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# POPULATION EXCHANGE IN THE HISTORICAL PROCESS AND BURSA

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## Abstract

Bursa is one of the most important migration centers throughout history. In accordance with the Turkish-Greek population exchange signed between Turkey and Greece, over 30,000 migrants were brought and resettled to Bursa from different parts of Greece. The emigrants were transported to Turkey mainly by ships, and their port of disembarkment was Mudanya near Bursa. The migrants who were welcomed in Mudanya were sent to the Center and various districts of Bursa and placed in accordance with the Law of Settlement. Before the exchange, a large Greek-Orthodox population had left Bursa, as in many other cities of Turkey, and had gone to Greece. Their immovable properties had been left behind, and they were to have been distributed among the immigrants who had been settled in Bursa according to the exchange agreement. Unfortunately, this process was not well managed, and many of the emigrants did not receive the goods that would match the value of the goods they had left behind in Greece. Moreover, the adaptation of these emigrants to the social, economic and cultural structure of the city took a long time and created difficulties.

This article discusses the barter of migrants to Bursa, and describes the difficulties they were faced with in this city.

**Keywords:** Exchange, Bursa, Exchange and Bursa, Settlement in Bursa, Greek Immovable Properties.

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## Tarihsel Süreçte Mübadele ve Bursa

### Öz

Bursa tarih boyunca önemli göç merkezlerinden birisidir. Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında imzalanan Türk-Rum Nüfus Mübadelesi gereğince 30.000'in üzerinde göçmen Yunanistan'ın değişik bölgelerinden Bursa'ya getirilmiş ve yerleştirilmiştir. Göçmenler büyük ölçüde gemilerle getirildiği için, Bursa'ya getirilen göçmenlerin karaya çıktığı yer, Mudanya'dır. Mudanya'da karşılanan göçmenler, Bursa'nın merkezine ve değişik ilçelerine sevk edilerek, İskan Kanunu uyarınca yerleştirilmişlerdir. Mübadele öncesinde Türkiye'nin birçok kentinden olduğu gibi, Bursa'dan da oldukça kalabalık bir Rum-Ortodoks nüfus ayrılmış ve Yunanistan'a gitmişti. Giden Ortadoks'lardan önemli sayılabilecek oranda taşınmaz mal geriye kalmıştı. Mübadele ile Bursa'ya getirilen göçmenlere bu taşınmaz malların dağıtılması gerekiyordu. Ancak ne yazık ki bu süreç iyi yönetilememiş, göçmenlerin birçoğu bıraktıkları malların karşılığına denk gelecek mal alamamışlardır. Üstelik kentin toplumsal, ekonomik ve kültürel yapısına uyumları da uzun bir zaman almış ve sıkıntılar yaratmıştır.

Bu makalede mübadele göçmenlerinin Bursa'ya getirilişleri ele alınmakta ve bu kentte karşılaşılan sıkıntılar anlatılmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mübadele, Bursa, Mübadele ve Bursa, Bursa'da İskan, Rum Taşınmazları.

### Population Exchange and Course of History

The final form of the peace agreement of the Lausanne Conference was signed by the delegations of Turkey, Greece, England, Italy, Japan, Romania, Bulgaria, Portugal, Belgium, USSR and Yugoslavia on July 24th 1923 in Lausanne Switzerland.

This Treaty which was signed in the conference hall of Lausanne University, and which brought peace to near east was signed by İsmet Paşa, who had proved his diplomatic brilliance during the Mudanya negotiations, who had been the commander of the western front during the war, and who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the time. The Conference had been held so as to finalize the war environment that had been going on between Turkey and the western nations and to re-establish peace. Despite the fact that The Treaty of Sevres had been signed between the Ottoman government and the allied nations on August 10 1920, no success was achieved in attempts to end World War I;

and owing to wide spread national resistance in Anatolia, the war continued for three and a half years more. At the end of this period, conditions had changed; therefore, nature of the problems that required immediate solutions had been altered.

An analysis of the factors that caused all these countries to be at war with each other and reaching a conclusion were strongly needed. Moreover, new problems had been added to the ones that had already caused the emergence of the war. While some of the newly emerged problems were the natural outcome of the war, some had emerged quite abruptly. With the changed conditions, disturbed balances, new processes had come into being, and existence of many once unrecognized factors had become perceivable. With the entrance of the Turkish soldiers into Izmir, a feeling of awareness was created in the nations who were the actors of the era; and, consequently, they turned to new searches as a reaction to this new condition.<sup>1</sup> In line with the changes in the regions where the armed forces were effective, the exiles and migrations caused demographic alterations which in turn resulted in new progressions and problems influential on social and economic structures. In addition to the current problems dating back from old times, there were new problems that had emerged and they all needed immediate solutions. For example, the problem of boundaries was another big, difficult and complex issue that required to be reapproached in the light of balance of powers. Parallel to this, in addition to the economic, political and legal matters, problems resulting from the gradual changes in the demographic structure needed urgent solutions. It was as though everything was being reestablished. Changes in the borders, and the back and forth movements of the armies had caused changes in the demographic structures; and because of the mobility of the populations in the years during and following the war, a complex scene had emerged. Problems that had stemmed from this complex scene were gruesome enough to lead to worries among all those involved.<sup>1</sup> Demographic gaps had come into being; and these gaps sometimes remained as they had been, or else they would be filled by either legal or illegal actors. This issue concerned both the nations who were involved in the war and those that were not; and it had great significance for all those nations at both national and international level. <sup>1</sup> Therefore, demographic movements required to be approached and analyzed at international level from a legal perspective, and the proposition of a lasting solution was of utmost importance. However, this was not an issue that had emerged in the aftermath of the war; or to say the least, in terms of its impact, it had historical foundations and roots.<sup>1</sup> During the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, owing to different reasons, there had been demographic movements from and into Turkey at different times. This process was being lived through once more in the form of the new rings of the chain during and after the War of Independence.

