well as in the meetings organized by civil institutions, a kind of extreme sensitivity was observed towards the migrants and these acts actually assigned them additional importance.

I would rather divide the subject of the Exchange of Populations into two phases in order to underline the contradictory developments before and after the arrival of the migrant groups to Turkey. I prefer to define this extreme sensitivity of the Turkish public as well as the Assembly toward the migrants as the first phase of the Exchange of Populations. The other phase was the delinquent attitudes of the institutions, which were in charge of the settlement of the migrants who were subjected to the Exchange of Populations. The sensitivity towards migrants before their arrival could not be observed in the preparation of the settlement schemes. An apparent inconsistency could be observed in the actions of the Grand National Assembly in these two phases, in other words in periods before and after the arrival of the migrants. In this section I will focus on the first phase of the Exchange of Populations.

Before the arrival of the migrants, a considerable number of articles were published on the Turkish newspapers considering the importance of the Exchange of Populations. One

of these journalists, Ahmet Emin (Yalman) wrote in his article on the *Vatan* Newspaper on 21 July 1923 that the Exchange of Populations was a serious examination that was standing before the Turkish administration. If the Turkish government achieved this demanding task, the proper settlement of the thousands of people who were going to migrate from Greece, it would eventually encourage the migration of other Turkish groups in Thrace to the Anatolian soil-what he meant by the ‘other Turkish groups’ was that the Turkish and Muslim groups in Western Thrace which were exempted from the Exchange of Populations- and would provide a firm solution to the population problem.¹⁸⁴

Similar to the attitude of Ahmet Emin, Suphi Nuri showed remarkable attention to the Exchange of Populations issue. He wrote in his article on *İleri* Newspaper that the incoming Turkish and Muslim migrants of Greece were the most precious assets and hopes of the new Turkish state.¹⁸⁵ He continues his article by stating: “We have to take serious action immediately, because we are not in a position to neglect even a single person as a result of maladministration, deprivation and bureaucracy. We need population, especially Turkish and Muslim ones. We have to try hard for securing a comfortable life for these migrants as well as their contentment.”¹⁸⁶ Moreover, in some newspapers these migrants were depicted as the brothers of the same faith and race (ırk ve din kardeşlerimiz), children of martyrs (şehit çocukları)¹⁸⁷ or groups in destitute (kafile-i mazlumin)¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁴ Yücel Demirel, ed., “Mübadele Dosyası II,” *Tarih ve Toplum* XXI/124 (Nisan 1994): 56.

¹⁸⁵ Cahide Zengin, “Türkiye ve Yunanistan Devletleri Arasında Mübadele Meselesi ve Kamuoyu (1918-1930)” (Ph. D. diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1998), p.62.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ *Ahenk*, 28 November 1923.

¹⁸⁸ *Ahenk*, 4 January 1924.

Furthermore, a conference was held by the Settlement and Cooperation Association (İskan ve Teavun Cemiyeti) on 24 September 1923 in İzmir on the issue of the proper settlement of the migrant groups. In this conference, the mentioned association suggested that the settlement of the migrants should be done by taking into consideration two criteria, the climatic conditions and the savoir-faire of the migrants. They underlined the fact that the needs of the migrants were most fulfilled when they were settled in the regions that had the qualities of their former hometowns. According to the participants, this was the basic way to create a social class out of these migrants who would not only produce and work for their welfare but also for the general well-being of the Turkish state.¹⁸⁹

The sensitivity of the newspapers and civil institutions could also be observed in the parliamentary talks considering the Exchange of Populations issue. Especially during the sessions that were held in 1923, the dramatic speeches were made by a high portion of the deputies considering the importance of the migrants for the new Turkish state as well as the necessity of establishing proper institutions that could deal with the settlement of these migrants thoroughly. These deputies made this kind of speeches when they were trying their best to persuade their colleagues that the Exchange of Populations issue was a most important subject on the agenda of the Grand National Assembly in 1923. One of these deputies, Besim Atalay, described the migration of these migrants as the vanishing of the last remaining signs of Turkish legacy in Thrace, according to his depiction, the home of the Turks for centuries. He continues that these migrants were the last pieces of the Turkish domination in Thrace that was why their settlement should have been taken

¹⁸⁹ İskan ve Teavun Cemiyeti, *Umumi Kongre Mübadele İçtimai Mazbatası* , 24 September 1923, p.5-7.

very seriously.¹⁹⁰ Tunalı Hilmi, the deputy of Bolu, who insisted on the establishment of an independent Ministry rather than an institution that was working under the supervision of a government department, expressed some of his past experiences as an officer engaged in the settlement of the migrant groups in the course of World War I. Apparently, as an officer, he witnessed the suffering of thousands of migrant families due to improper settlement schemes and maladministration. He warned his colleagues that only a proper institution –he was suggesting the establishment of an independent ministry- would rescue these people from hardship and death and would provide an appropriate solution to the population problem of the new Turkish state.¹⁹¹ According to him, such a huge number of people, 500.000 as discussed in the parliamentary talks, deserved an immense and detailed organization.¹⁹²

Regarding the articles and speeches of the deputies at the Grand National Assembly, it could be observed that a huge population problem did exist in Turkey in 1923. The journalists and deputies underlined the importance of the proper settlement of migrant groups by reason of finding a solution to the population problem. In fact, Turkey was facing a population exiguity in 1923. It could be said that the War of Independence, which converted Anatolia into a battlefield, brought about dramatic changes in the social structure of the region and caused a population exiguity in Turkey. The Muslim, Armenian and Greek communities, which formed the most thronged groups of the former Ottoman Anatolia, had suffered immense losses after the War, whose members either died or migrated in crowded groups to other regions. It was estimated that one and a half million Armenians had lived in Anatolia before the World War I, but only 70.000

¹⁹⁰ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre II, İçtima Senesi I, Cilt II (Ankara : TBMM Matbaası, 1975), p.658.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p.625.

¹⁹² Ibid, p.653.

remained in there after the War of Independence, in 1923.¹⁹³ In the case of the Greeks of Anatolia, it was approximated that in the order of 1.7 millions of Greeks had been living in Anatolia in 1910. Another 421.000 of them had also settled in the Eastern Thrace.¹⁹⁴ Of the more than two million Greeks who had lived in Anatolia and Eastern Thrace in 1910, 151.892 Greeks migrated from Anatolia to mainland Greece between the years of 1913 and 1922 and 1.069.957 left the region after the defeat of the Greek Army in 1922.¹⁹⁵ In addition, two and a half million Muslims died in Anatolia in the period of World War I and the War of Independence.¹⁹⁶ However, the proportion of death to population was much higher in male subjects. According to the Turkish census of 1927, widowhood was over 30% in the western provinces including İzmir, Aydın, Denizli and Muğla and 29% in some of the northern provinces such as Samsun and Amasya.¹⁹⁷ The severe male deaths explicated the situation that the to-be established Turkish Republic was lacking an important portion of manpower. Since the cultivation and the prosperity of the country depended on an adequate number of people in the 1920s, the death of such a huge portion of the population could lead to a steep increase in the amount of land that was uncultivated and it struck a blow against agricultural development. The crisis in the

¹⁹³ Justin McCarthy, *Muslim and Minorities*, p.121. The noticeable decrease in the Armenian population did not solely stem from the fighting during the War of Independence. In fact, during World War I, a Deportation Law was prepared by the Ottoman cabinet, on the initiative of the Interior Minister, Talat Pasha, by reason of ending the military cooperation between Armenians and Russian forces on the eastern front. According to this Deportation Law, which was put into force in 1915, the Armenian population of Eastern Anatolia including the towns of Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Harput and Sivas was determined to send to Zor in the heart of the Syrian desert. However, the scope of this law was extended beyond this war zone and applied in many more places such as the Adana region. During the relocation of the Armenians from their hometowns to their point of exile, many of them lost their lives. The Turkish historians generally prefer to give the number of losses of the Armenian community about 200.000. The Armenians estimate that almost 2 million of them were killed during this relocation. Historian Erik Zürcher estimates the Armenian losses between 600.000 and 800.000. See his *Turkey A Modern History*, p.120.

¹⁹⁴ Dimitri Pentzopoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Populations and Its Impact on Greece* (London: Hurst & Co., 2002), p.27.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p.99.

¹⁹⁶ Justin McCarthy, *Muslim and Minorities*, p. 133.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p.120.

agricultural sector intensifies when the uncultivated lands of the Greek and Armenian inhabitants were taken into consideration, because most of the members of the Greek and Armenian communities left Anatolia without cultivating their land.¹⁹⁸ The depopulation of Anatolia did not only affect the agricultural sector but it also influenced the commercial and industrial sectors, which had been mainly dominated by Greeks and Armenians.¹⁹⁹ Their irreversible flight endangered the economic welfare of the future Turkish state that would try hard to fill the gap in these sectors. Therefore, it could be said that the Turkish state was facing a severe population problem, which did deeply affect its economic prosperity in 1923. The new Turkish state was exactly in a position to accept further groups of people, which could work on reducing the serious population problem. This population exiguity together with its impact on the economic prosperity of the new Turkish state did constitute one of the reasons behind the additional importance attributed to these migrant groups.

Also in connection with the articles and parliamentary talks, what was underlined that the Turkish state was in need of Turkish and Muslim population rather than others who were members of different ethnic and religious communities.²⁰⁰ The Turkish and Muslim

¹⁹⁸ Seha Meray, p.120.

¹⁹⁹ In the case of Adana, the Armenians had held the possession of an important portion of the workshops and the fields that were under cultivation. Moreover, some members of the Greek community were textile manufacturers who had owned a significant number of the factories that had been operating in the Adana region. For detailed information about the economic activities, which the Armenians and Greeks were engaged, see Chapter 2, “Armenians” and “Greeks” sections.

²⁰⁰ Even though priority was given to the Turkish and Muslim groups as the ones who should have been encouraged to migrate to Anatolia, the Turkish Grand National Assembly also thought about the migration of Greeks who were living in the Dodecanese Islands, then under Italian control in 1924, to the Mediterranean shores in order to deal with the occupations such as fishing, sponge fishing (süngercilik), coal mining and construction (inşaatçılık) that were facing the threat of vanishing from the economic life of the region after the departure of the Greeks in accordance with the Exchange of Populations Agreement. To alleviate the losses of the Turkish Republic from the disappearance of these occupations from the economic scene of the region, migration of an adequate number of Greeks, the ones who would be found appropriate, in other words, the ones who were not subject to the Exchange of Populations and accepted to stay in the region for a limited time period, was suggested in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. However, this

subjects appeared as the most appropriate solution to the population problem. This kind of attitude brought the other reason behind the additional importance that was assigned to the Exchange of Populations as well as the migrants who were going to come to Turkey in terms of the Exchange of Populations Agreement, which was the dominant ideology of the Turkish administration, Turkish Nationalism. The nationalist ideology, which was developed by Ziya Gökalp, Turkish thinker of the 20th century who lived between the years of 1876 and 1924, depended on a national unity determined by culture instead of ethnicity. He defined the nation (millet) as a group of people who were using the same language and sharing the same cultural heritage. However, this nationalistic ideology that was developed by Ziya Gökalp was exposed to some modifications after the War of Independence. The new Turkish nationalism, which was adopted as the dominant ideology during the first years of the Turkish Republic, underlined the importance of ethnicity in the nation building process rather than cultural unity. Muslims from different ethnic backgrounds, in other words the ones who identified themselves as Muslims but as well as Kurd, Laz or Circassian rather than Turk, were to be classified as Turks by the Turkish Republic after 1923. The Exchange of Populations worked to increase the Muslim population in Turkey. Since all the Muslims were accepted as Turks, the arrival of migrants to Turkey reinforced this newly emerged Turkish ideology.²⁰¹ Within the context of this ideology, the depictions in the newspapers that introduced the migrants as the brothers of the same faith and race, children of martyr and groups in destitute seem very reasonable. These depictions actually touched the hearts of the masses and subsequently created sympathy and compassion among the locals toward the newcomers.

proposal was rejected by reason of the continuation of the Exchange of Populations in these mentioned districts. TCA, Yer:030.18.01.01, Fon:09.27.15, 28, 28.05.1924.

²⁰¹ Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları* (İstanbul:İletisim Yayınları, 2002), p.60-66.

It also worked to create a kind of national unity between the dwellers of Anatolia and the migrants that would facilitate the nation building process in the Turkish Republic.

The contribution of the Grand National Assembly to this apparent sensitivity of the newspapers, civil institutions, and the majority of the deputies was the promulgation of the law concerning the establishment of an independent Ministry, which would solely engaged in the reconstruction of the places where the settlement of the migrants would take place, additionally the transfer of the migrants to the opted regions of settlement and eventually the settlement of these migrants in the formerly opted and reconstructed regions. This new Ministry, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement (Mübadele İmar ve İskan Vekaleti), was established on 13 October 1923.²⁰² The establishment of an independent Ministry for the settlement of the migrants could be accepted as an innovation regarding the long migrant settlement past of the country. It was the first time such an institution was established ever before in Turkish history considering migrant settlement. As it was discussed in the previous section, the institutions, which were responsible for the migrant settlement, were actually institutions that were operating under the supervision of a supreme authority.

As the minister of this newly established Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement, Mustafa Necati, the deputy of İzmir, was elected by a majority of votes on 20 October 1923. He was succeeded by Mahmut Celal (Bayar) on 6 March 1924. Thereafter Refet Canıtez superseded Mahmut Celal Bayar and he was in charge of the settlement of migrants until the abrogation of the Ministry on 11 December 1924.²⁰³

²⁰² TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre:II, İçtima:II, Cilt:II, p.660.

