

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND ITS EFFECTS ON OTTOMAN SOCIAL LIFE

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ABSTRACT

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"Westernization" movement of Ottoman State starting with Selim III gained momentum with 1839 Tanzimat. Reference of social structure defined by the Tanzimat is Europe. In 1841 London agreement, Ottoman State's territorial integrity and sovereignty was preserved by European great states.

On January 9th, 1853 in St Petersburg in the historical debate between Tzcar Nicola I and British Ambassador Sir George Hamilton about land-sharing of Ottoman State, destiny of "Ill man" was decided. Ottoman officials have paradoxes in explaining to the people, the variable policies followed by European states and the Tanzimat. On one side there is Europe defined as ideal society in Tanzimat, on the other side friendly-enemy Europe. This makes the basis of the paradox.

Following the dispute on Holy Places, Prince Menchikow's İstanbul visit, which outlaws the rules of diplomacy, Ottoman-Russian relations gaining tension, Russia's sending soldiers to Eflak-Bogadan, the Crimean War starts officially when Ottoman State delared war on Russia on October 4th, 1853.

The war initially between two states (Ottoman – Russian) turned to be European war inshort time. This war, with its progress and consequences formed the basisfor the establishment of Modern Europe.

A state on the way of westernization, society aimingto understand Europe, saw Europen soldiers first time in their streets. Crimean war is where friend and enemy mixed eah other, soiety suffered from perception problems, the human feelings of hate, pain, blood, suffering and tears mixed together. Our paper aims to analyse the reflections of Crimean war on Ottoman social life on this concept based on the arhive documents and resources of the time.

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What was the attitude of the state and people to the European soldiers, by the number of ten thousands? What impacts did this number of Europeans make on İstanbul's social life? 1856 Islahat firman, foreign intervention, first debt, change of minorities' status, shortly effects of Modern war on Ottoman modernisation will be investigated.

Keywords: *Crimea, Crimean War, Westernization Movement, Ottoman Social Life, İstanbul, European Soldiers.*

The Crimean War has been considered as one of the defining events in the shaping of modern Europe. The war changed the fundamental concepts of "the other" in Europe. Even though it was conjunctural, the Ottoman State which had been considered as the enemy of Christian Europe for centuries became an ally. France, which was also seen as a threat for Europe in 1810s, took its place beside the Ottoman State along with other European countries against Russia, the new common enemy.¹ The Crimean War was also a clear indicator of the Ottoman State's inability to defend itself and its failure to finance a war with own resources. In the aftermath of the war, the Ottoman bureaucracy gave a new momentum to westernization process while the modern ideologies such as nationalism grew stronger among the ethnic minorities of the Empire.

The purpose of this article is to investigate the effects of Crimean War on the Ottoman State's place in international politics, as well as the advance of westernization in the Ottoman State. Since the arrival of the allied troops brought Ottoman public into a direct contact with "Frenks,"² this study will also examine the outcomes of the interaction between European soldiers and common people in Ottoman lands by using Ottoman archival documents. Although there had been never an "iron curtain" between the Ottoman State and the West, it was during the Crimean War that Ottoman public experienced such an exposure to European life style and culture. Thus, it is imperative to delineate the effects of this experience on Ottoman society.

¹ Harold Temperley, "The Treaty of Paris of 1856 and Its Execution." *The Journal of Modern History*, 3 (1932): 390.

² Frenk, which was the Turkified version of the word "Frank," was generically used to define anyone from the West in the late Ottoman State.

International Politics and the Ottoman State until the Crimean War

The political and social tremors which would shook up the old Europe, started with the French Revolution in 1789 and continued until the 1870s. During this period, the participation of common people to the political life in Europe gradually increased. The terms equality, liberty, and fraternity entered to the common vocabulary of the European people. Along with rapid developments in production techniques, the new political climate defined the beginning of a new era. In this new era, radical changes also occurred in the Ottoman society. At the beginning of this "long nineteenth century" Sultan Selim III, who would prove to be an important figure in Ottoman modernization, came to the throne of the Ottoman State at the age twenty eight. The signs which indicate that the nineteenth century would be very trying for the Ottoman State had already emerged before the reign of Selim III. The destabilization of the European balance with the French Revolution would shortly show its effects in the Ottoman world.

The impacts of the Coalition Wars, which began after the French Revolution, were brought into the Mediterranean basin by Napoléon Bonaparte's Egyptian Campaign. Napoléon was able to convince the revolutionary government for the feasibility of a campaign against the Ottoman province. The strategic concern which brought Napoléon to Egypt was to cut Britain's contact with her colonies in South Asia. By invading Egypt, France would not only undermine the British power in Europe but it would also promote its trade in the Mediterranean. The French invasion of Egypt made it clear that the Ottoman State wouldn't be able to survive in this modern era without the support of the European countries. For the first time in its history, the Ottoman State had to resort to the help of European states in order to eliminate the attack of another European state. Of course, Russia and England responded this call only to achieve their desires on the Ottoman lands. The Russians, for example, used this opportunity to provoke Greek population of the Ottoman State as in the case of the Seven Islands.

After such distasteful experiences with Russo-British alliance, Ottoman State tried to follow to a more balanced foreign policy and attempted to reestablish its relations with France in order to prevent the designs of its former allies. The tensions between the Ottoman State and the Russian-English coalition caused military and diplomatic confrontations which lasted from 1800

to 1812. With the treaty of Kale-i Sultaniye (5 January, 1809), England had the Ottoman State to accept closing the Straits to warships. Ottoman State and Russia also signed a peace treaty called the treaty of Bucharest (16 May 1812). With this treaty, Russia was granted the right of passage from Bessarabia to the Danube.

During this time Europe was totally overwhelmed by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Only the final defeat and the dethronement of Napoleon brought a relief to European continent and left England as the foremost beneficiary of the Napoleonic Wars. After this point, Great Britain not only attempted to take control of Europe but also pursued a policy of world supremacy. In accordance with this policy, Great Britain attempted to expand its sphere of influence to Ottoman lands and used every opportunity to affect the domestic policies of the Ottoman State. During this time Ottoman State tried to guarantee its survival by implementing a "balanced foreign policy".