Bloody events in recent history had revealed that the Balkan Issue had been a bleeding wound for the Turks. In this geographical location, parallel to their nationalization process, in order to establish their own state, people of the same national background were moved into action with the ideology of nationalism that had been glorified. As a consequence of this, numerous national states had been established in the Balkans. These newly established national states were viewing Turkey and Muslim masses as a threat to their social structures. As a result of these confused feelings and approaches, new policies of suppression targeting the Turks who were within the boundaries of the newly established national states were coming into being. Conversely, similar to the periods when the Young Turks were influential, fractures in the minority policies in Turkey were being felt. In line with the changes in the borders of the states, migrations towards the borders of both states were gaining momentum.<sup>1</sup> Hence, the suppressive policies of these newly established states emerged as the most determining factor in the migration of the Turkish and Muslim societies from the Balkans to Anatolia. As indicated by I. Tekeli, the primary motive that created this suppressive and forceful migration policy was the concept of nationalism that had recently emerged in the Balkans and ethnic and religious principles had formed the pillars of this concept. Therefore, these newly formed states founded on the principles of nationalism which had been shaped by the ethnic and religious momentum had not succeeded in approaching societies holding different ethnic and religious views with tolerance; in other words, the newly established states displayed intolerant behaviour towards all those with religious views and ethnic backgrounds that had not been the same as theirs, and this intolerant approach was very much unlike that of the former empires. These states had adopted an identity of nationalism that was consistent with animosity towards Turkish-Muslim masses; and every newly established national state was in an effort to maintain its territorial sovereignty. The state was their own; yet Turks, who were the minority, still possessed a big part of the land. In order to bring an end to the presence of the Turks on those lands, they had felt it necessary to force the Turks to emigrate by seizing their land from them. These nations that had newly gained their independence were assuming that the way to strengthen their national independence required homogenizing national demographical structure. Thus, an immigration had eventually started from the lands that once belonged to the empire towards the new borders of Turkey which was naturally the only remaining piece of land left in control of Turkey.

This was a bloody course. Violence, oppression, massacres, looting, totalitarian practices with no consideration of human rights, and fascist oppressive actions had always existed in this period of forcefully making crowds emigrate from their homes. These oppressive practices occurred at different times, and though they ought to have been perceived as violation of human

rights, their occurrence continued in the form of historical cycles. Turkish and Muslim masses from the Balkans were rushing towards Anatolia; and the bloody occurrences during this recession were planting the seeds of animosities and clearances to be formed in the future.

However, this process had, in a way, been reversed by the Turkish War of Independence. Until that date, the Balkans had been the cause of demographic withdrawal; yet, this time a wave of immigration towards the Balkans became evident.<sup>1</sup> After the defeat of the Greeks in Anatolia, the Turkish Greeks feared that the Turks would be revengeful and would retaliate against them; and with these feelings they immigrated to Greece in huge crowds. The number of Turkish Greeks who piled up in Greece reached as high up to as 850000 and they were miserable in the wretched conditions. These immigrants who were desperately piling up in Greece were faced with accommodation, nutrition and health problems. It was being reported that only in Athens, 200000 people were without a place to live.<sup>1</sup> According to a newspaper printed in Istanbul, the number of Turkish Greeks who had illegally immigrated to Greece had exceeded 100000.<sup>2</sup> The Turkish Greeks who were piling up in Greece were very revengeful and filled with indignation towards the Muslim population in Greece; moreover, they were holding the Turks, and obviously the Turks and Muslims in Greece, responsible for their unfortunate conditions. Shortly after this, escapee soldiers who had absconded from the war in Anatolia and had gathered in Greece were added to this angry crowd. A significant majority of these absconders were afraid to come into the cities for fear that they would have to undergo military trials; therefore, they remained in the rural areas and mountainous regions, and got involved with peace-disturbing actions. News were coming about the atrocious behaviours of the Greeks towards the Turks in the mountainous regions in Greece and in Athens which was regarded as one of the safest places, and the news also included that hundreds of Turks were massacred. Political atmosphere in the country was unbelievably chaotic. There were frequent military coups, and those who would gain control after the coup would be in serious struggle with the previous governments. Because of the fact that the leading members of the Gunaris government were held responsible for the war and their defeat, they had been executed by the revolutionaries. As the governments in office would feel the need to have public supportive of their policies, they chose to act in a way that would favor their supporters. The primary desire of the Turkish Greeks piled up in Greece was to be housed in the real estate properties owned by the Turks. They were of the opinion that the immovables and movables left by the Turks would decrease their sufferings down to a certain degree; what was more, they believed that it was their right to take possession of the belongings of the people whom they regarded as the ones to be held responsible for the emergence of the war.

There was an extraordinary aggregation in Greece. Social, economic and political crisis have reached intolerable levels. Economic balances had been disturbed, and there had been huge increase in the prices; therefore, purchase of principle commodity items became rationed. The price of a half kilo of bread became as expensive as 5 drachmas. Money was scarce. Even if there was money, it was of no use because it was almost impossible to find any basic commodity items. Refugees who had fled to Greece from Turkey had caused a tremendous destruction on Greek economy. Drachma had undergone devaluation, and as a consequence, business balances had been disturbed. Greece was obliged to import 75% of its needs. This condition was causing a lot of difficulties for the government. On the other hand, attempts were being made to get the authorities to ration each immigrant 2 drachmas per day. People could die of starvation. Among the immigrants, there had been instances of typhus fever, and variola. According to American diplomats such as Caffrey, it was necessary that the League of Nations provide medicine and medical help to these people.<sup>1</sup> Shops in big cities were being plundered. Any aid provided by either the government or any other country to these people in difficult conditions was far from being sufficient. The Central Committee of Athens had been founded with the aim of helping the needy immigrants. However, after a short time, this committee became unable to help these people owing to the increase in demand for support. An organization named American Aid Committee was putting efforts into helping the Turkish Greeks both in Greece and in Turkey.

