

**AN ITALIAN PHYSICIAN IN THE CAUCASIAN
MIGRATION OF 1864:
THE MISSION OF DR. BAROZZI
IN TRABZON AND SAMSUN**

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Abstract

The immigrations that the Ottoman Empire was exposed to in the 19th century launched a new social mobility in Ottoman territories after the Crimean War (1853-1856). Especially the immigrations in 1864 starting with the great emigration of the Circassians after the Russian conquest faced the Ottoman Empire a huge and massive migration movements that could not be compared with the previous immigrations. In this immigration process, southern Black Sea ports, Trabzon and Samsun served as main entry ports for immigrants in the Ottoman territories. However, these immigrations led to serious issues to these port cities. The Ottoman government took some series measures to prevent both the immigrants and the indigenous people from the problems caused by the migration. This process, managed basically by the Refugee Commission, was an issue for international community in terms of the political and social consequences of the immigration. In this context, the Quarantine Council that had an international character closely followed this process. This study aims to investigate the mission of Dr. Barozzi sent by the Sublime Porte, as a member of the Quarantine Council, his measures and his activities in Trabzon and Samsun and the consequences of the migrations at these entry ports.

Keywords: The Caucasian Migration of 1864, Trabzon, Samsun, Dr. Barozzi, the Quarantine Council.

**1864 KAFKAS GÖÇÜ'NDE BİR İTALYAN HEKİM:
DR. BAROZZI'NİN TRABZON VE SAMSUN'DAKİ MİSYONU**

Öz

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 19. yüzyılda maruz kaldığı göç hareketlerinde Kırım Savaşı sonrası gerçekleşenler, imparatorluk coğrafyasında yeni bir sosyal hareketlilik başlattı. Özellikle 1864 yılında Çerkezlerin sürgünü ile başlayan büyük göç, devleti daha öncekilerle mukayese edilmeyecek bir göç hareketi ile karşı karşıya bıraktı. Bu göç dalgasında Trabzon ve Samsun göçmenlerin Osmanlı topraklarına giriş yaptıkları ana limanlar oldu. Lakin bu

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göçler bu liman şehirleri için çok ciddi sorunları da beraberinde getirdi. Osmanlı hükümeti, hem göçmenlerin hem de yerli halkın göçten kaynaklanan sorunlardan etkilenmemesi için bir dizi tedbir aldı. Temelde Muhacirin Komisyonu tarafından yönetilen bu süreç, ortaya çıkardığı siyasi ve sosyal sonuçlar bakımından uluslararası kamuoyunun da ilgisini çekti. Bu bağlamda uluslararası bir nitelik taşıyan Meclis-i Tahaffuz da bu süreci yakından takip etti. Bu çalışma, Meclis-i Tahaffuz'un bir delegesi olarak Bâb-ı Âli tarafından Mart 1864'te özel bir görev ile Trabzon ve Samsun'a gönderilen Dr. Barozzi'nin buradaki çalışmalarını ve göçün bu şehirler üzerindeki etkilerini incelemeyi hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 1864 Kafkas Göçü, Trabzon, Samsun, Dr. Barozzi, Meclis-i Tahaffuz.

Introduction

As a scientific organization, “the International Symposium on the 146th Anniversary of the Caucasian Migration of 1864 War and Exodus”, held in İstanbul in 2010, provided scholars with an opportunity to discuss again the Caucasian Migration of 1864 in a broad sense¹. From this point of view, because 2014 is the 150th anniversary of the Caucasus Emigration, it is expected to be new publications and activities this year. It is obvious that there are much more to be done on the Caucasian Migration of 1864 which was discussed by both Turkish and foreign researchers from various aspects until now. In our country, based on the Ottoman archival documents, Turkish scholars usually discussed the immigration process on a local scale, especially the settlement process of the immigrants². However, besides the Ottoman archival sources, using the foreign archival documents in studies allows us to better understand the process and also helps us to make a positive contribution of the works about the subject. Indeed,

1 The proceedings of the symposium were published; see *1864 Kafkas Tehciri Kafkasya'da Rus Kolonizasyonu, Savaş ve Sürgün*, ed. Mehmet Hacısalihioğlu, BALKAR-IRCICA, İstanbul, 2014.

2 For some examples on this matter, see Erdoğan Keleş, “Kırım Savaşı'ndan Sonra Gelen Muhacirlerin Menteşe Sancağı'nda İskânı”, *Turkish Studies*, 4/8, 2009, pp.1165-1188; Murathan Keha, “1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Harbi'ne Kadar Yaşanan Kırım Kafkas Göçleri ve Erzurum'un Durumu”, *Ekev Akademi Dergisi*, 57, 2013, pp. 91-106; Hilmi Bayraktar, “Kırım ve Kafkasya'dan Adana Vilayeti'ne Yapılan Göç ve İskânlar (1869-1907)”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 22, 2007, pp.405-434; Hilmi Bayraktar, “Kırım Savaşı Sonrası Adana Eyaleti'ne Yapılan Nogay Göç ve İskânları (1859-1861)”, *Bilgi*, 45, 2008, pp.45-72; İhsan Satış, “Kırım Savaşı'ndan Sonra Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler ve Şanlıurfa Yöresine İskânlar”, *Ege Üniversitesi Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, XII/1, 2012, pp.517-531; Jülide Akyüz, “Göç Yollarında; Kafkaslardan Anadolu'ya Göç Hareketleri”, *Bilgi*, 46, 2008, pp.37-56; Tolga Akay, “XIX. Yüzyılda Kafkasya'dan Osmanlı Devleti'ne Yönelik Göç Hareketlerinde Sinop'un Yeri”, *I. Uluslararası Karadeniz Kültür Kongresi (06-09 Ekim 2011, Sinop) Bildiri Kitabı*, Katuder, Karabük, 2013, pp.3-13; Selma Yel-Ahmet Gündüz, “XIX. Yüzyılda Çarlık Rusya'sının Çerkesleri Sürgün Etmesi ve Uzunayla'ya Yerleştirilmeleri (1860-1865)”, *Turkish Studies*, 3/4, 2008, pp.949-983; Özgür Yılmaz, “1864 Kafkas Göçünde Trabzon”, *1864 Kafkas Tehciri, Kafkasya'da Rus Kolonizasyonu, Savaş ve Sürgün*, ed. M. Hacısalihioğlu, BALKAR-IRCICA, İstanbul, 2014, pp.315-345.

the Caucasian Migration of 1864, which was resulted in the Russian dominance in the Caucasus became an international matter while the immigrants, who were exiled from their homelands, took refuge in Ottoman territories in large masses.

Regarding the future of the Muslim population of Crimea, the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca that put an end to the Ottoman dominance over the Black Sea, was an important turning point. Russia's annexation of the Crimea in 1783 was the first step for the future invasion of the Caucasus³. After the invasion of the Crimea, Russia began to execute a long-term occupation and settlement policy in the Northern Caucasus. This Russian domination and settlement policy also started the emigration of the Muslims of Crimea. During this emigration process which started as early as 1772, the number of emigrants increased steadily. Russia's success in the wars with Iran and the Ottomans in the first half of the 19th century gave the opportunity to expand their territory to the south of the Caucasus⁴. As part of this settlement policy, Russia tried to change the demographic structure in the occupied areas for her political future in these regions⁵. However, the real turning point of the Russian policy in the Caucasus was the Crimean War⁶. In terms of the future of the Caucasus, although the Ottoman-British and French alliance gave hope to the Caucasus peoples, who were resisting for a long time against the Russian invasion, neither the western allies nor the Ottomans did actively support to prevent the Russian domination over the region⁷. In addition, when the Muridism movement, designated the national liberation movement of the Northern Caucasus mountaineers under the leadership of Shamil, was weakened after the Shamil's seize by the Russians in 1859, a new emigration movement began from the Caucasus⁸. Surely, the most important reason for this

3 Abdullah Saydam, *Kırım ve Kafkas Göçleri (1856-1876)*, TTK, Ankara, 1997, pp.29-36 (Hereafter, *Kafkas Göçleri*); Mark Pinson, "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1862", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1, 1972, pp.37-55; Mark Pinson, "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1862", *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2-3, 1973-74, pp.101-114. (Hereafter, *Emigration of The Crimean Tatars II*).

4 Nedim İpek, *İmparatorluktan Ulus Deölete Göçler*, Serander Yayınevi, Trabzon, 2006, p.28. (Hereafter, *Göçler*).

5 The clearest example of this policy was the migration program of Russians on the Ottoman Armenians in the Eastern Anatolia after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1829-1829. This forced migration was the early attempt for the Russian policy after the Crimean War in the region. Concerning migration after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1829-1829, see Kemal Beydilli, "1828-1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nda Doğu Anadolu'dan Göçürülen Ermeniler", *Belgeler*, VIII/17, 1988, pp.365-434.

6 About the migrations occurred after the Crimean War from the Crimean Peninsula in 1860's, see Brian Glyn Williams, "Hijra and Forced Migration from Nineteenth Century Russia to the Ottoman Empire", *Cahiers du Monde russe*, 41/1, 2000, pp.79-108.

7 Nazan Çiçek, " Talihsiz Çerkeslere İngiliz Peksimeti": İngiliz Arşiv Belgelerinde Büyük Çerkes Göçü (Şubat 1864-Mayıs 1865)" *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 64-1, 2009, p.64. (Hereafter, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*).

8 A. Üner Turgay, "Circassian Immigration into the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1878", *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, ed. Wael Hallaq and Donald P. Little, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1991, p.198 (Hereafter, *Circassian Immigration*); Bedri Habiçoğlu, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler*, Nart Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993, pp.49-66. (Hereafter, *Anadolu'ya Göçler*).

emigration movement was the Russian policy in the occupied territories⁹. The Russian policy,¹⁰ which is based on the forced settlement in the places far from their homelands in Russia, the forced Christianisation of Caucasian people and the forced labour of the population, offered two choices to the Caucasian peoples at the end of the 1863: to settle in the Kuban steppes and to provide men power for the Russian army or to leave their homeland and take refuge in the Ottoman Empire¹¹. Therefore, this strict policy of Russia initiated the third and the largest emigration process in 1863-1864 which began in 1856-1857, in the wake of the Crimean War and continued between the years of 1860-1862¹².

In terms of the number of immigrants, it can be seen that the Sublime Porte did not create an organisation related to the settlement of immigrants and that the first immigrations and the problems resulted from this process were managed by the Municipality (Şehremaneti). That the number of immigrants from the Crimea reached hundreds of thousands since 1860's forced the Sublime Porte to manage this immigration process more systematically¹³. According to Eren, when it was understood that the Şehremaneti could not overcome the problems, as the needs and transportation caused by the increasing number of Circassian and Nogai immigrants, it was decided to establish a special refugee commission. Thus, the Refugee Commission (Muhacirin Komisyonu), was constituted under the chairmanship of Hafiz Pasha, the governor of Trabzon, on June 5, 1860¹⁴. Performing the central administration in this manner, the commission began to appoint officers to the places where the problems arose due to the migrations¹⁵.

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- 9 For the Russian policy after the invasion of Caucasia, see Habiçoğlu, *Anadolu'ya Göçler*, pp.63-66; Çiçek, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*, pp.63-64.
- 10 Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Etnik Yapılanma ve Göçler*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp.164-164; İpek, *Göçler*, pp.29-39; Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, pp.63-81.
- 11 "Resume sur l'emigration Circassienne", Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (AMAE), Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes, (CADN), Ambassade, Constantinople, Série D, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 20 March 1865 (Hereafter, "AMAE, CADN, Tébizonde"); Musa Şaşmaz, "Immigration and Settlement of Circassians in the Ottoman Empire on British Documents 1857-1864", *OTAM*, 9, 1999, p.342 (Hereafter, *Immigration and Settlement*); Çiçek, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*, p.64.
- 12 According to the origin, the number and the settlement places, the Caucasian Migrations were studied in three periods as 1856-1857; 1860-1862 and 1864-1865. See Abdullah Saydam, "Kırım ve Kafkasya'dan Yapılan Göçler ve Osmanlı İskan Siyaseti (1856-1876)", *Osmanlı*, Vol. IV, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, p.679; Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, p.81.
- 13 Pinson, *Emigration of The Crimean Tatars II*, pp.107-108; A great immigration wave occurred in the period of 1860-1862 and the great part of them were settled in Rumeli, especially in Dobruca, and the rest in Anatolia. Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)*, trans. Bahar Tırnakçı, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, p.108.
- 14 Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri Tanzimat Devri, İlk Kurulan Göçmen Komisyonu, Çıkarılan Tüzükler*, Nurgök Matbaası, İstanbul, 1966, pp.56-58; About the Refugee Commission, see David Cameron, Jr. Cuthell, *The Muhacirin Komisyonu: An agent in the Transformation of Ottoman Anatolia, 1860-1866*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, New-York, 2005.
- 15 Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, pp.105-119.