²⁰³ Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç 1923-1925* (İstanbul:Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), p.29.

The Settlement Schemes of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement and the Selection of Adana as a Region of Settlement

In this section I will focus on the schemes that were developed by the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement for the transfer and settlement of migrants groups from Greece. In this section, I will also explain in detail the second phase of the Exchange of Populations, which was briefly the careless approach of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement to the settlement issue of the migrants, which would eventually affect their adjustment period in Turkey.

After the establishment of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement, among the various duties that awaited the Ministry, priority was given to the assignment of the regions for the settlement of the migrants. However, instead of doing a detailed research about the occupations of the incoming migrants and their number in each town in Greece, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement put to use the results of questionnaires that had been done during the former migrations of the Turkish and Muslim groups from the Balkans.²⁰⁴ In order to confirm the data that was found at these questionnaires, the Turkish officials who were in charge of the transfer of the migrants from Greece to Turkey asked some simple questions to the migrants during their embarkation in vessels at the Greek ports such as what were their occupations and if they were farmers, what they were cultivating in their hometowns.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, no detailed investigation was done in Anatolia in order to be informed about the type of agriculture that was common in each region. On the other hand, the Ministry prepared tables considering the portion of abandoned estates of the Greek and Armenians dwellers in

²⁰⁴ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre:II, İçtima:II, Cilt: X (Ankara:TBMM Matbaası, 1975), p.43.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

each settlement area.²⁰⁶ The information in these tables constituted one of the main reasons behind the selection of settlement regions rather than the information that was gathered in detailed investigations investigating the occupation of the migrants and the suitability of each region for the migrant groups regarding their savoir-faire.²⁰⁷ In fact, the connection between the occupation of the migrants and the type of cultivation that was common in the settlement region was done by guessing. According to the statement of Refet Canitez, the settlement was done exactly as: “ For instance, the migrants in Drama are tobacco cultivators. (Here he mentioned the information that could be found in the questionnaires, which were done by former institutions in 1910s.) In Anatolia, where exactly tobacco is cultivated? Samsun and İzmir. It was decided like this and thereafter migrants were sent to their settlement points.”²⁰⁸ Therefore, no detailed settlement schemes were developed for these migrants.

As a result of the lack of a thorough investigation about the occupation of the migrants, their classification by the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement was rather simple. The migrants were simply divided into three groups, which were respectively farmer-vine dresser, tobacco cultivator and olive cultivator.²⁰⁹ The Ministry calculated that 395.000 migrants would be coming from Greece who were classified as 200.000 farmers-vine dressers, 100.000 olive cultivators and 95.000 tobacco cultivators.²¹⁰ Regarding the round numbers in the statistics of the Ministry, it could be also stated that the Ministry did not actually know the number of the migrants. Statistics

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ The reasons related to the assignment of these settlement points will be discussed in details on following pages.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Kemal Ari, p.51.

²¹⁰ Ibid, p.53.

of any actual population account are not usually stated in round numbers. These round numbers did not reflect the exact population of the migrants but they were actually estimates of the Ministry.²¹¹ Furthermore, not a single piece of information was given about the migrants who had lived in cities and had been making their living from trade or industry rather than agriculture. Nevertheless, they were accepted by and large as farmers.

The main reasons behind such a deficient organization for the settlement of the migrants could be stated as the rather late organization of the Turkish side for the Exchange of Populations and the budget that was granted at the disposal of the Ministry. As it was stated before, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement was established on 13 October 1923. As it will be stated in the following section, the transfer of the Turkish migrants from Greece initiated on December 1923. Three months could be accepted as quite a short period for the development of proper settlement schemes. In the case of the budget, only 6.036.083 Turkish liras were granted at the disposal of the Ministry on 1 November 1923.²¹² The ministers of the mentioned Ministry found this budget quite inadequate and they stated that they tried their best to achieve proper settlement schemes but that was all they could achieve with this amount of money.²¹³

For the estimated total of 395.00 people ten areas of settlement were decided. These areas were:

²¹¹ This problem of the round numbers in population statistics was stated by Justin McCarthy, in his *Muslims and Minorities*, p.54-55. He did not use this statement regarding the population statistics of the incoming migrants in accordance with the Exchange of Populations, but his statement about the round numbers in statistics sounds logical to me and I applied his statement into population statistics of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement.

²¹² TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre:II, İçtima: I, Cilt:III (Ankara:TBMM Matbaası, 1975), p.149.

²¹³ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre:II, İçtima:II, Cilt:X (Ankara:TBMM Matbaası, 1975), p.49.

Table V. The Opted Settlement Areas of the Migrants

Area I	Sinop, Samsun, Ordu, Giresun, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Amasya, Tokat, Çorum
Area II	Edirne, Tekfurdağı, Gelibolu, Kırkkilise, Çanakkale
Area III	Balıkesir
Area IV	İzmir, Manisa, Aydın, Menteşe, Afyon
Area V	Bursa
Area VI	Istanbul, Çatalca, Zonguldak
Area VII	İzmit, Bolu, Bilecik, Eskişehir, Kütahya
Area VIII	Antalya, Isparta, Burdur
Area IX	Konya, Niğde, Kayseri, Aksaray, Kırşehir
Area X	Adana, Mersin, Silifke, Kozan, Ayıntab, Maraş

Source: Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele Türkiye'ye Zorunlu Göç (1923-1925)*(Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 52-53.

In connection with the late organization of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement and its budget, the settlement points were selected among the places, which could facilitate the duty of the Ministry as much as possible. As it was mentioned above one of the main reasons behind the selection of these areas was the estimated portion of abandoned estates that would be used in the settlement schemes. The other one was the availability of communications. It was quite clear that the Ministry disregarded the occupation of the migrants and followed a different way that most facilitated the task of the settlement.

What is meant by the communications was that these cities were close to the selected ports of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement where the disembarkation of the Muslim migrants was going to take place. The Ministry decided

the transfer of Muslim migrants was to take place via sea way rather than overland due to the easiness of sea transportation between Greece and Turkey. In addition, the gathering of the Turkish migrants on the Greek seashores after the proclamation of the Exchange of Populations Agreement was another reason behind the preference of the naval transportation.²¹⁴ The task of the transportation of the Turkish migrants from Greece and the Greek islands was given to the Turkish Maritime Directorate (Seyr-i Sefain İdaresi) which was going to carry the migrant groups from Salonica, Kalikratya, Kavala and Crete-Hania to the Turkish ports including Tekfurdağı, Istanbul, Mudanya, Zonguldak, Sinop, Samsun, Ordu, Giresun, İzmit, Gelibolu, Bandırma, Mersin, Silifke, Marmaris, Bodrum, Ayvalık and Çanakkale.²¹⁵ Moreover, these cities were the former hometowns of the Greek and Armenian communities whose abandoned estates would particularly facilitate the duty of the Ministry concerning the settlement of the Turkish migrants. The former Ottoman provinces of Aydın, İzmit, Bursa and Edirne used to have a remarkably high Greek population whereas in the province of Adana, the Armenian community was quite an influential and crowded group of people.²¹⁶

It was estimated that about 40.000 migrants would be coming from Serez who were classified roughly into three groups as before, which were respectively 20.000 tobacco cultivators, 15.000 farmers-vine dressers and 5.000 olive cultivators. Adana was opted for the settlement of these migrants of Serez. Furthermore, a considerable number of migrants from Crete decided to disembark in the Mersin port and to settle in the city of Mersin and its environs.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Kemal Arı, p. 37.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ D. Kalapothakes, *Greece before the Conference* (London: Methuen, 1919), p.57.

²¹⁷ Kemal Arı, p.53.

In order to handle the settlement duty of the migrants in the Adana region, additional local institutions were established under the supervision of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement. The establishment of these local institutions were determined by the Law of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement (Mübadele, İmar ve İskan Kanunu) which was promulgated on 28 November 1923. According to this law, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement was given the power of the establishment of subsidiary organs which were to share the responsibilities of the mentioned Ministry on a provincial basis (Article 3).²¹⁸ According to the power that was entrusted to the Ministry, subsidiary organs were established in the selected areas of settlement including the Adana region. The organization of the Ministry included in two branches one of which was organized under the title of the Regional Reconstruction Directorate (İmar Mıntıka Müdürlüğü) and dealt with the preparatory measures of the settlement issue such as the repair of the abandoned houses and the construction of the new villages. The other subsidiary body was called the Settlement Commissions (İskan Komisyonları). These commissions were engaged in the official procedure of the settlement issue; also they were responsible for finding solutions to migrant problems by taking into consideration their desires and complaints.²¹⁹ However, the establishment of the local institutions did not solve the settlement issue. The incompetent officials that were hired by the Ministry impeded the implementation of a proper settlement in these selected settlement regions. The Minister of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement, Refet Canitez, admitted the accusations considering the improper settlement of the migrants and added: “I confess most of our officials were weak and incompetent. But as a

²¹⁸ Düstur, p.407.

²¹⁹ Kemal Arı, p. 55-56.

newly established Ministry, we had to hire them.”²²⁰ In addition to the incompetent officials of the Ministry, the negligent attitude of the governors also negatively affected the settlement of the migrants. The lack of cooperation between the subsidiary organs of the Ministry and the local administrators also created a factor that was working against the development of efficient settlement schemes on the local basis.²²¹ The settlement issue was solely handled by the officials of the Ministry who did not have adequate information about the regions where the settlement of the migrants would take place. Therefore, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement failed to achieve the proper settlement of the migrants in many regions that was very inconsistent with the eagerness of the deputies considering the development of efficient settlement schemes for the migrants before their arrival to Turkey.

Migrant Groups in Adana and Their Settlement

In this section, I will examine the settlement of the migrant groups in Adana, in other words the settlement schemes of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement that were developed for the city of Adana and the neighboring towns, including Kozan, Ceyhan and Karataş. Before I will pass on to their settlement in the Adana region, I will also give brief information about the transfer of the migrant groups from Greece. The problems, which were faced during the settlement of the migrants in the Adana region, will be discussed in the section called ‘The Role of the Migrants.’

The Exchange of Populations Protocol was discussed and signed during the Lausanne Peace Conference (20 November 1922-24 July 1923) and set down the commencement date of the transfer of the Turkish and Greek populations from both parties, Turkey and

²²⁰ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre:II, İçtima:II, Cilt: X, p.46.

²²¹ Ibid.

Greece. According to Article I of this agreement, it was stated that the exchange of populations was going to start on 1 May 1923. The same article also stated that the exchange had a compulsory nature²²² and not a single migrant was allowed to return to his/her former hometown without the permission of the Turkish or Greek governments.²²³

The settled date, 1 May 1923, for the commencement of the exchange of population was subsequently changed to 1 May 1924 due to the provision of sufficient time for the Mixed Commissions²²⁴ which were also established in the Exchange of Populations Agreement (Article II) and were given the responsibility of the liquidation of the abandoned estates of both Turkish and Greek communities (Article XII).²²⁵

However, the exchange of populations partially commenced before the settled date. Before 1 May 1924, 185.278 Turks and 15.445 Greeks left Greece and Turkey respectively under the supervision of the Mixed Commission.²²⁶ The Turkish migrants began to evacuate the towns and villages in Greece, after a representative of the Mixed Commission went to a Turkish town, ordered the chief Muslim representative- the Müftü- to gather his people and their movable goods and to proceed on a given date to a certain

²²² The acceptance of a compulsory exchange rather than a voluntary one was also related to the social and financial problems of both of the binding countries, Turkey and Greece. The population loss on the Turkish side and the excess migrant gathering in Greece impeded the acceptance of an exchange that had a voluntary nature. In addition, the Turkish government expressed apparently that they were not going to reaccept these Greek migrants who left Turkey mainly with the Greek army in 1922 and sought refuge in Greece. Actually Greece was not in a position to look after such a huge number of people and did need the estates of the Turkish population for reducing the settlement burden of at least a portion of the Greek refugees. On the Turkish side, new groups of people were needed in order to deal with the cultivation of the abandoned fields and vineyards, see Seha Meray p.125-126.

²²³ Seha Meray, p.375. Also see Appendix I.

²²⁴ Mihri Belli, *Türkiye Yunanistan Nüfus Mübadelesi Ekonomik Açıdan Bir Bakış*, trans. Müfide Pekin (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2004), p.30.

²²⁵ Seha Meray, p.378.

²²⁶ Mihri Belli, p.30.

railway station, where they were going to be transported to a seaport.²²⁷ However, in some places the Turkish groups hastened to leave Greece as soon as possible due to the settlement of Greek refugees in their houses. The placing under the same roof did not conduce to peaceful cohabitation and accelerated the depopulation of the towns and villages by the Turkish groups. These groups subsequently came together in Salonica with the hope of departing for Turkey.²²⁸ The number of these Turkish migrants reached 20.000 in December 1923 and it was steadily increasing due to the arrival of new groups.²²⁹ These people had planted no crops and faced starvation.²³⁰ Moreover, Turkish authorities in charge of the transfer of the Turkish migrants in Turkey stated that the Turkish migrants reached Turkey without their moveable goods and animals.²³¹ According to this report, some of the migrants just left their hometowns without taking away their properties which would naturally intensify their hardship.²³² Therefore, the situation of the Turkish migrants accelerated the exchange of populations process and their transfer to Turkey became imminent much before 1 May 1924.

