Özet

Osmanlı Karadeniz kentlerinde ulaşımın yetersizliği ekonomik anlamda gelişimini tamamlayamayan yerleşim yerlerinin, uzun yıllar sahip oldukları yer üstü ve yer üstü zenginliklerini degerlendirememelerine neden olmuştur. İpek yolunun denizlere çıkışı kaplarıdan birini oluşturulan Trabzon bu coğrafyada uzun yıllar en gelişmiş yerleşke olarak konumunu korudu. Ancak buharlı gemilerin yüksek tonajlı yük taşıma kapasitelerinin geliştiği ulaşım diğer sahil yerleşkelerinde ekonominin canlanmasına neden oldu ve yeraltı zenginlikleri ile verimli tarımsal araziden yararlanılması sağladı. Kafkas göçleri nedeniyle 1856 sonrası sahil kentlerindeki nüfus artışı ekonomik gelişmeyi ucuz iş gücü nedeniyle arttırdı. Çalışmamızda ekonomik açıdan Karadeniz sahil kentleri arasında Trabzon'a alternatif olarak gelişim gösteren yerleşkelerdeki değişim süreci değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Devleti, Karadeniz, XIX. Yüzyıl

Abstract

The transport inadequacies, like impr, oper road system caused undeveloped economy at the Ottoman Black-Sea towns so as to that the coastal towns of the Ottoman Black-Sea could not benefit from their underground wealth, like Zonguldak coal mine and cultivatable fertile lands, like Samsun. Trabzon, as an open gate of the silk way to the maritime trade had maintained its position, known the largest city and the best developed economy among the Ottoman Black-Sea coastal towns for long years. Nevertheless the highest trade good capacity of the steam powered ships eased the transportation in the region and let the economy of the coastal towns blossomed along with the benefitting their mines and fertile lands. The coastal towns have also absorbed large number of the migrants from Caucasus after the Crimean War (1853-1856). Those migrants offered cheap labor to the towns has got promising economy. In our study, those developing towns, as a rival to the most developed city of the region, Trabzon were searched and evaluated the change of the promising towns economy.

Key Words: Ottoman Empire, Black Sea, XIX Th. Century

It can be claimed that among the reasons why the Black-Sea territory was essential for trade is the existence of raw materials such as timber from the Caucasus, Kastamonu and Sinop for shipbuilding, foodstuffs produced from the fertile lands of the Canik district, its hinterland and oil imported from Baku. Those materials of trade are still taking a very important place in trade dealings in the named areas. It is known that in the XVIth century, British merchants bought walnuts from Georgia and silks from Persia by using the Trabzon Port; in addition to those materials, oil was also imported from Baku via Trabzon. British traders established their commercial influence in the territory by establishing a company named "Moskova Company" between 1579 and 1581.\(^1\)

However, the competition of Great Powers in the territory resulted in foreign interference throughout the region. The War emerging between Persia and the Ottomans caused a recession in commercial activities guided by British sailors in Persia and the Caucasus. Though there were some recessions of commercial activities, foreign interest in the region's commercial resources continued.

In the aftermath of the Crimean War (1853–1856), Russian invasion took place throughout the Caucasus and changed the balance of power in the Black-Sea against the previous effects of The Ottoman Empire in the region. Russia concluded the invasion of the Caucasus, almost within a decade, between 1860 and 1870. Russia embarked upon taking advantage of the region’s important geographic condition, without losing any time, by building a railway station between Tbilisi and the harbour of Poti so that the harbour of Poti became one of the important trade centres on the Black-Sea. After loosing his authority over the caucuses, which was the result of the Crimean War, The Ottoman Empire extended his influence a bit longer by taking advantage of the Indian and Persian Trade route links with the Trabzon port. However, when the Suez Canal opened in 1869 the Indian trade route changed its direction and The Trabzon Port had lost one of trade markets. On one hand Ottoman lands was continued being an important way to the Persian market and benefited from the economic advantages of this last remaining trade route; on the other hand Russia remained as the biggest competitor of trade in the region. When Russia constructed the railway between Poti and Tbilis as far as Tebriz, it allowed the Persian merchants to take advantage of cheap and fast transport without coming across any security problems, which the Ottoman could not sort out on the rout, leading to the Trabzon port. It is obvious that following the year of 1872, Persian merchants preferred the way, which was the easiest to sell their goods. Therefore the Ottomans lost their last remaining trade market in the country.\(^2\)