The winners of the Napoleonic Wars attempted to reestablish order in Europe with the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This order included the Metternich's system which depended on the concept of "the police state" (which perceived the commoners as enemy). This system ended with failure in the Revolutions of 1830-1848. The period between 1815 and 1850 also coincided with the period of large territorial losses for the Ottoman State. When Alexander I died in 1825, Nicholas I (1825-1855) succeeded him as the new tsar. Although Nicholas I was faithful to his predecessor's policy of maintaining the *status quo* in Europe, his policies toward the Ottoman State proved to be in the opposite direction. He sought to establish a protectorate over the orthodox population of the Ottoman State. He believed that it was possible "to revive the Byzantine Empire."³ Meanwhile the rebellion of Muhammed Ali Pasha in Egypt started to threaten the Ottoman dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean. The replacement of the Ottoman State by a new vigorous Egypt under Muhammed Ali Pasha would be against the interests of both Great Britain and Russia. On the other hand, as in the case of Napoléon's invasion of Egypt both powers saw the crisis as an opportunity to advance their influence over the Ottoman State.

³ Fevzi Kurtoğlu, *Yunan İstiklal Harbi ve Navarin Muharabes*, vol. 1, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1944): 11.

England was especially suspicious about the expansion of Russian power over the Ottoman lands. The revoking of the Akkerman (present-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy, Ukraine) Convention⁴, triggered the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829 which resulted in a disastrous defeat for the Ottomans and further concessions to Russia. Yet the relations between the Ottoman State and Russia took a totally different turn, when the Ottomans sought the Russian protection against the advancing armies of Muhammed Ali in 1833. A treaty of mutual assistance was signed between the Ottoman State and Russia in *Hünkâr İskelesi*. Great Britain was gravely concerned about the treaty which gave Russia the freedom of sending warships through the straits. Any power, which sought to expand its control over the collapsing Ottoman State such as Muhammed Ali Pasha or Russia, was seen as potential threat by Great Britain. Great Britain prepared her strategic plans to frustrate the designs of such powers. With the defeat of the Ottoman army in Konya, the Muhammed Ali Pasha affair, which was initially a domestic matter, became a European problem. Both France and Great Britain were afraid that the Ottoman State would go under Russian control. Great Britain forced Muhammed Ali Pasha to return most of his gains and to make peace with the Ottoman State. Finally, the question of Egypt was solved by the London Treaty signed on July 15, 1840.

While the main agenda of the London treaty was the status of the Straits, Great Britain's real concern was the security of the East Mediterranean and the route to India. Although the arrangements of the treaty served to the interests of Great Britain, Russia lost its predominant position over the Ottoman State. Still, it would never give up its policy of expanding to the Eastern Mediterranean. The treaty also served as a bitter reminder to the Ottoman State of its weakness in the international arena.

Meanwhile the Ottoman State declared the Tanzimat Decree (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) in 1839. This decree was a critical turning point for the Ottoman/Turkish westernization. Having solved the question of Muhammed Ali Pasha in London in 1840, Ottoman State now faced with a new crisis over the Straits. When the mutual assistance treaty of *Hünkâr İskelesi* expired, Russia

⁴ The Akkerman Convention, which was signed between the Ottoman State and Russia on October 7, 1826, imposed that the *hospadars* of Moldavia and Wallachia would be elected by the councils of both principalities rather than the Ottoman State. By this convention the Ottoman State also guaranteed that it would withdraw its military forces from both principalities.

tried to renew it. In fact, Russia aimed to regain its dominant position over the Ottoman State and the Straits despite French and British opposition to the Russian access to the Mediterranean through the Straits. At the end, a treaty was signed with participation of Russia, England, France, Austria, Prussia and Ottoman State in 1841 to determine the status of the Straits. According to the treaty, the Straits were closed to the foreign warships. The Straits were for the first time defined as an international waterway. Additionally, the European Powers guaranteed the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Ottoman State. Event though temporarily, the treaty put an end to the Russia designs over the Ottoman State. The closure of the Straits meant for Russia that the Black Sea was secure. It was not clear how to make the practice. The London Treaty, in fact, triggered the period which would result in the Crimean War.

After the London Congress, while the Ottoman State returned its own domestic matters, European states faced with the troubles of the 1848 Revolutions. The implementation of Tanzimat reforms constituted the main agenda of the Ottoman State. At the same time, the central state also had to struggle against the internal uprisings (in Syria, Lebanon, Walachia and Moldavia).

While the Revolutions of 1848, which shook the foundations of Europe, also showed its effects on the Ottoman Europe. The places where the Revolutions were most felt were Walachia and Moldavia. A revolt which aimed to unite these two principalities spread throughout Moldavia and Walachia. As a result, a provisional government was formed. Russia, which followed the developments in Walachia and Moldavia very closely, opposed to the establishment of the provisional government. It declared war against the new provisional government. On the other hand, the new government favored attachment to the Ottoman State. Walachia and Moldavia actually turned into a battleground between Russia and the Ottoman State. While Russia moved its troops into Walachia on June 28, 1848, the Ottoman State replied by sending its troops into the same region. At the end, the crisis was solved in the Treaty of Balta Limanı which was signed on May 1, 1849. With this treaty, Walachia and Moldavia were divided between the Ottoman State and Russia. The treaty also gave Russia an access to the Western Black Sea.