Greek society was in great shock. This shock was due to their hopeful expectations of victory which were overtaken by the unexpected bitter consequences of their defeat and its impact on their daily lives. After all, population explosion, and the economic recessions that followed one another were highly effective and restrictive on the lives of the Greeks who had been living on that land for all their lives. The immigrants who had piled up in Greece after having passed the borders were being viewed by majority of the residents of Greece as foreigners who had come from strange places. Feeling of being a stranger was very strong, and they were not able to view them as one of themselves. A feeling of foreignness was blossoming between the residents and immigrants on the Greek mainland and this feeling was perceivable in every area of daily life. While these psychological instabilities and effects were being felt at the social basis, accumulation of immigrants in Greece was still in progress; however, because of the immigrants, life was gradually becoming more difficult to live. According to the observations of D.O.Hibbard, the representative of Young Mens Christian Association, the number of immigrants on the islands was about 150000. They did not have beds to sleep on and blankets to cover themselves up. They were sleeping on the streets and some of them were even boiling grass to eat. According to the estimations of Hibbard, only 112

tons of flour and 100000 blankets were needed to be sent to the islands. However, there were difficulties of reaching the emigrants on the islands because sailing to the islands was comparatively a slower way of transporting the help to the islands. In order to provide accomodation for these people who were sleeping out on the streets, Greek government was placing these people in the houses of Turkish people. However, it was not possible for two families who viewed each other as enemies and strangers to live together; yet this was what the Greek government had dictated to be done. Turkish families felt themselves under constant threat of being harmed by the families who had been forcefully accomodated in their house by the Greek authorities. The former was worried and scared that the Turkish Greek family housed in his house and the fanatics outside would seek opportunities to harm the host, and the latter was holding the Turks as responsible for all that it was suffering from, yet the shelter that he was in belonged to a Turkish family. To what degree could the fact that Greek Government had made immigrant families live with Turkish families because of housing problems be realistic? Moreover, how could these two families with totally different psychological states be expected to live under the same roof without being afraid of each other and by trusting each other? Meanwhile, Greek Government was still placing immigrant Turkish Greeks in the houses of the Turks living in Greece. This could not be disguised by the Greek Government as an innocent attempt in an atmosphere where animosity was at its peak. In contrast, this was the indication of the concious oppressive attitude of the Greek authorities towards the Turks in Greece. Such placements were leading to violent bloody settlements as the Turkish families were in fear and the immigrant Turkish Orthodox families who were in psychological ruin and conquered by their feelings of revenge were attacking the houses and neighborhoods of the Turks and beating them and sometimes murdering them and dislocating them from their very own homes. Violence among these people was on the streets, and inside the houses. There were innumerable Turkish families who had been displaced from their homes in such manner. 1 In short, there was no opportunity for the Turks in Greece to continue their lives in Greece. As an alternative solution to the problem, some foreign diplomats who were making observations held the opinion that the immigrants should return to their homes in Thrace and in Anatolia.

At the current stage, however, there did not seem to be any political solutions. Abandonening their homes and immigrating to their motherland - Turkey- from the lands where they had been subjected to all kinds of suppression and mass murders seemed to be the only solution for the Turkish population in Greece. Eventhough the Agreement for Population Exchange between the two countries had not been signed yet, the Turkish population in the Island of Crete and in the cities such as Rethimno, Heraklion, Chania, Thessaloniki, Langadas, and Kavala in Greece were in state of turmoil to come

to Turkey. All the roads leading to the coastal cities became filled with Turkish crowds migrating with their cattle and odds-and-ends. Their sole concern was to be able to reach their motherland alive and they started their journeys either alone or in groups on whatever vehicles they could find. These journeys to the motherland were sometimes in small groups, and at other times as the entire village. However, this time oppression and violence had set their traps on the roads. Some emigrants were being robbed, and others were being slaughtered. Those migrating in masses were either being stoned by Greek children or being revengefully stared at and violently attacked by the Greeks. The aim of these masses on the roads was to reach the coastal towns. They were hoping to get on board a ship they could find and get to Turkey. However, this time people were piling up in coastal towns. When Turkish crowds were deprived of all hopes of finding any means of sailing to Turkey, they were gathering in the centers and forming groups. Coastal towns were filled with the Turks who had abandoned their villages and towns. They were waiting among their bales and cattle, and they were trying to accomodate themselves temporarily either in the jerry-built tents or on the sidewalks. Hunger, squalor and devastation were prevalent. Nutrition was by chance, and even if they had any health issues, there was not any agency to take care of them It was as though they were faced with their destiny. Some of them were hoping to be able to travel to Turkey by road, yet they were not aware that the Turkish-Greek land border had been closed for sometime. Some of the emigrants were attempting to rent barges and sail towards Turkey on them. But they were stopped by the Greek marine patrol and were faced with the difficulties they would raise. Even if they could succeed in embarking, their struggle would continue as they would be in psychological depravity and trauma and disappointment.

However, conditions in Turkey were even unpleasantly tougher. During the course of the war, vast majority of the settlemet areas had been burnt down. A significant number of the locals had become homeless. During the Greek withdrawal, as much as %75 of the settlements in West Anatolia and the Marmara region had been destroyed. Ismet Pasha had emphasized in his opening address of the Lausanne Conference that more than 1 million innocent Turks had been left without homes and no food to eat in Anatolia. Immigration of the Turkish Greeks to Greece had caused a decrease in population, and this had caused the nation to fall into economic backlash. Prices had plummeteted in Turkey. Generally, it had become very difficult to obtain basic commodity items. Economic data were indicative that the conditions were far worse than the pre war time. The initial impact of this was seen as a reduction in the production levels of some items. In reality, the country was an agricultural society. Industrial business was very limited. % 85 of the 850000 Turkish Orthodox people who had abandoned Turkey were of urban origin. They had broken their ties with their active economic roles in urban life and had migrated to Greece.

