

**MIGRATIONS FROM CAUCASIA TO ANATOLIA
AND CAUCASIAN IMMIGRANTS***

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ABSTRACT

Caucasia, where the Asian, European and African continents intersect, is one of the most important and fertile regions from geopolitical and geostrategic perspectives. Therefore, migration and immigrants from the Caucasia to Anatolia are equally important. In this study, a detailed examination was carried out on Caucasian lands, migrations in different periods in the direction of Ottoman-Russian relations, immigrant groups and the results of the migrations. Archival documents, native and foreign literature were utilized in the study.

Consequently, in the short term, it is observed that immigrants coming from the lost lands to Anatolia created problems for the state, for the local administrators and for the environment in which they settled. However, in the long term, they became a richness of Turkey by making great contributions to the economic, demographic, social and political structure of Anatolia.

Keywords: Caucasia, Anatolia, Migration, Imigrants, Ottoman.

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KAFKASYA'DAN ANADOLU'YA GÖÇLER VE KAFKASYALI GÖÇMENLER

ÖZ

Kafkasya, Asya, Avrupa ve Afrika kıtalarının kesiştiği, jeopolitik ve jeostratejik açıdan dünyanın en önemli bölgelerinden biridir. Dolayısıyla Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya yapılan göçler ve gelen göçmenler de aynı ölçüde önemlidir. Bu çalışmada; Kafkasya toprakları, Osmanlı-Rus ilişkileri doğrultusunda farklı dönemlerde gerçekleşen göçler, gelen göçmen grupları ve göçlerin sonuçlarına dair detaylı bir inceleme yapılmaya çalışılmıştır. Çalışmada arşiv belgeleri ile konuya ilişkin yerli-yabancı literatürden yararlanılmıştır.

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Sonuç olarak kaybedilen topraklardan Anadolu'ya gelen göçmenlerin kısa dönemde, devlet için, yerel yöneticiler için ve yerleştikleri çevre için sorun teşkil ettikleri görülmesine rağmen, göçmenlerin uzun vadede, Anadolu'nun ekonomik, demografik, toplumsal ve siyasi yapısına önemli etkilerde bulunarak Türkiye'nin bir zenginliği oldukları vurgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kafkasya, Anadolu, Göçler, Göçmenler, Osmanlı.

INTRODUCTION: CAUCASIAN LANDS

The name 'Caucasia' used formerly to denote the range of mountains extending from the west-northwest direction to the east-southeast direction in the clamp between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea is given today to the large country including mountainous lands starting from the southern part of the State of Astrakhan and the River Don and extending toward Turkey and Iranian borders. (Bi, 2011: 22). In other words, Caucasia covers the Great Caucasian Mountains starting from the Anapa peninsula separating the Black Sea and the eastern part of the Sea of Azov and extending toward the Absheron peninsula on the coast of the Caspian Sea and the lands extending on both sides of it. (Dursun, 2001: s.157). In fact, the name of the region comes from the mentioned mountain range.

The Caucasian region, where the Asian, European and African continents intersect, is one of the most important and fertile regions from geopolitical and geostrategic perspectives. The natural geography of the Caucasian region, the status of the Caucasian seas surrounding it, its climate, streams and ability to grow plants and animals are in close relationship with the Caucasians' socio-economic history. In the same way, this geography occupies an important place in their political, social and economic relationships with other nations. (Bi, 2011: s.95).

Caucasia, a generally mountainous region, exhibits very different topographical characteristics. The Great Caucasian Mountains with a length of 1200 kilometers divides the region into two. (Dursun, 2001: s.157). The streams giving shape to the natural state of the Caucasus spring out from these mountains and flow into the Caucasian seas surrounding it. Hence, it is the Caucasian mountains that make the Caucasian region acquire its natural characteristics. (Bi, 2011: s.97).

The population of the Caucasia, which is approximately 22.500.000, shows a great ethnic diversity. The main ones of the 50 communities living in the region are Adygea, Kabardays, Circassians, Abkhazians, Abazins, Chechens, Ingushetians, Avars, Laks, Dargins, Lesgians, Georgians, Lazs, Mingrelians, Svaneti, Khevsurs. (Dursun, 2001: 157-158).

Map 1: Caucasia (Kasumov, Kasumov, 1995)

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The population distribution in the Caucasia is determined by the geography and natural conditions. The most crowded parts of the region are the places located in the Northern Caucasia where there are fertile rift plains. Various events having taken place throughout the history affected the population structure and distribution in the Caucasia located on the migration routes. After going under the Russian occupation, an important part of the Muslim population living in the region migrated to various places of the Ottoman State. Moreover, following the Russian occupation, the Russian population gradually increased especially in cities. (Dursun, 2001: 158).

In the Caucasia, where there is a linguistic diversity which is similar to the ethnic richness, the existence of thirty-seven languages was determined. The Islamic geographers named here as Cebel-ul Elsan (mountain of languages) (Bi, 2011: 22) and mentioned about 300 languages here. The peoples living in the Caucasia gather around three great language families: Caucasian, Indo-European and Altaic. (Dursun, 2001: 158). The Caucasians showing completely different characteristics in terms of lineage and language have shared common folklore, national traditions, clothing styles and cultural and economic practices since time immemorial. For centuries, the natural fortress created by the Caucasus Mountain Range has provided assurance for the independent developments of the people living there. (Bi, 2011: 22).

The Caucasia was not only a mosaic of nations and languages but also a mosaic of religions. Besides the representatives of the four great religion (Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism), it was possible to come across some groups believing in their ancestors' religions here. In the 1890's, almost half of the Caucasian population were Orthodox. The second big majority in the region in terms of population were the Muslims (approximately 34%). It was possible to come across Muslims in every part of the Caucasia. (Çolak, 2006: 16). The religion of Islam starting to spread in the middle of the 7th century mustered up support mostly in the territories on the coasts of the Caspian Sea. Although the Russian occupation affected the spread of Islam in the region negatively, the religious sensitivity was maintained in the places, which were far away from the center, in the Soviet Union period. (Dursun, 2001: 158).