On May 1924, the Mixed Commission initiated the transfer of another 150.000 Turkish migrants to Turkey.²³³ In the course of this period, exactly the period between the months of May and August 1924, the Adana region, as one of the opted regions for the settlement of the migrants, received Turkish groups who reached the region via the

²²⁷ H.C. Jaquith, "America's Aid to 1.000.000 Near East Refugees," *The Current History Magazine*, December 1924, p. 405.

²²⁸ Stephen Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities : Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932)p.425.

²²⁹ TCA, Fon:030.10. ,Yer:123.876.12, 6.12.1923.

²³⁰ H.C. Jaquith, p.405.

²³¹ TCA,Fon: 030.10., Yer:123.875.8, 6.11.1923.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Mihri Belli, p.31.

port in Mersin. According to the local archieve²³⁴ 4937 migrants who were thus settled in the city of Adana and its environs by the local authorities. The places of origin, the number of migrants and the places of settlement are as follows:

Table VI. The Places of Origin, Number and Places of Settlement of the Migrants in Adana

Places of Origin in Greece	Number of People	Places of Settlement
Demirhisar	419	Adana, Haçin, İncirlik
Demirhisar Matınca	879	Adana-Hamzalı
Demirhisar Proybala	462	Adana, Kozan
Demirhisar Şuguva	251	Adana
Selanik Kılıkış	159	Kozan
Selanik Poroy	329	Adana, Kozan
Serez	429	Adana, Kozan
Serfice Alasonya	1189	Adana, İncirlik
Places of Origin in Crete		
Kandiye	820	Adana
TOTAL	4937	

Source: KHGMA, Sevk ve Tefviz Defteri.

²³⁴Detailed information about the regional settlement of the migrant groups is found in the General Directorate of Rural Services (Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü) which is the successor of the former migration institutions including the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement. These General Directorates, with 18 offices throughout Turkey, was founded in 1984 and one of their departments, the Branch of Construction and Settlement (İşkan ve İnşaat Şubesi) is still the authority behind the arrangement of settlement projects for the migrants in present Turkey. For detailed information about the institution visit the web site <http://www.khgm.gov.tr>.

After their arrival to the city of Adana, the migrants were initially located in the guest houses (misafirhane) according to the Migrant Guest House Regulations (Muhacirin Misafirhaneleri Talimatnameleri) of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement. According to this regulation, the migrants were to stay in these guest houses a maximum of three days in the course of which their contentment and comfort were given priority. These guesthouses were going to provide a temporary settlement for the migrant groups until permanent residences were available for them.²³⁵ Therefore, after their arrival to the city of Adana, the migrants were settled in the Ottoman Hotel (Osmanlı Oteli) and a cinema.²³⁶ A member of the former Greek community of Adana had possessed these properties, which were transferred to the Turkish Hearts (Türk Ocağı) on 16 March 1924 by the determination of the Executive Community (İcra Vekilleri Heyeti) in the Turkish Grand National Assembly.²³⁷

On the subject of the settlement of these groups in Adana, three options were available for the local authorities that were in charge of the regional settlement of these migrants in the Adana region under the orders of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement. These migrants could either be settled in the center of the city of Adana or in the villages that were especially founded for their settlement on the land of the abandoned farms and estates of the members of the Armenian and Greek communities or also in the villages that were heretofore founded for the settlement of the migrants who had come to Anatolia, specially to the Adana region, as a result of the former migration flows.

²³⁵ Ali Cengizkan, *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri* (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2004), p.115. He transliterated the original document from the Turkish Republican Archive whose number is 272.12, 40.42.3, 27 November 1923.

²³⁶ Ali Cengizkan, p.30.

²³⁷ TCA, Fon:030.18.01.01, Yer:09.19.16, 16.3.1924.

In the case of settlement in the city of Adana, the procedure was about providing a residence in the center of the city as well as a piece of land or vineyard in the environs of the city of Adana or a workshop also located in the town center.²³⁸ The residences which were distributed to the migrants were densely located in the quarters called Çınarlı, Çarçabuk, İcadiye, Hanedan, Hankuribu, Hacıfakı, Hurmalı, Alidede, Şabaniye, Durmuşfakı and Hacıhamid.²³⁹ These quarters constituted the area that was defined in the 1920s as the center of the city of Adana and most of them had contained the residences of Armenian and Greek dwellers before their departure from the city.

These migrants who were settled in the center of Adana also received a piece of land or vineyard from the neighboring districts such as Zincirli, Yılanlı, Karaenbiya, Kahyaoğlu and Dilberler Sekisi. The main reason behind such a distribution was that the vineyards and fields in these mentioned districts were possessed by various people rather than one single family or person. The fields and vineyards were registered under the name of several Armenian and Greek dwellers of Adana²⁴⁰, so they were dispersed pieces of land. It was very difficult to form new villages out of these dispersed fields and vineyards. Therefore, this land was divided into pieces and was given to the migrants who were settled in the center. In addition, these districts were very close to the center of Adana. The easy communication from the center to these greenbelts of the city of Adana was another factor, which actually contributed to their possession by the groups who

²³⁸ The distribution of the workshops was an interesting point concerning the former classification of the migrants solely as farmers by the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement. It could either mean that the occupation of some of the migrants was not actually related to agriculture or that the number of the abandoned workshops was remarkably high that the Ministry was determined to make use of an important portion of these shops.

²³⁹ KHGMA. For the location of these quarters see Map V. For the old and new names of these quarters, see Appendix II.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

were settled in the center of Adana.²⁴¹ The sizes of the distributed vineyards were on average of 10-20 donums whereas the fields were distributed in pieces with sizes between 50 and 100 donums. These vineyards or fields were not distributed randomly but they were actually given to migrants in previously determined sizes. The dimensions of the fields and vineyards were determined by the Regulation of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement by which the rules concerning the distribution of the abandoned residences, fields and vineyards were set down.²⁴²

The migrants, who did not receive a piece of land or vineyard, were given a workshop in the center.²⁴³ No information is available about the type of the distributed workshops or about the occupation of the migrants. However, a noticeable number of workshops that were situated in the bazaars of the city of Adana called as Eski Bağdad Pazarı (the Old Baghdad Bazaar), Kapalı Çarşı, Eski Bedesten, Yeni Pazar (the New Bazaar), Siptilli Pazarı (the Siptilli Bazaar), Eski Borsa (the Old Trade Exchange Building), Pamuk Pazarı (the Cotton Market), Un Pazarı (the Flour Market) and Hasır Pazarı (the Mat Market) were distributed to the migrants.²⁴⁴

The settlement in the center of Adana was not limited to a single migrant group of the same origin, but it was possible to find the registers concerning the settlement of various groups that migrated to Adana from different towns and villages. The migrants of Serez, Demirhisar, Selanik, Girit, Poroy and Alasonya were settled in the center of Adana. I found twenty-eight registers concerning the migrants of Serez who were settled in the center of Adana. However, I have no information about the exact population of each

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ali Cengizkan, p.140-141.

²⁴³ In the records, some migrant families did not receive a piece of land and vineyard nor a workshop. They solely received a house in the Adana center. However, it was a quite rare occasion. (KHGMA)

²⁴⁴ KHGMA.

household who received a residence in the center. Only the name of the head of the family was registered in these documents. In addition, with reference to the archive, I found that forty-two migrants from Demirhisar-Şuguva were also settled in the center. Fifty-five migrants from Salonica and two families from Poroy received a residence in the town center. The rest of the migrants who received both residence and workshop in the center as well as a piece of vineyard or field in the neighboring districts were from Alasonya and Crete. 178 residences in the center and 63 workshops were distributed to the migrants of Alasonya. 154 residences and 48 workshops, also situated in the center of Adana, this time were distributed among the members of the Cretan migrants. In the case of the distributed lands and vineyards, the migrants of Alasonya received pieces of land from Zincirli, Yılanlı, Kahyaoğlu and Şakirpaşa whose sum reached 1293.5 donums. In the case of the Cretan migrants who were also given land and vineyard from the mentioned places above, the total amount of vineyard amounted to 1008 donums. The total size of the fields that were distributed to the migrants of Crete was only 66 donums; they mainly received pieces of vineyard whereas the migrants of Alasonya were distributed fields from these neighboring districts. The distribution of such a significant amount of vineyards to the Cretan migrants indicates that almost all of the migrants from Crete were vinedressers; they were also the ones who received vineyards from the center among the other migrant groups from different hometowns.²⁴⁵ Moreover, the migrants of Alasonya and Crete were the most crowded migrant groups in the city of Adana. It was mainly conditional on the number of these migrants, which were much higher than the other migrant groups. It was hard to arrange collective settlement schemes for such a crowded group. Therefore the migrants of Alasonya and Crete were mainly settled in the

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

city of Adana where their collective settlement was possible. However, some of the migrants of Crete and Alasonya were also sent to neighboring towns rather than the city of Adana such as Osmaniye, Bahçe, Dört Yol, Kozan and Ceyhan, but the city of Adana was the only place where they were densely settled in groups.²⁴⁶

Another statement scheme had to do with widows. The widows preferred and were allowed to settle in the center of Adana rather than in the villages. Regardless of their former occupation and towns of origin, the widows stayed in the center of Adana whereas the male migrants who were settled outside the center and were not content with their settlement districts were forced to remain in their location points because of the lack of sufficient residences in the center of Adana.²⁴⁷

The new villages, which were specifically founded for the settlement of the migrants subjected to the Exchange of Population, were subsequently established on the eastern bank of the Seyhan River.²⁴⁸ The eastern side of the city, Yüreğir, was formerly composed of three quarters called Köprüköyü, Madama and İncirlik, which were located side by side. These quarters of the city of Adana were not divided among many landowners but they were actually registered under the name of a few families. These districts were not part of the center of Adana in the 1920s, they were actually the great outdoors of the city where the farms of the Armenians and Greeks were located alongside. For instance, the quarter called Madama took its name from the farm that was owned by one of the important members of the Greek community of Adana, Kosmo

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ TCA, Fon:272..12, Yer:48.96.10, 27.06.1926.

²⁴⁸ The Seyhan River actually divides the city of Adana into two parts. One of them is called today as Seyhan, which constitutes the center of the city, including the old quarters where the settlement of the migrants of the year 1924 took place. The other side of the city, called today as Yüreğir, is the place where the new migrant villages were established alongside also in 1924.

Simyonoğlu who had possessed 1321 donums of land in the district.²⁴⁹ His land was shared among the migrants of Dümenek.²⁵⁰ Besides the land of Kosmo Simyonoğlu, the Vayvayan Family had also owned 944 donums of land, which was distributed to the migrants of Orhanlı and Poroy. In the case of İncirlik, the Bızdıkoğlu and Bızdıkyan Families had possessed vast amounts of land, which were respectively 1576.5 and 1057.5 donums. Their land was specifically preserved for the migrants of Orhanlı, Poroy and a minor group of migrants from Alasonya.²⁵¹ In Köprüköyü, mainly the migrants of Serez and Demirhisar were settled on the estates of Hacı Anton, Hacı Asdur and Arakiloğlu Kırkor who had owned land more than 1000 donums.²⁵² The migrants were collectively settled on these districts and new residences were constructed for their shelter in some of these quarters. These new forms of residences were called as *iktisadihane* (common house) and *huğ* (hut made of rushes). These types of residences stemmed from the need to find an immediate solution to the settlement problem for the migrants. Huğs and iktisadihanes were very easy structures to build and they would actually provide a firm solution to the accommodation problem of the migrants. İktisadihane was the name of the building, which was composed of four separate homes under the same roof where each home had two rooms but no kitchen and bathroom.²⁵³ Huğs were four roomed simple structures, which were made of canes and rushes.²⁵⁴ According to the local archive, iktisadihanes were particularly constructed in Madama and İncirlik. 37 iktisadihanes were constructed for the migrant families of Alasonya and another 32 and 29 were built for the

²⁴⁹ KHGMA.

²⁵⁰ This town remained inside the borders of the former Ottoman province of Janina. It was very close to the town of Alasonya, see C. Mostras, *Dictionnaire Geographique de L'Empire Ottoman* (Istanbul:Pera Turizm ve Ticaret Limited Şirketi, 1995), p.93.

²⁵¹ KHGMA.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ali Cengizkan, p.34.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, p.178.

settlement of the migrants of Dümenek and Poroy respectively. In the case of Köprüköyü, I found no information about the type of residences that were distributed to the migrants. It was registered simply as ‘hane’ (home).²⁵⁵

The construction of the huğs was also encountered in the faraway districts, particularly in Yumurtalık (formerly Ayas) where the Bedros Farm (Bedros Çiftliği) had previously been located. This farm occupied an area of 1420 donums on which the migrants of Serez and Demirhisar were settled in groups.²⁵⁶ The Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement ordered the construction of the huğs. It was decided to build fifty huğs on the land of the Bedros Farm²⁵⁷ but I could only find the registers of thirty-five families who were given huğs in the region.²⁵⁸ For the settlement of these migrant families a new village was formed out of an abandoned farm of one of the former Armenian dwellers of the region and subsequently the name of the district was altered from Bedros Farm to Hamzalı Village (Hamzalı Köyü).²⁵⁹ Moreover, the construction of eight huğs in Kozan, Tilan was ordered by the mentioned Ministry.²⁶⁰ However, it appears that the number of the huğs increased as a large-scale migrant settlement took place in Tilan.²⁶¹ The huğs that were constructed in Tilan were specifically used for the accommodation of the migrants who came from Demirhisar, Avrathisar²⁶² and Serez. Tilan was not the only place that was opened to migrant settlement in Kozan. No detailed information was available about the types of residences that were distributed to the

²⁵⁵ KHGMA.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ali Cengizkan, p.115.