The migration which accelerated from the end of 1863 led to several problems not only for the immigrants but also for the local population of the entry ports. Undoubtedly, the most important of them were epidemic diseases. Exiled from their homeland, immigrants were reaching the Ottoman ports under very miserable conditions¹⁶. In this difficult immigration process, epidemic diseases appeared and caused a significant death rate among immigrants in the course of journey and debarkation¹⁷. At the same time, the situation of immigrants also posed an important danger in the regions where they came ashore. This was the risk of the spread of epidemic diseases among indigenous peoples. The Sublime Porte was not prepared financially for this mass migration and could not provide necessary facilities for the immigrants at the ports. Particularly, the quarantine system, which would protect both immigrants and indigenous people in this process, became ineffective against those overcrowded immigrants. This situation was not only an issue of the Sublime Porte but also an issue for the international community. In this context, it was seen that the Quarantine Council, which had an international character from the foundation, also started to deal with this migration and its consequences.

It is well-known that, one of the initiatives of Mahmut II's on health care as the first example of preventive health care applications was the establishment of the Quarantine Council in İstanbul in 1838¹⁸. In the Ottoman territories, which served as a bridge between the places where epidemics emerged and Europe where many outbreaks had occurred that would require the establishment of quarantines. The cholera epidemic of 1831 and 1832 presumed to have come from India made his first appearance in Europe through the Middle East. When the first cholera pandemic reached İstanbul in 1831, the Ottomans decided to introduce quarantine measures for the trade ships coming from the Black Sea. Although the first quarantine application was made at İstinye and Liman-ı Kebir on the Bosphorus, it was soon realized that in the fight against epidemic diseases, just those quarantine applications were not sufficient. This deficiency had been corrected by the establishment of the Quarantine Council (Meclis-i Tahaffuz) in April 1838¹⁹. But in this process, it was suggested that the Sublime Porte should establish the two councils, one being the Meclis-i Tahaffuz-i Ūlâ (Conseil Supérieur de Santé), and the other the Meclis-i Tahaffuz-i Sâni (Office

16 Turgay, *Circassian Immigration*, p.205.

17 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA). Sadâret Mektûbi Mühimme Kalemi (A. MKT. MHM), 293/25-Lef 1, 16 N 1280/20 January 1864.

18 Gülden Sarıyıldız, "Karantina Meclisleri'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri", *Bellekten*, LVII/222, 1994, p.346.

19 Ali Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*, Eren Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1993, pp.265-267 (Hereafter, *Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*); Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, "Tarihi Kolera Salgınları ve Osmanlı Türkleri" *İstanbul Tıp Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 17/2, 1954, p.296 (Hereafter, *Tarihi Kolera Salgınları*); Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, "Türkiye Karantina Tarihine Bir Bakış", *Sağlık Dergisi*, 2/25, 1951, p.1-4; Nuran Yıldırım, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Koruyucu Sağlık Uygulamaları", *Tanzimat'ta Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.V, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1986, pp.1325-1326.

Santé). The Meclis-i Tahaffuz-ı Ülâ was established in affiliation with the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs. The Meclis-i Tahaffuz-ı Ülâ, the nucleus of the Council of Health, met three times each week, while in extraordinary conditions it was to be convened every day. However, as it was stated by Akyıldız and demonstrated by subsequent applications, this distinction stayed in theory and the sanitary matters were arranged by the Quarantine Council (Conseil Supérieur de santé)²⁰. Because this attempt of the Ottomans in the health field was not only a precaution for the public health of the empire but also it was a precaution for Europe, the Quarantine Council gained an international aspect with the presence of European physicians as members²¹. Indeed, the presence and working of the council in a good way would be appropriate for the interest of foreign countries; it was decided to consist of some foreign delegates²². In addition, when we considered the lack of qualified Ottoman physicians on public health during this period, the presence of foreign delegates, especially the physicians of embassies, would be helpful for the function of the council²³. Thus, besides the six Ottoman delegates, the delegates of the countries which have a seashore and the delegate of Iran would take part in this council²⁴. In addition, the council, as a sanitary organisation, gained a diplomatic aspect by its international structure. More importantly, the council became an institution when the applications developed in Europe from the 17th century on and they were introduced in the Ottoman Empire. The council did the activities such as the establishment of the quarantines stations, the recruitment of the necessary staff and the determination of the quarantine tariffs²⁵.

As for Dr Barozzi, whose reports on his mission in Trabzon and Samsun constitute the starting point of this study, we don't have detailed information about this Italian physician. Being one of the foreign physicians whose numbers increased in the 19th century in İstanbul and the Ottoman provinces, Dr. Barozzi had graduated from the Faculty of Medicine of Paris and came to İstanbul where

20 Nuran Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in İstanbul*, Düzey Matbaacılık, İstanbul, 2010, p.23 (Hereafter, *Healthcare in İstanbul*); Akyıldız, *Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*, pp.269-270.

21 Gülden Sarıyıldız, *Hicaz Karantina Teşkilâtı (1865-2914)*, TTK, Ankara, 1996, p.9; Erdem Aydın, "19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sağlık Teşkilatlanması", *OTAM*, 15, 2004, p.189.

22 Şehsuvaroğlu, *Tarihi Kolera Salgınları*, p.297.

23 A. Süheyl Ünver, "Osmanlı Tababeti ve Tanzimat Hakkında Notlar", *Tanzimat*, Vol.II, MEB Yayinevi, İstanbul, 1999, p.949; Akyıldız, *Merkez Teşkilatında Reform*, p.272.

24 Şehsuvaroğlu, *Tarihi Kolera Salgınları*, p.297.

25 Daniel Panzac, "Vingt ans au service de la médecine turque: le Dr Fauvel à İstanbul (1847-1867)", *Santé, médecine et société dans le monde arabe*, dir. E. Longuenesse, Harmattan, Paris, 1995, p.167; Daniel Panzac, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Veba (1700-1850)*, trans. Serap Yılmaz, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997, pp.223-224; Soon after the establishment, the council has prepared various instructions and regulations. Among them, perhaps the most important was the regulations, dated June 10, 1839, to arrivals to İstanbul by sea. « Conseil de Santé, Règlement organique pour les provenances de mer » 27 Ra 1255/10 June 1839; It is possible to find some instructions in French among the correspondences between the French delegates in the council and French Embassy in French Foreign Ministry Archives. See AMAE, CADN, Constantinople, Ambassade, Série E, Tome 464, « Question Sanitaires ».

he entered the service of the Quarantine Council. Shortly after the designation of this new service, Dr. Barozzi was sent to Benghazi in March 1859 by Antoine Sulpice Fauvel, the French delegate in the Quarantine Council, to improve the sanitary conditions ravaged by the plague²⁶. In the framework of this mission, Dr. Barozzi made some correspondence with Fauvel about the sanitary conditions in Benghazi²⁷. Besides, Dr. Barozzi became a member of the Cemiyet-i Tibbiye-i Şahane (Société Impériale de Médecine) and the publishing committee of the Gazette Médicale d'Orient, which was the periodical of the society, and published some articles on epidemics and public health issues. Dr. Barozzi also delivered lectures on epidemic diseases and pathology in the Imperial School of Medicine (Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şahane)²⁸. It is understood that Antoine Sulpice Fauvel, who was the French delegate in the Quarantine Council since 1848, had an important role in the appointment of Dr. Barozzi as an inspector to Trabzon and Samsun. The appointment of Dr. Barozzi had been presented to the Quarantine Council by Fauvel. In this respect, it is observed that Dr. Barozzi made his correspondences on his new mission with Antoine Fauvel²⁹.

The Appointment process of Dr. Barozzi, as member of the Quarantine Council, provides us important information regarding the Caucasian immigration. Although the studies on the subject provide information about the immigration from the spring of 1864, in fact, the Caucasian immigration had already begun in the autumn of 1863. Schefer, the French consul in Trabzon, reported that the Russians were trying to establish their authority in the region by applying pressure on the Circassians, forcing them to settle in the interior of the country and expulsing them towards Ottoman territories. According to the consul, in September and October 1864, totally 3.875 immigrants, 2.134 of whom were forced by the Russians, arrived in Trabzon. In November 1863, there were 1.200 immigrants in Trabzon and 380 immigrants in Akçaabat. However, the direction of this migration was not just to Trabzon. As in Trabzon, so many immigrants were flooding İstanbul, Sinop, Samsun and the other Black Sea coastal towns³⁰. To reach the Ottoman ports, immigrants were crowding into the

26 *Recueils des travaux du Comité consultatif d'hygiène publique de France et des actes officiels de l'administration sanitaire*, Tome 4, Paris, 1875, p.189.

27 Dr. Barozzi, «Relation de la peste qui a régné la province de Benghazi », *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, 13, 1869, pp.158-159; Necmettin Akyay, "Türkiye'de Veba Salgınları ve Veba Hakkında Eski Yayınlar", *Mikrobiyoloji Bülteni*, 8/2, 1974, p.214.

28 Yeşim Işıl Ulman, "Portraits of Italians in Health Affairs in 19th Century İstanbul: Dr. Castaldi, Pharmacist A. Calleja, Midwife Messani", *Oriente Moderno*, 6, 2008, p.148; Yıldırım, *A History of Healthcare in İstanbul*, p.82.

29 AMAE, CADN, Constantinople, Ambassade, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 9 February 1864.

30 Upon the increasing number of immigrants in the southern Black Sea ports, the local governors applied to the Sublime Porte to take necessary measure. In this matter, the governor of Sinop warned the Sublime Porte about necessary measures which were stated in seven articles. BOA, Meclis-i Vâlâ Riyâseti (MVL), 659/6, 16 Ca 1280/29 October 1863; In the report on November, 6, 1864, Schefer stated that the number of Circassian who left their homeland in the four year was up to 50.000. AMAE, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de

boats which could carry four or five hundred people. Many of the immigrants experienced various hardships before their arrival. Most of them had been plundered by the Russians before embarking. During their long journey, they died from hunger and epidemic diseases before their arrival in the Ottoman ports³¹. More and more immigrants began to arrive in Trabzon at the end of 1863. At the beginning of December 1863, approximately 5.000 immigrants had accumulated in the city³².

Became prey to the misery and hunger, the immigrants were waiting in the rainy air and crowded in the places as barracks and schools in Trabzon. The epidemic diseases, seen among the immigrants, like smallpox, dysentery, typhus and malaria began to spread among the locals³³. This situation of the city worried the authorities of Trabzon and also the consuls in the city assembled to discuss a series of measures to be taken to protect public health and requested the removal of immigrants from the city³⁴. According to French consul, the local governors of Trabzon made an “admirable” effort to resolve both the problems of immigrants and the local people in the city³⁵. But the conditions in Trabzon continued to worsen with each passing day. In December 1863, there were 7.000 sick immigrants only in Trabzon and the average death rate among them was ranging from 20 to 40 per day³⁶. Besides, inappropriate burials of dead immigrants began to threaten public health in the city. In such conditions, the French consul, via his report to French ambassador Moustier, urged the health authorities in İstanbul to take an action and to send a “special commissioner” in order to ameliorate worsening situation in Trabzon³⁷.

As seen above, the problems brought about by immigrants in Trabzon and the other ports were reported to the embassies in İstanbul through the consuls who resided there. The embassies were also sending these reports to the Sublime Porte to follow closely the situation in these entry ports. The Quarantine Council also warned the Sublime Porte about public health and other necessary

La Courneuve (CADC), *Correspondance consulaire et commerciale (CCC), Trébizonde*, Tome 7, Schefer to de Lhuys, Trabzon, 6 November 1863.

31 AMAE, CADC, CCC, Trébizonde, Tome 7, Schefer to de Lhuys, Trabzon, 3 December 1863.

32 BOA, İrade Meclis-i Mahsus (İ. MMS), 27/1189-Lef 2, 25 Teşrinsani 1279/ 7 December 1863; A news had reached to Trabzon that apart from the Circassians, about 50.000 immigrant from Abazi tribe prepared to migrate to the Ottoman territories in December 1863. BOA, İ. MMS, 27/1189-Lef 1, 25 Teşrinsani 1279/7 December 1863.

33 BOA, Bâb-ı Âli Evrak Odası, Vilâyât Gelen-Giden Defterleri (BEO. VGGD), no.190, p.252. (23 B 1280/3 January 1864).

34 Turgay, *Circassian Immigration*, pp.205-206; AMAE, CADC, CCC, Trébizonde, Tome 7, Schefer to de Lhuys, Trabzon, 3 December 1863.

35 AMAE, CADC, CCC, Trébizonde, Tome 7, Schefer to de Lhuys, Trabzon, 3 December 1863.

36 Şaşmaz, *Immigration and Settlement*, p.345; AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 11 January 1864; Concerning to this immigration process, see Özgür Yılmaz, *Tanzimat Döneminde Trabzon*, Unpublished Phd Dissertation, Karadeniz Technical University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Trabzon, 2012, pp.70-78.