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1. ISLAM IN CAUCASIA AND THE OTTOMAN STATE

With the collapse of the Sassanian State in 642, Islam started to spread in Iran rapidly. Right after this, Islam went past Azerbaijan and reached the Caucasian Mountains and continued to spread in Dagestan, too. In the Abbasid period, Islam reached the Northern Caucasia. The tribes of Turkish origin were settled especially in Dagestan during the Meliksah period. (Oğuzoğlu, 2008: 21). After the collapse of the Seljuks, it is seen that the Shirvanshahs, again one of the Turkish dynasties, were the ruler in the region. (Oğuzoğlu, 2008: 21), (Bice, 1991: 5-7).

In the period of Sultan Bayezit I, the Ottomans ruled over the Silk Road coming from Tabriz until Sivas. However, the 1402 Ankara Battle hindered the movement to head towards the Caucasia. At the beginning of the 16th century, with Shah Ismail's annexing all the Southern Caucasia into the Safavi lands, the region grew into an area of dispute between the Safavids and the Ottoman State. With the Amasya Treaty in 1555, peace and friendship were established between two states and the Ottoman State's dominance in some regions such as the Western Georgia was recognized by the Safavids. Toward the end of the 16th century, Iran lost its dominance over Georgia, Shirvan, Arran and Dagestan and, with the peace treaty signed in Istanbul, the Ottomans took possession of Tabriz, Karacadag, Gence, Karabakh, Shirvan and Georgia (1590). (Muhammedoğlu, 2001: 159). In this period, while some of the

Georgian gentry accepting the Ottoman sovereignty embraced Islam, others maintained their old religions.

In the second half of the 16th century, the Ottomans took various steps in order to protect their interests and defend local Muslim administrations in the Northern Caucasia. This situation put Russia into action. Although the Ottoman State became successful at suppressing the arising conflicts from time to time, they could not prevent Russians from advancing toward the Caucasia and the Sea of Azov. (Muhammedoğlu, 2001: s.159)

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The Crimean Tatars' encouragements throughout the 17th century also played a great role in the spread of Islam in the north-western parts of the Northern Caucasia inhabited by Abkhazians, Adygea and Kabardays. (Oğuzoğlu, 2008: 22), (Gökçe, 1979: 47-55). The religion of almost all of the northern Caucasians, Islam bound them together via the Islamic brotherhood. The Caucasian peoples showing differences in language constitute integrity also from the point of sharing the same fate lasting for centuries and a common social life. The Caucasian peoples, both the ones of Circassian origin such as Kabarday, Abkhazian and Adygea and the ones of Turkish origin such as Noghai, Kumyk, Karachay, Balkar and Avar and also the other peoples of the region such as Lesgian, Chechen, Osetin are altogether described via the common name of "Northern Caucasians" and generally described as "Circassians" with a wrong name included in the West-European resources. (Bice, 1991: 4), (Caferoğlu, 1983: 44-45).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottomans and the Iranians could not hinder Russia's intention of opening out to the warm seas and the realization of the policy of capturing the area between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. As a result of the 1804-1813, 1826-1828 Russian-Iranian and the 1828-1829 Russian-Ottoman wars, Dagestan and the whole Southern Caucasia went under the sovereignty of Russia. The Russianization policy which Russia applied in all the lands which it expanded faced resistance by local peoples, particularly by Muslims. Caucasia was the center of the resistance movements carried on against Russians for a long time. The most important of these resistance movements was the movement under the leadership of Sheikh Shamil, which created a turning-point. (Baddeley, 1995), (Luxembourg, 1998), (Berzeg, 2006). It took Russians 25 years to

suppress this movement (1859) and after that thousands of people, who could not accept captivity, migrated to the Ottoman lands. (Muhammedoğlu, 2001: 159). Russians' colonization activities towards the christianization of the local peoples following their capturing the large part of the Northern Caucasia had a great effect on this migration. Migrations of Adygea and Abkhaz peoples living in the region and then those of Georgian and Laz peoples living in Batumi and its vicinity to Anatolia accelerated in this period. In fact, the activation times of migrations from Caucasia followed closely the changes in the Ottoman-Russian relationships. (Bice, 1991:45).

2. MIGRATIONS FROM CAUCASIA TO ANATOLIA

Migrations are the most powerful elements of social changes. Different communities with different physical structures, religions, cultures and languages came together through migrations and got in interaction with one another. As a result of these interactions, important social changes took place. In the past, as the Ottoman State having expanded to the three great continents like Europe, Asia and Africa declined most of the Turks and Muslims in the lands which it left continuously migrated in groups to the remaining lands of the state. This migration flow has continued in this way for a few centuries. (Halaçoğlu, 1994: 133). The migrations of the Rumelian, Crimean, and Caucasian Muslims to the remaining Ottoman lands in the 19th and the 20th century have made important contributions to the formation of the new Turkish community. These migrations changed the old structure of the Turkish society and had effect on its becoming a nation. The incoming immigrants were mostly settled in Anatolia especially after the war called '93 War'. In fact, Anatolia was regarded as the final shelter of the Empire and the policy of increasing the Turkish and Muslim population here was followed. (Demirel, 2008: 31). Between 1873 and 1913, 5 to 7 million immigrants took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. Some of these were the Ottoman subjects escaping from the lands which the Empire had lost; hence, rather than population increase, population distribution was important here. However, the others (approximately 3.8 million) were the ones escaping from the Tsarist Russia and the settlement of these increased the population considerably. (Quataert, 2006: 917).