Hence, huge gaps were formed in professions such as barbers, tailors, shoemaking, linen drapery, stone craftsmanship, rug weaving, and sericulture and all these professions were vital for the liveliness of the economy. Shortages had become evident both in these professions and in production of goods, and this had led to economic recession. As Turkish Greeks had been constituting majority of the export and import businessman, it was very obvious that there would be significant recession in export numbers with their immigration. 1 The number of Turkish Greeks who were actively involved in agriculture and who had abandoned their homes and land and immigrated to Greece was significantly lower than the number of those who had withdrawn from their economic roles in cities. Despite the fact that Turkey was an agricultural nation, the means and methods used in agriculture had been still very primitive, and the Turkish Greeks were relatively more gifted than the Turks in agriculture related areas. They were more capable of keeping up with the agricultural advancements of the West. With the immigration of the Turkish Greeks from Turkey, huge economic gaps had been formed especially in the cultivation of grapes, tobacco and cotton. Moreover, with the immigration of more than 850000 Turkish Greeks from various parts of Turkey and east Thrace, a huge amount of products unharvested had been left on the fields, vineyards and orchards. The fact that these agriculture lands were not going to be cultivated and harvested in the following years indicated that the loss and decrease in production levels was going to spread and proceed to future.

When the Turkish delegation went to Lausanne under İsmet Pasha's leadership, this was how the general population appeared to be and what the problems Turkey had been faced with were. Demographical issue caused by immigrating crowds was among the problems that gave the hardest time to all the delegations involved in Lausanne negotiations. The only thing to be done under such conditions was to find a permanent solution to the demographic problem of these people who had immigrated voluntarily. With this purpose, in line with the anticipations of a Norwegian scientist, Nansen, a mandatory Population Exchange was proposed. Therefore, on January 30, 1923, in Lausanne, " *Turkish-Grecian Population Exchange Treaty* " was signed. According to this treaty, the mandatory immigration of Muslim Greeks residing outside West Thrace and Turkish Orthodox residing out of Istanbul was proposed.<sup>1</sup>

Before the delegations assembled for the Lausanne Conference, the League of Nations assigned Dr. Friedtjof Nansen to analyse the new scenery that had emerged as an outcome of immigration. Nansen studied the consequences of this mass demographic movement both in the geographical location of Greece and Turkey. Having conversed with the concerned authorities, Nansen

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<sup>1</sup> For the full text of the contract and protocol, see İsmail Soysal, *Tarihçeleri ve Açıklamaları İle Birlikte Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları*, I (1920-1945), TTK Publishing. Ankara, 1983, p. 117-183

developed new ideas about possible ways to solve this problem and prepared an extensive report including these ideas and presented it to the League of Nations.

Based on his studies and observations, Nansen proposed a willfull Exchange of populations of the Muslims in Greece and the Orthodox population in Anatolia. A “willfull” act would be a personal matter and it would be voluntary. Governments would show no concern for the interests of the masses and those wishing to immigrate would be free to do so. Obviously, there were details of this issue that were shady: Nansen had suggested that the Grecians living in Istanbul should be excluded from this immigration; yet, he had not prosed a similar exception for the Turks in West Thrace. Thus, his proposal was objected to by Turkey, and Turkish officials asserted that the Grecians living in Istanbul could not be an exception and be exempt from this immigration. They were against this suggestion; however, they had another proposal: the Grecians living in Istanbul should be exchanged, but the Turks living in West Thrace should be excluded from this migration. Apparently, although the proposal of Exchange of Population had not been objected to on its basis, both delegations were attempting to reach the most beneficial decision for their side and this led to the initiation of bargains. Both sides were preparing conflicting reports and presenting them to each other. The fact that Turks were not a minority but the majority in West Thrace was being asserted by Turkey. It was emphasizing that mandatory migration of majority could not be acceptable. On the other hand, Greece was focusing on the population increase in Greece in the post war period and suggesting a thesis based on this fact. In order to solve this problem, Greece was stressing the vitality of solving the issues of residential area and accomodation both of which had paralysed its social and economic structure , and it was urging that the 350000 Turks living in West Thrace be forced to immigrate to the places vacated by the Grecians in Anatolia. However, this expression of “350000 Turks” was not reflecting reality and could not go beyond being a political assertion because this number was showing the Turkish population in Greece as minority but in reality there had been locations where the Turkish population had in fact been the majority. Furthermore, it was revealed at the end of the observations that the number of Turkish residents in Greece was totaling up to 800000 as there were nearly 500000 Turks living in other locations in Greece in addition to the 350000 living in West Thrace.

Nansen revised his report by taking the views of the two involved nations into consideration, and it was shared at the Peace Conference in Lausanne on December 1st 1922. In his rewritten report, the assertion made by Nansen was that Population Exchange would be the best solution for the masses. There had already been a vast demographic movement. Yet, economic conditions in the Near East were far from being pleasant. More than one million people had abandoned their homes and fled to other countries. Nansen had been

emphasizing that if there were no solutions found to overcome these matters, then both countries would inevitably fall into economic turmoil. A rapid and effective Population Exchange of minorities could prevent this predicted disaster in more effective and easy ways than other proposals. This suggestion was beneficial for both sides involved. Turkey was going to have the population it needed to cultivate the agricultural lands that the Grecians had abandoned, and Greece was going to have places available to offer to the piling up immigrants in cities so that they could soon become self sufficient. Obtaining agricultural products in the following harvest season was of crucial importance for both countries. In other words, just as important as it was for Turkey to obtain the same produce from the fertile West Thrace soil in 1923 as it had before that time, so was it of great significance for Greece to have the new immigrants become self sufficient. It was of vital importance to have at least part of the population exchanged by the end of February, in the following 3 months time. After this date, it would be impossible to be prepared for the new agriculture season. There were numerous uninhabited villages in Anatolia and most of them were located in West Thrace, and the agricultural equipment that had been abandoned by the Grecians could be used, which was of utmost importance. Consequently, those who would emigrate from Greece within this Population Exchange Agreement would settle in these villages and they could adapt to their new environments as early as possible. 2

In the course of presenting the data in his report, there had been times when the views Nansen provided were far from representing reality. Problems were there and it was obvious that this vast demographic movement could not take place right before the following agriculture season. However, contrary to what Hansen had asserted in his report, neither the farmlands left from the Grecians nor the agricultural equipment were readily usable as they had been severely damaged in the lootings.