One of the countries, which were most affected by the Revolutions of 1848, was the Habsburg Empire. When the revolution in Hungary proved to be

much to handle for the Habsburg Monarchy, Franz Joseph asked for the assistance of Russia. The troops of "the gendarme of Europe" entered Hungary and put down the rebellion in a bloody way. Some of the Hungarian rebels took refuge in the Ottoman lands. The Revolutions of 1848 also affected Poland where the Polish people rose against occupying forces. During these disturbances, some of the rebels took refuge in Ottoman lands. Thus, a refugee crisis broke out between Russia and Ottoman State, which refused to return these refugees back Russia and Austria. Both countries delivered an ultimatum to the Porte which tried to solve the problem by giving Ottoman citizenship to the refugees. While the Habsburgs and Russians increased their pressure on the Porte, France and England declared their support to the Ottoman State. In European public opinion, anti-Russian sentiments started to replace the anti-French sentiments of the 1810s.⁵ Sensing this changing climate, the Porte announced that it had no intention to yield to the Russian pressures and it would even risk military confrontation. As the problem turned into a European one, the humanitarian approach of the Ottoman State started to make much influence on the European public opinion. England promised to put one of her fleets under Ottoman State's command. Benefiting from these supports, Ottoman State tried to convince Russia to repair the strained relations. Negotiating with the Russian Tsar, Fuad Efendi succeeded to solve the problem in October 1849. Yet this proved to be only a temporary solution, Ottoman State was still an obstacle hindering Russia's expansion "towards the warm seas."

As Russians were seeking for a new opportunity to advance their claims over the Ottoman State, the question of "Holy Places" provided such an excuse. In its guise of the protector of Orthodox faith, Russia started to intervene to the domestic matters of the Ottoman State. This was also a period when France attempted to become a global power under the reign of Napoleon III. The question of "Holy Places" presented an opportunity for Napoléon's France to assert such claims. France assumed the role of the defender of Catholicism against the Russian claims over Jerusalem.⁶ In this way, France aimed to regain its influence in the Middle East. Jerusalem and its surroundings was the basic cause of the long dispute between Orthodox and Catholics. After Jerusalem

⁵ Gavin B. Henderson, "The Diplomatic Revolution of 1854: The Four Points." *The American Historical Review*, 1 (1937): 25.

⁶ Brison D. Gooch, "A Century of Historiography on the Origins of the Crimean War." *The American Historical Review*, 1 (1956): 36.

passed into Ottoman hands in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman central authority naturally inclined to bestow more favors to Orthodox Christians than Catholics over the Holy Places. The French tried to make changes in favor of Catholics in the region. But the main issue, which disturbed the age old balance, was the missing of the silver star of the church called Beytü'l-lâhim (The Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher) in which Jesus Christ was believed to be born. Both Orthodox and Catholics blamed each other for the starting of the troubles. Ottoman State finally found the star and put it back to its place. But the interference of France and Russia turned the issue into an international problem. Louis Napoléon insisted on the restoration of privileges given to the Franciscans prior to 1767. Russia intervened and requested from the Sultan not to make any change in the existing state of affairs. Facing with a diplomatic crisis, Ottoman State constituted committees to investigate the issue. While investigations of the committee went on, in October 1851, Tsar Nikola I stated that they would not accept any changes in the status quo in favor of Catholics. Although the committee made a decision in favor of the Orthodox against the Catholics, Russia still was not satisfied with the result. It demanded a firman to be issued in order to guarantee the continuation of the status quo. Meanwhile France also increased its pressures on the Ottoman State.

Tsar Nicholas sent Prince Menchikov as an ambassador extraordinary to Istanbul to take the initiative. Menchikov contravened all diplomatic rules in this visit which can be regarded as a scandal in the history of world diplomacy. Menchikov's visit to İstanbul, which started on February 28, 1853, turned into a nightmare for the Porte.⁷ The Minister of Foreign Affairs had to abdicate because of Menchikov's pressure. The Prince expected that Ottoman State would enter into an alliance with Russia. The prince requested that the Ottoman government should recognize Russia's protectorate of Orthodox community in Ottoman lands in return for Russia's assistance to the Porte against France and Great Britain.⁸ Discussing the matter with English and French ambassadors, the Ottoman government firmly rejected this offer. Especially the role of Stratford de Redcliffe, English ambassador, in encouraging the Porte against Russia's

⁷ Gooch, "A Century of Historiography": 39.

⁸ Bernotte E. Schmitt, "The Diplomatic Preliminaries of The Crimean War." *The American Historical Review*, 1 (1919): 39-40.

threats was important.⁹ The British sent their ships to the Dardanelles to support the Ottoman government. As the crisis seemed to be overcome by the negotiations between the ambassadors and Menchikov, on May 5, 1853, Russia delivered an ultimatum to the Porte to accept Russian demands. Trusting the British support, Ottoman State refused these demands and Menchikov left İstanbul on May 21, 1853. As the Ottoman State severed the relations with Russia, both countries began to prepare for war. Tsar Nikola I declared that Russian troops would enter into Walachia and Moldavia, as the protector of the Orthodox people. On June 22, 1853, the Russian troops entered into the Ottoman territory by crossing the Prut River. The Ottoman government considered this action as *casus belli*. However, in accordance with British recommendations, the Porte had to be contented with just protesting this action. Austria, considering the European balance, attempted to solve the problem by calling both sides to negotiate the issue Vienna. Unfortunately this effort bore no results. Russia began to threaten the sensitive balance within Europe. Russia's aggressive attitude overwhelmed the Balkan politics of Austria and Prussia. When the Ottoman government met in İstanbul on September 25, it was agreed to declare war to Russia.¹⁰ By a formal declaration war by the Ottoman State against Russia, the Crimean War began on October 4, 1853.

Transformation of Ottoman State began under the reign of Sultan Selim III. Ottoman officials, who followed the developments in Europe in military organization and technology, initiated a reform movement called *Nizam-ı Cedid* (The New Order). Before setting up the agenda of the reform, Sultan Selim III sent ambassadors to various European countries and requested them to prepare reports on the new developments in Europe.¹¹ Yet the reform movement was hindered by both international and domestic problems. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt brought the war to the Ottoman lands. The reform was met with stiff resistance of Janissaries and other social groups whose interests were endangered by the new administrative and financial arrangements. A popular rebellion in İstanbul brought the *Nizam-ı Cedid* reforms to an end. Upon the death of Sultan Selim III, Alemdar Mustafa Pasha wanted to carry on the

⁹ Harold Temperley, "Stratford de Redcliffe and The Origins of The Crimean War." *The English Historical Review*, 194 (1934): 268.