The migrations from Caucasia to Anatolia can be classified into five different periods as follows:

- Migrations taking place prior to 1862; Migration of Muslims living in Caucasia to Anatolia and Rumelia during the 1828 and 1829 Russian-Ottoman War.
- Intensive Caucasian migrations between 1862 and 1865; With the end of Sheikh Shamil's resistance against the Russian occupation in 1859.
- In the period between 1865 and 1877, although mass migrations were not observed a lot, migrations continued in groups.
- Among the immigrants coming from the Balkans to Anatolia following the 1877 and 1878 Ottoman-Russian War (93 War) were the Caucasians who had been settled in Rumelia before. It was their second, even third, migration.
- Migrations extending from 1890 towards today; the migrations continued intermittently especially until the First World War.

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2.1. Migrations Observed Prior to 1862

In this process, migrations either accelerated or slackened from time to time. From 1822 on, as a result of Russia's putting pressure on the Circassian tribes in the Kuban plain and starting to occupy the area, small Caucasian groups started to take refuge in the Ottoman lands. (Habiçoğlu, 1993: 47-48). During the 1828-1829 Russian-Ottoman War, migrations of the Muslims living in Caucasia to Anatolia and Rumelia are in this category. With the increase in the Russian activities in Caucasia after 1838-1839, a revival was observed in migrations. (Habiçoğlu, 1993: 48). Moreover, it is known that, in the first half of the 1850's, some Caucasian families migrated to the Ottoman lands voluntarily.

Therefore, it can be stated that the first immigrant groups are in better conditions compared to those who came starting from 1863 on. These groups could at least take their valuables with them and sold out their animals. Moreover, that the migration in this period did not have a mass nature facilitated immigrants' finding vehicles to reach Anatolia. (Yaşayanlar, 2015: 671).

2.2. Caucasian Migrations Continuing Intensively between 1862 and 1865

Between 1862 and 1865, the Caucasian migrations reached to peak. During the Crimean War or the Ottoman-Russian War between 1853 and 1856, there was a significant decrease in the Russian pressure in Caucasia. However, from 1857 on, Russians started to attack Caucasia again. (Bice, 1991: 23). Suppressing Sheikh Shamil's resistance against the Russian occupation bloodily in 1859, Russia tried to overpower the Muslim people living in the Western and Central Caucasia with the aim of bringing into so-called military and political safety. In 1862, Circassia was occupied by the Russians (Baddeley, 1995), (Luxembourg, 1998) and the Christian people of Russian origin were settled in Caucasia, especially in the fertile plains in the north. Hence, the demographic map was forcefully changed; the areas inhabited by the Muslims were Russianized and made a country of Orthodox Christians. (Karpat, 2010: 14). Although resistance movements continued for about 5 years following Sheikh Shamil's surrender, the last resistance group was obliged to lay down arms in 1864. After this date, the Russian dominance in Caucasia started entirely. (Bice, 1991: 25) Some of the resistants were killed and some others were forced to migrate to the Ottoman lands. Hence, mass migration movements started from the Northern Caucasia to Anatolia. The first group coming through the seaway could come ashore on a beach near Kefken, a very old port to the north of Kandıra. The day when they came ashore in Kefken is commemorated by the Caucasian immigrants every year. Moreover, another part of the Caucasian immigrants felt victim to diseases and hunger in various land and sea ports; they lost their lives in migratory routes. These migrations were important population movements affecting the social, ethnic and religious composition of the Ottoman State radically.¹

A number of reasons such as religious, national, political, social, cultural etc. together played a role in the immigrations of Caucasians. Caucasians seeing that their homeland was captured by Russians regarded the Ottoman State as a second homeland to maintain their religions and worships freely. On the other hand, especially

¹ For detailed information on history of Caucasia and migrations from Caucasia look: Natho, 2009, Saltık, 1995, Bi, 2011, Kasumov, 1995.

Circassians were extremely fond of living independently and did not want to accept going under the sovereignty of Russians having been their enemies for centuries. Moreover, some people of Circassian-Abkhaz origin who had been living in the Ottoman Empire and many of whom were high-rank officials encouraged their consanguines to migrate there as well. Actually, the fact that there were many consanguines on the other side and many of those were living in much better conditions and even having a voice in the state affairs played a very important role in the immigrants' feeling tendency toward migration. Since the Ottoman State and Russia regarded migrations as advantageous on their sides, they encouraged the migrations. (Habiçoğlu, 1993: 67-69). However, at the same time, in order to take migrations under control, the Russians and the Ottomans reached an agreement in 1860. According to this agreement, only 50.000 Circassians would come to the Empire. However, at the end of 1864, this turned into a flood and the Ottoman State faced the problem of settling the incoming immigrants from time to time. (Quataert, 2006: 918).

Circassians were a large group having been obliged to migrate to the Ottoman Empire. The migrations starting after Russia's occupation of Circassia and continuing for half a century and finally creating a great migration wave increased the population of the Ottoman Empire by at least two millions. (Quataert, 2006: 917). Only between 1864 and 1870, the number of people exiled from Caucasia is predicted to have been two and a half millions. One million of these lost their lives due to such reasons as diseases, drowning in the sea during the journey. (Karpas, 2010: 14-15). The Circassian immigrants initially settled mostly in the Balkan cities were settled in Anatolia and Arabian regions as the Balkan cities were lost. The Caucasian immigrants were firstly settled in Tulcea (Tulça), Babadag (Babadağ), Medgidia (Mecidiye) and the vicinity of Cernavoda (Boğazköy) and Contanta (Köstence) in the Northern and Central Dobruja (Dobruca) and then in the vicinity of Varna in the south and Ruse (Ruşuk), Nicopolis (Niğbolu), Vidin, Silistra (Silistre), Shumen (Şumnu) along the Danube (Tuna) and further to the west like the region around Nis (Niş) and Sofia (Sofya). Others were settled in Thessaloniki (Selanik), Serres (Serez) and around Larissa in Macedonia and Thrace. The immigrants were also settled in Anatolia in such cities as Diyarbakır, Mardin, Erzurum, Sivas, Çorum, Çankırı, Adapazarı, Bursa and Eskisehir and

also in the cities of Aleppo (Halep), Damascus (Şam) and Beirut (Beirut). (Karpas, 2010: 171), (Habiçođlu, 1993: 172-175)²

2.3. Immigrations Observed between 1865 and 1877

The Russian administration's capturing the fertile lands of Caucasia and exiling people living here to other places and settling Russians and Kazaks in their places, shrinking of the lands left in the Caucasians' hands, and, instead, distribution of the wide and fertile lands to the new-settlers led to the continuation of unrest and restlessness among the locals of the region and hence migrations. (Habiçođlu, 1993: 80-81). The Russian administration's attempt to collect taxes and soldiers in the Eastern Caucasia also caused migrations to speed up. Therefore, although mass migrations were not observed very frequently in this period, group migrations continued.