²⁵⁸ KHGMA.

²⁵⁹ Mustafa Soysal, p.59.

²⁶⁰ Ali Cengizkan, p.173.

²⁶¹ KHGMA.

²⁶² It was one of the towns remained inside the borders of the former Ottoman Sanjak of Salonica, see C. Mostras, p.127.

migrants except Tilan but several villages were established for the migrants who were subject to the Exchange of Populations. These villages were Mahmutlu, Arslanpaşa, Hacıuşağı, Pekmezci, Çokak and Gazi, which received migrants mainly from Demirhisar, Avrathisar and Serez.²⁶³ No information concerning the former owners of the land that was opened to migrant settlement in Kozan was available but the large-scale settlement²⁶⁴ in the region also shows that Kozan and its environs were quite depopulated after the departure of the Armenian inhabitants, because Kozan was also a new region for the migrant settlement. Before the Republican era, not a single migrant group was settled in Kozan and its environs.²⁶⁵

A similar impact of depopulation also took place in Karataş. However, this time the source of depopulation was not exclusively due to the departure of the Armenian dwellers but also to the leaving of Greek inhabitants also intensified the impact of depopulation.²⁶⁶ The settlement in Karataş commenced initially after 1924 by the settlement of 127 people from Demirhisar Matınca in the center of Karataş together with its villages Küçük Karataş and Yayalı. The total amount of land that was distributed to the migrants was 2060 donums, which was formerly possessed by the well-known Greek family in the Adana region, Simyonoğlu.²⁶⁷

In some regions such as Kozan and Karataş, which were opened to migrant settlement later, it was not required to build new structures for the settlement of the migrants. Since these were the towns where important portions of the population had been composed of

²⁶³ KHGMA.

²⁶⁴ I found 279 registers about Kozan concerning the migrant settlement in KHGMA. Unfortunately, no information about the exact number of these migrant families was accessible in the records of the local archive.

²⁶⁵ Mustafa Soysal, p.59-61.

²⁶⁶ According to the Center for Asia Minor Studies, 30 Greek families lived in Karataş. As a small town like Karataş, this number was quite high and was sufficient to create a kind of penetration in the town.

²⁶⁷ KHGMA.

members of the Greek and Armenian communities, the abandoned estates were sometimes sufficient to meet the accommodation problem of the migrant groups.

Furthermore, some of the migrant families were also settled in the formerly established villages. The location of these villages is mainly inside the borders of today's towns of Ceyhan and Yakapınar (Misis). One of the villages located in Yakapınar called Belören was opened to migrant settlement in the course of the period 1880-90. The Balkan Turks were initially settled in this village.²⁶⁸ In 1924, this time a quite high number of people from Silistre was settled in Belören, exactly on the land that was abandoned by one of the Armenian inhabitants, İsakyan, whose 8500 donums in the village was distributed among the 90 people from Silistre.²⁶⁹ Moreover, the villages of Ceyhan called Toktamış, Hamitbeybucağı, Yeniköy, Mahmudiye and Akdam had been formerly established for the migrant settlement especially during the period of 1860-1914²⁷⁰, which also received migrants in 1924, specifically from Alasonya and Proybala.²⁷¹

In conclusion, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement settled the migrant groups in Adana by mainly taking into consideration of the abandoned estates of the Armenian and Greek groups in the Adana region instead of the occupation and know-how of the migrants. Large groups were settled in the city of Adana in the abandoned residences of the Armenians and Greeks. The main reason behind this settlement plan, in other words the settlement of the migrants mainly in the abandoned residences of the Armenian and Greek dwellers of the city of Adana, was the budget of the Ministry, which

²⁶⁸ Mustafa Soysal, p.59.

²⁶⁹ KHGMA.

²⁷⁰ Mustafa Soysal, p.60-61.

²⁷¹ KHGMA.

was quite limited for the establishment of new settlement districts for the migrants. The abandoned estates of the Armenians and Greeks were given at the disposal of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement for migrant settlement.²⁷² The Ministry was not in a position to spend additional money for these estates. Therefore, using the abandoned estates for the settlement of the migrants was the most economic way. For instance, the huğs that were constructed in Ayas, in Bedros Çiftliği, were valued at 167 Turkish liras per piece.²⁷³ Spending such an amount of money for every single migrant family was beyond the capacity of the budget of the Ministry. That was why the construction of new buildings was restricted to few regions in the Adana region. The Ministry initially preferred to settle these migrants at the abandoned residences of the Armenians and Greeks. Thereafter, some migrants were settled in the newly established villages due to the unavailability of sufficient number of residences for their accommodation.

²⁷² TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre II, İçtima I, Cilt III, p.159.

²⁷³ Ali Cengizkan, p.178.

PART III THE AFTERMATH OF THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS

CHAPTER IV

ADANA, 1923-1927

The Reorganization of the Social and Economic Life of the City of Adana in 1923-1927

In this part, I will focus on the recreation of the city of Adana in both social and economic aspects. As it was discussed in Chapter 2, the city of Adana was a region that was quite specialized in cotton production and thanks to the gradual expansion in cotton cultivation in the region, the other sectors in the city of Adana including industry and trade showed noticeable development. However, the city faced apparent social and economic changes between the years of 1922 and 1927. In this part, I will examine these changes and thereafter I will discuss their impact on the social and economic life of the city of Adana.

In 1914, 93.217 people had been living in the city of Adana. 71.617 of them were Muslims, 3.104 Greeks, 14.956 Armenians, 20 Jews, 71 Greek Catholics, 888 Armenian Catholics, 1.006 Protestants, 441 Syrians, 367 Chaldeans, 650 Jacobites and 26 Maronites.²⁷⁴ In 1927, the population of the city of Adana increased to 130.243.²⁷⁵ However, in this census no information was available about the groups that were from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, but they were by and large counted as Turks .

In terms of the developments of the period between the years of 1919 and 1922²⁷⁶, the fighting between the Armenians and Turks, the departure of the Armenians with the French forces in 1922, the departure of the majority of the Greek population also with the

²⁷⁴ Kemal Karpaz, p. 210-211.

²⁷⁵ *Adana İl Yıllığı* (Adana: İpek Matbaası, 1974), p.57.

²⁷⁶ See Chapter 2.

French army and departure of the rest of the Greeks in terms of the Exchange of Populations Agreement, the population of the city of Adana would be expected to have been less than 130.000. The fighting should have caused population losses and the departure of the Armenians and Greeks also negatively affected the population of the city of Adana. In order to understand such a high population increase in the city Adana, in spite of the fighting and departures, it requires to examine the new developments of the period such as the migration of various groups to the city between the years of 1922 and 1925.

As it was discussed in Chapter 3, approximately 5.000 migrants from Greece who were subjected to the Exchange of Populations were settled in Adana after 1924. Their number creates a slight increase in the population of the city of Adana. Additional groups should have come to the city in order to create such a huge population increase. In fact, after the departure of the French forces from the city of Adana together with the Armenian and an important portion of Greek dwellers of the city, hundreds of Turkish and Muslim groups from various towns of Anatolia migrated to Adana.²⁷⁷ Due to their contribution, the city of Adana faced a huge population increase. However, this time, after 1922, the population of Adana did not have a heterogeneous nature, but actually it turned into a city whose population almost was completely composed of Turkish and Muslim groups from different places including the various towns of Anatolia.

The city of Adana received migrants mainly from two cities: Kayseri and Darende.²⁷⁸ The migrations from these two towns could be seen quite reasonable when the historical connections of them with the Adana region as well as their economic structure is taken

²⁷⁷ Sadun Tanju, p.3.

²⁷⁸ Ibid. Also see Ahmed Akgündüz, Said Öztürk, Yaşar Baş, *Darende Tarihi* (Istanbul: Es-Seyyid Osman Hulusi Efendi Vakfı, 2002).

into consideration. The dwellers of these two towns were quite experienced in cotton trade and cotton weaving as the ones in the city of Adana. The merchants of Kayseri provided cotton for weaving from the plains of Adana and distributed it to the workshops where cotton was used for yarn and cloth manufacture. Therefore, the merchants of Kayseri had strong commercial bonds with the Adana region; they knew the city well and its economic life at first hand.²⁷⁹ In the case of Darende, a similar framework as in the town of Kayseri could be observed regarding economic life. This town was also experienced in cotton weaving. The well-known cloth was manufactured in the households called white cloth (beyaz kirpas).²⁸⁰

Some of these immigrants from Kayseri actively participated the efforts of the Turkish state considering the formation of a Turkish and Muslim entrepreneur class. This intention of the Turkish Republic considering the increase in the number of the Turkish and Muslim businessmen in the industrial sector was clearly stated by Mustafa Kemal in his speech during the First Turkish Economic Congress (Türkiye İktisat Kongresi), which was held during the period from February 17 to March 4, 1923 in İzmir.²⁸¹ In his speech, he stated that the economic well-being of a state carried greater weight than its military achievements on the battlefields, which were, in his words, nothing but a temporary relief without the full competence of nationals of a state on its economic and financial sectors. According to him, a state, which was unable to provide full control over its economy and finance, would have been left no options to sustain its sovereignty, dignity and

²⁷⁹ Şükrü Karatepe, *Kendini Kuran Şehir* (Ankara: Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1999), p.183.

²⁸⁰ *Darende Tarihi*, p.287.

²⁸¹ Zürcher, p.169.

independence in the international arena.²⁸² He added that the period after the War of Independence was the time when the Turkish people were expected to hand over every single economic activity in their national state and work for the well being of their state as well as personal prosperity and comfort.²⁸³ In accordance with this intent of the Turkish ruling class under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, some of the abandoned factories of the Armenians and Greeks, which were transferred to state ownership after the departure of these groups from the city of Adana, were decided to entrust to people who were seen competent to operate them. Nuh Naci (Yazgan), an Anatolian businessman who attended the Sivas Congress as delegate for Kayseri,²⁸⁴ was one of the candidates of the Turkish state considering the transfer of the abandoned estates to Turkish businessmen. He was given the duty of the reestablishment of the factory that was formerly known as Simyonoğlu Factory.²⁸⁵ What was initially expected from Nuh Naci was to operate the factory and ascertain its potential. During this period the Turkish state promised to extend every facility. Thereafter, the state was going to transfer this factory to his ownership on a long lease.²⁸⁶ As partners, Nuh Naci (Yazgan) assigned his countrymen Mirzazade Mustafa (Özgür), Hasağazade Nuri (Has) and Hamacızade Seyit (Tekin) who contributed to the operation of the factory, which was reestablished under a new name, National Textile Factory (Milli Mensucat Fabrikası).²⁸⁷ These people were also immigrants of Kayseri, as Nuh Naci, who had come to the city of Adana after 1922.

²⁸² Ahmet Gündüz Ökçün, *Türkiye İktisat Kongresi 1923-İzmir: Haberler-Belgeler-Yorumlar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1968), p.244-248.

²⁸³ Afet Afetinan, *İzmir İktisat Kongresi, 17 Şubat-4 Mart 1923*(Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), p.65.

²⁸⁴ Sadun Tanju, p.21-22.

²⁸⁵ Ibid. As it was mentioned in Chapter 2, Simyonoğlu Factory had been operating by a Greek family called Simyonoğlu and it was one of the most important industrial plants in the city of Adana in the pre-Republican period, which was specialized in cotton weaving.

²⁸⁶ Ibid, p.23.

²⁸⁷ Kadir Has, *Vatan Borcu Ödüyorum*, ed. Hulusi Turgut (İstanbul: ABC, 2002), p.77.

Moreover, for the position, which required handling the purchasing for the factory, attending to the cotton exchange and following the market, another immigrant of Kayseri, Hacı Ömer (Sabancı) was hired by Nuh Naci (Yazgan).²⁸⁸

However, the incident above was a quite unique example in the creation of a Turkish entrepreneur class in the city of Adana. It could not be claimed that all of the immigrants from Kayseri were entrusted the abandoned factories of the Greeks and Armenians. In fact, the immigrants both from Kayseri and Darende were initially engaged in insignificant and small-scale businesses after their arrival to the city of Adana. The ones who had brought adequate capital with them to the city of Adana opened small shops such as groceries in the center.²⁸⁹ Even the business partner of Nuh Naci Yazgan, Nuri Has, initiated his business life in the city of Adana by pursuing his former business in his hometown, which was carpet trading.²⁹⁰ The other immigrant of Kayseri, Hacı Ömer Sabancı, who was hired by Nuh Naci Yazgan, initiated his business life in Adana as a porter, due to exiguity of sufficient capital for founding a small-scale business.²⁹¹ The selection of Nuh Naci among those various immigrants as the one, who was given the right to operate the abandoned factory of Simyonoğlu, could be depended on the personal wealth of these immigrants. Nuh Naci Yazgan, as a businessman, could possess much more capital in his hand than the rest of the immigrants.

As in the case of the immigrants from Kayseri, the immigrants from Darende did not emerge as important businessmen of the city of Adana during the period, which is discussed in this section, 1923-1927. These immigrants, the ones from Darende, must

²⁸⁸ Sakıp Sabancı, *İşte Hayatım* (Istanbul: Aksoy Matbaacılık, 1985), p.34.

²⁸⁹ *Darende Tarihi*, p.933.