¹⁰ Temperley, "Stratford de Redcliffe": 281.

¹¹ Bekir Günay, *Abdurrahim Muhib Efendinin Paris Sefirliği ve Büyük Sefaretnamesi*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1999.

Nizam-ı Cedid reforms but also failed in the face of popular resistance. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, the central government was able to eliminate the groups which had long resisted the reforms. Mahmud II initiated a comprehensive reform program which aimed to transform the Ottoman State and society. The changes in administration, army, education, and clothing soon started to be felt in other parts of the society. With the declaration of *Tanzimat* in 1839, the destination of the Ottoman State and society became obvious. The *Tanzimat*, which Mustafa Reşid Pasha declared and M. Sadık Rıfat Paşa¹² prepared the ideological plot, in a sense, aimed to establish the new order. The bureaucrats of the *Tanzimat* Era encountered some internal and external problems while they were trying to implement the reforms aiming a strong military and a strong economy.¹³ During the reign of Sultan Abdulmecid, the westernization already became the official policy of the state.

Arrival of the Allied Soldiers to Istanbul and their Interaction with Istanbul's Populace

The second part of this article deals with the role of the Crimean War on the spread of westernization to Ottoman society. For an ordinary Ottoman subject who lived in Istanbul, the definitions of the west and the westerner just consisted of the foreign ambassadors in Pera and the Europeans whom they occasionally encountered at the docks in Karaköy. With the Crimean war, as the thousands of ally European soldiers poured into Istanbul, ordinary people came to close encounter with these westerners.

The paradox encountered by Ottoman public was, on the one side, the modification of the age-old categories of friend and foe, on the other side, the spread of western style life among the ruling elite. Thus, one of the main purposes of this article is to understand the psychology of the Ottoman public and the ruling elite living within this contradictory state.

Upon the Tsar's decision to send troops into Crimea, the attention of the world turned to the Ottoman lands. The response of the European powers, to Russia's surprise, was to send troops to Crimea. In fact Russia was confident

¹² Bekir Günay, *Mehmed Sadık Rıfat Paşa, Hayatı, Eserleri ve Görüşleri*, Unpublished dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1992.

¹³ Bekir Günay, "Tanzimat Aydını Sadık Rıfat Paşa'nın Devlet ve İktisat Görüşleri." *Kocaeli Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2 (1998): 299-314.

that the European powers would not take part in a war beside the Ottoman State.¹⁴ In fact, both the Russian and British view of the Ottoman State was parallel to the definition of the famous “sick man of Europe” which once made by Seymour, the British ambassador to the Tsar in St. Petersburg.¹⁵ Yet Great Britain launched military preparations against Russia not only in Crimea but also in the other side of Asia, in the North Pacific. Allies also attacked Russia in Kamchatka by using a naval base in Hawaii but they could not achieve any important results.¹⁶

On the other side, the tide in Europe completely turned against Russia. Following the example of Great Britain and France, the other European countries also decided to send troops to help the Ottoman State. With this decision, the balance in the European policy began to change.

When Russia declared war on the Ottoman State, the Porte asked the British and French navies for help.¹⁷ Following this naval assistance, foreign troops began to gather in Istanbul for an offensive against Russia. While the war was going to be fought in Crimea, the real effects of the Crimean War were doubtlessly going to be felt in the social life of Istanbul. Coming of foreign troops, their needs, the required logistic support and other issues were among the problems which the Ottoman State had to solve in 1854. Beside England and France, other small European countries also decided to send troops. One of these was the Swiss Republic. Swiss assistance, which was totally symbolic, took place with Major Arfesin’s arrival at Istanbul on July 29, 1854.¹⁸ The Swiss Government paid for the expenses of Arfesin’s visit to Istanbul. Arfesin, himself, went to Crimea with the Ottoman Army.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman society came into close interaction with Europeans with the coming of British and French troops. In the last days of

¹⁴ Gooch, “A Century of Historiography”: 26.

¹⁵ Fuat Andıç and Suphan Andıç, *Kırım Savaşı, Ali Paşa ve Paris Anlaşması* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2002): 15.

¹⁶ Barry M. Gough, “The Crimean War in the Pacific: British Strategy and Naval Operations.” *Military Affairs*, 4 (1973): 131, 133.

¹⁷ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi (HR-MKT), Dosya no.64, Gömlek no.79.

¹⁸ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 81, Gömlek no.79. Similarly on the granting of financial assistance to the wife of a certain Dr. Peh, an Austrian citizen, who died while being employed by the Ottoman government in the Crimean War, see BOA, Amedi Kalemi (A-AMD), Dosya no.80, Gömlek no.76

Cretan Mustafa Nail Pasha's service as prime-minister (on May 11, 1854), the British and French troops began to arrive at the Ottoman lands. When Mustafa Nail Pasha was replaced with Cypriot Mehmet Ali Pasha, the new prime-minister had to deal with the problem of quartering the foreign troops in Istanbul. On May 11th, twenty seven thousand French and five thousand British soldiers stepped on Gallipoli. According to Iorga, the Ottoman historian, the initial response of the inhabitants was "*first to hid their women meticulously and eventually left their houses only keeping the numbers on.*"¹⁹ In Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman State people reacted to coming of the foreign troops in a similar manner.