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2.4. The Migration Observed Following the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War

The 1877-1878 War evaluated as the peak point of the Orthodox-Slavist policy which Russia carried out in the Balkans against the Ottoman State for religious reasons gave a new acceleration to the Circassian migration. After defeating the Ottoman forces, partly as a reaction to the Circassians' attitudes during the war (Circassians' participating in the war on the side of the Ottoman State), Russians again took revenge on the Circassians and Abkhazians not having left their homelands and, after this, a new wave of migration started. The Circassians coming from Caucasia debarked once again on Trabzon, Samsun, Sinop or Dobruca³ and took ships to go to Anatolia and Syria. (Karpas, 2010: 168). In the 1878-1907 periods, the immigrants came from Caucasia in groups. It is observed that groups of a few thousand immigrants came only a few times. Among the comers, besides the Circassians and Dagestanis, there were Muslim Georgians

² For detailed information also look: Habiçođlu, 1993: 159-163, Bice, 1991: 54.

³ Dobruca; The historic district between the Black Sea and the Danube River, covering Bulgaria's Dobrich and Silistra and also Romania's Constanta and Tulcea countries, in where intensive Turkish population live.

and Adjarians. Hence, Circassians were no longer the majority of the Caucasian immigrants. (Habiçoğlu, 1993: 84). It is known that the majority of the immigrants coming especially from the vicinity of Sohum and Batum were Georgian and Laz. These immigrants were mentioned in the archive documents as “Batumi and Sohum immigrants”. (Yaşayanlar, 2015: 670)

The Muslim population in the Balkans increased considerably after 1860; this increase resulted especially from the Tatar and Circassian migrations. Among the immigrants coming to Anatolia following the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War were not only the Balkan immigrants but also the Caucasians being settled in the Balkans after 1862 and obliged to migrate again from the Balkan lands lost in the 1877-1878 War. At the same time, 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War gave acceleration to the migration from Caucasia to Anatolia as well. In this war, the Circassians, Chechens, Abkhazians, Dagestanis from the Caucasian region and the Muslim Georgians (Adjarians) living in the Adjara region participated in the battle actively on the side of the Ottoman State. Moreover, together with the loss of the battle, these communities were obliged to migrate in great masses to Anatolia. (Erkan, 1996: 17-22) In 1878, after the Adjara region and its center, Batumi, were left to Russians⁴, thousands of Muslim Georgians migrated to Anatolia as well. However, 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War was not the only reason for migrations from Caucasia. The main reason for the migrations from the territories left under the Russian occupation to Anatolia was the oppression policy which this state followed in accordance with its expansion aims. (Kazgan, 1970: 311). Russia's policy forcing the Turkish and Muslim communities in the lands which it occupied to migrate is multi-directional. The main principles of this policy are the Russialization of non-Russians through changing their identities, impoverishing them by taking their properties, sending them into exile, killing them, oppressing them by means of the Christian elements and making them ineffective by disempowering them. (Erkan, 1996: 25)

⁴ Batumi, after 314 years Ottoman domination, was occupied by Russia in the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878, and then left to Russia with the Treaties of Ayastafanos and Berlin.

These groups finding living under new administrations insecure and desiring to live together with their co-religionists headed towards the Ottoman lands. The Muslim population of Balkan and Caucasian origins who was obliged to migrate from the lands where they had lived left their homelands and accumulated in the centers like Varna, Shumnu, Edirne, Macedonia and Istanbul. The Sublime Porte forwarded a great majority of these immigrants to Anatolia (mainly to the regions such as Aydın, Hudavendigâr, İzmit, Kastamonu, Trabzon, Ankara, Adana, Konya, Sivas) so as to settle them permanently. (İpek, 1999: 172). Although the migration of masses slowed down, it continued after 1879 as well. In Anatolia, Bursa was the leading city where the Caucasian immigrants were settled. The settlement of the Caucasian immigrants in the city of Bursa was observed mostly after the 1880's. With the settlement of the immigrants, the population of Bursa increased considerably in this period. (Erkan, 1996: 136-137).

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2.5. Migrations Extending from 1890 until Today

In this period, the immigrants came from Caucasia in groups. It is observed that, only a few times, groups including a few thousands of immigrants came. Among the comers, besides the Circassians and Dagestanis, there were Muslim Georgians and Adjarians. Hence, Circassians were no longer the majority of the Caucasian immigrants. (Habiçoğlu, 1993: 84)

The Caucasian-Circassian migrations intensifying between 1890 and 1908 continued intermittently until the First World War and slackened completely starting from the 1920's.

3. GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT MIGRATIONS FROM CAUCASIA TO ANATOLIA

In the Ottoman documents, for the Northern Caucasia immigrants, although generally the description "Muhacirin-i Cerâkise (Circassian Immigrants)" is used, it is understood that this description refers to Adygea, Ubihs and Kabardays, of the tribe names. However, Abkhazians were separately mentioned via their own names. These mentioned groups did not come to Anatolia at the same time, but via different migration waves. (Yaşayanlar, 2015: 670)

In the period between 1855 and 1907, the number of the Caucasian immigrants reaching the Ottoman lands was approximately over 600.000. (Habiçoğlu, 1993: 73) Besides this, the existence of a great population stepping into action to migrate from Caucasia and perishing en route should not be ignored. Almost all of approximately seven million immigrants coming to Anatolia between 1856 and 1916 (among them were those who had been forced to migrate twice or three times) were Muslims. A great majority of immigrants' leaving their properties behind started a difficult process for both the Ottoman government and themselves. (Karpat, 2010: 20). In relation to the number of immigrants coming via ships or entering certain border gates, there are statistics kept by the government. However, it is a fact that there were a great number of immigrants who came by land or with their own possibilities and not registered in any way. For this reason, it is also not possible to know the number of non-registered immigrants coming from Caucasia and Rumelia by land and sheltering in their relatives' houses exactly.

Despite the economic difficulties and all the other impossibilities which it was having at that time, the Ottoman State embraced the coming immigrants. With the established commissions, it tried to solve the problems of the immigrants related to subsistence, housing, clothes, fuel, education, worship and residence.⁵ The subsistence and housing needs of the immigrants were regularly met and, their homes were built and financial aids were given by the government until they set up their own businesses and supported themselves. Those who were settled in the established villages wanted their needs of mosques and schools to be met by the government on the grounds that they were living hand to mouth. When some documents existing in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives are examined, detailed information can be found about application petitions, responses given to these

⁵ See BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi / Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives)-İ-HUS-54-1315-M 70-001-001. The document dated July 1, 1897 is about not to left the migrants, which were two hundred and fifty people from Russia and settled in the Hüdavendigâr province/İnegöl district in poverty, but to meet their needs and provide peace and comfort for them. See BOA-A-MKT-MHM-524-35. The document dated March 16, 1904 is about to pay food and transportation fees of the migrants settled in Kütahya, Karahisar-ı Sahip and İnegöl by the Ministry of Finance. These are just some of the examples that can be given in this regard.

petitions and the beginning constructions. (Polat, 2010: 47). The archive records such as the one dated 16th January 1898 (BOA-A-MKT-MHM-503-19) related to the building of mosques and schools in the village of Hilmiye and the other five immigrant villages in Inegol, the one dated 15th January 1894 (BOA-DH-MKT-196-75) related to the official opening ceremony for the constructed mosques and schools for Batumi immigrants in the village of Hayriye connected to Inegol and the one dated 10th March 1887 (BOA-DH-MKT-1404-73) related to the order of construction of a mosque and a school in the village of Hasanpasa re-established in the district of Inegol can be given as examples.

Throughout the migration process, the Ottoman State acted in a belief that it had to protect and look out for Muslims. Moreover, the workforce which the immigrants were to provide was regarded as important in terms of making use of the empty lands in Anatolia so as to make them contribute to economy. Besides this, the Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia was also important.

The traditions of the immigrants coming from different and unlike geographical regions played an important role in determining their residence places. Circassians and Georgians preferred especially mountainous and densely forested lands for their residence places. (İpek, 1999: 228). The immigrants were generally settled in such places as empty state lands, non-planted lands purchased from private ownerships and useless forested areas. New villages were established in these places. Moreover, some settled in empty lands which they found on their own; although local administrations tried to take them out of these places, most of the time the government did not let this happen and settled them in the places in which they lived. (Demirel, 2008: 37)

3.1. Circassian Immigrants in Anatolia

The Caucasian migrations, starting especially from the 1860's, are continued until the First World War. While some of the Caucasian immigrants having been exiled from their lands starting from the 1860's on were settled in Anatolia, some other part of them were settled in Rumelia. The Caucasian immigrants settled in Rumelia also became the actors of the migrations from this area starting from 1878 on and this time they settled in Anatolia. The main settlement areas of

the Circassians are in the Western and Central Anatolia. The cities of Sakarya, Bolu, Kocaeli, Bursa, Bilecik, Balıkesir, Eskisehir, Samsun, Çorum and Tokat are the main ones. (Andrews, 1992: 237) Circassians not having a racial and linguistic kinship with Turks cover the Caucasian peoples of Kabardays, Abkhazians and Adygea. The Circassians coming from Caucasia to the region of Bursa settled on the outskirts of Uludag and on the steep slop and dense forested areas of Uludag, which they found similar to their previous living areas. (Kahraman, 1992: 70-71)

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Every ethnic community of the Caucasian Muslims were detached from their homelands and tried to survive by taking refuge in Anatolia. Such decisions as giving the immigrants settled in Bursa empty sufficient amount of lands and demesnes and dwelling houses, exempting them from all the taxes for 4-5 years, providing sufficient amount of financial aids from the local subdivision of treasury and giving lands and houses until the winter came. (Demirel, 2008: 33). Again, in another archive record dated 1st July 1897, there is a decision with regard to “not letting 250 immigrants migrating from Russia and being settled in the district of Inegol within the borders of the province of Hudavendigâr live wretchedly and meeting their needs and providing them with peace and comfort.” (BOA-İ-HUS-54 54-1315-M 70-001-001). Another record dated 5th February 1889 is related to “not evicting but giving an occupancy permit to Ibrahim and Mehmed, two of the Circassian immigrants coming to live with their relatives in the village of Mezid due to the famine in Kutahya”. (BOA-HH-THR-468-16). Moreover, a record dated 1st December 1891 is related to the settlement of some of the Circassian immigrants in a place called Osmandede located in the district of Inegol and changing the name of the viallage as Sultaniye. (BOA-İ-ŞD-112-6714).

Circassian (Adygea) is a multi-dialect language and included in the northwest group of the Caucasian language family together with Abkhazian and Ubih languages. The Abkhazian language is an agglutinative language written via the extended Georgian alphabet. However, Ubih language, another agglutinative language is no longer spoken in Caucasia and about to wade away in Turkey, too. The Circassians not speaking Turkish when they first came to Anatolia had important problems about the matter of language. (Tavkul, 2007: 191-205). However, today, most of the Circassian men and women are bilingual and can speak Turkish like mother tongue. Most of the

young generation, especially those who are living in cities, speak only Turkish. (Andrews, 1992: 238-239).