37 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 29 January 1864.

measures. In addition, the council sent some instructions, containing some health precautions to be taken such as relevant patients, hygiene condition in cities, disinfection of vessels and burials. For instance, in the orders sent to Trabzon, it was asked from the local governors to put immigrants, coming to the city, under quarantine, to prohibit their living with the local population and with crew of the boats who were employed to transport immigrants, and to make burials outside the city³⁸. Although the measures of the government in İstanbul, recommended by the Quarantine Council, gave good results, these recommendations were ignored in some places, such as Trabzon³⁹. In the middle of February, apart from the local population, nearly 3,000 immigrants died of smallpox and typhus. In this period, the number of migrants in the city ranged from 10.000 to 12.000. In such conditions which were worsening day by day, Fauvel recommended the Quarantine Council to send Trabzon a special inspector with 6,000 piaster monthly salary. Fauvel's proposal was accepted on February 9, 1864 and introduced the next day to the Sublime Porte by the council⁴⁰. Upon the acceptance of the proposal by the Sublime Porte⁴¹, the French embassy reported Dr. Barozzi's mission to Schefer, French Consul in Trabzon with a letter dated February 11, 1864⁴². In this way, Schefer's demand was realized with the appointment, and arrival of Dr. Barozzi on March 10 to Trabzon, which was the beginning of a new period in terms of the activities in the city. The next section of our study will primarily examine this new period for Trabzon and Samsun.

We have important sources about the mission of Dr. Barozzi sent by the Sublime Porte as an inspector in Trabzon and Samsun. Firstly, the large report based on the correspondences of Dr. Barozzi with Antoine Fauvel, which deals

38 BOA, BEO. VGGD, no.190, p.258. (22 Ş 1280/1 February 1864).

39 AMAE, CADN, Constantinople, Ambassade, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 6 January 1864.

40 AMAE, CADN, Constantinople, Ambassade, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 9 February 1864.

41 Édouard Dulaurier, "La Russie dans le Caucase: L'exode des Circassiens et la colonisation Russe", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 61, 1866, p.47 (Hereafter, *L'exode des Circassiens*); *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, Extrait de la Gazette Médicale d'Orient Juillet 1864, Imprimerie de Levant Herald, Constantinople, 1864, p.10.

42 Schefer reported the reflexions of Barozzi's mission in Trabzon as «*Par la lettre qu'elle m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 11 de ce mois et qui ne m'est parvenu qu'hier votre excellence a bien voulu me notifier la nomination par le Conseil de Santé, d'un commissaire spécial muni de pouvoirs suffisants pour faire exécuter, sur le littoral Ottoman de la Mer Noire notamment à Trébizonde les mesures d'hygiène que ce conseil a cru devoir arrêter. J'ai déjà fait connaître au gouverneur général et à mes plusieurs collègues cette décision prise sur la proposition de notre délégué et le puis annoncer à votre excellence qu'elle a été accueillie avec une grande satisfaction ; bien qu'Emin Pasha n'ai pas paru apprécier dans le premier moment toute l'utilité de la mission de M. Barozzi. Je crois néanmoins qu'il a compris que sa responsabilité pouvait être dégagée jusqu'à un certain point par le concours que ce médecin ne manquera pas de lui prêter....Monsieur le Marquis, l'arrivée de M. Barozzi, auquel je suis prêt selon les ordres de votre Excellence à donner tout l'appui nécessaire, rassurera, j'en suis sûr, la population chrétienne que la frayeur a démoralisée* ». AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 26 February 1864.

with the immigration process in Trabzon and Samsun⁴³, and secondly, another evaluation report of Barozzi presented personally to the council on June 28, 1864 on his activities in these ports⁴⁴ will form the starting point of this study. Besides these two major sources, correspondences of British, French and Italian consuls, who reported important developments from Trabzon and Samsun both to their embassies and to foreign ministries, provide us with an opportunity to look at the matter from a different point of view. Certainly, official correspondences of the Ottoman government give important information in terms of the problems arising from the migration process and the activities done by local and central government.

I. Situation in Trabzon and the Activities of Dr. Barozzi

As mentioned briefly above, the Ottoman Government was not ready for the migration that started from the end of 1863. For the immigrants, lack of enough ration, shelter, medical facilities and transportation vehicles were experienced in the entry ports as Trabzon and Samsun. According to the sources, in the “winter period” of the migration, cold weather, typhus, smallpox and other infectious diseases had caused serious death rates in Trabzon and Samsun. But in the “spring period” of the migration, between March and June 1864, ten thousand immigrants began to flow into the Ottoman ports by every possible means they could find, and they faced with much worse conditions there⁴⁵. The Ottoman government followed closely this miserable situation of immigrants. By the beginning of 1864, the government took some measures in Trabzon and the other coastal cities, although she was deprived of sufficient financial means. But delays in transportation and settlement, and difficulties caused by the seasonal reasons put them into a difficult situation, which made the restricted means of local governors useless⁴⁶.

In December, the accumulation of 7.000⁴⁷ immigrants in Trabzon caused

43 *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, Extrait de la Gazette Médicale d'Orient Juillet 1864, Imprimerie de Levant Herald, Constantinople 1864; This long report had published in the Gazette Médicale d'Orient in July 1864. See Antoine Fauvel, “L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie”, *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, VIII^{me} Année, No.4, 1864, pp.49-60.

44 *Rapport Présenté au Conseil de la Santé par le Dr. Barozzi, Charge d'une mission sanitaire concernant l'émigration circassienne*, Imprimerie de Levant Herald, Constantinople, 1864; Fauvel also added the Barozzi's report to his article published in *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, see “Mémoires Originaux, Rapport Présenté au Conseil de la Santé par le Dr. Barozzi, Charge d'une mission sanitaire concernant l'émigration circassienne”, *Gazette Médicale d'Orient*, VIII^{me} Année, No.4, 1864, p.60.

45 *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, pp.10-11.

46 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 288/89, 19 B 1280/30 December 1863.

47 According to Ottoman and French archival sources, the number of immigrants in Trabzon was about 5.000 souls in the beginning of the December 1863. But, that at the end of this month, the number reached to 7.000 souls indicated that the number of immigrants was increasing by new arrivals and transportation of them was done slowly as reported by Quarantine officials in the city. Şaşmaz, *Immigration and Settlement*, p.345.

many problems for local governors. At that time, there were also so many immigrants in Sinop and Samsun. So, in the orders sent from the government to Trabzon, it was declared that the immigrants who want to settle in Anatolia could choose near the ports of Samsun, Ereğli and Sinop, those who want to go to Rumeli could reach at the ports of Varna, Ahyolu and Burgaz with three steamships to be settled by Nusret Pasha⁴⁸. The lack of adequate steamship to transport immigrants from Trabzon to Samsun and İstanbul was causing their accumulation in the city under very bad sanitary conditions. In these conditions, the Quarantine director and physician of Trabzon warned the local government to take same precautions⁴⁹. In this respect, the governor of Trabzon, Emin Muhlis Pasha went to İstanbul and reported the problems encountered in Trabzon.⁵⁰ Upon these demands, the government decided to send an officer to manage this immigration process in the city. Thus, First Secretary of the Refugee Commission, Yaver Efendi, one of the most important actors of this migration process in Trabzon, was appointed and sent to the city with Tevfik Efendi, under-secretary of gendarme, two clerks, a few officers and 20-30 gendarme soldiers in December 1863. The main task of Yaver Efendi was to transport immigrants to settlement places, to register their names and to supply them enough ration⁵¹.

In the first period up to March 1864, the conditions of immigrants in the city began to worsen. Therefore, Emin Muhlis Pasha and Yaver Efendi took the same precautions for immigrants. Especially, for the increasing number of immigrants more tents and steamships were requested from İstanbul⁵². Furthermore, the consuls in the city were also watching this process closely. They held a meeting on December 1, because there were more than 5.000 immigrants in the city and this number was increasing day by day. At the meeting, the consuls decided to make an attempt by local governors and quarantine administration to take necessary precaution like the protection of the public health and the transportation of immigrants out of the city. British Consul Stevens sent the decisions taken at the meeting to Emin Muhlis Pasha. To overcome the problems, the Pasha

48 BOA, İ. MMS, 27/1189-Lef 2, 25 Teşrin Sani 1279/ 7 December 1863; Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, pp.111-112,137.

49 BOA, İ. MMS, 27/1189-Lef 4, 18 Teşrin Sani 1279/30 November 1863.

50 BOA, İ. MMS, 27/1189-Lef 3, 21 Teşrin Sani 1279/ 3 December 1863; It is understood from the French archival sources that Emin Muhlis Pasha went to İstanbul in September 1863. Schefer reported that, besides the immigration process, Emin Muhlis Pasha would make negotiations on the Trabzon-Erzurum road and a military establishment in Batumi. AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 1 September 1863.

51 With this assignment, Yaver Efendi was not only responsible for the immigration and immigrant issues in Trabzon but also for a large area as Canik, Bolu, Kastamonu, Sinop and Amasya. BOA, İ. MMS, 27/1189-Lef 2, 25 Teşrin Sani 1279/ 7 December 1863; Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, p.111; İpek, *Göçler*, p.44; Ayşe Pul, "Trabzon ve Samsun Limanları Üzerinden Kafkasya Muhâcirlerinin İskanı (1860-1864)", *Giresun ve Doğu Karadeniz Sosyal Bilimler Sempozyumu*, 9-11 October 2008, Vol.I, Giresun Belediyesi Yayınları, Ankara, 2009, p.553. (Hereafter, *Kafkasya Muhâcirlerinin İskanı*).

52 BOA, MVL, 669/68, 13 L 1280/22 March 1864.

seriously responded to the demands of consuls⁵³. Even in this period, to meet the needs of immigrants, 21.000 piaster was raised from local population and officers in the city⁵⁴. The most important advice of the consul was transportation of immigrants to final settlement places as soon as possible. But as seen above, the lack of adequate means of transportation was one of the most important problems in Trabzon. Despite all necessary initiatives, which were done by local government of Trabzon for the removal of immigrants, the Ottoman steamships could not keep up with this heavy immigration traffic. For example, in January 1864, more steamships were asked to be sent to transport up to 2.000 immigrants who accumulated under very miserable conditions in the city⁵⁵. Because of the fact that the Ottoman steamships, Hüma-yı Tevfik and Tuna, were not suitable, the shipment of the immigrants was slowing down⁵⁶. Thereupon, Emin Muhlis Pasha applied to the steamship companies, Messageries and Lloyd, in Trabzon to accelerate the transportation process⁵⁷.

The accumulating of immigrants in the city was doubling their misery. In the middle of February, 20 immigrants were dying each day in Trabzon because of the diseases such as smallpox, diarrhoea and typhoid fever⁵⁸. In this regard, the Refugee Commission asked for the appointment of more physicians to Trabzon, Samsun and Sinop where epidemic diseases prevail⁵⁹. This high death rate in Trabzon was reported to İstanbul by the quarantine physician⁶⁰. So, in the orders sent from İstanbul to Emin Muhlis Pasha and Yaver Efendi, it was emphasized to appoint all physicians to fight against the diseases among immigrants and to take all necessary precautions in the city⁶¹. In this direction, Emin Muhlis Pasha took many steps in the city. The Elementary School, Rüştiye, building was transformed into the hospital, the officers of the Ottoman Steamship Company supplied coal for heating the building. More importantly, a portion of immigrants was transported towards the western side of the city.

53 AMAE, CADC, CCC, Trébizonde, Tome 7, Schefer to de Lhuys, Trabzon, 3 December 1863.

54 BOA, BEO. VGGD, no. 190, p. 256, (18 Ş 1280/28 January 1864).

55 BOA, A. MKT. MVL. 290/13, 7 Ş. 1280/17 January 1864.

56 BOA. A. MKT. MHM. 293/73-Lef 1-2, 24 N 1280/28 January 1864.

57 In response to this demand, the agent of the Lloyd Company set a tariff 75 piasters per passenger and those of the Messageries Company also agreed to take this amount. AMAE, CADC, CCC, Trébizonde, Tome 7, Schefer to de Lhuys, Trabzon, 3 December 1863.

58 According to Fauvel, the situation in Trabzon in January was as follows: « *Les affaires étaient suspendues. Les cadavres, à peine recouverts d'un peu de terre ou simplement enfouis sous la neige, s'amoncelaient dans les cimetières places au milieu des habitations. Il était à craindre qu'au moment du dégel les miasmes putrides dégagés de tant de cadavres mis à découvert ne vissent ajouter leurs effets aux causes d'infection déjà existantes. De plus, les eaux potables de la ville étaient devenues fétides par les infiltrations d'un cimetière que principal conduit traversait* ». *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, p.10.

59 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 290/37, 9 Ş 1280/19 January 1864.

60 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 293/25-Lef 2, 24 N 1280/3 February 1864.

61 Yaver Efendi stated that although the death rate was not high as stated from Trabzon, an important death rate was still seen among the immigrants. BOA. A. MKT. MHM, 293/25-Lef 1, 16 N 1280/ 20 January 1864.