²⁹⁰ Kadir Has, p.59.

²⁹¹ Sadun Tanju, p.16.

have accumulated a noticeable amount of money in their hands considering the present day Adana where the second generation of the immigrants from Darende have an important position both in industrial and commercial sectors. The wealth accumulation of these immigrants could be mainly observed in 1940s.²⁹²

Besides these immigrants of Darende and Kayseri, who actively participated in the economic life of the city and grasped either a significant or an insignificant position, some of the important businessmen of the pre-Republican period pursued their businesses in the city of Adana. These were generally non-Muslim businessmen such as Lebanese Christians and Jews. In the case of the Lebanese Catholic businessmen, two of them were Corç (George) Lutfullah and Alber Diyar who “were engaged in exporting and acted as agents.”²⁹³ Due to their competence on foreign languages, they were indispensable to the Muslim merchants of Adana. Corç Lutfullah followed the London cotton exchange, sent and received telegrams and informed the big farmers and merchants of world prices.²⁹⁴ “As for Alber Diyar, as well as being engaged in cotton exports he sold cars, tractors, machinery and spare parts.”²⁹⁵ In addition to these two mentioned businessmen, Moiz and Alber Amado as well as Antuvan Brazofolli and Köşkeryan were the other non-Muslim businessmen in the Adana region who were mainly engaged in cotton exchange.²⁹⁶ In addition to non-Muslim businessmen, as it was mentioned in Chapter 2, Salih Bosnalı founded a small cotton gin and flourmill in 1900s. By the end of the 1930s his business had considerably enlarged.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, it could be observed that the city

²⁹² For detailed information about the emergence of immigrants of Darende as important businessmen and merchants of the city of Adana, see *Darende Tarihi*, p.933-945.

²⁹³ Sadun Tanju, p.25.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Sakıp Sabancı, p.19.

²⁹⁷ Sadun Tanju, p.109.

of Adana did not receive migrants only from Kayseri and Darende. In fact, some groups did come to the city of Adana from other towns, as in the case of Ahmet and Bekir Sapmaz who were from Karaisalı. A few years after their arrival to the city, they became business partners with Hacı Ömer Sabancı. But they eventually ended their partnership with Hacı Ömer and founded their textile factory called South Yarn Factory (Güney İplik Sanayi).²⁹⁸

Moreover, during this period of 1923-1927, foreign investments took place in the city of Adana. It could be quite reasonable when the decisions that were taken during the First Turkish Economic Congress were reconsidered. As it was mentioned above, the congress was held from February 17 to March 4, 1923. At the end of the Congress, the Economic Pact (Misak-ı İktisadi) was accepted. According to Article 9 of this pact, it was stated that the Turkish people were friendly towards the foreigners who were respectful to their laws and language.²⁹⁹ In the article, it was exactly stated as: “ The Turks are friendly towards the nations which are not hostile to their religion, language and land. They, the Turks, are not against foreign capital. But, the Turks are against the corporations in their land which are incompatible with Turkish language and laws.”³⁰⁰ Therefore, the Turkish government did not oppose foreign capital as long as it was not against its language and laws. As a result of this approach of the Turkish government, foreign investment did take place in the city of Adana during the period from 1923-1927. Sicmat, an Italian company, which specialized in the manufacture and trade of cotton cloth, showed an interest in the

²⁹⁸ Sakıp Sabancı, p.32-33.

²⁹⁹ Afet Afetinan, p.19-20.

³⁰⁰ Yahya Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi, 1923-1950* (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1994), p.150.

Adana region and subsequently opened an office in 1924. This company shortly penetrated into the cotton market of Adana and gradually increased its weight.³⁰¹

Moreover, a limited company called the Adana Future Cotton Company (Adana İstikbal Pamuk Şirketi) was founded mainly by the contribution of foreign capital in 1923 in Adana. This company mostly dealt with the purchase and exchange of cotton under the supervision of a community headed by Mr. Phillipart from France.³⁰² In addition, Salamon Rafael Glido, a Russian Jewish émigré, founded an oil factory in 1927. In this factory, cottonseed oil was produced.³⁰³

In conclusion, during the period from 1923 to 1927 an apparent increase in the population of the city of Adana did occur. Various Turkish and Muslim groups migrated to the city and compensated the population losses of the city during and after the French occupation, which brought about killings of many people and the departures of others, mainly Armenian and Greek groups, from the Adana region. The migration of these Turkish groups did increase the weight of the Turkish people in various sectors of the city. The Turkish and Muslim groups began to dominate some of the crafts that were formerly under the monopoly of the non-Muslim groups such as jewellery, tailoring and shoemaking.³⁰⁴ However, the 1920s was too soon for the sudden emergence of the immigrants as important businessmen and industrialists of the region. The additional actors, besides the Turks, such as the foreign investors and the native Christians of the city pursued their position as the key figures of the economic life of the city of Adana. Therefore, the heterogeneous nature of the commercial community of the city of Adana,

³⁰¹ Ibid, p.198.

³⁰² Ahmet Gündüz Ökçün, *1920-1930 Yılları Arasında Kurulan Türk Anonim Sirketlerinde Yabancı Sermaye* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1971), p.78

³⁰³ Sadun Tanju, p.62-63.

³⁰⁴ Taha Toros, *Atatürk'ün Adana Seyahatleri* (Adana: Seyhan Basımevi, 1939), p.21.

which formed due to the contribution of various groups including Jews, Christians, Europeans and Muslims, did control the economic transactions during the first four years of the Turkish Republic. The apparent domination of the Turkish and Muslim groups in the social life of the city of Adana could not be observed in the economic life of the city during this period. This period was too soon to assign the dominant figure of the economic life of the city. It could be better to define this period as the first phase of the reorganization of the economic and social life of the city.

The Contribution of the Migrants to the Economic Life of Adana³⁰⁵

In this section, I will focus on the influence of the mübadil groups in the city of Adana in economic aspects. Before I discuss their impact on the city of Adana, I will mention some problems that the mübadils did face during the period of 1923-1927. In order to understand their impact clearly, I decide to state their problems, which definitely made their adjustment period in the city of Adana even more difficult. Thereafter, I will analyze their contribution to the city of Adana in economic terms; I will make a comparison between the other migrant groups, particularly the immigrants from Kayseri and Darende, and also will compare the contribution of the mübadils who settled in the villages and the cities to the economic life of these regions.

The problems of the mübadils unfortunately did not terminate after their transfer to the previously determined settlement points and obtaining a residence as well as a piece of land or a workshop in these locations. The official procedure of the settlement process

³⁰⁵ In this part, I will discuss the impact of the migrants from Greece who were subjected to the Exchange of Populations and eventually migrated to the Adana region in 1924. Since I mention several migrant groups, I will use the Turkish word, mübadil, for this migrant group who migrated from Greece in order to avoid the ambiguity in sense.

continued for another couple of years and made the adjustment of these mübadils even more difficult.

One of the main problems that was bothering both the local institutions as well as the mübadils was the illegal occupation of the residences by the third parties. The residences, which were given at the disposal of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement, were generally under the occupation of various officials. Another issue was related to the distributed estates that were not found satisfactory and appropriate by the mübadils in the Adana region.

On the subject of the illegal occupation of the abandoned residences of the Armenian and Greek groups in the city of Adana which were going to be distributed to mübadils, it could be said that the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement endeavored for the evacuation of these residences several times mainly after the arrival of mübadils to the city of Adana. The Ministry actually endeavored due to the reasons that were stated in Chapter 3. The abandoned residences of the Armenian and Greek communities of the city of Adana were the most economic solution that was found for the accommodation problem of the mübadil groups. However, considering the rather early departure of the Armenians and Greeks from the city, at the turn of the year 1922, which unofficially initiated the Exchange of Populations process in the city of Adana, left these residences unclaimed for two years prior to the arrival of mübadils to the city of Adana. This situation eventually caused their occupation by the third parties. When the Exchange of Populations was designed at the Lausanne Peace Conference, these abandoned residences appeared as the most appropriate solution to the accommodation problem of mübadil groups throughout Turkey including the Adana region. Therefore, in order to effectuate

the settlement of the migrants in the city of Adana, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement ordered the evacuation of the residences mainly after the arrival of mübadils to the city.

The Ministry initially ordered the evacuation of these residences on 25 March 1924.³⁰⁶ It seems that the occupiers did not take this order of the Ministry very seriously because the Ministry reordered the evacuation of the residences on 26 April 1924.³⁰⁷ This time a serious reaction against the order of the Ministry could be observed among these occupiers. The resoluteness of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement concerning the cessation of the occupation by the third parties occasionally clashed with the obstinate attitude of the officials who were also supported by some of the government departments such as the Ministry of Education, especially in the case of the evacuation of houses by the teachers.³⁰⁸ It could be observed that the resistance of the state officials continued for further several months considering an inspection done by the Ministry of Exchange Reconstruction and Settlement on 9 October 1924. According to this inspection, 178 residences that were located in the center of Adana were still under the occupation of state officials, civil servants and officers including teachers, colonels, captains, lieutenants, cartographers, telegraph officers, clerks, tax collecting officers, doctors, chief police officers, police officers and registration officers.³⁰⁹ Keeping in mind

³⁰⁶ TCA, Fon:272..11, Yer: 17.79.24, 25.03.1924. The date of the order of the Ministry is quite important in order to understand the preparations of the Ministry considering the settlement of the mübadils in the city of Adana. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, the mübadil groups began to arrive at the city in March 1924. Therefore, the Ministry ordered the evacuation of the residences after the arrival of the first mübadil groups. It could be observed that mübadils were not settled in their residences immediately but they waited for a while to receive the houses that were preserved for their settlement.

³⁰⁷ TCA, Fon:030.10, Yer: 124.883.7, 26.04.1924.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ TCA, Fon: 272..11, Yer: 19.96.19, 9.10.1924.

the date of the inspection, it could be observed that the accomodation problem of mübadils in the city of Adana was not actually solved even in October.

Although the mübadils finally achieved to receive a residence in the center, this time another problem emerged related to the unsuitability of the residences for the mübadil families. According to an inspection that was done by the Ministry of Interior on 27 June 1927 in the city of Adana, revealed that the estates were randomly distributed without taking into consideration the number of people in a household. In some cases, the settlement officials had given out bigger residences to the small families whereas large families had received houses that had only one or two rooms.³¹⁰

While the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement tried to evacuate the residences under occupation, its burden became heavier due to the flight of additional mübadil groups to the city of Adana from their settlement points. For instance, the migrants from Matınca who were settled in Ayas (Yumurtalık) escaped from their initial point of settlement and subsequently came to the city of Adana. Since they refused to go back to Ayas and demanded their settlement in the center of Adana, the settlement officials tried to find a new location for them. The officials eventually rejected their demand of settlement in the center of Adana, on the ground of insufficient number of residences that could be preserved for their settling. They were transferred to the city of Mersin.³¹¹

Another problem concerning the estates that were distributed to the migrant groups was that these estates were often found inadequate by the migrants to offset the value of their abandoned estates in their former hometowns. One of these migrants, Devlet Hanım

³¹⁰ TCA, Fon: 272..12, Yer:54.131.23, 17.7.1927.

³¹¹ TCA, Fon: 272..12, Yer:48.96.10, 27.07.1926.

from Crete, submitted a petition to the Ministry of Interior concerning the estates she had received in Adana that did not offset her immovable estates in Crete by reason of the miscalculation of the departments concerned.³¹² As in the case of Devlet Hanım, the majority of the migrants, after a few years from their arrival to the city of Adana submitted various petitions to the local departments demanding different residences or asking to obtain additional estates whose value would be sufficient enough to reciprocate their abandoned properties in Greece and Crete. The migrants made frequent surveys in the city of Adana to find a more pleasant residence in the city.³¹³

The records that are found in the Republican as well as the local archive concerning the problems of the estates were generally registered between the years of 1924 and 1932. This indicates that the situation of the majority of the mübadils did actually entangle themselves with the issues concerning their estates in Adana after their arrival. It is obvious that in a period of eight years following their arrival to the city of Adana, the migrants could not completely adjust themselves to their new life in this city. Instead of working to obtain an important position in the commercial life of the city of Adana, they were mainly engaged in problems relating to their estates. This situation definitely lessened their weight in the economic life of Adana.

However, the problems related to the estates, which were distributed to mübadils, cannot be accepted as the sole reasons behind the rather inefficient contribution of the mübadil groups to the economic life of the city of Adana. As it was stated in details in Chapter 3 that the settlement of mübadils actually took place by taking into consideration the portion of abandoned estates in each settlement area throughout Turkey. The city of

³¹² TCA, Fon:272..12, 46.85.24, 12.12.1925.

³¹³ KHGMA, İskan ve Tevfiz Defteri.

Adana as the former hometown of the Armenian and Greek dwellers contained a remarkably high number of residences, which gave rise to a large-scale mübadil settlement there. In addition, as it was also stated in Chapter 3, the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement did not actually take into account the occupation of the mübadils. However, there was an apparent inconsistency between the occupations of the mübadils and the métiers of the Armenians as well as Greeks whose residences and workshops were distributed to mübadils. This inconsistency was clearly stated by Mahmut Celal Bayar, one of the Ministers of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement, as: “I confess that the customs and métiers of the two groups-the mübadils and the Armenians and Greeks- are different from each other. The ones who left Turkey were generally artisans and merchants, but the newcomers (mübadil) are agricultural workers. The majority of the newcomers are peasants but the Armenians and Greeks were city dwellers.”³¹⁴ This incompatibility between the occupations of the former inhabitants, the Armenians and Greeks, and the occupations of newcomers, mübadils, in the city of Adana created a factor that was working against the personal welfare of mübadil groups in the city of Adana. However, this statement could not be applied to mübadils who were settled in villages. Therefore, two different arguments come about considering the impact of mübadils on the economic life of their settlement points. As it will be discussed, the impact of the ones who settled in villages of the Adana region was more significant than the ones who were settled in the city of Adana considering the economic life of these regions.