The Circassians living in Turkey⁶ commemorate the 21 May 1864 Caucasian Exile every year on the coast of Kefken, Kocaeli. A great majority of the immigrants setting off by being forced to board the boats above their capacities mainly at such ports as Tuapse, Sochi and Sokhumi perished en route. The coast of Kefken where they landed on Anatolia is the area where the people having lost their lives are commemorated. Today, in Abkhazia, fishing has started to be done only in recent years. The reason for this is the understanding of "We do not eat fish for which the Abkhazians constituting an important population of the Circassians dying on the migratory route, at the Black Sea were baits". (Ergan, 2011: 22)

When the Circassians were initially settled in the Balkans temporarily, they did not give up their customs, but in the course of time, they adapted to the new social and economic environment in Turkey and adopted the culture of living together. At the first stages of the migration, the Circassians protected their organization style as a tribe and attachments to one another. However, the Ottoman administration sought to limit these tribal attachments and hence the Circassians rapidly got involved in a bigger social-political unit, that is to say, in the Muslim-Turkish nation formed under the Ottoman auspices. While the Circassians settling in the forested and mountainous area in the Western Anatolia were engaged in the traditional cattle breeding, the ones having settled in towns and cities benefited from educational possibilities and military channels to obtain a good social status.

3.2. Georgian Immigrants in Anatolia

1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War gave acceleration to the migration from Caucasia to Anatolia. In this war, the Circassians, Chechens, Abkhazians, Dagestanis from the Caucasian region and the Muslim Georgians (Adjarians) living in the Adjara region participated in the

⁶ For detailed information on Circassian culture and traditions see Avledin, 2004; Baj, 1969; Argun, 1990; Berkok, Tayyar, 1994; **Türkiye Çerkeslerinde Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı**, 1996.

battle actively on the side of the Ottoman State. However, together with the loss of the battle, great masses from these communities remaining in the occupied areas migrated to Anatolia. (Erkan, 2011: 17-22). On the other hand, leaving the Batumi region to Russians in 1878 caused thousands of Muslim Georgians to migrate to Anatolia. Artvin, Rize, Ordu, Sakarya, Bursa, Kocaeli, Samsun, Giresun, Bolu, Amasya, Balıkesir, Sinop and Tokat are among the areas where the Georgians settled intensively.

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Like the Circassians, the Georgians coming from Caucasia settled in Bursa on the outskirts of Uludağ and on the steep slope and dense forested areas of Uludağ, which they found similar to their previous living areas. The archive records indicate that some immigrants did not go to the settlement places which they were sent by the government, but instead, they settled in the other forested areas where there were their fellow countrymen. 19 households from the Meskhetian and Batumi Georgian immigrants were settled in a place called Yakacık. Since they gave a lot of damage to the forests here, they tried to be expelled but they did not accept this. The province of Bursa asked the Istanbul government for permission in 1894 to expel these people by using force through security forces. However, no documents could be reached in relation to the aftermath of them. On the same date, besides Yakacık, in places called Pazaralanı, Tuzla and Kozpınar, the Batumi and Meskhetian immigrants settled. Damaging forests, the immigrants had problems with the local government. (Demirel, 2008: 43-44). The archive record dated 29th May 1894 related to “the prevention of the damage given by the Batumi and Georgian immigrants to the Emlâk-ı humâyûn (imperial estate) forests in the location called Bakacak and Pazaralanı within the borders of the district of Inegöl” can be shown as an example for these problems. (BOA-DH-MKT-232-53-002-001)

Moreover, some archive records belonging to the years of 1887, 1894 and 1898 are related to the construction of schools, small mosques and mosques in the Georgian villages of Hasanpasa, Hayriye and Hilmiye. (BOA-DH-MKT-1404-73, BOA-DH-MKT-196-75, BOA-A-MKT-MHM-503-19). Again, in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, there are also records belonging to the years of 1889 and 1890 and related to the fact that the Batumi immigrants settling in the village of Hilmiye, Inegöl asked the government for permission to get their families and

relatives in their villages. (BOA-HH-THR-468-13, BOA-HH-THR-468-28).

Georgian is the basic language of the Southern Caucasian family. The Georgian immigrants living in Inegol and its vicinity generally speak the Adjarian dialect. With the preference of marriages within the same language and group, the Georgians strengthened their group identities. Endogamy (intra-group marriage) was limited with a ban brought to the marriage between first degree cousins. (Magnarella, 1997: 35-49). In recent years, the number of marriages with non-Georgians has increased. The Georgians in the cities adapted to the language of the majority, which is Turkish, more quickly. Hence, language became an identity symbol only in the family. (Andrews, 1992: 247-248)

4. RESULTS OF THE MIGRATIONS FROM CAUCASIA TO ANATOLIA

Since a great majority of the immigrants coming to Anatolia were committed to similar manners and customs, their adaptation to their new environments and coalescing with the local people. However, since the immigrants were not distributed to the cities at equal rates and accumulated in the cities and the sanjaks in the Western Anatolia, mainly Hudavendigar, Aydın and Biga, caused various disputes between the locals and the immigrants. Most of these disputes resulted from their settlement in the lands which were in the possession of the local people. In fact, the immigrants having financial difficulties usurped the local people's lands. Especially as the permanent settlement of the immigrants was delayed, those who were about to starve to death and unable to earn their keep exhibited some individual offensive behaviors such as threatening, burglary and murder. On the other hand, in some of the areas where the immigrants were settled, powerful people and other locals in those areas tried to usurp the lands assigned to the immigrants. (İpek, 1999: 229-230) Sometimes, the vital needs of the immigrants sent to rural areas were met by the locals until they could earn their own keep. Therefore, as the settlement procedure was delayed, the expenditures of the locals in this direction increased and this situation caused problems.