The years of the Crimean War (finished in 1856) witnessed irreversible change in social and economic structure for the region. One of the main reasons for social change was the emigration of the Caucasus Muslim inhabitants throughout the coastal side of Anatolia, carried by boats-men of Trabzon and of Canik. Those refugees eventually increased the proportion of the population in favour of the Muslims where they were allowed to settle.\(^3\) Those who took refuge first in Trabzon later migrated to the

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3. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Ministry’s Ottoman Archives, Istanbul) (BOA), Maliye Masarifat Defterleri (Books of Economic Expenditure) (ML:MSRF.), Nr.17110; 17335.
fertile land of Samsun, developed that city’s life, and increased its population. It can be asserted that Samsun became a new suitable settlement area for refugees by having empty fertile agricultural areas and few inhabitants. The City even protected her position in 1923 when the population exchange was made between Greece and Turkey as Turkish emigrants from Salonica were guided to settle in Samsun instead of the Greek minority who were sent to Greece. In 1860’s some of the Ottoman civilians whose origins were Greek or Armenian emigrated to Russia with the intention of having much better life conditions but their hopes broke down when they witnessed the difficulties of living in the Caucasus. Of those emigrants who went to Russia approximately 600 Armenian families returned back to the lands from where they left.

On November 29th, 1853, a turning point in the economic and social structure occurred when the Russian fleet defeated the Ottoman Navy in Sinop, sank the 11 ships and 6 merchant ships (some belonged to the British) to the depths of the sea. In the aftermath of this unexpected attack and failure, a question of sea-transportation security in this coastline was opened. Thus, the Sinop Port could not be trusted as a secure port for merchants throughout the XIXth. Century. Nevertheless Trabzon and Samsun emerged as new merchant centres in the territory and developed as time went by. Along with those developing cities Zonguldak (Eregli) in the west part of the Sea started benefiting from foreign investments, made for the high quality coal mine that had been operated since 1849, ties with the steamboat transportation industry. The following years witnessed the Ereğli and later Zonguldak’s rising economic conditions and importance for the region. In 1886, as a result of advancement of the commercial activities in Zonguldak, the port was established so that steamboats could come by the shore to load coal for the engines. In addition to these one also can mention that coalmines in Erzurum Province supplied Trabzon’s consumption. The same goes for the coal mine operated in Batumi for the local consumption. Apart from these changes, Samsun increased her importance through agricultural products of all kinds. As an example, the Ottoman army extracted its need for foodstuffs from Samsun in 1855. Industrial / agricultural products such as in tobacco production also became an important area for finding good paying jobs in Samsun and Trabzon. In short it can be asserted that agricultural production was increased in the degree of the demand for foodstuffs, connected with the increasing facilities for transportation.