At the same time, the government ordered the port cities in the Black Sea to provide logistic support for the foreign navies and armies. Thanks to the war, the capacity of the coal mines in Ereğli and Zonguldak were increased.²⁰ Timber from the Black Sea region also became a valuable commodity, which was sought after by the government officials in order to deliver it to the French navy.²¹ During the course of the war it was observed that most of the logistics demands came from the French. Moreover, the French Navy was proved to be the major buyer of ship biscuits which was traditionally produced in Ayvalık and its hinterland.²² The Ottoman State spent great efforts to make sure that the British and French troops get the required supplies. Beech trees, which were used in fortifications in the front, were supplied from Kırklareli and kept ready to transport to Çorlu and Babaeski.

The logistic dimension of the war can be considered in four stages. Firstly, the Ottoman government had to find necessary places for the quartering of the coming troops. Secondly it had to supply basic necessities to them. Thirdly it had to find enough coal for the navies. And finally it had to get the required supplies such as timber and food supplies to the front. Services such as storing the equipments and transporting them might be considered as sub-activities. Yet as it can be also seen in the documents, providing logistical supplies to the foreign troops was a serious undertaking for the Ottoman State. Coordination of buying necessary supplies from the domestic market and selling

¹⁹ Nicolea Iorga, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, trans.. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1948): 478.

²⁰ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 87, Gömlek no. 10.

²¹ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 91, Gömlek no. 31.

²² BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 95, Gömlek no. 31.

them to the foreign armies was an important problem which the Porte had to deal with. Quartering of the troops constituted another major problem to which Ottoman officials had to find a quick solution. Because the coming troops were considered as "saviors" by the officials, most of the troops were placed in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul. Fifteen thousand soldiers were located in the Selimiye Barracks and its surroundings in the Anatolian side of Istanbul. The bulwark battalions of France, which were initially quartered at Gallipoli, were also transported to Istanbul via the land route. Moreover ten thousand French soldiers were settled in the Davutpaşa camp at, in the European side of Istanbul.

The Ottoman government was much pleased with the coming of the European troops to İstanbul. The British crown prince, Cambridge, came to İstanbul with the British army. He was welcomed in accordance with the European customs. Feasts were arranged for his name. Moreover the Prince of France, Napoléon visited İstanbul on May 1. He stayed in the Palace of Valide Sultan. The Sultan and the new Sadrazam Reşid Pasha gave a dinner reception for the honor of the Prince. Sultan Abdülmecid praised the Prince and his soldiers profusely. "...*The foreign troops together with the Ottoman troops made a parade in the streets of Istanbul. The Sultan, the representative of the Byzantine label and of the Islam past which introverted itself timidly, was standing pallid and without moving before this unusual scene with the fanciful and melancholic expression of his deep and kindly eyes. This scene of the parade represented the new customs, penetrating unrestrainedly into the Ottoman country being an inherent of the predecessors, and the soul...*"²³

Sultan Abdülmecid carried on to praise the arriving troops. He also gave their officers many distinctions. Balls were arranged in honor of the foreign visitors. In these balls the Sultan used to address the visitors in French. In return for that, the French and British awarded the distinction of "Légion d'honneur" to the Sultan.²⁴ Behaving courteously among France, England and the Turkish committee turned into a competition. For Turks, the foreign troops "*were the South wind cluttering the clouds clustered in the North.*"²⁵ The European wind blowing in Istanbul was not unfamiliar for Grand Vizier Reşid Pasha. Istanbul began to seem as if it was Paris or London. Theatres were opened for the

²³ Iorga, *Osmanlı Tarihi*: 479.

²⁴ Harold Temperley, "The Last Phase of Stratford de Redcliffe, 1855-58." *The English Historical Review*, 186 (1932): 237.

²⁵ Iorga, *Osmanlı Tarihi*: 480.

foreign soldiers in Istanbul. The streets of Pera were packed with British and French officers. Thanks to these officers coming to Beyoğlu with their families, the European life style began to be practiced in the streets of Istanbul. As Doctor Aleksandros Zoirios, who lived in Beyoğlu at this time, stated, the foreigners and people in Pera used to walk until the coffee house of "Bella Vista" in Taksim on Sunday afternoons.

At first there was no reaction against the foreign soldiers from the Muslim inhabitants of Istanbul. Even though they were not pleased with the arrival of European troops in Istanbul, they tried to perceive the changes taking place in Istanbul. The arrival of the foreign troops acted as a catalyst for the ordinary people who started to see concrete results of westernization. Muslim population, who observed European soldiers with red jackets walking on the streets of Istanbul, had complicated feelings and thoughts about the future of the Ottoman State. As time went on, different interactions were seen between the soldiers and the people. The British soldiers, who were quartered in the Selimiye Barracks, used to take walks in the near by town Üsküdar wearing their red jackets and skirts, sometimes playing pipes. The British soldiers "... were busy to do serenades for the surprised women along with bunches of flowers..."²⁶ As expected, the reaction of people to these developments was very negative. People began to call the British soldiers with pejorative nicknames, such as "soldiers with no pants" referring to their short skirts. This meant growing tensions between the British soldiers and the people. A Scottish composer composed a march for their troops. The British walked through streets singing this march. In response to that, people in Üsküdar sang the famous song of "*Üsküdar'a giderken aldı da bir yağmur*" mockingly addressing the British soldiers. The tensions between the foreign soldiers and the inhabitants filled the streets of Istanbul.

According to Ottoman official documents, the ones who were most pleased with arrival of the British and French troops were *Rums* (Greek Ottoman subjects). They immediately began to cause "mischief" among the population. On Monday of 10 July in 1854, some Greeks who were Ottoman subjects tried to agitate the people against the government.²⁷ Among the ally forces there were some Greek soldiers. In November 1854, although it was

²⁶ Iorga, *Osmanlı Tarihi*: 479.

²⁷ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 80, Gömlek no. 21.

strictly forbidden, some Greek soldiers went up as far as Tarabya in the Bosphorus by military boats. The soldiers, who were completely drunk, harassed the inhabitants of Tarabya. The government took measures for the security of the French holds.²⁸ Still, the agitation of some Greek soldiers and *Rums* did not find much support from the Greek community in the Ottoman State. Actually, the Greek Patriarch of that period gave his thanks the Ottoman officials upon the success in Crimean War.²⁹ The separatist tendencies of the Greek Ottomans gained a different a new momentum after the proclamation of the *Islahat Decree*. The Patriarchy and *Rums* would tend to support "separatist" movements in the Ottoman society after 1856.