But, according to French consul, Schefer, these activities were insufficient and the more reasonable solution was to direct immigrants to interior of the country or to settle them around Trabzon⁶².

On February 1864, the situation in Trabzon began to worsen rapidly by the new arrivals. Although in the middle of this month, signs of improvement in public health were seen, a new wave of immigration to the city deteriorated city's health conditions again. Between February 14-17, 3.000 immigrants arrived in Trabzon and according to the news received in Trabzon that 40,000 immigrants were prepared to leave for Trabzon caused new worries in the city⁶³. With the new arrivals in the city, the epidemics also began to increase rapidly. In addition to malaria and smallpox, many of the deaths were caused by typhus. Even, one of the European doctors in the city, French citizen Gibert, had also been the victim of the typhus. In Trabzon, the biggest problem was lack of the enough spaces which could accommodate immigrants. The immigrants who had settled in khans and the other buildings could easily mix with the local population and spread the epidemic diseases to them⁶⁴. In order to avoid this situation, immigrants were forbidden to communicate with the local population. On February 18, the number of immigrants in the city had reached a figure as high as 10,000. These extraordinary agglomerations were also resulting in the dissatisfaction of indigenous peoples in coastal cities. Local population of Varna, Giresun, Sürmene and Batum were crowding on the beaches to prevent ships carrying immigrants and threatened them with death if they wanted to go ashore⁶⁵. These conditions in Trabzon caused great panic among the local inhabitants and they began to make preparations to leave the city⁶⁶. The disease had spread also to the governor's mansion and some of the civil servants of Emin Muhlis Pasha died of typhus⁶⁷. Although both Schefer and Stevens's reports

62 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 29 January 1864.

63 Report of the British consul, Stevens, on February, 17, 1864, PRO, FO 881/1259 cited in Sarah A.S. Isla Rosser-Owen, *The First 'Circassian Exodus' to the Ottoman Empire (1858-1867), and the Ottoman Response, Based on the Accounts of Contemporary British Observer*, Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 2007, p.32 (Hereafter, *Circassian Exodus*); AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 26 February 1864; *Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian Emigrants in Turkey*, London, 1864, p.1; Çiçek, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*, pp.64-65; Şaşmaz, *Immigration and Settlement*, p.345; Justin McCarthy, *Ölüm ve Sürgün*, trans. Bilge Umar, İnkılâp Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1998, pp.38-42.

64 Theodosios Kyriakidis, "Three Unpublished Documents from Trebizond's Italian Consulate Concerning the Sanitarian Consequences of the Caucasian Migration in 1864 to the Southeastern Coast of the Black Sea", *1864 Kafkas Tehciri Kafkasya'da Rus Kolonizasyonu, Savaş ve Sürgün*, ed. Mehmet Hacısalıhoğlu, Balkar, İstanbul, 2014, pp.212. (Hereafter, *Sanitarian Consequences*).

65 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 18 February 1864.

66 *Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian*, p.1; Rosser-Owen, *Circassian Exodus*, p.32; Çiçek, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*, pp.64-65.

67 According to British Consul, Stevens, from December, 1, 1863 to February, 17, 1864, the mortality rate exceeded 3.500. Of them Circassian immigrants were 3.00, Turks 470, Greeks 36, Armenians 17, Catholics 9 and European 6. *Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian*

indicated that the governor, Emin Muhlis Pasha did all he could to alleviate the condition of these unfortunate people in Trabzon, this difficult process had gained too great dimension to be managed by governor's means. For the needs of immigrants, the Sublime Porte sent Trabzon some used military clothes and some drugs. Even though the military clothes were given to immigrants, none of the nine boxes of drugs did contain chemicals, as required by the current situation of the immigrants⁶⁸.

A-15-day quarantine was set up for the immigrants, who came to Trabzon, and in the places where totally inadequate and poor conditions prevailed. But this sanitary measure was another source of danger in itself. The immigrants could easily reach the city from the quarantine building⁶⁹, which was in the most crowded areas of the city, and could spread the infectious diseases among the indigenous people. These complex situations caused by immigrants also prevented the quarantine administration to make an effective work about the classification and registration of immigrants. In this case, the French consul was asking the ambassador Moustier to make an attempt by the Sublime Porte to take serious measures to prevent immigrants from spreading to the city and to direct them to out of the city⁷⁰.

Emin Muhlis Pasha did all he could to alleviate the condition of these unfortunate people in Trabzon. Surely the most important activity of the governor was the allocation of new encampments outside the city for immigrants. Emin Muhlis Pasha had proposed in the middle of February to set up an encampment in Seradere⁷¹, located in the west of Trabzon. But this project could not be carried out immediately. Because of the increasing number of migrants in the city, this project became more necessary. Governor Emin Muhlis Pasha invited the elders and interpreters of consuls in the city to council meeting on the night of February, 25. The council members evaluated the measures, taken up to that period,

Emigrants in Turkey, p.1; According to Ottoman archival sources, in the first two month of 1864, 404 people died in the city from the locals. BOA, MVL, 670/54, 12 L 1280/21 March 1864.

68 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 18 February 1864; *Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian*, p.1; Turgay, *Circassian Immigration*, p.206.

69 Concerning to the quarantine building of Trabzon, see Yılmaz, *Tanzimat Döneminde Trabzon*, pp.356-358.

70 Schefer recommended the removing of immigrants from the city as soon as possible and demanded the sending of order from the Sublime Porte for the governor general to prevent ships carrying immigrants to Trabzon. AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 18 February 1864.

71 The Seradere Stream flows into the Black Sea in the Yıldızlı Region, west of Trabzon. Contrary to explanation above, some sources indicated wrongly this stream in the east of the city as Değirmedere. See Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, p.138; Pul, *Kafkasya Muhâcirlerinin İskanı*, p.550; Schefer had some worries about the choice Seradere as encampments. According to the consul, the Seradere Encampment was not appropriate for immigrants. He added that, placed between Trabzon and Akçaabat, this encampment could be threat for these places especially for Trabzon by winds from the west. AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 26 February 1864.

and assessed new measures to be taken. At the meeting, more importantly, it was decided to establish an encampment and quarantine station in Seradere, to demand doctor from the government to work there for immigrants and to build barracks for them to reside after the quarantine. According to Schefer's report, at the meeting there were two opposing groups which were consisted of Emin Muhlis Pasha, who "knows Europe's institutions, values, and the administration" and consular representatives; and the Muslim members of the council and delegate of the Russian consulate. Thanks to the non-Muslim members of the council, the proposals of the first group were accepted there⁷².

Due to the seasonal warming, new threats to public health began to emerge in the city. Garbage, accumulated in the city, was reeking and dirty water was flowing in the streets and the squares were making public places impassable. In spite of this view, none of the decisions taken at the meeting of February 25 still had been implemented. According to the Schefer's report dated March 8, the construction of a camp in Seradere was still remaining as "project" and the transportation of 10.000 immigrants there were not the right choice because up to 2,000 immigrants previously placed in the east of Trabzon had left the camping place the day after the settlement and had spread to the town again. It was likely to be the same in Seradere. With the limited number of gendarmerie and insufficient means, Emin Muhlis Pasha suffered some obstacles. The only ships with the 700 passengers carrying capacity was far from providing an effective service for transportation of the immigrants. Therefore, five new vessels were charged to transport immigrants from Trabzon to Samsun⁷³. Also, more tents for immigrants, who were waiting in open air in the city, requested by local governors in Trabzon⁷⁴.

At the beginning of the "spring semester" of migration, when the number of immigrants and epidemic diseases began to increase in the city, parallel to the consular demands, Dr. Barozzi, who was sent by the Sublime Porte "to implement all necessary measures to ensure public health in Trabzon", arrived in Trabzon on March 10, 1864⁷⁵. The day after the arrival, Dr. Barozzi visited the governor General Emin Muhlis Pasha to get information about city's health and hygiene conditions, and necessary measures to be taken to prevent the diseases from spreading among the public and the immigrants. However, according to the French consul, Emin Muhlis Pasha had been disturbed by this

72 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 26 February 1864.

73 Schefer sent the total amount of death to his embassy as Stevens. Accordingly, until February 21, according to Emin Muhlis Pasha, 2.500; and according to the quarantine physician 3.129 deaths occurred among the immigrants. AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 8 March 1864.

74 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 293/95, 4 L 1280/13 March 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 295/75, 21 L 1280/30 March 1864; Until the February 1279 (March 1864), totally 264.632 piasters was spent for the needs of immigrants as biscuits, construction of buildings and salary for officials. BOA, C. DH. 201/10016, 15 M 1281/20 June 1864.

75 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 12 March 1864.

European physicians equipped with such extensive authority. Besides, Barozzi had seen that due to obstacles arising from immigrants in Trabzon, Emin Muhlis Pasha was in an unmotivated situation and did not know what to do in these conditions. None of the sanitary measures determined at the meeting of February 25 had been implemented until the arrival of the sanitary inspector⁷⁶.

When Dr. Barozzi arrived, the situation of the city was very alarming and the city was hosting over the 12.000 infected immigrants. In just two days at the beginning of March, 3.645 immigrants had come to Trabzon⁷⁷. Especially smallpox and typhus caused by immigrants were also raging among the local people. In this situation, the main task of Dr. Barozzi was to transport immigrants out of the city as soon as possible, to create camping locations in well selected places and supply enough ration for immigrants, to disinfect the city, to prevent immigrants from recreating massive crowd in the city, to take necessary measures and to forward them to the final settlement district⁷⁸. Initially, Dr. Barozzi was engaged in the removal of immigrants from the city within the framework of a plan. With the help of the Quarantine Director, Halil Efendi, Tulumbacıbaşı (Head of Fire Brigade) Ismail Bey and one of the Circassian chief, Ali Efendi⁷⁹, the tents were removed from the squares and the vicinity of the custom house. Almost all of the immigrants who had settled in khans were removed from the city. One more layer of soil was sprinkled over the cemetery and so, the bodies were buried at an appropriate depth against possible infections. As Emin Muhlis Pasha voiced earlier, water channel passing near the cemetery and supplying water to the city's fountains was separated from the cemetery through thick and solid wall⁸⁰. But more importantly, the project of establishment of new encampments out of the city was realised⁸¹.

It is understood that the transportation project of immigrants to new encampments out of the city, previously proposed by Emin Muhlis Pasha was realized after the arrival of Dr. Barozzi in Trabzon. According to the French consul, these new encampments were chosen "carefully" by Dr. Barozzi in the places where water sources could be found to provide hygiene conditions of immigrants. The first of these encampments was the Campos, situated at the right bank of the Değirmendere River. In the framework of the first activities in

76 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, "Mission de M. Barozzi", Trabzon, 19 March 1864.

77 AMAE, CADC, Trébizonde, Tome 8, Schefer to de Lhuys, Trabzon 18 March 1864.

78 *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, p.11.

79 In a letter at the end of March from Trabzon, Dr. Barozzi had demanded to employ Ali Efendi in his service with monthly salary, on the grounds that he did not have any assistant in his mission. BOA, MVL, 675/30, 19 L 1280/28 March 1864.

80 BOA, MVL, 670/54-Lef 2, 17 N 1279/ 25 February 1864; As time passed, because of increasing number of deaths in the city, three new location outside the city were determined for burials. BOA, MVL, 675/33, 22 Z 1280/29 May 1864.

81 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, "Mission de M. Barozzi", Trabzon, 19 March 1864.

Trabzon, Dr. Barozzi placed 2.500-2.600 immigrants, previously settled in the different parts of the city, in tents in the Campos Encampment⁸². The rest of the immigrants was directed to the west of the city and placed in hangars in the Seradere and Akçakale encampments. Following the arrival of Barozzi, just in nine days, 5.300 immigrants attempted to land in Trabzon and Akçaabat. To avoid new accumulation in the city, the owners of ships were prohibited to go to the Circassian shores to take immigrants. It was made compulsory for the owners of the ships to place 300 piasters on deposit when their patent was prepared, and it was decided to confiscate this deposit if their ships came into the ports full of immigrants. Still, the ships carrying immigrants to the city were directed to the Akçakale Encampment which was allocated for new arrivals. Then, Dr. Barozzi dealt with the quarantine building where most powerful infection diseases were seen in the city. About 2.300 immigrants resided in the quarantine building in February, 1864, of whom 1.600 died. Therefore, the quarantine building began to be slowly evacuated and the necessary measures were taken to disinfect there⁸³.