The migrants who were settled in the neighboring towns, mainly Ceyhan and Kozan can be accepted as instances indicating the success of migrant settlement in the Adana

³¹⁴ TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre:II, İctima:II, Cilt: X, p.52.

region. The majority of the migrant groups are still living in the villages that they were settled after their arrival to the Adana region. In these villages, Gaziköy and Pekmezci in Kozan and Hamzalı in Ceyhan, the majority of the population is still composed of the migrant groups who had come from the various towns such as Demirhisar and Serez.³¹⁵ According to the State Yearbook of 1927, the total cotton production of Adana was 80.000 bales in 1924. An increase to 120.000 bales was expected in 1927. Moreover, wheat and barley production of Adana increased by 50% from 1924 to 1925.³¹⁶ It can be claimed that the settlement of the migrants in the Adana region was partially successful and they did contribute to the agricultural production of the city after a short time from their settlement. It initially depended on the similarities between the former hometowns of the migrants and their settlement points in the Adana region because the migrants were accustomed to and the land was suitable for the cultivation of these crops. In the case of Ceyhan and Kozan, the settled migrants mostly came from Demirhisar and Serez where the cotton production was highly developed and expanded similar to the Adana region.³¹⁷ In addition, the Serez region was one of the important exporters of cotton yarn to abroad in the 19 and 20th centuries.³¹⁸ Therefore, cotton production was not unknown to the migrants that were settled in Ceyhan and Kozan where the agricultural production was dominated by cotton. The similarities between their former hometowns and the settlement points did both facilitate the adjustment period of the migrants to their new environment and eventually provided their contribution to the economic life of the region through their role in the agricultural growth of the region in the 1920s.

³¹⁵ Cezmi Yurtsever, *Adana Köy Araştırmaları*, 1992-1996.

³¹⁶ 1927 Devlet Salnamesi, p.335.

³¹⁷ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing*, p.27.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.34-35.

The second main motive behind the classification of Ceyhan and Kozan as successful migrant settlement was that the population of the towns, in 1920s, was mostly constituted of the migrant groups not only from Greece and Crete but also from various places including Bosnia, Turkmenistan, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Algeria and Tunisia.³¹⁹ These migrant groups did create a sort of social equality in these two towns. These migrants compulsorily or voluntarily had left their former hometowns, sought shelter in Ceyhan and Kozan, and eventually tried to initiate a new life in these towns. Their starting point was the same; they tried to build a new life for themselves in a region completely foreign to them.

On the contrary, the situation of mübadils in the city of Adana and its environs including the neighboring districts, Köprüköyü, İncirlik and Madama was quite different than the ones in Ceyhan and Kozan. As it was mentioned above, the majority of the mübadils were engaged in agricultural production and they were quite unfamiliar with the commercial life of the city of Adana. Even in the 1930s and 1940s, the books that were published in this period mentioned no mübadil merchants or businessmen. Almost twenty years after their arrival to the city of Adana, the mübadil groups did not achieve to seize a significant position in the economic life of the city.³²⁰ Moreover, the mübadils began to leave their settlement points including Köprüköyü, İncirlik and Madama mainly in the 1940s and 1950s and they sold their fields and vineyards that were situated in these districts. These districts were actually the green belts of the city of Adana where the large estates of the Armenians were situated. In these estates, various crops including cotton

³¹⁹ KHGMA.

³²⁰ For detailed information about the economic life of the city of Adana in 1930s and 1940s, see Taha Toros, *1940 Adana Ticaret Rehberi* (Adana: Yeni Adana Matbaası, 1941), Naci Akverdi, *Adana Cumhuriyetten Evvel ve Sonra* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1938) and Hüsnü Vural, *Ticaret Rehberi* (Adana: Bugün Basımevi, 1942).

were cultivated in the 1900s.³²¹ As peasants, the mübadils should have stayed in these districts. In my opinion, the main reasons behind the departure of the mübadils from these districts are: the expansion of the borders of the city of Adana through these districts and the conditions of the residences that were distributed to mübadils in these mentioned districts. As it was stated in the previous chapter, very simple structures were built for meeting the shelter problem of the mübadil groups in these mentioned districts. It is quite certain that these buildings did not meet the requirements of the mübadil families after a few decades from their settling. They probably preferred to sell these fields to obtain enough money for the purchase of a residence in the center of Adana. At present, no mübadil village or no mübadil settlement can be found in these districts. The imprint of the mübadil settlement in the 1920s completely vanished from the area. The American Air Base was constructed in İncirlik in 1955 after the entry of Turkey to NATO. Madama and Köprüköyü are mostly preferred for the governmental or military institutions including the buildings of Gendarmerie, General Directorate for Rural Services (Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, KHGM), Turkish Electricity Distribution Limited Company (Türkiye Elektrik Dağıtım Anonim Şirketi, TEDAŞ) and Directorate of Traffic (Trafik Müdürlüğü). In addition, Köprüköyü has recently been occupied by immigrants from Eastern Anatolia whose illegal settlement turned Köprüköyü into a shantytown. In the case of Madama, the Sabancı Family bought in 1960 exactly the land that was called formerly the Madama Farm.³²²

The purchase of the Madama Farm by the Sabancı Family was not the only instance concerning the shift in possession from the migrants to the new members of the upper

³²¹ See Chapter 2.

³²² Sakıp Sabancı, p.97.

class in the city of Adana. The migrants in Yüreğir, the name today indicating the districts comprising of Madama and Köprüköyü, gradually sold their land to the influential members of the city of Adana including the deputies and businessmen who subsequently bought thousands of donums of land in these districts. It can be claimed at this point that these migrants did actually work for the growth of landlordism in Adana by selling their licensed land for cheap prices to these new landlords.³²³ In fact, in the 1950s, few landowners who possessed the majority of the land in Adana preferred to cultivate this land due to the demands of the market. The large private properties in Adana constituted 19% of all the privately owned large estates throughout Turkey. It was the highest rate in Turkey in 1950. Furthermore, the region was the most developed area on the subject according to the utilization of agricultural machinery.³²⁴ Therefore, the agricultural sector once more turned into its former framework in the 1900s and 1910s. The land was gradually accumulated in the hands of a few landowners whose decisions also deeply affected the market. In an agricultural reorganization such as the reemergence of large private properties once more, the migrants who owned land just between 50 to 100 donums, were actually not as influential as the emerging landowning class. Their small estates were not in a position to dominate the agricultural or commercial sectors of the city of Adana.

On the subject of the social structure of the city of Adana it could be stated that there existed huge differences between the city and the towns such as Ceyhan and Kozan. In fact, the mübadils who were settled in the city of Adana had more competitors than the ones settled in Ceyhan and Kozan. The immigrants from Kayseri and Darende had settled

³²³ Mübeccel Kıray and Jan Hinderink, p.231-232.

³²⁴ Yahya Tezel, p.349.

in the city of Adana much before the arrival of the mübadils in 1924. From the evacuation of the city by the French forces together with the Armenian and Greek dwellers in 1922 to the arrival of the migrants in 1924, these immigrants adjusted themselves to their lives in the city of Adana and they actually began to make money in the city. In addition, as the ones who had experienced bitter memories of the War of Independence and had actively supported the Turkish resistance during the war, their immigration to the city of Adana related mainly to economic issues, was actually not found inappropriate by the then Turkish government after the War of Independence. Therefore, their participation in the economic life of the city of Adana during a period when all the Armenian and Greek dwellers left the city as the ones who had been mainly engaged in industry and trade, the eager immigrants of Kayseri and Darende who were longing to take an active role in the economic life of Adana were not accepted as a threat but actually as an opportunity to reciprocate the losses that subsequently occurred in the city of Adana after the departure of the Armenians and Greeks. The immigrants progressively became wealthy. The path to wealth initiated by taking active roles in trade where the immigrants earned sufficient amount of money to invest on land. The third and final phase of getting richer occurred in the industrial field. Therefore, in a couple of decades, the immigrants became competent enough to control commercial, agricultural and finally the industrial sectors.³²⁵ The migrants of Greece and Crete, after their arrival to the city of Adana faced such tough competitors who migrated to Adana mainly due to the reasons related to economic issues. In addition, the immigrants of Kayseri and Darende were for better informed about the commercial life of the city of Adana than the mübadil groups. Even though the immigrants were also accepted as newcomers, they had

³²⁵ Sakıp Sabancı, p.30-31.

knowledge as much as locals considering the economic life. The contribution of mübadils to the economic life of Adana remained very insignificant when compared to the contribution of the immigrants from Kayseri and Darende.

The contribution of the mübadils of Greece to the general economic growth of the city of Adana remained minor even in the case of the rich mübadils, not all the mübadils were poor peasants; some of them were actually prosperous farmers,³²⁶ who did bring capital with them from their hometowns to the city of Adana. These migrants were among the rich landowners of their former hometowns and they had sufficient capital in their hands to take an active role in the economic life of the city. But these wealthy migrants did not use their money for their personal well-being and they did not actually commit themselves to take an active role in the economic life of the city. They financially supported other mübadils who did not have a good financial situation. Some of the wealthy migrants granted their fields in Adana, the ones that they received after their arrival to the city of Adana, to the penurious mübadil families for their welfare or they gave money, which was adequate for the purchase of small workshop in the center of Adana. The mübadils formed a very close social class in the city of Adana and cooperated for their mutual welfare and satisfaction. They even did not hesitate to reinforce their friendship and cooperation with marital bonds. Until the 1960s, the mübadils strictly preferred their children to marry the sons or daughters of other mübadil families who also came from Greece. They probably did not trust the other groups of people or did not try to develop close relations with the natives or the immigrants in Adana and they stuck to each other. They were generally timid towards the others. Their

³²⁶ H.C. Jaquith, p.405-406.

timidity was also a factor that was working against their economic growth in the city of Adana.⁵¹

The second generation of mübadils also followed in the footsteps of their parents and relatives. In present day, the successors of the first generation of the mübadils do not have a dominant position in the economic life of Adana whereas the second generation of the immigrants from Kayseri and especially the ones from Darende have made an immense impact on the whole economic and financial sectors in the city of Adana. They are the ones who almost entirely control the economic transactions and industrial production in the city. On the contrary, most of the migrants chose a modest way of life.

The problems that the mübadils faced in the city of Adana were not particular to their situation but other mübadil groups who were settled in various cities and towns including Istanbul, Tekirdağ, Çatalca, Tuzla, Silivri and Samsun also faced problems. Some of them complained about the value of the estates that were given to them, which they generally found insufficient to offset the value of their abandoned estates in Greece and Crete. Some of them complained about the attitude of the natives, which they perceived generally as unfriendly, or in some cases even hostile. These mübadils also changed their initial settlement points and moved from one place to another.⁵² In general, the life of the mübadils was not easy. In my opinion, this is strictly related to the nature of the Exchange of Populations, which required the compulsory exchange of the migrants from Greece to Turkey. Therefore, these people did not choose to come to Turkey but they were forced to act in this way. The nature of the Exchange of Populations separated these mübadils from the other groups. They ended up in a place, in a country, which they did

⁵¹ From the personal memories of my family.

⁵² İskender Özsoy, *İki Vatan Yorgunları: Mübadele Acısını Yaşayanlar Anlatıyor* (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2003), p.26, 28,32, 35, 39, 41, 46, 48, 49, 65, 66, 78, 89, 90, 93, 100, 105, 107, 114, 126, 136, 142.

not even want to come to. They did not live in Anatolia during the War of Independence, which held fast the Turkish people to one another and more importantly to the new Turkish government. These migrants missed all of the enthusiasm of the post war era. They were actually latecomers and all they thought about was to adopt themselves to their new life in the new Turkish state. They did not come to Turkey to grow rich or to dominate the economic life of the Turkish Republic. They just formed another social group in Turkey and tried to find a way to make their livelihood.

Finally, it could be stated that the deserved attention that was promised to show to the migrants before their arrival to Turkey in the newspapers, in the conferences or even at the Grand National Assembly never actually came. The storm that was created in the newspapers or in the Grand National Assembly concerning the importance of the migrants to the social and economic life of Turkey, before the effectuation of the Exchange of Populations remained just as words; they had nothing to do with the reality. The Turkish government, especially the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement seems to have failed to develop detailed settlement plans for these mübadils. The Ministry did not only fail in his settlement projects only in the city of Adana but the other groups of mübadils also suffered from unwise projects of the mentioned ministry. I admit that the settlement of the mübadils in Ceyhan and Kozan yielded favorable results but this could be accepted as a slight success considering the deficiency of the Ministry of Exchange, Reconstruction and Settlement in various regions including the city of Adana.