The war went on at full speed. Tens of thousands of soldiers came from Europe first to Istanbul and then transported to Crimea. Logistics demands of the troops continued to increase during the war. The French established a canon factory in Zeytinburnu.³⁰ Workers of the canon factory in Zeytinburnu had to work on full shift in order to meet the demand. The effects of war were felt in Istanbul streets as much as they were felt in Crimea. Upon the request of the British army for storages to keep the grain needed by the troops, they were given the grain depots in the Paşa Port at Üsküdar.³¹ The British soldiers used Üsküdar and Selimiye area for the quartering and providing provisions for the army in Crimea. Meanwhile the French preferred the Prince Islands off the coast of Istanbul. Some sailors and marines of the French Navy were settled in the quarters in Heybeliada.³² Some of them were also quartered in the barracks of Mekteb-i Şahane and Topkapı.³³ Meanwhile, the field of Sahil Sarayı in Salı Pazarı was temporarily reserved to store the provisions of the French Navy.³⁴ Every corner of Istanbul was literally packed with the foreign soldiers. While the soldiers were accommodated in the barracks, the commanding hierarchy of European armies, many of whom were still came from aristocracy, was provided with more luxurious housing. For example, a house was rented for the

²⁸ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 92, Gömlek no. 97.

²⁹ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 89, Gömlek no. 22.

³⁰ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 92, Gömlek no. 99.

³¹ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 96, Gömlek no. 1.

³² BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 94, Gömlek no. 57.

³³ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 96, Gömlek no. 3.

³⁴ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 96, Gömlek no. 20.

English Admiral Basker and the Ottoman officials were instructed to provide every comfort needed by the higher echelons of the European armies.³⁵

There is no doubt that during the time of war the religious sensitivity of people is at its highest. The Crimean War was no exception to that. During the course of the war, it was important to keep up the morale and religious excitement high to motivate the soldiers. The British Army, which was very aware of that, tried to provide Bibles for its soldiers in Ottoman lands. When the British authorities became aware that they could not meet their demands in Istanbul, thousands of Bibles were brought from London and sent to Crimea.³⁶ The Sultan also allowed the building of a church in the old Greek graveyard in Galatasaray in order to provide religious services for the British soldiers. The construction of the church continued for nearly ten years and the first Anglican church in Istanbul was opened for praying in 1868. The "*Christ Church*" certainly became one of the important historical places in Istanbul as "*The Memoir of Crimea*". The Ottoman State paid attention not only to the religious needs of the ally European soldiers but also of the Russian POWs. A document dated to December 1854 mentions about the sending of priests to provide religious services on Sundays and religious holidays for the Russian POWs held in the famous Bagnio at Tersane- i Amire.³⁷

During the course of the war, one of the important problems was the state of injured and dead soldiers. The state of injured soldiers in the Crimean War caused Florence Nightingale (1820-1910), founder of the world nursery, to appear on the stage of history. The reason of Florence Nightingale's coming to Istanbul was doubtlessly the photographs taken by Roger Fenton (1819-1869), the first official war photographer. Until the Crimean War the pains, the sorrows and the stories of war would remain in the fields of the war. Only soldiers would remember painful memories about war. This was changed by the Crimean War. Through Fenton's lens, the public faced with the cold face of war. Before Fenton both the Ottoman State and the European countries had to spend great efforts to legitimize the war in the eyes of the public. When the balance of war shifted towards the allies (the Ottoman, French, British) the European newspapers started to give more place to war news. The Ottoman

³⁵ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 94, Gömlek no. 32.

³⁶ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 78, Gömlek no. 35.

³⁷ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 96, Gömlek no. 28.

state gave directives to its ambassadors in Europe to follow the local media closely. In an effort to affect European public opinion, the Porte immediately informed its ambassadors in European capitals about successes of the allied forces in Crimea.³⁸ Upon the success of Fenton's photographs, other reporters of the English press also wanted to go to Crimea. In January 1855 a certain Mr. Eber, a reporter of *The Times* newspaper, asked for the permission of the Ottoman State for his passage to Crimea. In their effort to affect European public opinion, the Ottoman authorities not only gave him necessary permission but also provided assistance for his voyage to Crimea.³⁹

The Crimean war was a war which brought many 'firsts' to the Ottoman society. The spread of telegraph lines in the Ottoman lands took place during the Crimean War. Although the first telegraph was introduced by Mr. Chamberlain, the partner of Morse, to Istanbul in 1839, it didn't get much popular during that time. In 1847 an American, Prof. Lawrence Smith, came to Istanbul to establish a school to educate telegraph operators for the Ottoman government. It has been claimed that when Sultan Abdülmecid opened this first official line for usage, his first message was "Did the French ship arrive? What about Europe?" During the Crimean War, the French established extensive telegraph lines and used them for communication.⁴⁰ Telegram lines were built from Istanbul to Crimea over the Balkans. These lines were bought by the Ottoman State after the war. Varna-Istanbul line was one of them.⁴¹ In the course of the war, this line was used by the French army intensively.⁴²

As stated above, one of the main problems of the war was the state of dead and injured soldiers. It was decided to bring the injured soldiers from Crimea to Istanbul. To achieve this, during the December of 1854, some ships were converted to hospital ships which carried injured soldiers to Istanbul from Crimea.⁴³ The state of injured soldiers had constituted a big problem at wars until the Crimean War. Due to the lack of hygienic care of injured, the rate of mortality was extremely high. This situation was also changed during the Crimean War.

³⁸ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 94, Gömlek no. 82.

³⁹ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 100, Gömlek no. 16.

⁴⁰ BOA, A.AMD, Dosya no. 80, Gömlek no. 70.