The arrival of Dr. Barozzi in Trabzon also marked the beginning of a period in which a struggle started between Dr. Barozzi and the other important actors of the migration process, Emin Muhlis Pasha and Yaver Efendi, the First Secretary of the Refugee Commission. It is seen that according to the Schefer's and Fauvel's reports that Dr. Barozzi had disagreement with these two officers on many issues. Particularly, an opposition group, led by Yaver Efendi, appeared in Trabzon against the Dr. Barozzi's measures. More importantly, the opposition group brought influence to bear on the governor general. French consul stated in his report on March 19, 1864, that Emin Muhlis Pasha, who did all he could to alleviate the condition of the immigrants until the Barozzi's arrival, became an adversary to the activities of the physician. According to the consul, Yaver Efendi, who was a bigoted Ottoman officer, had a significant influence on Emin Muhlis Pasha, and was providing a large profit from illegal works in Trabzon. The presence and opposition of Yaver Efendi was an obstacle to the activities of Dr. Barozzi who wanted to manage the immigration process in independent manner. To eliminate this situation, Schefer began to request assistance from the French Ambassador, Moustier, to make an attempt by the Sublime Porte for dismissal of Yaver Efendi even on the ninth day of Barozzi's arrival⁸⁴.

After the 20-days activities in Trabzon, Dr. Barozzi sent a report to Schefer about infectious diseases seen both among immigrants and locals in the city, in which he stated that immigrants who settled in Trabzon were crowded in inadequate places, where enough hygiene measures were not taken, for

82 Yaver Efendi stated in his report that without establishment of the necessary means, the transportations of immigrants to the Compos Encampment was not appropriate for the immigrants. BOA, MVL, 671/9, 10 L 1279/31 March 1864.

83 *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, pp.12-13.

84 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, "Mission de M. Barozzi", Trabzon, 19 March 1864; *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, pp.12-13.

this reason, infectious diseases like smallpox, dysentery and typhus emerged among them. These infectious diseases caused a huge range of mortality in the places such as the quarantine building, khans, mosques and the other infectious locations in the city. Dr. Barozzi stated that the high mortality rate was led by the overcrowding of the immigrants in the city and by infections that occurred among them. Typhus cases were also caused by this overcrowding. Whereupon the rumours of plague emerged in the city, based on the experience in Benghazi, Dr. Barozzi stated that there was no plague symptom among the immigrants. Dr. Barozzi also stated in this report that with the taking necessary hygiene measures and the prevention of accumulation of the immigrants in the city, almost all of the immigrants were evacuated from there, the typhus epidemic came to a halt and the sanitary conditions improved at the beginning of April 1864⁸⁵. By means of these measures, 5% mortality rate among immigrants was pulled down to a very low figure⁸⁶.

At the beginning of April 1864, despite this improvements in Trabzon, the sanitary conditions worsened again by the new arrivals. The Russian conquest of Tuapse and her full sovereignty over the Caucasia led to the flow of more crowded immigrant groups to the Ottoman shores⁸⁷. It was seen that in just one day, as many as 6.000 immigrants could arrive in Trabzon. On March 26, 1864, the number of immigrants directed to the encampments of Campos, Seradere and Akçakale were roughly 20.000. This number rose to 40.000 on April, and just in the Akçakale Encampment there were about 27.000 immigrants who were waiting for help under very miserable conditions⁸⁸. That the immigrants were not supplied with a sufficient ration of bread was the most important issue⁸⁹. According to the report of Stevens, the British consul in Trabzon, on April, 15, Emin Muhlis Pasha received information that 40.000 immigrants were preparing to leave for Trabzon⁹⁰. In the report to the Sublime Porte, Emin Muhlis Pasha stated that besides 70.000 immigrants in Trabzon and the environs, it would be

85 AMAE, CADC, CCC, Trébizonde, Tome 8, Barozzi to Schefer, Trabzon, 30 March 1864.

86 For instance, just in twenty days, out of 22.000 immigrants in the Akçakale Encampment, 438 of them died. AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 2 April 1864; The memories of Alphonse Fonville, who arrived in Trabzon with the immigrants, is very interesting about the tragedy in the Akçakale Encampment. He stated that there were 15.000 souls in the encampment and they settled in shadows of olive trees to be protected from heat. See Eric Hoesli, *À la Conquête du Caucase, Épopée géopolitique et guerres d'influence*, Editions des Syrtes, Paris, 2006, pp.211-212. (Hereafter, *À la Conquête du Caucase*).

87 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 21 March 1864.

88 Fauvel's words reveals the misery of 6.000 immigrants came to Trabzon in this wave of immigrants: « *Le dernier arrivage avait été particulièrement désastreux. Ils étaient plus de 6.000 entassés sur une vingtaine de barques encombrées de morts et de mourants. Comme la traversée avait été longue et qu'ils étaient sans provisions, ils avaient été réduits à boire de l'eau de mer pour éteindre leur soif. Ils étaient si faibles qu'il fallut opérer leur débarquement à bras d'hommes. Beaucoup étaient atteints de vomissement et de diarrhée, d'autres de dysenterie, de variole, d'affections typhiques ; tous mouraient de faim* ». *L'Émigration Circassienne en Turquie*, p.13.

89 BOA, İ. DH. 524/36128-Lef 3, 9 Za 1280/16 April 1864.

90 Şaşmaz, *Immigration and Settlement*, p.343.

possible to have very big problems in all respects if the immigrants who were waiting in the port of Soğucak came to Trabzon⁹¹. Because there was only twenty day's flour stock to meet the needs of the population, these newcomers, who would increase the number of immigrants in the city, would bring a complete disaster for Trabzon. The mills were occupied by the local government; a private individual could not get their corn to the mills. Briefly, Trabzon was faced with the danger of a famine during this period⁹².

The most important measure against these conditions on April 1864 was the transportation of immigrants to encampments and from there, to their final settlement destinations as soon as possible. Although the British sources stated that Dr. Barozzi could not cope with the situation in Trabzon⁹³, the most significant effort of the physician was to prevent the immigrants from accumulating in the city. For this purpose, Dr. Barozzi provided a service for the immigrants, in which they were transported by boats to encampments, and he tried to remove the immigrants from the city by way of land and sea⁹⁴. Within the activities of the physician, thousands of immigrants were transported to the permanent settlement areas from the middle of March to the beginning of the April 1864⁹⁵. Indeed, as time passed these initiatives also failed against the growing number of immigrants and the calls for more steamships for shipment of immigrants from Trabzon continued. The lack of adequate steamships was not only an obstacle for the settlement of immigrants, but also it put a huge financial burden in terms of ration and the other needs which they were given in the encampments⁹⁶. For instance, when the Ottoman steamship, Hüma-yı Tevfik, became insufficient, the local government of Trabzon demanded the service of another steamship, Tuna, to transport the immigrants directly to Köstence⁹⁷. During the transportation, the misery of immigrants was continuing, and diseases carried by immigrants were also spreading to the ship's crew⁹⁸.

91 BOA, İ. DH. 524/36128-Lef 3, 9 Za 1280/16 April 1864; Habiçoğlu, *Anadolu'ya Göçler*, p.77.

92 Report of the British consul, Stevens, on April,15, PRO, FO 881/1259 cited in Çiçek, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*, p.67; Şaşmaz, *Immigration and Settlement*, p.346; Rosser-Owen, *Circassian Exodus*, pp.32-33.

93 Report of the British consul, Stevens, on April,15, PRO, FO 881/1259 cited in Çiçek, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*, p.67; Şaşmaz, *Immigration and Settlement*, p.346; Rosser-Owen, *Circassian Exodus*, pp.32-33.

94 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.15.

95 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 8 April 1864.

96 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 297/14, 5 Za 1280/12 April 1864.

97 BOA, İ. DH. 524/36153, Lef-1, 2, 17 Za 1280/24 April 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 298/26, 14 Za 1280/21 April 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 298/59, 19 Za 1280/26 April 1864.

98 An example of this situation was seen in the *Tamise*, steamship of Messageries Impériales which used to transportation of immigrants, in December 1863. From the ship's crew, 17 died due to the infection caused by the immigrant. *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.8; another example is that typhus emerged in the steamship, *Kars*, which was carrying 600 immigrants to Varna. Because of the disease, the steamship was forced to approach to the port of Sinop. End of the 15-day trip to Varna, total loss of the immigrants was 250 souls. AMAE, CADN, Constantinople, Ambassade, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 9 February 1864.

Therefore, it was forbidden to transport the sick immigrants by steamships⁹⁹. Against the infectious diseases, the physicians began to be employed in the steamships used to carry immigrants¹⁰⁰.

The lack of the sufficient rations for the immigrants was another important obstacle in the process. Therefore, a great number of deaths were caused by starvation. Although one of the tasks of the Refugee Commission was to meet the food needs of immigrants, deprived of the necessary means, the officers of the commission could not distribute enough rations to them¹⁰¹. As seen in the consular correspondences, the distribution of biscuits (peksimet), which was the only food given to immigrants, had never been sufficient. In the context of Dr. Barozzi's activities, in addition to biscuits, meat, millet, corn and vegetables were also added to rations¹⁰². Yet, the insufficiency of the ration for immigrants continued as a subject of complaint¹⁰³. When the local governors of Trabzon realized that it was impossible to meet the needs of immigrants through the city's resources, it was decided to procure food supplies from the surrounding places like Giresun. The lack of enough rations also caused serious problems between the immigrants and the officers. In these cases, because the limited numbers of gendarmeries were unable to cope with these issues, a garrison of 250 souls were brought from Erzincan to Trabzon. Clothes were distributed to migrants and the construction of nearly sixty hangars was started between Akçaabat and Seradere for the immigrants¹⁰⁴.

In the last days in Trabzon, Dr. Barozzi faced with greater obstacles for his activities. According to the interpretation of Faulvel, this was the reluctance and intrigues of an officer who obtained interests from the presence of immigrants in Trabzon¹⁰⁵. Without doubt, this officer was Yaver Efendi. In each report referring to the activities of Barozzi, the French consul had special reference to Yaver Efendi. According to the report on March, 19, 1864, the French consul stated that contrary to Dr. Barozzi, engaged in the transportation of the immigrants out of the city, Yaver Efendi tried to place them in the city and provoked them and local governors against the sanitary inspector. Moreover, Yaver Efendi was getting a significant gain by speculation on the rations and the other aid supplies distributed to the immigrants in Trabzon¹⁰⁶. In this case, the presence and solid measures of Dr. Barozzi had harmed the interest of a group led by Yaver Efendi in the city. It is understood that this group complained about the Dr. Barozzi's precautions in Trabzon. According to Schefer, Emin Muhlis Pasha

99 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 289/22, 7 Ş 1280/ 4 January 1864.

100 BOA, İ. DH, 524/36195, 20 Za 1280/9 April 1864.

101 BOA. A. MKT. MHM, 297/59, 9 Za 1280/16 April 1864.

102 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 14 May 1864.

103 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.15; Turgay, *Circassian Immigration*, p.206.

104 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 14 May 1864.

105 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.15.

106 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 19 March 1864.

received a “ridiculous” letter from İstanbul which mentioned the incongruity of Dr. Barozzi’s precautions which did not conform to the situation of immigrants. Then, Emin Muhlis Pasha began to oppose the activities of Dr. Barozzi and the activities in the city began to slow down¹⁰⁷. According to the French consul, Yaver Efendi, who obtained illegal interest from the presence of immigrants in Trabzon, was changing his clerk in every five or ten days to “cover his dirty operations”, to receive their ration, to keep dead immigrants secret without burials and he was clearly involved in the “slave trade” by sending slaves to İstanbul¹⁰⁸. It is possible to confirm this atmosphere of conflict seen in French documents with the Ottoman documents. The strict measures of Dr. Barozzi had caused the complaints of Emin Muhlis Pasha and Yaver Efendi. In the letter on March 31, 1864, Yaver Efendi stated that Dr Barozzi was hurrying to transport the immigrants out of the city. He criticised that because the tents and sheds in the encampments could not be supplied, the settlement of immigrants in the city, among whom there were many sick, would be more humane act¹⁰⁹. On the other hand, while Dr. Barozzi was blaming Yaver Efendi for violating the quarantine rules, Emin Muhlis Pasha expressed his hesitation about which side was right or not. The other subject of complaint of the governor was the accusation of Dr. Barozzi that no measures were taken after his arrival in Trabzon¹¹⁰. For this reason, as Schefer and Dr. Barozzi demanded the dismissal of Yaver Efendi, it was seen that because of “inappropriate treatment about the immigrants”, Yaver Efendi and Emin Muhlis Pasha also demanded the dismissal of Dr. Barozzi and to replace him with a Muslim physician¹¹¹.

Yaver Efendi was not the only person who was blamed for slave trade in Trabzon. According to the report on May, 14, 1864, based on “a source quite sure” Schefer stated that Emin Muhlis Pasha was using his fortune in the slave trade. He went on saying that the governor had sent an officer with 50.000 piasters to the Circassian coasts by an Ottoman steamship, Malakof, to take slaves, and had ordered the ship’s captain to bring them directly to the quarantine to avoid confusion with the other immigrants in the city. According to Schefer, this “abominable traffic” had become extraordinary since the beginning of immigration¹¹². Indeed, that thousands of immigrants took refuge in the Ottoman coasts, gave an impetus to the slave trade and the slave trade had turned into a profitable business. The Russian consul in Trabzon criticised the slave trade by saying that “while the magazines in İstanbul were writing on the prohibition of slave trade, this trade was going on in Erzincan. The British consul’s sister, Mrs. Marenny had been dealing with the slave trade with the support of Emin Muhlis

107 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 22 April 1864.