There were differences between the Turkish and Greek delegations in their approaches to these proposals. It was reported that Ismet Pasha was at first shocked but then pleased when the issue of Population Exchange, which was not among the agenda, was introduced just as the issue of war slaves was going to be negotiated over. As a matter of fact, it was quite apparent that even this approach was part of a diplomatic strategy. It was a well known fact that the issue of minorities had caused many problems. Moreover, it was also a very clear part of reality that despite being Ottoman citizens, Greco -Turkish had cooperated with and helped the invaders in their endeavours to invade Turkish land. It had been stemming from these behaviours that the idea of population exchange of the minorities had not been unthought of at earlier times. It was understood that the feelings of shock was followed by a state of being pleased which Ismet Pasha was reported to have felt after the issue of Population Exchange was proposed at the conference , yet this was a diplomatic tactic.

During those times, Turkey had not become a member of the League of Nations yet. Therefore, any approach and proposal made by it was not of any binding value. Naturally, Nansen was looking at this matter from the perspective of his own thesis and benefits, and the Turkish delegation continued to put effort into including the Greco-Turkish minority in Istanbul in the Population Exchange. However, Turks living in West Thrace should absolutely be exempt from this exchange, and a lot of attention was being focused on a minute detail: Population Exchange should not be voluntary but mandatory. In other words, Turkey did not want to have any doors left open that would give any opportunity for the return of the Orthodox population in case they attempted to return. Conversely, the proposal made by Greece was that Population Exchange should not be forced but should be left to the free will of the minorities. Meanwhile, Lord Curzon was emphasizing how pleased they had been with the positive attitude of Ismet Pasha that he had displayed towards the idea of Population Exchange. Lord Curzon and Ismet Pasha had shared the opinion that a mass immigration within the framework of Population Exchange should be mandatory but not voluntary. Lord Curzon clearly stated that he could not be supportive of a voluntary immigration for it would last for a few months: *“Should the decision made be that Population Exchange be left to the will of the individuals, it would require months for its completion in practice; however, what has been desired the most was to be able to have the Turkish population settled by the beginning of the following year so that they could start their work at the beginning of the agricultural season. Secondly, it was of grave importance to accommodate the immigrants who had been piling up in Greece in this country. If Exchange of Population is mandatory, then it would become easier to pay the value of the goods and estates that the migrants would have to abandon.”*

According to the suggestions of Venizelos and Ismet Pasha, the issue was transferred to a committee that had one Greek and one Turkish member. Nansen was going to be the advisor of this committee. The committee met under the leadership of the Italian delegate Montagna on December 2nd 1922. During the negotiations, Ismet Pasha proposed that the Greco-Turkish in Istanbul should be included, but the Muslims in West Thrace should be exempt from Population Exchange. In addition, he suggested the removal of the Rum Patriarchate from Istanbul. Yet, this view was countered with the disapproval of the Greek, American and British delegates. At the end of the negotiations, the Turkish delegates accepted that the residence of the Greco-Turkish, referred to as *“etablis”* remain in Istanbul.<sup>2</sup> It was agreed on principle that the Greco-Turkish men whose families had immigrated to Greece but who had been detained in Anatolia should be allowed to unite with their families. Moreover, the Turkish delegates displayed how determined they were to assure that the mandatory population exchange would not take place before the May of 1923. These requests were approved of by the other delegates as well. Additionally, it was decided that the properties and estates of the population to be exchanged would

be dealt with by a committee to be formed. The detailed evaluations that emerged at the initial stages of the negotiations continued in the 11 sub committees who were supervised by delegates from neutral nations. These 11 committees had 4 Dutch, 3 Hollander, 2 Swiss, 1 Norwegian and 1 Swedish chairmen, and their did their studies in connection with the Committee of Placement of Immigrants.

*“Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Population”* was signed on January 30 1923 by the Turkish delegates M.İsmet, Dr. Rıza Nur and by the Greek delegates E.K Venizelos ve D. Caclamanos. According to the Convention, members of the Rum-Orthodox religion with Turkish citizenship and living in Turkey, and Muslims with Greek citizenship living in Greece would be forcibly made immigrants and de jure denaturalized from their homelands beginning from May 1, 1923. Those who would go to the other country would not be permitted to return and resettle either in Greece or in Turkey without obtaining the consent of the Greek or Turkish governments. This population exchange was not to include the Rum residents of Istanbul, and the Muslim residents in West Thrace. After some time, Greek population on the Island of Imroz and Tenedos were to be excluded from this compulsory population exchange. The number of the Rum population ( minority) who had settled within the boundaries of Istanbul Municipality prior to October 30, 1918 was taken under record, yet the boundaries of Istanbul (Sehremaneti) were what had been defined in the 1912 Constitution. All the Muslim population who had settled to the east of the border line determined by the Treaty of Bucharest were accepted as the Muslims in West Thrace. The Word *“emigrant”* was going to be used to refer to any real or corporate persons who would have already emigrated or would have been forced to emigrate before the date of October 18, 1912. During the course of the compulsory population exchange, no damage was to be given to neither the property rights nor the receivables of both the emigrant sides. Regardless of any reason, no interventions were permitted to prevent any person belonging to either of the emigrating sides from emigrating. Those suspected or convicted of a crime would be transfered to the concerned authorities of the emigrants’ destination country by the authorities of the prosecuting country. Emigrants would no longer hold the citizenship of the country where they would be abandoning, and they would be accepted as having acquired the citizenship of the country where they would be emigrating to once they would set foot on its soil. Emigrants would not be restricted to take their removable possessions with themselves or to have them transported for themselves by a third party. These possessions either from or into the country were exempt from any taxation. Additionally, mobile assets of corporate persons such as mosque, dervish lodge, madrasah, church, monastery, school, hospital or freternity were permitted to be taken or to be transported by third parties, and the legal permission for these was given to those who were involved with

these institutions. Based on the proposal of the committee, both countries were going to provide all their available means to help ease this process. Those not able to take a part or all of their portable commodities with themselves were permitted to leave them where they had been. In such a case, local authorities were to be in charge of recording the list and value of the possessions of the concerned emigrant which they were going to leave behind themselves. Copies of this record were going to be kept by the emigrant, the committee, and local authorities of both the concerned countries.