Numerous examples of the land conflicts emerging between the locals and the immigrants exist in the archive documents. The local people in whose private-registered or non-registered lands the immigrants were settled felt uncomfortable with this situation. On the other hand, the immigrants were affected by the changing climate and the types of manufacture negatively and had problems in adapting to the environment. Even some immigrants could not adapt to areas where they were settled and either settled in other areas or returned back to their homeland. It is also possible to come across archive records related to this matter.⁷ However, despite all these problems, the immigrants and the local people having the same belief and similar manners and customs coalesced with each other after a certain period of time. In the long term, social cooperation and solidarity was achieved and, apart from some individual events, generally friendship and hospitality rose to prominence.

The incoming immigrants were settled in empty lands and highlands and new villages were formed. Together with the immigrants, empty lands were put into use, production increased and economy revived. Prior to the migrations, due to epidemics, famine, wars and territorial losses, the Ottoman State's population growth rate continuously decreased. Especially because soldiers had been recruited only from among the Muslim peoples since the foundation of the state, the Muslim population was on the decrease. (İpek, 1999: 227-228). The migrations which having acquired an introverted appearance during and after the territorial losses with 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War, caused an increase again in the population density in Anatolia. (Kocacık, 1980: 179) The migrations did not only increase the population of Anatolia, but they also affected the village-city distributon of the population. As a result of the settlement of the immigrants in villages and the establishment of new villages, the village units became a dominant element in Anatolia. Consequently,

⁷ See BOA-Y-A-HUS-310-105. The document is about twenty household residing in İnegöl from Akhaltsikhe and Batumi emigrants' demand to be sent to Russia because their homes were destroyed and they were beaten. See BOA-HH-THR-468-16. The document is about the permission of the Circassian immigrants who settled in Kütahya first and settled in Mezit later due to famine. See BOA-HH-THR-468-46. The document is about the placement of Bosnian immigrants instead of immigrants of five households escaping from Mecidiye village to their original homeland.

the immigrants have become a richness of Turkey by making positive contributions to the economic, demographic, social and political structures of Anatolia in the long term.

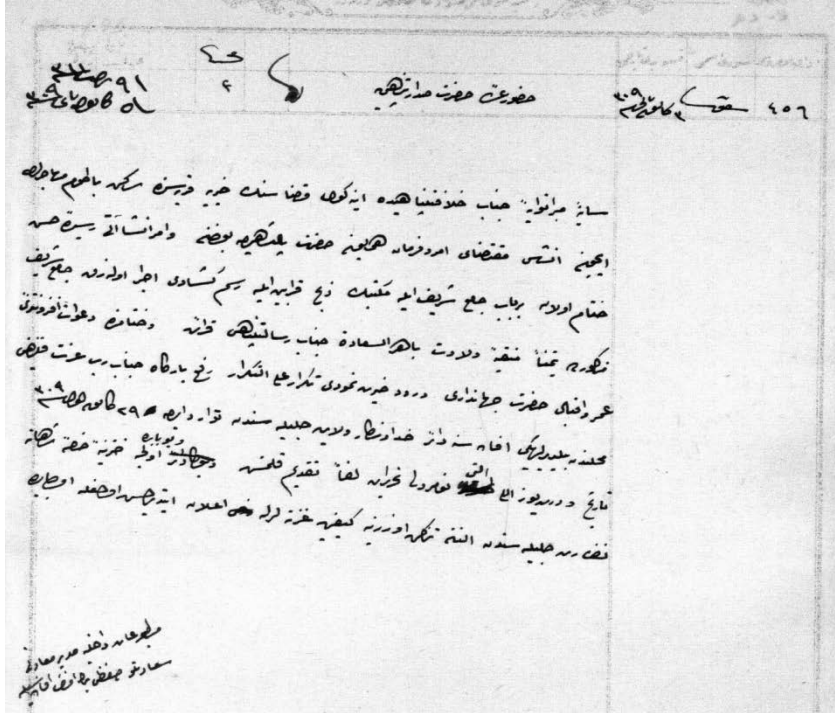
CONCLUSION

In the period between 1855 and 1907, the number of the Caucasian immigrants reaching the Ottoman lands was approximately over 600.000. Besides this, the existence of a great population perishing en route should not be ignored. Also, it is not possible to know the number of non-registered immigrants.

When the problems which the immigrants created are looked in, it is observed that, in the short term, they created problems for the state, for the local administrators and for the environment in which they settled. However, in the long term, they became a richness of Turkey by making great contributions to the economic, demographic, social and political structure of Anatolia. Social cooperation and solidarity was achieved. Also migrations changed the old structure of the Turkish society and had effect on its becoming a nation and formation of the new Turkish community.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: BOA - DH - MKT - 196 - 75. Archival Document on the ceremonial opening of the mosque and school constructed for the Batumi immigrants in the village of Hayriye connected to Inegol. (15th January 1894)



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Archival Document in Turkish

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Huzûr-ı 'Âlî-i Hazret-i Sadâretpenâhîye

Sây-e müberrât-vâye-i cenâb-ı hilâfetpenâhîde İnegöl kazâsının Hayriye Karyesinde sâkin Batum muhâcirleri için inşâsı muktezâ-yı emr ü fermân-ı hümâyûn Hazret-i pâdişâhîden bulunan ve emr-ü inşâ'âtı resîde-i hüsn-i hitâm olan bir bâb câmi'i şerif ile mektebin zebh-i karâbin ile resm-i küşâdı icrâ olunarak camî'-i şerif-i mezkûrda

teyemmünen menkıbe-i velâdet bâhirü's- sa'âde cenâb-ı risâletpenâhî kırâat ve hitâmında da'vât efzûnter-i ömr ve ikbâl Hazret-i cihandârî vürûd-ı hayret-nümûd tekrar ale't-tekrar ref'i bârigâh Cenâb-ı Rabb'ül-'izzet kılındığı mahallinden bildirildiği ifâdesine dâir Hüdâvendigar vilâyet-i celîlesinden tevârüd eden 29 Kânûn-ı evvel sene 309 tarih ve 456 numrolu tahrîrât leffen takdîm kılınmış ve bu babda evvelce Hazîne-i Hâssa-i Şâhâne Nezâret-i celîlesinden alınan tezkire üzerine keyfiyet gazetelerle i'lân etdirilmiş olmağla ol babda.