108 *Ibid.*

109 BOA, MVL, 671/9, 10 L 1279/31 March 1864.

110 BOA, MVL, 675/30, 3 Z 1280/10 May 1864.

111 BOA, MVL, 985/20, 4 Za 1280/11 April 1864.

112 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 14 May 1864; Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, p.191.

Pasha"¹¹³. In this context, the Sublime Porte had tried to take certain restrictive measures for the slave trade since the middle of 1864¹¹⁴.

As early as February 1864, the abuses of settlement officers of the Refugee Commission, such as theft, wastage and peculate, had been reported to İstanbul¹¹⁵. As for the situation in Trabzon, these abuses seen in French sources had been also reported to İstanbul by the other officers in the city. In this context, the letter¹¹⁶ of Pharmacist Hüseyin Efendi, which reveals the abuses on the needs of immigrants such as physician, pharmacy and ration, shows that from the governor General to the first secretary of the Refugee Commission, the officials abused this process for their own benefits¹¹⁷. It is understood from the Ottoman archival documents that these abuses continued after the departure of Barozzi from Trabzon. We encountered many examples in the correspondences of the Quarantine Manager, Halil Efendi, the officer of the Refugee Commission, Tevfik Effendi, the inspector general, Rıza Efendi who came to Trabzon in July 1864, and Emin Muhlis Pasha such as missing weight, rottenness and foulness of biscuits, and especially rottenness of the flour sent by Kaptan Yorgi of Giresun¹¹⁸. Thus, it is seen that the forgery and venality, as the most important problems of the Tanzimat period, occurred during the immigration process in Trabzon¹¹⁹. Regarding the relations between Dr. Barozzi, Yaver Efendi and Emin Muhlis Pasha, the demand of Schefer and Dr. Barozzi for dismissal of Yaver Efendi was responded in the middle of April 1864¹²⁰. Although the Refugee Commission requested the remaining of Yaver Efendi in his service in Trabzon, probably because of the complaints from the French Embassy, the Sublime Porte did not accept this request¹²¹. In this case, we can say that in the conflict between Yaver

113 Moşnin stated that Emin Muhlis Pasha sent young immigrant girls as gift to İstanbul, who sold for 60-80 rubles, and that it was possible to buy children between 11-12 years old with 30-40 rubles. Hoesli, *À la Conquête du Caucase*, p.212; Ali Kasumov-Hasan Kasumov, *Çerkes Soykırımını Çerkeslerin 19. Yüzyıl Kurtuluş Savaşı Tarihi*, Kaf-Der Yayınları, Ankara, 1995, p.271.

114 Ehud Toledano, *Osmanlı Köle Ticareti 1840-1890*, trans. Y. Hakan Erdem, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994, p.132; Y. Hakan Erdem, *Osmanlıda Köleliğin Sonu 1800-1909*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2004, pp.145-149.

115 Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, pp.111-112.

116 For the letter, see BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 311/68- Lef 4, 13 Ra 1281/16 August 1864.

117 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 309/47, 17 Ra 1281/20 August 1864.

118 BOA, MVL, 684/62, 29 C 1281/29 November 1864.

119 Ayşe Pul, "Kafkasya Muhacirlerinin Durumlarına Dair Eczacı Es-Seyyid Hüseyin Efendi'nin Bir Mektubu", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 4/16, 2011, pp.413-423.

120 BOA, İ. DH. 524/36128-Lef 1, 9 Za 1280/16 April 1864.

121 Fauvel describes the situation as follows: «*La Porte, cédant aux demandes du Conseil de Sante, jugea nécessaire de rappeler le triste individu dont il n'a été que trop souvent question, et le remplacer à Trébizonde par un autre fonctionnaire qui s'annonça sous de meilleurs auspices*». *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.15; As the reason for Yaver Efendi's dismissal, Ottoman archival documents states that because the transportation of the immigrants and the other necessary measures to be taken would be extraordinary work for Yaver Efendi, Tevfik Efendi, who previously did successful activities for immigrants, could do better in the immigration process in which the news of arrival of 170,000 immigrants reached to Trabzon. BOA, İ. DH. 524/36128-Lef 3, 9 Za 1280/16 April 1864.

Efendi and Dr. Barozzi, the latter seems as the winner by the dismissal of the former. But, it is interesting to see that replaced by Tevfik Efendi, Yaver Efendi was appointed as an officer of the Refugee Commission to Amasya-Canik Region¹²². According to Schefer, instead of a penalty, this appointment was a new “profitable business” for Yaver Efendi. Although the dismissal of Yaver Efendi was a source of sadness for Emin Muhlis Pasha, it created a more comfortable environment for Dr. Barozzi who was absolutely supported by the new officer of the Refugee Commission, Tevfik Efendi¹²³. Thus, in collaboration with Tevfik Efendi, Dr. Barozzi contributed more to the situation of immigrants by means of important activities. Thanks to the activities of authorities in Trabzon, despite the number of immigrants increased in the encampments, the health conditions of Trabzon considerably improved¹²⁴. However, it is understood from the Ottoman archival documents that this process had created hostility between Dr. Barozzi and the local authorities in Trabzon¹²⁵. It is seen that probably both from this hostility and the effective activities of Tevfik Efendi, the mission of Dr. Barozzi turned out to be useless in Trabzon. In addition, the conditions in Samsun became alarming. In this case, under the mission “by traveling the Black sea coasts, to take necessary measures in the places where the immigrants arrive”, Dr. Barozzi left Trabzon with steamship of the Mesageries Impériales, Danube, and arrived to perform the other part of his mission to Samsun on May, 15¹²⁶.

II. Situation in Samsun and the Activities of Dr. Barozzi

After the Crimean War, in the second wave of immigration between 1860 and 1862, Samsun began to host immigrants like Trabzon. In this process, the Sublime Porte appointed officers to Samsun to regulate the residence and the settlement of the immigrants¹²⁷. A part of them who arrived in Samsun in 1860 and 1861 were settled in the kazas of the Sancak of Canik and the rest was transported to the other settlement places from Samsun¹²⁸. With this feature, unlike Trabzon, Samsun had served both as a permanent and as a temporary settlement region in the way of their permanent place of settlement. But, it seems that a worse process of immigration occurred in Samsun in 1864 than those of Trabzon. As stated by Barozzi, thousands of immigrants were flocking

122 Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, pp.111-112.

123 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 14 May 1864.

124 The Italian consul stated that although the number of immigrants reached from 18.000 to 45.000 in fifteen days in the encampments, the health status of this city and its surroundings was still excellent at the end of the May, 1864. Kyriakidis, *Sanitarian Consequences*, p.213.

125 BOA, MVL, 675/30, 3 Z 1280/ 10 May 1864.

126 *Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian Emigrants in Turkey*, p.11.

127 İpek, *Göçler*, p.45.

128 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 206/60, 8 B 1277/20 January 1861; İbrahim Serbestoğlu, “Kırım Savaşı Sonrasında Samsun’da Göç ve Göçmen Sorunu”, *Geçmişten Geleceğe Samsun*, Birinci Kitap, ed. Cevdet Yılmaz, Samsun Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları, Samsun, 2006, p.87. (Hereafter, *Göç ve Göçmen Sorunu*).

firstly to Trabzon and then were coming to Samsun by smaller ships under very miserable conditions¹²⁹. As early as January 1864, from starvation and poverty, the immigrants, who settled temporarily in Samsun, had begun to damage orchards and animals of the indigenous people¹³⁰. In the word of Inspector Riza Efendi, under these miserable conditions, even the new-born babies of the immigrants were totally naked¹³¹. For this reason as early as December 1863, calls for help had raised in Samsun.

Actually, the situation in Samsun was not as bad as those in Trabzon in the first period of migration. Although some problems were seen in Samsun such as shelter, medical aid, transportation for the immigrants¹³², thanks to the limited number of immigrants accumulated in the city, the sanitary conditions of Samsun was better in “winter” and “spring” period of the immigration¹³³. Also, that Samsun had easy access network to the interior and coastal areas enabled the immigrants to easily pass to the settlement regions such as Amasya and Çarşamba. However, when the number of immigrants in Trabzon reached alarming proportions in the middle of April 1864, the great wave of immigration began to flow in the direction of Samsun and then, the situation also worsened in Samsun¹³⁴. In this process, when Trabzon served as a centre in terms of the activities for immigrants such as accommodation, food supplies and transportation, deprived of the necessary means, Samsun faced with more drastic problems than Trabzon.

While he was in Trabzon, Dr. Barozzi sent some instructions, which contained hygiene measures to be taken, to the quarantine physician in Samsun where the immigration process had become increasingly dangerous, and asked the local authorities to make the necessary preparations for food supplies and removal of immigrants from the city. But, according to Fauvel, there was an officer¹³⁵ of the Refugee Commission, who had the same “interests and mentality” as those seen in Trabzon, and this officer did not take into consideration any of these recommendations¹³⁶.

The number of immigrants in Samsun, which was 10.000 in the middle of April, increased rapidly by new arrivals directly from the Circassian shores and Trabzon, and reached 80.000 in a few weeks. As in Trabzon, as soon as they

129 AMAE, CADC, CCC, Trébizonde, Tome 8, Barozzi to Schefer, Trabzon, 30 March 1864.

130 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 290/91, 16 § 1280/26 January 1864.

131 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 291/39, 17 Kanunuevvel 1279/29 December 1863.

132 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 290/37, 9 § 1280/ 19 January 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 290/7, 5 § 1280/15 January 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 290/51, 10 § 1280/ 20 January 1864.

133 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 291/68, 24 § 1280/ 3 February 1864.

134 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p. 15; As of March, 1864, the immigrants were being shipped from Trabzon to Samsun; but it was inadequate for the thousands of immigrants accumulated in Trabzon. AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 8 March 1864.

135 Considering that Miralay Salih Bey was replaced by Yaver Efendi, we can say that Fauvel mentioned here about Salih Bey. Saydam, *Kafkas Göçleri*, p.111; İpek, *Göçler*, p.46.

136 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.16.

arrived, the immigrants piled up in the city. After a short time, the city was completely filled with newcomers and by setting up shelters, the immigrants settled around the city. During this period, a few encampments were established for immigrants outside the city, along the bay of Samsun where the immigrants suffered from hunger, misery and diseases like smallpox, dysentery and typhus. The mortality rate, caused by these conditions, among immigrants also increased continuously¹³⁷. According to the news that reached Trabzon in the middle of May, a revolt had emerged among the immigrants settled in the encampments. Despite the efforts of Marcoaldi, the quarantine physician of Samsun, none of the necessary initiatives to remove the immigrants from the city were done¹³⁸. According to the report of Stevens on May, 19, 1864, 35.000-40.000 immigrants had landed at Samsun, and had infected that place to an alarming extent; as many as 500 deaths had occurred there in forty-eight hours¹³⁹. Therefore, more ships began to be asked from Samsun to transport the immigrants to Constanta (Köstence), who piled up in the city under very miserable conditions¹⁴⁰. Stevens went on saying that the bakers, from fear, closed their ovens, and quitted the city; for several days bread was scarce and this nearly led to an uprising in Samsun¹⁴¹. Hence, having organized the immigration process in Trabzon, Dr. Barozzi decided to go to Samsun.

According to Doulcet, French consular agent in Samsun, the basic mission of Dr. Barozzi was to remove the immigrants from the city, to transport them to the places in the vicinity where good hygiene conditions exist, to improve the sanitary conditions and to prevent them from contact with the local population¹⁴². However, Dr. Barozzi had more difficult task in Samsun. Bosio, Italian consul in Trabzon, stated that Dr. Barozzi could not succeed in Samsun as in Trabzon. In his letter on May 28, 1864, Dr. Barozzi said to the Italian consul that he was in the middle of the fire in Samsun and did not know really how to deal with the affairs¹⁴³.

When Dr. Barozzi arrived in Samsun, the city's condition was a complete disaster. In his report to the Quarantine Council on May 25, 1864, Dr. Barozzi mentioned the desperate situation in Samsun¹⁴⁴. According to the report, no words were adequate to describe the situation. There were more than 30.000 immigrants who came from the Derbend and Irmak encampments, in addition to those, 8.000-10.000 settled in the khans and buildings in ruins in the city. Every

137 *Ibid.*

138 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 14 May 1864.

139 *Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian Emigrants in Turkey*, p.11.

140 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 300/50, 8 Z 1280/15 May 1864.

141 *Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian Emigrants in Turkey*, p.11.

142 AMAE, CADN, Ambassade, Constantinople, Série D, Samsoun, Doulcet to Moustier, Samsun, 21 May 1864 (Hereafter, "AMAE, CADN, Samsoun").