A Mixed Committee was to be formed in the first 6 months after this Convention would become effective (Muhtelit Mubadele Komisyonu). This Committee was going to have five members three of whom were going to be nominated by the League of Nations and whose countries would not have been involved in World War I and one Turkish and one Greek. The Committee was to meet in Greece and in Turkey; and was going to be chaired by one of the three neutral members and Chairing of the Committee would be based on turn taking principles. There would be sub committees formed under the umbrella of the main one, and the emigration process would be kept under the observation and supervision of these sub committees, which would also be comprised of Turkish, and Greek members and another member from any of the neutral states of the main committee, yet the member from the neutral state would always be in charge of chairing these sub committees. The Mixed Committee was going to determine the authorities of the sub committees, and all the objections regarding the liquidation of commodities, rights and interests were to be addressed to the Mixed Committee. The Mixed Committee would be responsible for viewing and reaching the final verdicts about these objections.. After having obtained first hand information, the value of the possessions to be liquidified would be assessed. The concerned owner of the commodities would be issued an explanatory note on which there would be a statement of the value of the commodities owed to the emigrant by the government of the country where the goods would be abandoned. These documents were required from the emigrant to request new possessions from the authorities of his/her new country so that what he would be given would match the value of his possessions that had been abandoned where he had emigrated from. The amount stated on the documents that the emigrants had with themselves were considered as the debt of the country where the emigrant had emigrated from to the country where the emigrants had emigrated. This meant that calculations were going to be made in both countries; and the difference between accounts receivable and accounts payable would clarify the balance between the two countries. These calculations were going to be made by both countries every six months. In the end, if the debts of both countries were the same amount, that would be an indication that none owed any money to the other. However, in case one of the countries owed money to the other, then this was to be paid in full. If the

government who had the debt would request extra time to complete the payment, then the Committee would be permitted to give the opportunity to the debtor to complete the payment in three installments; yet, this would require the payment of additional interest and the percentage of the interest would be determined by the Committee. Both sides mutually agreed on not to directly or indirectly force the to be “emigrants” to abandon their homes and sell their possessions before the set dates for their emigration. As for people who lived in areas outside the boundaries of the population exchange territories, their rights to remain on that land or return to those regions, and their rights to freely benefit from their liberties and ownership of possessions in Greece and in Turkey were never to be countered by any obstacles. During the course of solving these problems, expenses of the Mixed Committee and the sub Committees appointed by it would be covered by the two concerned governments according to the ratios decided upon by the committees.

As a result, both sides had accepted the fact that this was a compulsory migration but not a willful one. The mutual migration of both the Turks and the Rum people was forceful. Thus, when looked at from the perspective of human rights and proprietary rights, rights acquired during the course of history were going to be suspended. Especially, the fact that this mass migration was going to be compulsory rather than self imposed was strengthening this view of suspension of rights. As explained, all principles, rules, institutions and methods to be applied during the course of this forceful migration had been shaped on the basis of requirements and obligations. In other words, this was the consequence of historical developments and its extensions. Psychological, sociological and economic burden put on the emigrants of this compulsory population exchange, or agreed mutual expulsion was far reaching enough to leave all other problems in shade.

The fact that this mass migration was compulsory filtered the problem from all other theoretical and practical details and introduced a permanent and definite solution to the problem. Any probable appearance of complex problems were reduced to a low level. Therefore, despite the numerous difficulties mass migration involved, the ease and speed of the migration were the consequences of this compulsion.

As the developments were at this stage, there were a lot of actions to be taken so as to introduce an orderly approach to the problem of emigrants in Turkey. The first step was the foundation of a ministry: Ministry of Zoning and Housing for the Population Exchange was established on October 13, 1923.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by the introduction of the Housing Act on November 8, 1923.<sup>3</sup> Mustafa Necati, who was famous for his brave acts during the Turkish War of Independence and whose close relationship with Ataturk was well known, was appointed as the Minister of this new institution.<sup>4</sup> He put a lot of effort into the development of this new ministry outside big cities, and tried hard to take all

the measures that would prevent the probable occurrence of problems during the migration process. Through maintaining coordinations with other ministries and with their contributions, he developed ideas as solutions for the problems that the emigrants were faced with in moving, health, accomodation and nutrition and developed ideas, strategies and plans so as to enable the emigrants to become involved in the process of production. He invited bids from international marine tarnsportation companies so as to help emigrants in their moving process. Although this tender was won by the Italian Company Lyod Tristino, based on the considerate comments of the Turkish Marine Shipping Organization, the tender was cancelled in order not to waste the limited capital by paying a foreign company. Soon, a federation with the participation of shipping firms was formed, and the task of transporation of the emigrants was assigned to it. It was approved that the emigrants should be transported from Greece by ships under the institution named Seyrisefain, and a contract was signed with this organization.<sup>2</sup> The principle conditions of this transportation were identified, and *Istanbul Port Authority* was responsible for determining the number and capacity of the ships which were going to transport the emigrants. Every ship was supposed to have the necessary convinience and must be sufficiently equipped to accomodate the emigrants during their trips. Therefore, all the ships were required to obtain an issued report showing that all the required health related equipment was on board and it was sufficient to deal with any health problems that would occur while the emigrants were on board. Ships applying to the Port Authority for this document of eligibility to transport the emigrants would undergo a preparation period to ensure their sufficiency.