4. BOA, Maliye Müdevver Deftar Katalogu (ML.MDV.), Nr.18395.
6. BOA, İrade Sura-yi Devlet, Nr.104, 16 Muharrem 1285, “600 Ermeni ailesi Canık’den Rusya’ya göçmektedir.”; BOA, İrade Dahiliyye, Nr.13998, 27 Sevval 1285, “Rusya’ya hicret eden Rumlara daar.”.
8. In 1899 Ereğli was ona of the towns of Bolu District within the border of Kastamonu Province. Kastamonu Vilayet Salnamesi (The Annual Book of Kastamonu), (1290 H.); Büyük Larousse V. 20, “Zonguldak”, p.12771.
9. BOA, A.MKT.NZD., Nr.62/50, (1269 M.14), 1 manuscript. “One of the towns of Erzurum from where high quality coal dug up demanded miners from Ereğli Of Zonguldak.”
As one of the biggest districts of the Black Sea territory Trabzon carried its existence in those areas in the following years of the 1850's. In the 1860's Akçaabad started cultivating tobacco and enjoyed its benefits as a commercial agricultural product. Though it had economic value tobacco caused changes in the air conditions and air pollution affected the inhabitants' health. According to my research animal husbandry was one of the ways of earning a living within the border of the Trabzon district in 1901. In the Trabzon district, together with its surrounding towns, the total number of cattle was 1,055,463. It can therefore, be claimed that the inhabitants of Trabzon were not only involved in sea transport. One may estimate that at least 50,000 people in this region dealt with animal husbandry. So far a need for answering the question if a ship in the sea is more important than a sheep on land for the local inhabitants remains as an essential matter to shed light on. In order to find the answer it seems necessary to define how many people of the territory made their living from the land. In 1890, Trabzon's food productions consisted of goods such as corn, various kinds of grains, beans, hazelnuts, vegetables, linen, olives, grapes, walnuts and various kinds of fruits. Because of the existence of working fields in agriculture and animal husbandry there was a choice between the sea life and land for the people of the Black-Sea. It can be proved that the Armenian citizens of the Ottoman Empire were producing linen for supplying the sea-market needs for sailing in Canik, one of the towns of the Trabzon Province. However those farmers who cultivated linen stopped working when the Ottoman Government imposed a heavy tax burden on the Armenian citizens for what they cultivated. Therefore farmers immigrated to Russia. The Ottoman Greeks had witnessed similar sort of evidence during the second half of XIXth century. Though they had a large area where hazelnut trees grew, they fled their lands and immigrated to Russia so the destiny of the Armenians became that of the Greeks as well. Therefore it can be claimed that both the Muslims and non-Muslim population of this region farmed in the fertile agricultural areas and gained their livelihood from the land. In addition to these facilities, mining could also be regarded as one of the sources of the people’s economic life. Yomra and Hamsiköy had two lead mines accelerating the local trade between abroad and inland areas. In Gümüfl hane, people worked in silver mine, and in Kure of Kastamonu a copper mine became a valuable mineral source for the territory, and last but not least, high quality coal was dug up from Ereğli of Zonguldak in 1849 by the French; this increased the tiny coastal town’s wealth.

11. Trabzon Vilâyet Sâlnâmesi (The Annual Book of Trabzon), (1319 R.), pp.244-245.
13. BOA, Irade Sura-yı Devlet, Nr.104, 16 Muharrem 1285, “ mentions about the emigration of the Armenians caused by the tax burden imposed on linen cultivation.”
14. BOA, Irade Meclis-i Vala, nr.21043, 1278 H., “Greeks who originated from Ottoman regims sold Muslims who migrated from Karahisar-i Sarki of Giresun District, their hazelnut gardens. Then Greeks emigrated to Russia.”
For the inhabitants of the Black Sea to find a job was not a problem. Even if they could not inherit a piece of land to cultivate or any sheep to herd, they still had a chance to make a living by migrating to neighbouring countries or to towns as daily workers. In fact Russia and Romania needed many workers to rebuild the recently settled lands and received labour from migrants who came from the eastern coast of the Black Sea. In addition to these, it is also proven that the plain of Çarflamba, Terme and of Bafra absorbed workers from the eastern coast of the Black Sea settling them in large empty fertile lands, previously uncultivated. Some of those who wanted to find work went to Ereğli to excavate the coalmine in return receiving money. Apart from those choices of work there was one more way to earn a living for those who did not have any land or inclination to migrate. This choice was earning a living from the Sea. Because there were not enough routes that could link the coastal towns to each other, sea-transport was an attractive transportation and cost-effective method. Also the mountains ran to the sea and hindered transportation with huge rocks, streams, and rivers that flowed down from the mountain ranges to the sea. They further hindered transportation by overflowing from time to time. It can be confirmed that the land road which linked the coastal towns to the inland areas was not adequate for transportation, contrary to the government's effort to re-establish a major transportation route from Trabzon to the border of Persia, in 1846. Land transportation was also inefficient in carrying heavy loads, since there was not any route to let a horse carriage run properly. Therefore, only camels or mules, by taking it easy, could travel the coastal region. In the 1860's between the Trabzon port and Tebriz there were 40-50.000 camels which were charged most of the transportation of goods, in addition, 4-5.000 camels worked between the Samsun port and Ankara in 1875. In a word, sea transport was one of the ways which linked people or merchants to each other without being affected by seasonal weather changes as much as land routes.