143 The report of Italian consul in Trabzon on May, 28, 1864, cited in Kyriakidis, *Sanitarian Consequences*, p.213.

144 This report was published in *the Times* on June 13, 1864.

dwelling, every corner of the streets, every spot occupied by the immigrants, became a hotbed of infection. A warehouse on the sea-side, a few steps distant from the quarantine office, hardly providing space for 30 persons, enclosed 207 individuals, all sick or dying. The conditions in the encampments were not different. From 40.000 to 50.000 individuals in the most absolute state of destitution were suffering from the disease and they were faced with death with no shelter. The governor of Samsun, Ata Bey, had absolutely no financial means to resolve the problems of the immigrants¹⁴⁵. Barozzi stated in the report to the Quarantine Council on May 20, 1864 that "I found the Mutessarif dismayed, and altogether at a loss how to act in such an emergency. Atta Bey is without money and credit; he has not got enough to pay the men who remove the dead". In the report on May 21, Doulcet mentioned the same things to French ambassador, Moustier. Accordingly, there were nearly 70.000 immigrants on May 21 in the city, who were ravaged by typhus and smallpox. In addition, there was no precautionary measure to prevent free passage of the immigrants from their encampments to the city during the daytime. Feared by these conditions in the city, the local population began to prepare to leave the city¹⁴⁶. But even worse, the most alarming danger was the contagion of epidemic diseases to the local people by warming. In these conditions, Doulcet perceived the presence and activities of Dr. Barozzi as a protective factor¹⁴⁷.

As soon as Dr. Barozzi arrived in Samsun, he started an intensive activity. To ameliorate the sanitary conditions, he firstly dealt with the burial of the dead and created an organisation to perform this work by means of a few thousand piasters of the quarantine administration. Even, he allocated those who were employed in his service. He began to empty the warehouse located at the seaside and was a pestilent place where porters refused to penetrate. He managed to evacuate by his own hands this place where there were putrefied corpses. Barozzi's efforts made the local authorities of Samsun hopeful for this process. While the local governors of Samsun were waiting help from İstanbul, 150.000 piasters was sent from Trabzon by which the needs of food of the immigrants were bitterly met in Samsun. Dr. Barozzi had recourse to several corn-dealers and put them in relation with the governor (Mutessarrif), Ata Bey. These corn-dealers supplied the flour for immigrants. Whereby, 50 drachms of bread had been given daily to each of the immigrants. He also obtained some Indian corn-flour, and it was out of these scanty means that the authorities of Samsun had been able to afford some relief to the 70.000 to 80.000 exiles in the city¹⁴⁸. The most significant precaution in Samsun was to remove the immigrants from

145 "The Circassian Exodus", The Times, 13 June 1864, p.10; Rosser-Owen, *Circassian Exodus*, p.p.68-71; Şaşmaz, *Immigration and Settlement*, p.347; *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.16.

146 AMAE, CADN, Ambassade, Constantinople, Série E, Tome 465, "Question Sanitaires", Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 1 June 1864.

147 AMAE, CADN, Samsoun, Doulcet to Moustier, Samsun, 21 May 1864.

148 "The Circassian Exodus", the Times, 13 June 1864, p.10.

the city to prevent the local people from epidemic diseases. Dr. Barozzi then took steps for the evacuation of the city and had detained the 11 ships and the seven cutters lying in the harbour to transport the immigrants. With the aid of the quarantine physician, Mr. Marcoaldi and that of Ismail Bey, half by persuasion and half by force, Dr. Barozzi managed to get the immigrants out of their dens, and finally the city, and to install them in the suitable encampments. In the words of Fauvel, "by this measure Samsun was preserved from complete ruin"¹⁴⁹.

After the activities of Dr. Barozzi, the conditions in Samsun began to improve and the arrivals decreased in the city. Thus, he envisaged that towards the end of May, the city would completely be free of immigrants, the epidemic diseases would cease completely¹⁵⁰. However, this good atmosphere did not last very long, because of the limited resources and increasing number of immigrants flowing into the ports of Samsun and Trabzon during this period. On May, 21 1864, the number of immigrants in Samsun and the vicinity was roughly 70.000 and in the other region in the Sancak of Samsun and Amasya were 80.000. Thus, as early as May 1864, the total number of the immigrants had reached 150.000 in the region. The more the number of immigrants augmented, the more serious problems occurred among them. As Dr. Barozzi and Doulcet, the Italian consular agent, Bosio reported on May, 22, 1864 that the misery of the immigrants was unspeakable; but even more unfortunate was that the local authorities, who want to cordially welcome them, lacked the necessary resources to meet the needs of their guests. In addition to the diseases like smallpox and typhus which decimate the miserable immigrants, they were collecting garbage to saturate their hunger. The measures taken by the authorities were the worst. The consular agent also worried about the dangers in the state of health, which would arise with upcoming warmer¹⁵¹. Besides, as an obstacle for the activities, there were only a hundred guards in Samsun. As mentioned above, thanks to the 150.000 piaster sent from Trabzon and 600.000 piasters obtained from the local governor's chest, a few day's ration of immigrants had been furnished. As the time passed, because of the limited means of transportation and the incapability of the local government on immigrants, the evacuation process of the city began to slow down¹⁵². The number of immigrants, which was 80.000 on May, reached 100.000 at the end of the month and 120.000 in the first days of June. It was assured, from official sources that between 700 and 800 of them died daily¹⁵³.

While this immigration process was continuing in Samsun, the

149 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.17.

150 AMAE, CADN, Samsoun, Doulcet to Moustier, Samsun, 21 May 1864.

151 The report of Italian consular agent in Samsun, Caravel, on May, 22, 1864 cited in Kyriakidis, *Sanitarian Consequences*, p.213.

152 AMAE, CADN, Samsoun, Doulcet to Moustier, Samsun, 21 May 1864.

153 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.18.

Quarantine Council was watching these developments closely by the reports of Dr. Barozzi. He stated in the report on May, 20 1864 that despite the challenges, the Ottoman Government was the only power to ameliorate the conditions in the city and in the encampments. But, calls for necessary means, especially biscuits and sufficient gendarmerie to prevent probable plunder, from Samsun continued¹⁵⁴. Upon the request of Rıza Efendi, who had been in Samsun since April 1863, the Sublime Porte sent Captain Hüseyin Ağa with three inspectors and twenty-two police officers to Samsun¹⁵⁵. When the alarming news from Samsun reached to the Quarantine Council by the consuls and Dr. Barozzi, the situation decided to be transmitted without delay to the Sublime Porte by the council. But, as he reported on May 25, 1864, Fauvel seems to be astonished when he learned that Yaver Efendi was appointed with the same title to Samsun¹⁵⁶. As stated by Fauvel, Salih Bey was replaced by Yaver Efendi to take necessary measures in the settlement of the immigrants¹⁵⁷. But after this appointment, we don't know whether Dr. Barozzi and Yaver Efendi met again and a new conflict occurred between them there. Here, it should be taken into consideration the possibility of arrival of Yaver Efendi to Samsun after the departure of Dr. Barozzi for İstanbul. It is seen that Yaver Efendi continued his mission until his appointment to Sivas in July 1864¹⁵⁸. Interestingly, the presence of Yaver Efendi was still seen as a "problem" in the city as in Trabzon. When the quarantine physician, Marcoaldi, was revealing the negligence of the all health measures in the city, he was pointing to the officer of the Refugee Commission, Yaver Efendi, as saying "the bad influence of the same agent of the commission whose action had been so fatal to the immigrants in Trabzon"¹⁵⁹.

Besides consular correspondences, it is possible to observe the situation in Samsun from the travel notes of Lennep, American protestant missionary, who resided for a while in May in the city. Lennep had come to İstanbul on April 1864 and from there, he had travelled to Samsun at the beginning of May 1864 where the immigration process gained a great impetus¹⁶⁰. Lennep stated that the ordinary population of Samsun was never estimated at above 10.000, and it had

154 AMAE, CADN, Ambassade, Constantinople, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 25 May 1864.

155 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 301/49, 27 Z 1280/3 June 1864.

156 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 301/70, 23 Z 1280/ 30 May 1864; AMAE, CADN, Ambassade, Constantinople, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 25 May 1864.

157 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 301/70, 23 Z 1280/30 May 1864.

158 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 306/4, 12 S 1281/29 July 1864.

159 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.19; It is understood from the sources that Yaver Efendi continued his corruptions in this new mission. The newspaper of Hürriyet states about Yaver Efendi on October, 19, 1868, as an officer who "instead of the settlement of immigrants in his mission, sent to İstanbul so many concubines". Çiçek, *Büyük Çerkes Göçü*, p.p.83-84.

160 Tural gives wrongly the date of Lennep's visit to Samsun as 1854. However, it is very clear from Lennep's mentions, which speak about the immigration and the activities of Rıza Efendi, that he visited the city in the May of 1864. See Erkan Tural, "Bir Bürokrat ve Bir Seyyah Gözüyle Canik (Samsun) Sancağı", *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, 17, 2008, p.85.

been overrun by 43.000 immigrants who were evidently under the influence of diseases or of physical debility¹⁶¹. It is interesting to note that contrary to the consular correspondence in which the immigrants were described as “source of the problem” because of the confusion and diseases, the missionary found strange that numerous and armed as they were, and in a great destitution besides, they made no attempt at violence, and generally conducted themselves with a great propriety. Although the local government of Samsun did all it could to overcome the problems and the new bakeries were founded for the immigrants, these measures also began to fail by increasing number of immigrants. According to the missionary, among the immigrants who were selling their very children in order to procure the necessities of life, 700 and 800 of them were dying daily in Samsun. Lennep has pointed out that slave trade gained great momentum in Samsun in this period. All trade was at a standstill, for land carriage being monopolized by immigrants, goods and ordinary travellers were doomed to remain for an indefinite period¹⁶².

On June 1864, the situation in Samsun began to worsen rapidly by hundreds of thousands immigrants in the city and by the new arrivals. While the mortality rate was increasing among the immigrants, due to limited resources daily rations of them began to decrease dramatically. Therefore, Fauvel stated that a large part of the deaths were caused by starvation and, in the face of these conditions, the Sublime Porte did not take the necessary precautions. In this context, the Quarantine Council sent the reports from Samsun by Dr. Barozzi, to the Sublime Porte. But, the Sublime Porte replied that this sanitary inspector was not interested. Therefore, in the report on June, 1, 1864, Fauvel said to Moustier that he was wondering whether the Sublime Porte was concerned about this migration anymore. Upon this response, a hesitation emerged in the Quarantine Council about sending Dr. Barozzi’s future reports to the Sublime Porte¹⁶³. Nevertheless, the reports of Dr. Barozzi and the quarantine physician of Samsun, Marcoaldi, on the situation of the immigrants in the city had been a warning in terms of the needs of them by the Sublime Porte¹⁶⁴.

Residing in Samsun with a wide reform program, Rıza Efendi also began to deal with the immigrants¹⁶⁵. However, the accumulation of ten-thousand immigrants in the city made useless the activities of the authorities. In this period, the number of immigrants in Samsun and the vicinity, which was up to 120.000 in the beginning of June 1864, was increasing by the new arrivals by sea.

161 Turgay, *Circassian Immigration*, p.206.

162 Henry J. Van Lennep, *Travels in Little-Known Parts of Asia Minor*, Vol.I, John Murray, London, 1870, pp.43-46.

163 AMAE, CADN, Ambassade, Constantinople, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 1 June 1864.

164 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 303/6, 7 M 1281/12 June 1864.

165 In May, 1864, Rıza Efendi had applied to the Sublime Porte to employ Mehmed Efendi, the surgeon of gendarmerie, to vaccinate the children of immigrants and to look after the patients. BOA, MVL, 674/44, 27 Za 1280/ 4 May 1864.

Under the very difficult circumstances, which could not be compared with as in Trabzon, Dr. Barozzi tried to prevent the new arrivals to the city and to transport the immigrants to more suitable places. But, because of persistence of ship's captains and the pressure from the immigrants, the local authorities of Samsun could not prevent new arrivals to the city. According to Doulcet, the governor's mansion had been surrounded by the immigrants who "demanded for more ration, care for patients and settlement places from morning until evening". Even though this huge crowd was satisfied with the promises made to them until that time, Doulcet stated that the situation would not last much longer. Indeed, when Dr. Barozzi appreciated that he could not struggle with this condition, he moved to İstanbul with the steamship of Mesageries Impériales, Caire, on June 5, 1864¹⁶⁶. Even though Doulcet stated about the departure of Dr. Barozzi that he could not have anything to do in Samsun, according to Fauvel, the main purpose of the departure of Dr. Barozzi was the Quarantine Council's decision to hear the immigration process in Trabzon and Samsun, and necessary measures to be taken from personally Dr. Barozzi¹⁶⁷. In this respect, immediately after his return to İstanbul, Dr. Barozzi gave information to members of the council about the situation in the session of June 14 of the Quarantine Council¹⁶⁸. Then, to reveal the gravity of the situation and the measures to be taken, the council submitted Dr. Barozzi's report to Fuad Pasha¹⁶⁹. It is interesting to note that Fauvel said to Moustier about the report in which Dr. Barozzi did not speak of the unspeakable negligence of government, nor greed, nor speculation, guilty of officers who were charged with supply the needs of the immigrants, or slave traffic which was their main concern. He went on saying that the report was only talking about the dangerous situation in which the immigrants placed¹⁷⁰.