Ship companies that would be participating in this transportation process were also required to submit a letter of guarantee. In case the letter submitted was accepted, at the end of the following week, that company was supposed to have 4 ships at the indicated port of erbarkment. The ships were expected to provide places for the emigrants to be able to rest, and to have fresh water tanks, and to have first aid cabins. Personnel from the Ottoman Red Crescent Association would be available at those health cabins. The cost of this transportation was the responsibility of the emigrant. However, those who were not economically sufficient enough to be able to pay for their own transportation were compensated for by the government. Moreover, a significant number of emigrants were declaring that they were needy and could not pay for their transportation. During this transportation process, transportation fees required for human, cattle and possession of the passangers varied, but children under the age of 8 were to be transported at no cost, and transportation of 100 kilos of possessions per person was free of charge. Additionally, the companies were required to complete all the loading process within maximum 5 days.

Ships of Turkish Shipping Organization started transportation of the emigrants from Greece. The emigrants were getting on board at the ports of

Chania, Rethimno, Heraklion and Salonika in Greece and were transported to the identified destination ports. Some of the ships that were part of the emigrant carrying fleet were Gülcemal, Akdeniz, Reşit Paşa, Kızılırmak, Şam, Giresun, Ümit, Gülnihal, Bahricedit, Altay, Gelibolu, Bandırma, İnebolu, Nimet, Canik, Millet ve Ereğli and the total capacity of all these ships was 37.494 <sup>2</sup>.

Despite the fact that the rules and regulations seemed quite reasonable, in practice they were not as they had been expected. It was impossible to provide a chamber for all the emigrants, and they were mostly embarking with their cattle which were being transported in the ship's store, and at times they would even insist on taking their chariots on board. Authorities were trying very hard to accomodate the old and the young and the sick emigrants in chambers. Moreover, there were times when many emigrants were being transported on the deck, in corridors and even among the bales in the storeerooms, and there would also be occasions when emigrants would have to travel with their cattle., and among their possessions. However, traveling among these bales could form a real health problem because the cargo of the emigrants on board had been left in the open at the ports in Greece for many days. In summary, overload of passangers and cargo on the ships, and this overcrowding was resulting in hygiene problems. Moreover, provision of food on a regular basis for the emigrants was not possible. The Ottoman Red Crescent Association was serving soup to at least the young and the sick emigrants. The doctor and the nurses were vaccinating each emigrant against measles and smallpox and all the emigrants on board were inspected to ensure that they were not carriers of any contagious disease. Yet, it was not always possible to say that these inspections and services were being performed on all the ships without any obstacles. In addition to the vaccinations, the health personnel on board was trying to provide all possible help to the emigrants on board. Food help was being provided by the Ottoman Red Crescent Association to those who were needy. On the basis of the agreement made between the Ottoman Red Crescent Association and Ministry of Zoning and Housing, they would work in coordination and while the Red Crescent personnel would deal with all health related issues, Ministry of Zoning and Housing would try to provide an environment where they could perform their duties.<sup>3</sup>

Disembarkment ports for the ships transporting emigrants from Greece had been identified prior to their arrival in Turkey. Major ports of disembarkment were Izmir, Istanbul- Tuzla, Ayvalık, Mudanya, Samsun, Trabzon, Antalya ve Mersin, the busiest of which were in İzmir, İstanbul, Mersin and Samsun and the biggest of the ports were Tuzla in Istanbul and Klazumen Tahafuzhane in Urla near Izmir. As the emigrants disembarked, before being

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<sup>2</sup>Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and Industry Magazine, p. 25; for the status of other fleets, see. "Türkiye Ticareti Bahriyesi", *Ayın Tarihi*, II/6 (1924), p. 619-629.

transported to their place of final settlements, they were being accommodated at the guest houses near their ports of disembarkment. Near every guest house, health cabins had been established by the Ottoman Red Crescent so as to provide health services. Meanwhile, in order to prevent the spread of any contagious disease, serious measures had been taken in the coastal towns where the health cabins had been located. Serum and vaccines were stocked in these places.<sup>4</sup>

### Bursa and Population Exchange

In addition to its historical identity extending from the Ottoman times to the Republic era, Bursa had significance in the history of emigration as it had been an important area of settlement for the emigrants, and this continued during the course of the Population Exchange.<sup>3</sup>

Bursa constituted of the provinces of Gemlik, Mihaliç (Karacabey), Mudanya, Kirmasti (Mustafa Kemal Paşa) ve Artanos (Orhaneli), Bilecik and İnegöl after the foundation of the Republic.<sup>4</sup> It was in 1918 that the name of the city that used to be Hüdavendigâr was changed to Bursa. While the total area that of Bursa during the Ottoman times had been 66.090 km<sup>2</sup>, it became 13.565km<sup>2</sup> after the foundation of the republic.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the Turkish War of Independence, Muslims, Rums, Armenians, Jews and the Bulgarians were living either together or in their ethnic community quarters<sup>6</sup>. While Rums belonged to the Orthodox denomination of the Christian religion, Armenians were of Gregorian, Catholic or Protestant sects.<sup>7</sup> The Rum groups that were included among the population to be exchanged were mainly the residents of Central Bursa, Mudanya, Mihaliç (Karacabey) and Gemlik<sup>8</sup>. Bursa had two centers that had always had a significant place in its commercial life: Mudanya and Gemlik; while the majority of the population in Mudanya was comprised of the Rums, that of Gemlik was of Armenians<sup>9</sup>. The fact that majority of the Board of Directors of Bursa Chamber of Commerce founded in 1889 were of Rum and

<sup>3</sup> For two important studies on this topic, see Nesim Şeker, *Türk-Yunan Nüfus Mübadele Anlaşması Sonucu Bursa'ya Gelen Göçmenlerin Kentin Sosyal Yapısı Üzerindeki Etkileri: 1923-1935*, Uludağ University Institute of Social Sciences, (Unpublished Master Thesis), Bursa, 1995; Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa'da Mübadele (1923-1930 Yunanistan Göçmenleri)*, Eurasia Ethnography Foundation Publications., Bursa, 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Nesimi Şeker, *ibid.*, p.48-49.