It is beyond a doubt that the building of ships had been an industry before the XIXth. century, in the Black Sea region. As an example, in 1565 an imperial decree was issued indicating that the subject people of Canik and Sinop should work in the obligation duty of cutting timber from the forest and making linen for sailing ships. As one more step to this it can be claimed that the ship building methods and material must have been used by Byzantine sailors prior to the Ottomans. It can therefore be inferred that shipbuilding was an essential economic sector for those who lived on the coast of the

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18. BOA, A.MKT.UM, Nr.92/7, 1263H. "A project investigation report for the route devised in order to link Persia border to Trabzon Port."  
Black Sea, from the time when human civilisation settled the territory. Among the towns, which surrounded the Trabzon district, namely Sürmene and Vakfıkebir, boat and sailing shipbuilding was one of the main economic activities of the inhabitants in 1869.24

In addition, the rowboat with two or more pairs of oars served the purpose of carrying ship passengers and ship’s load to the land. What is most striking about those mentioned sea vehicles is that all were used in carriage duties between the ships, which anchored in the sea, and the land. It, thus, can be presumed that the Ports of the Black Sea did not allow the big ships to came near the docks and lands. With the failure of man and wind power, the question of what did those who were affected by the competition from steamboats remains unanswered even today. But what we can do is only to compare it with other similar cases. For example in Izmir, when steam boats started routine transportation, local boat sailors rose up against the invincible competition and damaged the steam boats which came into the harbour. Taking this unpleasant step further they also rebuked the governor of the city blaming him for doing nothing for the bleak future of the oarsmen.25 It is within the realm of possible that similar kinds of events occurred in the port towns of the Black Sea when steam boats started working in the region; however the oarsmen and sailors continued to carry out their duties between the shore and the steam boats by giving a hand to carry the ship’s load and passengers. Changing A great variety of boats were also used for the transportation of goods from the port of Trabzon and Kastamonu as far as Russia.26 In 1869 a traveller named T.Dyrolle mentions in his memoirs how a large number of rowing boats circled the ship, which anchored in the sea and took the passengers to the shore handing them over to the carriage men.27 Boating must have been a good way of earning money judging by the large number of boats serving the port.

When considering the trade capacity of the region a question could be raised why the ports were inadequate for the ships to come close. An answer to that presumably could be that the sailing ship and boat sailors were bound to lose with the introduction of the steamboats for the latter had an unbeatable position in sea transport. When steam boats steamed in the Black Sea those vessels powered by man power and wind were restricted to the area between the port and the ships which anchored in the sea. The existence of a proper harbour would have been the end of those who sailed in the port. In addition to this it also can be claimed that the land route projects which were supposed to link the coastal towns to the inland areas began to be built between the Trabzon port and Erzurum and also between the Canik port to Amasya so as to transport the increasing amount of goods which was being carried by steam boats to the ports. However these projects took time to become real until the end of XIXth. century. The steamboat’s existence made progress in the way of developing old ports with the new ones necessary. In 1846 when an Ottoman Army Commander investigated the Canik Port, he decided that a new port that would allow the ships to come closer to land should replace it. He also reported that merchants who travelled between Bağdad and the Canik Port needed to

27. Cumhur Odabasoglu, ibid, p.447.
be carried up to the steamboats by oarsmen and pay higher transportation fees. In the following years a proper port was built in Canik and served suitably until the end of the century. In the territory there were some other ports named Vona in Perfl embe and Pulathane in Akçaabad (1875). In addition to those ports in 1877 a new break-water was constructed in Trabzon at a length of 50 m. Though there were new projects for building much bigger ports, oarsman were still in demand in the XIXth century because of lack of adequate ports to allow the ships to come closer to the land.

Since 1849, steam boats increasingly became an important part of sea transportation in the Black Sea coast; steam boat transportation linked the ports of Izmir and Trabzon for the imperial Ship Building Ministry (Tersane-i Amire) attempted to develop the commercial activities. Those steam boats (The first Ottoman Trade Fleet) were named Eser-i Hayr, Eser-i Cedid, Hüma-Pervaz, and Girit. They set on a journey in the Black Sea, linking Istanbul to the coastal towns of the Black Sea. In 1872, it was recorded that regular steam boat journeys had been started by government agency and foreign companies.

Those companies working among the Black Sea's coastal towns enriched the transportation facilities in the region. Moreover being a competitor for sea transportation in the region foreign companies increased the competition among all the maritime transportation lines from 1872 onwards. What is striking is that these companies had started regular transportation services for the local merchants as well. Those companies carried out their mission, from time to time giving free delivery to their passengers, some of the companies even distributed free bread during the journey. For that reason the competition between the companies increased until the Government intervened and put a stop to it. In 1904 there were 4,340 sailing ships of varying capacity and 198 steam boats that plied the seas situation in the region according to estimations taken from annual books of the Ottomans.