Matbu'ât Dâhiliye Müdür Mu'âvini Sa'âdetlü Hıfzı Bey Efendi ifâdesiyle.

APPENDIX 2: The Caucasian Migration (Murat Paşu - Kerem Yücel, "Caucasian Migration, Exile and Settlement" The Journal of Atlas, September 2013, P.246.)

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APPENDIX 3: A photo from the Circassian Exile Commemorial Activity Organized in Kefken (The Caucasian Association Internet Website; <http://www.kafder.org.tr/kefken.html>)



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ÖZET

Kafkasya, Asya, Avrupa ve Afrika kıtalarının kesiştiği, jeopolitik ve jeostratejik açıdan dünyanın en önemli bölgelerinden biridir. XIX. yüzyılın başında Osmanlılar ve diğer devletler, Rusya'nın sıcak denizlere açılmak niyetine ve Karadeniz ile Hazar denizi arasındaki bölgeyi ele geçirme politikasının gerçekleşmesine engel olamamışlardır. 1804-1813, 1826-1828 Rus-İran ve 1828-1829 Rus-Osmanlı savaşları sonucunda Dağıstan ve Güney Kafkasya'nın tamamı ve Kuzey Kafkasya'nın büyük bölümü Rusya'nın hâkimiyetine girmiştir. Rusya'nın yayıldığı bütün topraklarda uyguladığı Ruslaştırma siyaseti ve bölge halkını Hıristiyanlaştırmaya yönelik kolonizasyon faaliyetleri yerli halkların, özellikle Müslümanların direnişiyle karşılaşmıştır. Kafkasya uzun süre Ruslara karşı yürütülen direnişlerin merkezi olmuştur. Bu direniş hareketi ancak 1859 yılında bastırılmış ve arkasından esareti kabullenmeyen binlerce kişi Osmanlı topraklarına göç etmiştir. Kafkasya'dan göçün hareketlenme zamanları Osmanlı-Rus ilişkilerindeki değişiklikleri yakından takip etmiştir.

Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya yapılan göçler beş farklı dönemde incelenebilir. Bunlar: 1862 öncesinde yaşanan göçler (1828-1829 Rus-Osmanlı Savaşı sırasında Kafkasya'da yaşayan Müslümanların Anadolu ve Rumeli'ye göçleri), 1862-1865 arasında yoğun biçimde süren Kafkas göçleri (Şeyh Şamil'in Rus işgaline direnişinin 1859'da sona ermesinin ardından), 1865-1877 arasındaki dönemde perakende biçimde devam eden göçler, 1877-1878 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı sonrasında göçler (daha evvel Kafkasya'dan göç edip Rumeli'ye yerleştirilmiş olan Kafkasyalılar) ve 1890'dan günümüze uzanan (aralıklı olarak özellikle Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na kadar) göçlerdir.

Kafkasya'dan gelen göçmenleri Çerkezler ve Gürcüler olmak üzere iki ana gruba ayırabiliriz. Irk ve dilsel olarak Türklerle akraba olmayan Çerkezler, Kafkas halklarından Kabartay, Abaza ve Adigeleri kapsamaktadır. Diğer grup olan Gürcüler ise Kafkasya'dan özellikle de Acara bölgesinden göç etmişlerdir. Gürcüler, Çerkezler gibi göç öncesinde yaşadıkları yerlere uygun buldukları dağ etekleri ve sarp yamaçlı, sık ormanlı bölgelere yerleşmişlerdir. Özellikle Bursa bölgesine çok sayıda göçmen yerleşmiştir.

Muhacirlerin vilayetlere eşit oranda dağıtılmaması, başta Hüdavendigar, Aydın ve Biga olmak üzere Batı Anadolu'daki vilayet ve sancaklarda yığılmaları, yerli halk ile muhacirler arasında çeşitli anlaşmazlıkların çıkmasına sebep olmuştur. Ancak, Anadolu'ya gelen Kafkas göçmenlerinin büyük bir çoğunluğunun yerliler ile benzer örf ve âdetlere bağlı olmaları, muhacirlerin yeni çevrelerine uyumunu, yerli halkla kaynaşmalarını ve dolayısıyla çıkan anlaşmazlıkların çözümünü olumlu etkilemiştir.

Osmanlı Devleti o sıralarda içinde bulunduğu iktisadi zorluklara ve diğer bütün imkânsızlıklara rağmen gelen muhacirlere kucak açmış, göç süreci boyunca Müslümanları koruyup sahip olması gerektiği inancıyla hareket etmiştir. Diğer taraftan, göçmenlerin sağlayacağı iş gücü Anadolu'da boş arazilerin ekonomiye kazandırılması bakımından önemli görülmüş ve Anadolu nüfusunun Müslümanlaştırılması da önemsenmiştir. Kaybedilen topraklardan Anadolu'ya gelen göçmenlerin kısa dönemde, devlet için, yerel yöneticiler için ve yerleştikleri çevre için sorun teşkil ettikleri görülmesine rağmen onlar uzun vadede, Anadolu'nun ekonomik, demografik, toplumsal ve siyasi yapısına büyük etkilerde bulunarak Türkiye'nin bir zenginliği olmuşlar, yeni Türk toplumunun ortaya çıkmasına katkı sağlamışlardır.