CONCLUSION

Before the 1860s, the city of Adana was one of the unexceptional Ottoman cities. The motive that had altered its appearance from a typical Anatolian city to one of the commercial and industrial areas of the period was the expansion of cotton production in the Adana region which officially entered in the agenda in 1862 after the decree of the Ottoman Sultan regarding the promotion of the cotton cultivation in the region due to cotton shortages in the world market.³²⁷

The reentrance of cotton as the dominant crop into the heart of the agricultural life of the city of Adana also incited other sectors including commerce and industry. The cotton exchange consolidated Adana's position in the international market. Firm commercial bonds with the European powers also brought about foreign investments in the textile industry. The first factories were generally founded by foreign capital and few years later the dwellers of the city of Adana entered the industrial sector and established factories, which were initially ginneries, and thereafter they were specialized in cotton weaving and yarn manufacture.³²⁸

In order to contribute to the expansion of the cotton cultivation as well as the increase in the volume of trade and industry some infrastructural and further agricultural investments did take place in the region. The swamps, which threatened the health of the locals as well as the expansion of the cotton cultivation in the Adana region, occurred due to the inundation of the main rivers of the region, the Seyhan and Ceyhan Rivers. From the 1860s, the drainage of these swamps was given priority in every single agricultural project for the expansion in the cotton cultivation and was gradually achieved. In

³²⁷ Yurt Ansiklopedisi, p.32.

³²⁸ For the agricultural, industrial and commercial developments of the period, see Donald Quataert, "The Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia, 1876-1908.

addition, the nomadic tribes of the Adana region were forced to settle in these newly created fields out of swamps.³²⁹

Furthermore, the recent developments in commerce and agriculture worked for the transformation of Mersin from an average coastal town on the Mediterranean coast to an international port in the 1890s where the international transactions of the Adana region took place. In order to facilitate the transportation between the cultivation zones, which were mainly located in the towns of Adana, Tarsus and Ceyhan, to the international port of the region, Mersin, the construction of a railway line began in 1884 with the contribution of the French and British investors and it was opened to human and goods transportation in 1886.³³⁰

Cotton gradually transformed Adana into a very lively commercial and industrial region, which drew the attention of many people from different ethnic backgrounds and religious sects mainly due to economic reasons. These groups of people brought diversity to the social structure of the city of Adana. The Armenians, Greeks, Turks as well as the Syrian and Lebanese businessmen and the European merchants and investors were the fundamental elements of the society who formed different but complementary fractions of the population of the city of Adana.

Among these various groups of people, two of them, the Armenians and Greeks appeared as the dominant actors of the commercial and industrial sectors of the city of Adana as well as the neighboring towns including Tarsus and Mersin. The members of the Armenian and Greek communities in the city of Adana seemed to accumulate

³²⁹ For the forced settlement of the tribes, see Andrew Gordon Gould, *Pashas and Brigands: Ottoman Provincial Reform and Its Impact on the Nomadic Tribes of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885*.

³³⁰ For the emergence of Mersin as an international port city, see Meltem Toksöz, *Ottoman Mersin: The Making of an Eastern Mediterranean Port-town*.

sufficient capital in their hands, which they used for their investments in the industrial sector as well as for the purchase of vast amounts of land. Their investments on the land turned the Armenians and Greeks into significant landowners of the Adana region. The greenbelts of the city of Adana were preserved for the large estates of these people. For the cultivation of these privately owned fields, thousands of seasonal agricultural workers immigrated to the city of Adana. Agricultural machinery was also applied heavily, after 1900, to avoid prospective problems related to the seasonal agricultural workers who affected the agricultural production due to the deficiency in their number and the high wages that they were demanding from the landowners.

The Armenian presence in the city of Adana went back centuries. The Armenians established a kingdom in the region due to the unification of independent Armenian principalities in 1080. The Mamlukes crushed this Armenian Kingdom in 1375. In the case of the Greeks who also had an important position in the commercial and industrial life of the city of Adana, some of them had had a long past in the region but a fraction of them was immigrants. Actually the ones who had controlled the economic life of the city of Adana were actually the immigrants. The native Greeks generally settled in Karataş and dealt with small sized farming. These Greek immigrants came to Adana from mainland Greece and the Aegean islands as well as from some Anatolian towns including Kayseri, Sivas and Niğde.³³¹ The two important Greek businessmen in the city of Adana, Tripani and Simyonoğlu, were also immigrants who came to Adana from Chios and Kayseri respectively. The financial success of the Greek immigrants in the city of Adana also drew the attention of other Greek migrants who kept coming to the city frequently after 1900s.

³³¹ Vital Cuinet, p.138.

This was the general outlook in the city of Adana and its financial and social reorganization in the pre-Republican era. This financial and social framework began to change with the French occupation of the region after World War I, in 1919. The French occupation aroused a firm Turkish resistance in the region including the main towns Adana, Tarsus, Mersin, Kozan, Karaisalı and Pozantı. The Turkish resistance brought about serious fighting between the two camps, the Turkish and Muslim groups on one side and the French and Armenian soldiers on the other. The fighting lasted for about two years and in 1921 the French troops accepted to evacuate the city of Adana as well as the neighboring towns. The French forces did not leave the city alone, the Armenian and the Greek dwellers of the region accompanied them as a result of serious fighting that took place between them and the Turkish and Muslim inhabitants during the French occupation, which impeded the reestablishment of a peaceful cohabitation between these groups in the city of Adana. Therefore, the non-Muslims, mainly the Armenians and Greeks left the city, and the Turkish and Muslim groups seized the control of the city of Adana as of 5 January 1922. It was quite a premature date for the evacuation of the region from foreign occupiers and the non-Muslim dwellers moved to the other parts of Anatolia such as the İzmir region, which remained under Greek occupation for a few more months.

This rather early liberation of the city of Adana from the French occupation which was followed by the departure of non-Muslim groups also unofficially initiated the Exchange of Populations process in the city, early on January 1922, long before the emergence of the Exchange of Populations as an issue or a concern in the minds of European, Greek or Turkish statesmen. Keeping in the mind that the Turkish migrants

began to come to Adana in 1924, especially between the months of March and August, the period from the departure of the non-Muslim groups to the arrival of the migrants, more than two years, gave the Turkish administration the opportunity to firmly establish its basis in the city of Adana. As the ones who contributed to the steadfast Turkification process of the economic and social framework of the city of Adana, initially the Turkish and Muslim groups from the neighboring towns, mainly Kayseri and Darende as well as Kadirli, Karaisalı and Kozan immigrated to the city. The main motive behind their relocation in the city of Adana was their eagerness to take an active role in the economic life of Adana and to make use of some of the abandoned estates of the Armenians and Greeks. These people were looking for an opportunity, which the departure of the non-Muslim communities brought. They voluntarily came to the city of Adana in order to succeed the former businessmen, tradesmen or landowners of the city of Adana who were generally the members of the Armenian and Greek communities. Their gathering in the city of Adana created additional social groups besides the natives of Adana such as the immigrants from Kayseri and immigrants of Darende. However, this time contrary to the former social structure of the city of Adana, the population was not divided into separate groups through ethnic and religious differences, but the groups were separated from each other according to their hometowns. In general, they were Turkish and Muslim groups. Besides their common points that united them on ethnic and religious grounds, these people also shared something else: their experiences through the difficult years of the War of Independence, which united them all those years around the struggle for independence. They actually shared the enthusiasm of the post war period as being the supporters of the Turkish resistance, which brought about favorable consequences.

Therefore, the extreme nationalistic air of the post war period was not foreign to them. In fact, they did not hesitate to make public their devotion to Turkish nationalism and their support for the new Turkish state frequently.³³²

The immigrants of Kayseri and Darende as well as the other Turkish dwellers of the city of Adana who had emigrated from the inner parts of Adana such as Kozan and Kadirli started to make their living two years ahead of the arrival of the migrants from Greece. As being the ones who had voluntarily immigrated to the city of Adana, their adjustment period in the city of Adana did proceed without facing severe problems.

The Turkish migrants who were subjected to the Exchange of Populations and came to the city of Adana found a firmly established Turkish administration in the region. They actually missed the first phase of the reshaping process of the economic and social life of the city of Adana. When the total number of the migrants who were settled in the Adana region, about 5000 people, is considered, it is easy to conclude that the number of these people was quite insufficient to create an enormous impact in the social structure of the region. These migrant groups were not at all crowded when compared with other regions such as İzmir, Bursa and Edirne, which received many more migrants than Adana. Furthermore, the ones who settled exactly in the center of Adana were less than 5000 because these migrants were dispersed throughout the Adana region, they were not just settled in the center of Adana. Therefore, their impact on the social and economic life of the city of Adana was much less. As a small group of people, these migrants stuck to each other, developed bonds between other migrant families and avoided furthering their relations with the rest of the inhabitants of the city of Adana until the 1960s. As being

³³² For the devotion of these groups in the city of Adana to the Turkish Republic, see Taha Toros, *Atatürk'ün Adana Seyahatleri*.

Turkish and Muslim, the migrants had some common points with the natives of Adana and the immigrants from the various Anatolian towns. But they dissociated themselves from the others on the ground that they did not participate the War of Independence, they did not share the memories of the others relating to those difficult years. Even when they came from the various towns of Greece, the migrants stuck to each other because they also had common points different from the other inhabitants of the city of Adana: the bitter memories of leaving their hometowns behind and the distress of starting a new life for themselves in an area completely foreign to them. The natives or the immigrants in no way understood this feeling of forcibly leaving their hometowns and the migrants were also not in a position to comprehend the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the various towns of Anatolia about the liberation of their hometowns. These common points attached the migrants to each other even much stronger and they tried to facilitate their adjustment period in their new lives in the city of Adana by cooperating with each other in every field. They arranged marriages between their children; they supported their fellow countrymen in material or non-material issues. For all those years after their arrival to the city of Adana, they did not work to obtain a dominant position in the economic life of the city of Adana. They preferred to remain in the background and did not attempt to play an important role in the economic life. Perhaps the fear or the feeling of insecurity influenced their ineffectiveness in the economic life of the city of Adana. The problems that they did face in the city of Adana regarding their estates possibly discouraged the migrants and dashed their hopes of their new lives. It could be stated that the migrants were not actually the ones to shape the economic life of the city of Adana and instead they brought diversity to the city's social structure. Among the various

groups of immigrants as well as the natives, the migrants formed another social fraction in the city. Furthermore, they consolidated the Turkish and Muslim presence in the city as being Turkish-speaking Muslims.

The ones who turned the Adana into its former, pre-Republican, outlook were not the migrants from Greece and Crete but the immigrants of Kayseri and Darende who gradually seized the control of every single sector in Adana mainly after the 1940s. After they proved themselves in the commercial sector, they entered into the industrial life of the city of Adana. While they were growing wealthy in these sectors, they were not remiss about investing some of their money into the land. These immigrants actually replaced the former Armenian and Greek dwellers of the city of Adana and appeared as the new businessmen, tradesmen or landowners of the city of Adana in less than twenty years after their arrival to the city of Adana.

It is true that the city of Adana once more turned into its former days as an important commercial and industrial center and it did actually obtain an important position in the economic life of Turkey in the 1940s. However, the economic growth of the city of Adana was not achieved due to the contribution of the mübadils who preferred to stay in the background but it was actually accomplished due to the cooperation of the immigrants with the state who preferred to choose its partners not among the ones who seemed reluctant but among the ones who did not hesitate to declare their devotion to the principles of the new Turkish state.

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List of Abbreviations

TCA Türkiye Cumhuriyet Arşivi

KGHMA Köy Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS CONVENTION

Source: Renée Hirschon, ed., *Ege'yi Geerken 1923 Trk-Yunan Zorunlu Nfus Mbadelesi*, trans. Mfide Pekin and Ertuğ Altınay (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi niversitesi Yayınları, 2005)

APPENDIX II OLD AND NEW NAMES OF THE QUARTERS

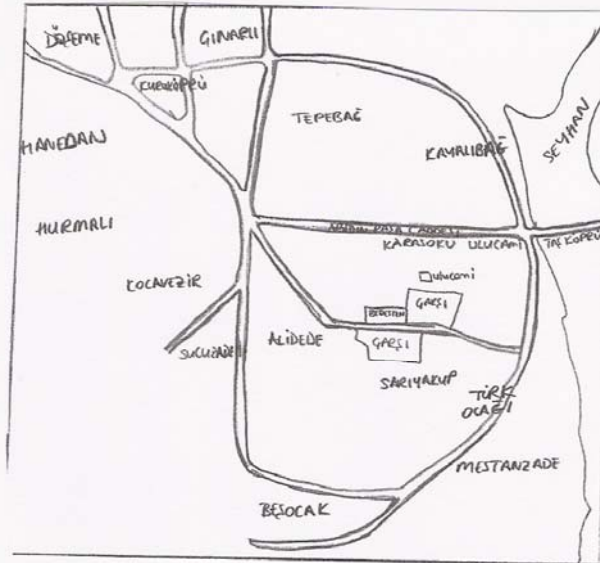
New Name	Old Name
Alidede	Sihmustafa, Eskihamam, Tascikan, Sihzade
Akkapi	Candiroglu
Cinarli	Akcakahya, Sabaniye, Icadiye, Rahmiye
Hanedan	Salihkiye
Havuzlubahce	Koprusokagi
Hurmali	Yuksekdolap
Hurriyet	Yortan
Istiklal	Sultansokagi
Karasoku	Babutarsus, Haciosofu, Hizirilyas, Derunikale, Sisli, Hammaliye, Bucak, Hacifaki, Eski Carsi, Tekkeizmiyal
Kayalibag	Agamehmet, Cukurmescid, Harapbahce, Durmusfaki
Kocavezir	Hankurbu, Tekkekurbu
Kurukopru	Hankurbu, Mermerli
Mestanzade	Sugedigi
Midik	Adasokagi
Meydan	Pasasokagi
Resatbey	Yarbasi
Sariyakup	Hilal, Pasanabi
Sucuzade	Bakirsindi, Ganisafzade
Sehitduran	Tabakhane
Tepebag	Nacaran, Saclimescid, Hacıhamit, Kasapbekir
Turkocagi	Sofubahce
Cumhuriyet	Ceditnafia
Ulucami	Cami-i Cedit
Doseme	Carcabuk

Source: Adana Tapu Müdürlüğü.