⁴¹ BOA, A.AMD, Dosya no. 80, Gömlek no. 72.

⁴² BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 99, Gömlek no. 34.

⁴³ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 97, Gömlek no. 9.

Crimean War is considered as the beginning of the world nursery in history. Florence Nightingale, who was born into an upper-class English family in Italy in 1820, came to Istanbul in 1854 along with a staff of volunteer nurses. The injured soldiers were sent to the Selimiye Barracks in Istanbul. Florence brought the regular care services into the military hospital. The woman with lamp woke up at nights and checked the soldiers. She defined her duty as a job. In 1855 she went to the front in Crimea with 38 nurses. She earned an outstanding place in the history of world nursery for her activities in both Crimea and the Selimiye Barracks. Moreover the first nursery school opened in Turkey was named after her in 1961. Additionally some of the soldiers who got sick in Crimea were sent to Island of Rhodes. It was seen that for the first time the officials slowly started to pay attention to the sanitary conditions of the soldiers.⁴⁴

The state of injured soldiers in the Crimean War could be solved in a relatively modern way for this period. Another problem which was to be solved by the authorities was the bodies of dead soldiers. The main problem was where these soldiers were to be buried. Would they be sent to their own countries or buried in Crimea or in a nearer place? At the end, it was agreed that some of them would be buried in Istanbul. Places were allocated for the French and English to bury their dead. Both countries used the field near the hospital in Tarabya as a graveyard.⁴⁵ These graveyards were enclosed⁴⁶ and English and French maintenance workers were employed for their maintenance.⁴⁷ The graveyards were built not only in Istanbul but also in different cities. French built a graveyard for soldiers who died on the way to Istanbul from Gallipoli. These graveyards were decorated with "marble cannon balls" to remind the war.⁴⁸ Even today they are being kept meticulously.

During the war, the Ottoman citizens were not allowed to go to Crimea.⁴⁹ Only, some volunteer Walachian soldiers were sent to Crimea to fight against Russia.⁵⁰ One of the natural results of war was prisoners of war. It was

⁴⁴ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 94, Gömlek no. 95.

⁴⁵ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 91, Gömlek no. 7.

⁴⁶ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 99, Gömlek no. 53.

⁴⁷ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 94, Gömlek no. 21.

⁴⁸ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 88, Gömlek no. 95.

⁴⁹ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 90, Gömlek no. 96.

⁵⁰ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 89, Gömlek no. 58.

necessary to divide the captives into two groups. The first group was constituted by the Russian prisoners while the second group was consisted of Georgian prisoners taken in eastern campaigns. It was observed that the Ottoman State paid attention that the Russian prisoners were treated as humanely as possible. Priests were allowed to see the Russian POWs in Kuleli and Selimiye barracks.⁵¹ Furthermore some captives were voluntarily converted to Islam.⁵² The situation of Georgian POWs of the battles of Ahışa and Şevketil was also interesting. Some of them were forbidden to be sold after they became Ottoman citizen. Also among these prisoners, men, who volunteered to join to the Ottoman army, were allowed to be recruited and the women were allowed to earn their livelihood.⁵³ Children were given back to their own families.⁵⁴

The most painful experience which the Crimean war brought to the Ottoman State and society was going into the debt. The Ottoman State greatly suffered from financial burden of the war. Committees were sent to request loans from the European countries to use for the war in 1854.⁵⁵ A committee was sent to Austria where they negotiated the conditions of a loan with the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs. They returned Istanbul with the loan after completing the required procedures.⁵⁶

After the war, the Ottoman State honored both the European soldiers and its own soldiers with Mecidiye Distinction medal. Giving the Mecidiye Distinction medal to the injured soldiers in the Selimiye barracks was an indicator of this.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Crimean War was a totally unique war in the sense that being the first modern war with the technical developments, war reporters, telegrams and nurses. More specifically, the affect of ten thousands foreign soldiers, who

⁵¹ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 98, Gümlek no. 28.

⁵² BOA, Umum Vilâyât, (A-MKT.UM), Dosya no. 308, Gümlek no. 9.

⁵³ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 96, Gümlek no. 99. For Georgian POWs see BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 97, Gümlek no. 16.

⁵⁴ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 93, Gümlek no. 62.

⁵⁵ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 78, Gümlek no. 51.

⁵⁶ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 92, Gümlek no. 31.

⁵⁷ BOA, HR-MKT, Dosya no. 94, Gümlek no. 67.

poured into the Ottoman lands between the years of 1854-1855, on the Ottoman State and society was going to be felt more intensely in the future.

With the Tanzimat reforms, the terms "Europe, European, and European life" began to be pronounced more often by the Ottoman bureaucrats in reference to the ideal examples which the Ottoman state was trying to follow. These terms became embodied in the foreign soldiers who arrived at Istanbul during the Crimean War. As the age-old categories of enemy and friend turned upside down, the inhabitants of Istanbul had difficulty to comprehend whether the European soldiers, who started to appear in the streets of Istanbul, were friend or enemy. On the other hand, Ottoman foreign policy passed into a different dimension with the war. As it was clear that the military power of the Ottoman State was inadequate to protect its existence, diplomacy became the preferred tool of foreign policy. Thus, the diplomats of the Ottoman State, which was defined as "a sick man of Europe," gained prominence over the military in the administrative hierarchy of the state. These new diplomats had to learn the details of their craft under disadvantageous conditions.

The effects of Crimean War on the westernization movement were not felt immediately during 1855 but in the following years.⁵⁸ The Crimean War was an event which gave the westernization movement a new momentum in the Ottoman State. To put in another way, this meant that the idea of "westernization" began to gradually spread to Ottoman society. With the Islahat Decree of 1856, the minorities, who gained the equality before law with Muslims in the Gülhane Decree in 1839, got more privileges under the umbrella of "reform" continuously advocated by the Great Powers. European powers regularly used this as a pretext to interfere with the internal affairs of Ottoman State. Thus a new problem which was called "minorities" entered into the agenda of Ottoman State in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the initial phases of the modernizing reforms, the central government even considered the conscription of non-Muslims to the Ottoman army in accordance with the ideology of Ottomanism.⁵⁹ Yet as the ideals of Ottomanism could not put into practice, minorities became the figurants in the hands of the Great Powers which used them to extend their influence over the Ottoman State.