After the departure of Barozzi, the conditions in Samsun began to worsen increasingly. Because of warming and new arrivals, new problems emerged in the "third" period of the immigration process, which started from June 15. In this matter, the Quarantine physician Marcoaldi went on to report to Quarantine Council about the situation in the city. According to Marcoaldi's report on 7 July 1864, typhus was spreading rapidly and malaria had become alarming especially among the immigrants. Due to the deaths, transportation by sea to other settlement places, the number of immigrants in the city and the around declined to 80.000. However, the health measures in the city were completely abandoned¹⁷¹.

166 AMAE, CADN, Samsoun, Doulcet to Moustier, Samsun, 4 June 1864.

167 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.18.

168 This report was published later, see *Rapport Présenté au Conseil de la Santé par le Dr.Barozzi, Charge d'une mission sanitaire concernant l'émigration circassienne*, Imprimerie de Levant Herald, Constantinople 1864.

169 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.18.

170 AMAE, CADN, Ambassade, Constantinople, Série E, Tome 465, Fauvel to Moustier, Pera, 2 July 1864.

171 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, p.18.

The highest death rates in Samsun were seen in the encampments where immigrants were settled. For instance, at the beginning of May 1864 more than 500 immigrants were dying per day in the Derbend and Irmak encampments. These conditions were the same for the other encampments. According to Ottoman official sources, 13.558 deaths were recorded in the city and near coastal areas, and encampments of Kurupelit, Kürtırmağı, Kılınçdede, Derbent, Çarşamba, Akçay (Terme), Kumcağız and Bafra. But, it is important to emphasize that these figures which are based on the Expenditures Registers, Masarifat Defterleri, indicates the deaths occurred after May 1864¹⁷². As a matter of fact, the actual mortality figures were much higher than these figures because the migration and deaths caused by the migration had started before. The death rates were varying according to the number of immigrants in the encampments, to their state of health and the daily ration. In the report to the Quarantine Council, Barozzi stated that the most important problem was "hunger", and that within the 22 days which he spent in Samsun, only 10.000 kilos of biscuits had been distributed to more than 100.000 immigrants¹⁷³. As seen in the official correspondences, there was a constant demand for biscuits for the needs of immigrants in Samsun. From June 1864, more biscuits tried to be supplied from Istanbul, Gallipoli and Tekirdağ¹⁷⁴.

For the Sublime Porte, one of the main problems in this process was the lack of enough physicians to send Trabzon and Samsun. Because some European physicians were the victims of the epidemic diseases, like Gibert in Trabzon, the government could not find physicians who are willing to deal with the immigrants. Another victim of the diseases caused by the immigrant was the quarantine physician of Samsun, Marcoaldi, who was the best assistant of Dr. Barozzi. Marcoaldi got infected with typhus, which led to a great number of deaths among the immigrants, and he died on July 20¹⁷⁵. In his last report from Samsun on July, 20, Marcoaldi stated that the mortality rate among the immigrants increased, the corpses were lying around without burial and all the problems came back to the city¹⁷⁶. However, the government was barely able to appoint a physician to Samsun a month after the death of Marcoaldi that Mahmud Yusuf Efendi was appointed to vaccinate the children of the

172 For the figures, see Saydam *Kafkas Göçleri*, pp.179-183; İpek, *Göçler*, p.45.

173 Barozzi complained about the distribution of daily ration to the immigrants. He stated that while the chiefs of tribes and their retinues were taking a large portion of the ration, and the other hungry immigrants were eating tree roots, plants and leftovers which they could find. *L'Émigration Circassienne*, pp.24-25.

174 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 302/57, 29 Z 1280/5 June 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 303/6, 7 M 1280/ 12 June 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 303/39, 11 M 1281/16 June 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 305/12, 1 S 1281/18 July 864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 305/22, 3 S 1281/ 20 July 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 338/45, 28 S 1281/2 August 1864.

175 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 22 July 1864; After the death of Marcoaldi, his wife was consigned to a salary 150 piasters per month. BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 313/48, 29 R 1281/1 October 1864.

176 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, pp.19-21.

immigrants and local people and to care for patients in Samsun in the middle of August 1864¹⁷⁷. During this period, in which there was no physician in Samsun, it was requested from the local authorities of Samsun to send the patients to Istanbul where they could be quarantined in Haydarpaşa¹⁷⁸.

So far, in the framework of the mission of Dr. Barozzi in Trabzon and Samsun, we have studied the situation in these entry ports in “the winter” and “the spring” period of the Caucasian Migration of 1864. Whereas the most painful period of the immigration process in these ports, stated as “the third” period of the immigration had begun the after June15. This period was the peak of the accumulation of the immigrants in the ports that at the end of June 1864, the number of immigrants was 60.000 in Trabzon and 100.000 in Samsun and the mortality rate ranged from 300 to 600 per day. It is seen that this situation lasted until the autumn of this year. In September there were very few immigrants in the city and the encampment around Trabzon and sanitary conditions had improved there¹⁷⁹. But, the bad conditions continued until October in Samsun¹⁸⁰. According to the report of Doulcet, on September, 5 1864, three-fifths of the immigrants, who were under the very miserable conditions, in the Kumcağız Encampments, and placed 35 kilometres away from the city, were suffering from the diseases. Moreover, he added that it was possible to see in each side “the skeletons of the dead removed from earth by the wild animals”. According to consular agent the conditions in the encampments in Bafra, Çarşamba and Ünye were not different from the Kumcağız Encampment. In September 1864, the number of the immigrants at the shore and the interior Samsun was 80.000¹⁸¹.

In this process, in which the immigrants suffered from hunger and diseases, another great danger was the nearing winter. Therefore, in the official correspondences, it was particularly emphasized the transportation of the immigrants to their final settlement areas before the winter¹⁸². In this respect, both Doulcet from Samsun and Schefer from Trabzon reported that the government allocated more ships to transport the immigrants to the final settlement areas in September 1864¹⁸³. When the ships were insufficient in Trabzon, the immigrants were directed to the interior by land¹⁸⁴. Thus, it is observed that after a kind of experience period, the Sublime Porte managed more systematically this migration process since the summer of 1864. More means of transportations were

177 BOA, İ. MVL, 513/23171, 18 Ra 1281/ 21 August 1861.

178 BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 306/78, 17 S 1281/22 July 1864; Serbestoğlu, *Göç ve Göçmen Sorunu*, pp.89-90.

179 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Bonnières, Trabzon, 22 September 1864.

180 AMAE, CADN, Samsoun, Doulcet to the director of the Messageries Company, Samsun, 3 October 1864

181 AMAE, CADN, Samsoun, Doulcet to Bonnières, Samsun, 5 September 1864.

182 BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 309/72, 20 Ra 1281/23 August 1864; BOA, A. MKT. MHM, 310/29, 27 Ra 1281/30 August 1864.

183 AMAE, CADN, Samsoun, Doulcet to Bonnières, Samsun, 5 September 1864.

184 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Bonnières, Trabzon, 16 September 1864.

allocated, more gendarmerie was deployed for the safety of the immigration process, and more financial sources, food supply and medical aid were allotted to the immigrants¹⁸⁵.

Conclusion

As a result, it is understood that Trabzon and Samsun served temporary settlement places of the immigrants and therefore confronted with problems of the wave of immigration which lasted until the end of 1864. Even though, there are different figures in the sources related to the Caucasian Migration of 1864, when we consider about Trabzon and Samsun, just until July 1864 up to 200.000 immigrants arrived in Trabzon and nearly 150.000 in Samsun. These figures illustrated that up to 350.000 immigrants arrived just in these two ports. As for the death rates, contrary to low figures in the Ottoman archival sources, French archival sources indicate that nearly 35.000 immigrants died in Trabzon, in other words, 17-18% mortality rate among the immigrants¹⁸⁶. As can be seen from this figures, Trabzon and Samsun, as the first landing places of the Caucasian Migration of 1864, experienced most painful memories of this process.

When we focused on the mission of Dr. Barozzi who was awarded with "Décoration de la Légion d'Honneur" by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France for his effort in Trabzon and Samsun¹⁸⁷, his mission, which lasted two months in Trabzon and 22 days in Samsun, left us very important sources about the activities of the authorities and the problems caused by the immigrants. In terms of detailed information about the immigration, which could not be found in the Ottoman archival sources, both consular correspondences and Dr. Barozzi's reports are very valuable on our subject. However, it is necessary to underline that we encountered an atmosphere of "conflict" between Dr. Barozzi and local authorities of Samsun and Trabzon in these sources.

Within the framework of the "Western" perspective, which was often encountered in the foreign diplomatic documents on the Ottoman institution and authorities, we can see that both the consuls and Dr. Barozzi revealed examples of prejudice in this process. In other words, foreign documents refer to the shortcomings and abuses of the officers rather than the useful activities of the government with the limited resources in this immigration process. However, on the other side, as seen in the Ottoman archival documents, Dr. Barozzi had taken some strict measures which were not specified in foreign sources. Especially, the objection from the local authorities for removal of the immigrants from the city, the quarantine procedures, the Emin Muhlis Pasha's insistence on burials

185 *L'Émigration Circassienne*, pp.19-21.

186 "Resumé sur l'emigration Circassienne", AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 20 March 1865.

187 Dulaurier, *L'exode des Circassiens*, p.67.

according to Islamic procedure were the Barozzi's most important obstacles in terms of hygiene measures. In this regard, it is necessary to state that the foreign resources approached this issue with a view of their own countries' policy.

Although the French documents indicated Dr. Barozzi as the only actor of the immigration process in Trabzon and Samsun, it is seen that, rather than ameliorate the conditions of the immigrants, he took some measures, which prioritized the cities and the local people, like purification of the immigrants from the cities as soon as possible. At this point, Barozzi's precautions to remove the immigrants from the city were the subject of a conflict in Trabzon between Dr. Barozzi and the local authorities. Besides, there was a perspective in the foreign archival documents that the immigrants are described as a "source of trouble" in the Ottoman ports as Trabzon and Samsun. When the French consul, Schefer was demanding help from ambassador Moustir, he cited especially on "the French shipping and French interests in Trabzon" and on the presence of the non-Muslim peoples in the city¹⁸⁸. Similarly, the British consul, Stevens, perceived the immigrants, who were settled in the most productive agricultural areas, as an obstacle for the agricultural activities in Trabzon where trials of cotton cultivation were done in this period¹⁸⁹. As for the Russian consul, Moşnin, he was carefully monitoring the developments in Trabzon for the Russian domination in the Caucasus, and was checking whether the transfer of arms and ammunition were done from Trabzon to the Circassian coasts by visiting the arsenals in the city¹⁹⁰.

When we look into the immigration from the Ottoman perspective we can say that the Ottoman government was not ready for such a great mass immigration. As seen above, all the necessary measures were taken by the government after the beginning of the great problems caused by the immigration. In terms of health services, rationing, tents, clothing, the means of transportation and security, great shortcomings were seen in these entry ports during this period in which the Ottoman government tried to manage this process in a good way. Surely, the local authorities, who tried to deal with the immigrants with limited means, had also very large contributions in the application of the government's precautions. Nevertheless, it is seen that the corruption and moral collapse, as an administrative problem, which was frequently seen among the Ottoman officials in the Tanzimat period, made the government's precautions useless in favour of immigrants, and the government could not struggle with the corruptions. As indicated by both Turkish and foreign sources, the corruption of officials in Trabzon was the subject of correspondences as much as the activities for immigrants. Here, it was mentioned the bakers who made a profit by reducing weight of breads, the local officers who were engaged in the slave

188 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier, Trabzon, 21 February 1864.

189 PRO FO 78/1832, Stevens'tan Earl Russel'a, Trabzon, 5 August 1864.

190 AMAE, CADN, Trébizonde, Tome 9, Schefer to Moustier'ye, Trabzon, 1 September 1864.

trade and who sent bad flour to Trabzon, the officers of the Refugee Commission who kept dead immigrants secret without burials to receive their ration, and the physicians who misconducted.

As a result, during this immigration process to the Ottoman territories after the Crimean War, the Caucasian Migration of 1864 caused major problems for both the immigrants and for the locals which cannot be compared with the earlier immigrations. Despite the insufficiency of the financial sources, the Ottoman government tried to manage this difficult process and thus became more experienced on the immigration issues which continued until the end of the empire. Having gained an experience from this immigration, the Ottoman Government managed the subsequent migrations more systematically like the immigration of Abhasians in the Ottoman territories. Finally, even though the seeking refuge of the immigrants to Ottoman territories cost a heavy financial burden, the Ottoman government did not abstain to show that she was the protector of the Muslims in this early period.

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