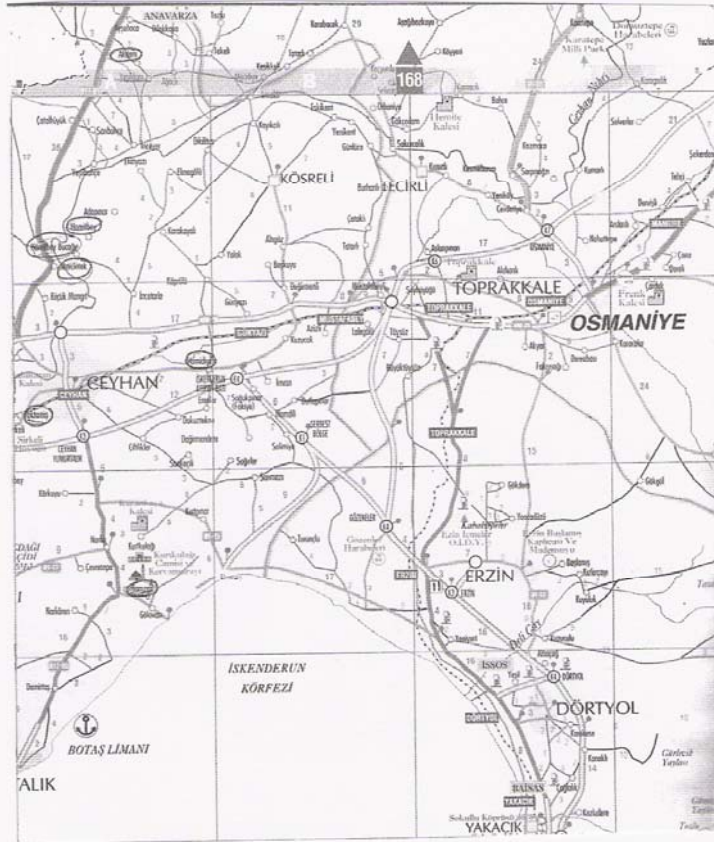
**APPEENDIX III THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION IN THE OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
GREECE**

MANASTIR VİLAYETİ Debre Sancağı Debre-i Bala Debre-i Zir Mat Rakkalar Elbasan Sancağı Elbasan Gramec Peklin Gorice Sancağı Gorice Istarve Kesriye Kolonya Behiste Huriste Manastır Sancağı Florina Karveca Manastır Ohri Perlepe Gupes Kayalar Klisura Magarevo Neveska Resene Soroviç Struga	SELANİK VİLAYETİ Drama Sancağı Drama Kavala Praveste Sarı Şaban Selanik Sancağı Avrethisar Aynaroz Doyuran Karaferiye Katerini Köprülü Langaza Selanik Agistos Akıncalı Boğdancı Dafni Demirkapu Gevgili Graçko Karis Tikveş Ustrumcu Vodina Yenice-i Vardar Kılıkış Larigora Negotin Poliroz Poroy Topçular Valandova Siroz Sancağı Cuma-i Bala Menlik Nevreskop Petriç Siroz Timurhisar Razlik Zilhova	YANYA VİLAYETİ Berat Sancağı Avlonya Berat Iskrapar Losna Timurice Fier Levan Mavrovo Ergiri Sancağı Delonya Ergiri Kurules Permedi Pogon Tepedelen Aya Sarandi Borsi Delvinaki Drovia Episkopi Fraser Himare Klisura Kostanika Lebhova Libakhovo Preveze Sancağı Lorus Margariti Preveze Morto Parga Salahor Yanya Sancağı Aydonat Filat Konice Leskovik Mecve Yanya Aya Mina Camanda Devizdian Dovra İzervari Kokuli Sayade Sudine Vitza	GİRİT VİLAYETİ Hanya Sancağı Hanya Kisamo Selne Kandanos Esfakye Sancağı Esfakye Eyuvasil İzzeddin Suda Vianos Kandiye Sancağı Kandiye Koturya Maloviz Petriye Rizo Ayamiron Kastel Lasit Sancağı Esine Lasit Yeretepe Ayanikola Sitia Resmo Sancağı Amari Milayotmo Resmo Humeiri Marona	Serfice Sancağı (Bağımsız Sancağı) Alasonya Cuma Grevene Kozana Nasliç Serfice Domenik Livadi Sateste Valvendos	ŞİSAM BEYLİĞİ Vati Hora Karlovasi Merato- Kambo	TESELYA BÖLGESİ Kalabaka Tirhala Fener Kardice Çatalca Urmiye Domeke Tirnova Baba Yenice Yenişehir Valestin Galos
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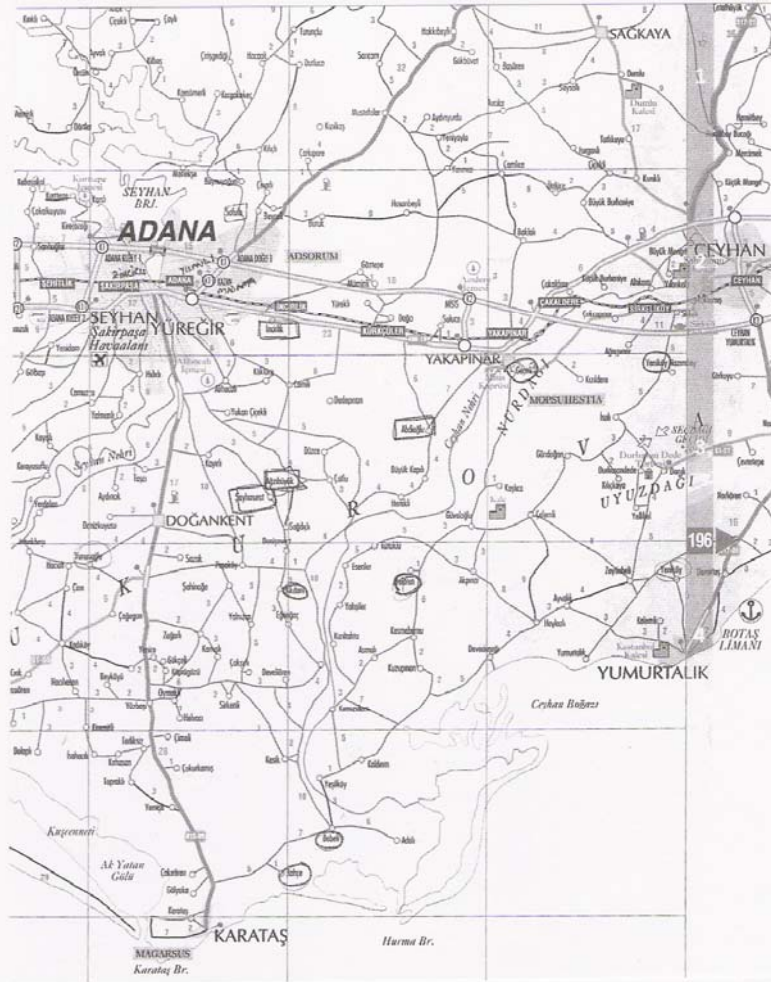
Source: [http:// www.lozanmubadilleri.org/mubyerlesimyerleri.htm](http://www.lozanmubadilleri.org/mubyerlesimyerleri.htm).



Map V. The Center of the City of Adana (From Lothar Rother, *Die Stdte der Cilicia: Adana-Mersin-Tarsus* [Tubingen, 1971]).



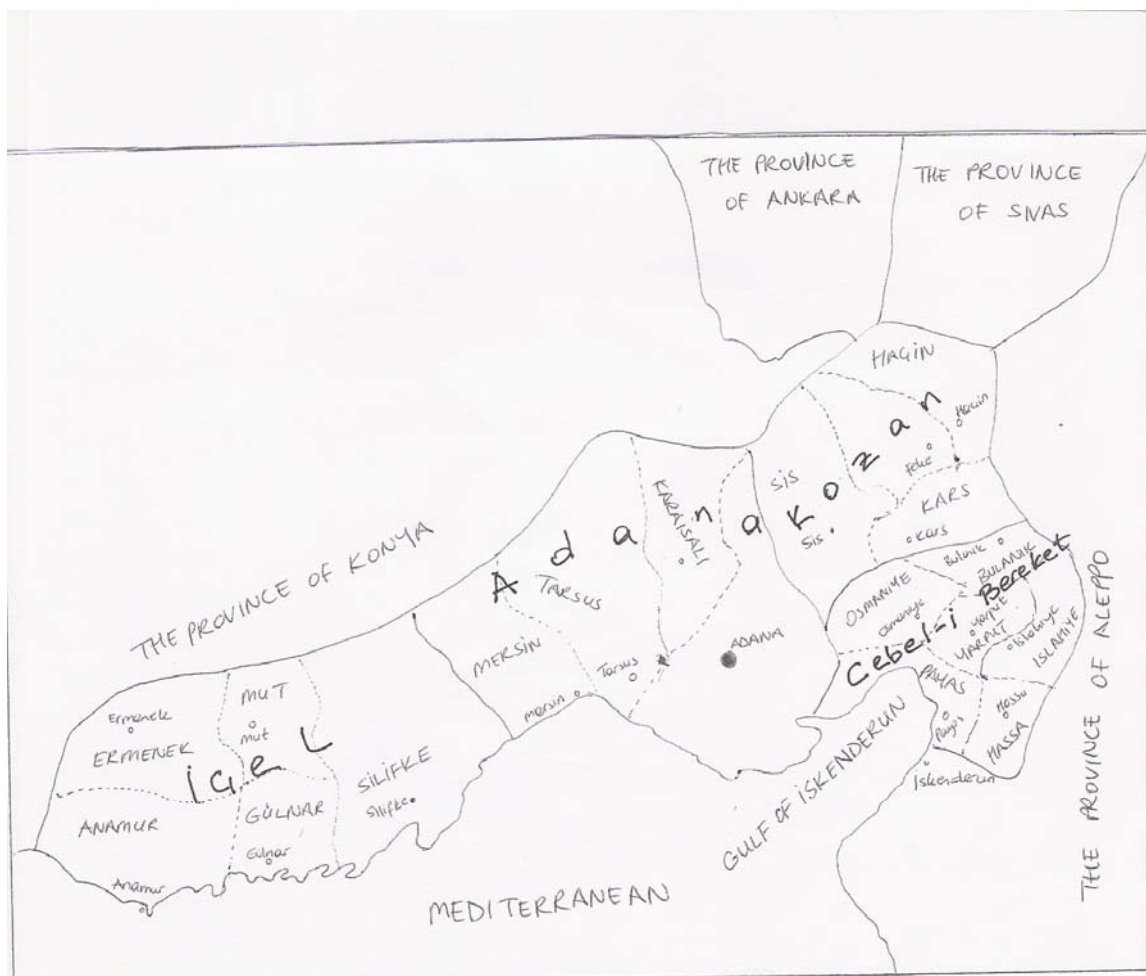
Map IV. Newly Established Villages Between Ceyhan and Osmaniye (From Yücel Yaman ed., *Köy Köy Türkiye Yol Atlası* [İstanbul: İki Nokta, 2004])



Map III. Newly Established Villages Between Adana and Ceyhan (From Yücel Yaman ed. *Köy Köy Türkiye Yol Atlası* [İstanbul: İki Nokta, 2004])



Map.II The Geography of the Adana Region (From Faik Sabri Duran, *Büyük Atlas* [Istanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 2001])



Map I. The Province of Adana and Its Administrative Units (From Hilmi Karaburan, "Die Stadt *Osmaniye* in der oberen Çukurova : Entwicklung, Etruktur und Funktionen einer Türkischen Mittelstadt," [Ph.D diss, Universitaet Heidelberg, 1975])

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I THE EXCHANGE OF POPULATIONS CONVENTION

1925

League of Nations — Treaty Series.

77

¹ TRADUCTION. — TRANSLATION.

No. 807. — CONVENTION ² CONCERNING THE EXCHANGE OF GREEK AND TURKISH POPULATIONS, AND PROTOCOL, SIGNED AT LAUSANNE, JANUARY 30, 1923.

French official text communicated by the Greek Chargé d'Affaires at Berne. The registration of this Convention took place January 27, 1925.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY and the GREEK GOVERNMENT have agreed upon the following provisions :

Article 1.

As from the 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory.

These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively.

Article 2.

The following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1 :

- (a) The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople.
- (b) The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.

All Greeks who were already established before the October 30, 1918, within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople.

All Moslems established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 by the Treaty ³ of Bucharest shall be considered as Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace.

Article 3.

Those Greeks and Moslems who have already, and since the October 18, 1912, left the territories the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of which are to be respectively exchanged, shall be considered as included in the exchange provided for in Article 1.

¹ Communiqué par le Ministère des Affaires étrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique.

² Communicated by His Britannic Majesty's Foreign Office.

³ Ratified by Turkey, August 13, 1923, by Greece, August 25, 1923.

⁴ British and Foreign State Papers, vol. 107, page 658.