⁵⁸ F.H.A.Ubucini, *1855'de Türkiye*, trans. Ayla Düz, 2 vols. (İstanbul: Kervan Yayınları, 1977).

⁵⁹ Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir* (21-39), ed .Cavid Baysun (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1986): 106.

In sum, Crimean War caused the Ottoman society, which was already on the way westernization, to come into direct contact with the Europe and the European culture. The war also became an important watershed as it indicated the inability of the Ottoman State to survive without outside assistance in the cut-throat world of imperialism.

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ÖZET

KIRIM SAVAŞININ OSMANLI SOSYAL HAYATINA TESİRLERİ

III. Selimle başlayan Osmanlı Devleti'nin "Batılılaşma" hareketi, 1839 Tanzimat'la belli bir ivme kazanır. Tanzimat'ın tanımladığı toplum yapısında Avrupa referans alınır. 1841 Londra antlaşmasıyla da Osmanlı Devleti'nin toprak bütünlüğü ve hükümlerliliği Avrupalı büyük devletlerce korunur.

9 Ocak 1853'de St. Petersburg'ta Çar I. Nikola ile İngiliz Elçisi Sir George Hamilton Seymour arasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin toprak paylaşımı hakkında yapılan tarihi konuşmada "Hasta adam"ın kaderi tanımlanır. Osmanlı resmi çevreleri, Avrupalı devletlerin izledikleri değişken politikaları ve Tanzimat'ı halka anlatmada paradokslar yaşarlar. Bir tarafta ideal toplum olarak Tanzimat'la tanımlanan Avrupa, diğer tarafta dost-düşman Avrupa, paradoksun bu temelini oluşturur.

Kutsal Yerler sorunu, Prens Mençikof'un diplomatik kuralları zorlayan İstanbul ziyareti, gerginleşen Osmanlı-Rus ilişkileri, Rusya'nın Eflak-Boğdan'a asker sokması ve 4 Ekim 1853 de Osmanlı Devleti'nin Rusya'ya savaş açmasıyla Kırım Harbi resmen başlar.

İki devlet arasında (Osmanlı-Rusya) başlayan savaş, kısa sürede Avrupa savaşına dönüşür. Savaş, ilerleyişi ve sonuçlarıyla Modern Avrupa'nın kuruluşuna zemin hazırlar.

Batılılaşmak isteyen bir devlet, Avrupa'yı algılamaya çalışan bir toplum, şimdiye kadar görmediği Avrupalı askerleri sokaklarında gören Osmanlı halkı, dost-düşman olguların birbirine girdiği, algılama sorunları çeken bir toplum ve hepsinden önemlisi savaştaki insan portreleri nefret, acı, kan, gözyaşı duygularının karıştığı savaş Kırım Savaşı'dır. Makalenin ana temalarıyla bu eksenler çerçevesinde Kırım Savaşı'nın Osmanlı sosyal hayatındaki yansımalarını arşiv belgeleri ve devrin kaynaklarına dayanarak analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Sayıları on binleri bulan Avrupalı askerlere devletin ve halkın tavrı ne oldu? Bu kadar çok Avrupalı İstanbul'daki sosyal hayata ne gibi izler bıraktılar? 1856 Islahat fermanı, dış müdahale, ilk borçlanma, azınlıkların değişen statüleri, kısaca modern savaşın Osmanlı modernleşmesindeki tesirleri tahlil edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kırım, Kırım Savaşı, Batılılaşma Hareketi, Osmanlı Sosyal Hayatı, İstanbul

THE EFFECTS OF THE CRIMEAN WAR ON OTTOMAN SOCIAL LIFE

The Crimean War (1853-1856) was a significant event in Ottoman history, marking the beginning of the end of the empire's long period of stagnation. The war was fought between the Ottoman Empire, France, Britain, and Sardinia against Russia. The Ottoman Empire's military performance was poor, leading to a humiliating peace treaty in 1856. The war had a profound impact on Ottoman society, leading to a period of reform and modernization known as the Tanzimat era. The war exposed the weaknesses of the Ottoman military and administration, leading to a series of reforms aimed at strengthening the state. The Tanzimat reforms included the creation of a modern legal system, the establishment of a secular education system, and the reorganization of the military. The war also led to a change in the Ottoman Empire's foreign policy, as it became more active in the Balkans and the Middle East. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the Crimean War was a turning point in its history, leading to a period of rapid change and modernization.

The Crimean War had a significant impact on the Ottoman Empire's military and administrative structure. The war exposed the weaknesses of the Ottoman military, which was largely composed of conscripts and irregulars. The Ottoman Empire's military performance was poor, leading to a humiliating peace treaty in 1856. The war led to a series of reforms aimed at strengthening the Ottoman military and administration. The Tanzimat reforms included the creation of a modern legal system, the establishment of a secular education system, and the reorganization of the military. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the Crimean War was a turning point in its history, leading to a period of rapid change and modernization.

The Crimean War had a significant impact on the Ottoman Empire's social and economic structure. The war led to a period of reform and modernization known as the Tanzimat era. The Tanzimat reforms included the creation of a modern legal system, the establishment of a secular education system, and the reorganization of the military. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the Crimean War was a turning point in its history, leading to a period of rapid change and modernization.

The Crimean War had a significant impact on the Ottoman Empire's foreign policy. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the Crimean War was a turning point in its history, leading to a period of rapid change and modernization. The Ottoman Empire's foreign policy became more active in the Balkans and the Middle East. The Ottoman Empire's participation in the Crimean War was a turning point in its history, leading to a period of rapid change and modernization.