It is certain that there were foreign freight ships serving along with the passenger transport lines in the region. In the aftermath of having sunk the Ottoman fleet in Sinop, the security of the central and western parts of the Anatolian Black Sea coast fell sharply. The military alliance during the Crimean War gave relief during this time of calamity and eased the security problems of the Ottoman's Black Sea coast line. Lord Admiral Donnas who was called up to protect the territory against the Russians with the

28. BOA, A.MKT.DVN., nr.74/2, 1263.4.2, "mentiones about the transportation of troops from the port of Samsun"; BOA, A.MKT.DVN., nr.73/72, 1263. 4. 11, "Head commander of the troops Mehmed Said wrote that a suitable port had to build in Samsun allowing the sail boats came by."; BOA, A.MKT.DVN., nr.72/29, 1263.4.3, "The Müsir of Imperial Army commanded local authoritics in Canik to establish a proper port since the merchants from Bagdad and from inland areas of Anatolia passed their goods to Istanbul by getting on board of steamboats without paying extra fees for rowing boats."
29. Cumhur Odabasioglu, ibid, p.447.
30. Cumhur Odabasioglu, ibid, p.450.
31. Trabzon Vilayet Salnamesi, 1289H., s.70.
British fleet was privileged with receiving the imperial "Niflan". In the following years British trade ships did not have any trouble getting government permission to sail on the Ottoman sea coast. For example, one trade ship captain named Anderson received sailing permission for his ship called "Knight", exempting him from any extra customary and bureaucratic hindrances.

Nevertheless the sea transportation for local sailors became very competitive when steam boats appeared in the Black Sea. In addition the Government imposed a tax named "mürur tezkiresi" (passing permission) to the oars men who worked in a boat or sailing ship in 1848. Being a sailor on the Black Sea was a formidable task with a heavy burden of taxes and competition from huge companies. May be this was the reason why boats were rowed between Russia and the ports of Trabzon and Kastamonu. It can be inferred from the manuscript which was issued by the Ottoman Sultan that the boatmen who carried passengers and goods from Kastamonu and Trabzon to Russia should not be allowed to have any kind of ammunition on board. These oarsmen had left their home coastline with the goal of earning a lot of money from trading in illegal goods between these countries. After the 1850's, sailing ships and rowing boats maintained their positions on the coastal side, carrying heavy goods such as coal, timber and sand in return for receiving less money. Those Ottoman citizens of Greek origin who sailed under the Russian flag were privileged by the Russian policy. However, some Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire preferred to sail in Aegean and Marmara Seas, since they did not dare compete with the steam power.

As a conclusion, it can be defended that technological improvements especially steam power hastened the transportation between the Black Sea towns. Regular travel lines were established to serve the inhabitants carrying them from one port to another and giving time for the sellers to sell their goods to passengers in each port visited. The steam boats, in other words, supplied the public needs for fresh information and goods. It also eased the heavy expenditures for transportation. However the steam boats could not change the society’s economic structure as fast as it hoped because of the inadequacy of land routes and railways that would have been expected to link the ports through the inner part of Anatolia. In short it can be claimed that the Government’s investment was insufficient for the territory in order to get the benefit of technological improvements. Nevertheless even government health care for the public was badly applied to the region; for that reason an epidemic affected a large population in Canik when the Caucuses migrants were settled in marshy places of the shore in the 1860's. In 1889/90 Trabzon's population decreased almost to one third of the population after cholera struck the city. Even steampower technology could have nothing to heal the disaster for the good of those who preferred to live at the cost side of the Blac-Sea. In a word contemporary advancment was not applied in a large number of area like healthcare, proper land

34. BoA, ADVN.MHM.,nr.11-A/74, 1270. 1. B.
35. BoA, ADVN.MHM., nr.12/25, 1270.
transportation etc. by the Ottoman Government who failed to improve the living condition of rural or urban population in the most essential fields for the one individual needs as a citizen. However the economy of Ottoman Black-Sea developed as the steam shipping companies run between the coastal towns. Russian invasion caused the rising population via migrants in the Ottoman coastal towns. When the overloaded population of the coastal towns meet with the easy transport system, developed by steam technology then the economy of the Ottoman Black-Sea took a reasonable start of commercial growth.