<sup>5</sup> Justin McCarthy, *Müslümanlar ve Azınlıklar*, İstanbul, 1998, narrated from p.238 by: Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Bursa*, Eurasia Ethnography Foundation Publications., İstanbul, 2006, p.264; With the laws enacted in 1924, provinces were organized again and brigades were abolished and provinces were created in their present form. The city received its present form with its districts in 1926. *ibid.*, p.264.

<sup>6</sup> Nesim Şeker, *ibid.*, p.49.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, p.49.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p.52.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p.53.

Armenian origin was an indication that they had significance in the commercial and industrial life of Bursa<sup>10</sup>. The Rum had the leading roles in the crafting of stone, construction and sericulture<sup>11</sup>. The city that had been on the Silk Road had always been an important commercial center; and additionally, it had port towns like Mudanya and Gemlik. It was through these ports that the silk produced in Bursa had been exported to european cities on the foreign ships, and the commodity items that the region needed were being imported via these ports. Moreover, the town was located close to Istanbul. Its close location to Istanbul made it a provider for Istanbul; similarly, its needs were provided by Istanbul. Production of silk and the related industry and commerce had led to its economic development.<sup>12</sup>. Home textile industry was common, and silk as raw material and manufactured goods contributed to the high life standards of the city. Export activities related to silk and its byproducts had mostly been the occupation of foreign businessmen rather than Turkish businessmen. Capitulations and the provisions of 1838 Treaty of Commerce had given privileges to the foreigners.<sup>13</sup> Minorities had a significant role in silk industry which was mainly geared to exports, but Turks were mainly effective in agriculture.

The part of Rum and Armenians who were occupied with agriculture were in regions where the soil was relatively more productive than the soil that the Turkish people farmed on, and the farming techniques they used were more advanced than the techniques used by the Turks. Silk industry formed the center of business activity, and there was strong demand for labour force in this sector. These economic activities and the classes had impact on the social and economic changes. Bursa had relatively more urban features than other cities had<sup>14</sup>. As stated by Seker, majority of silk industry was dominated by the Rum and Armenians. In 1862, there were 90 silk factories only in central Bursa<sup>15</sup>. Owing to this reason, the capital in the city belonged to the minorities, and naturally, they had higher life standards than that of the Turks.

In the course of history, emigrants were added to this picture, and topography of demographics changed over the years. In the 19th century, mostly in 1877-1878 during the Ottoman –Russian War, emigrants were brought to Bursa on different dates, and their settlements to various locations of Bursa were

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<sup>10</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa'da Mübadele...*, p.35;

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p.35.

<sup>12</sup> Regarding the commercial situation of Bursa in the 15th century, see. Halil İnalçık, "Bursa: I XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar", *Belleten*, XXIV / 93 (1960), p.45-102.

<sup>13</sup> Nesim Şeker, *ibid.*, p.54-55; See also: Fahri Dalsar, *Türk Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihinde Bursa'da İpekçilik*, İstanbul, 1960.

<sup>14</sup> On this topic see: Musa Çadircı, *Tanzimat Döneminde Anadolu Kentlerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı*, Turkish Historical Society Publications, Ankara, 1997; also see: Ahmet Şerif, *Anadolu'da Tanin*, (Haz. Mehmed Çetin Börekçi), Turkish Historical Society Publications, Ankara, 1999, p.1-2.

<sup>15</sup> Nesim Şeker, *ibid.*, p.57.

imposed. Bursa had always housed emigrants during the course of the history of emigrations; and, naturally it was a location the demographic topography of which had always varied. Some of the 72500 Bulgarian emigrants who had come to Anatolia from Bulgaria from 1893 to 1902 had settled in Bursa in addition to Thrace, Balıkesir and Bandırma, and there had been Jews among them<sup>16</sup>. This region had embraced emigrants from Caucasia and Crimia between 1860-1865<sup>17</sup>. A high number of emigrants after the Ottoman –Russian War of 1877-1878 were known to have settled in Bursa<sup>18</sup>. Annual official Ottoman records for 1897 indicated that of the 5846 emigrants who had come to Turkey, 4489 of them (932 houses) had been settled in Hüdavendigâr (Bursa) <sup>19</sup>.

The demographic topography of the region had already had great variety. Emigrant groups all of whom had arrived at different dates were imposed to settle in this location. While emigrants of Bosnian, Albanian and Georgian origins were made to settle on land where the soil was quite infertile, they were admiring the fertile soil on which the non-Muslims had settled <sup>20</sup>. During the course of World War I, relationships among different ethnic groups in Bursa started to deteriorate. Owing to the political practices and external provocations, trust among Turks, Rums and Armenians was lost, and all this had been caused by the Turkish, Rum and Armenian gangs, and it had become uncontrollable<sup>21</sup>. Because of disturbance of peace, emigration of Rum and Armenian peasants was imposed during the 1915 Armenian Migration. Bosnians, Pomaks and Albanians were settled in the vacant houses which had been abandoned by them<sup>22</sup>. After World War I, Turkey geared towards a national war. Before the invasion, Hacim Muhittin Çarıklı had been the governor of the city. After British troops had landed in Mudanya, Gemlik and Karamürsel, Greek troops found the encouragement that they had been looking for and conquered Balıkesir, Karacabey and Kirmastı. Though there were national forces in this region, they were far from being effective towards the attacks of the Greek troops <sup>23</sup>. Following the heavy Greek raids, the city was vacated by Turkish troops, and was invaded by Greek forces on July 8, 1920. Invasion of the city by Greeks encouraged the minorities, especially the Orthodox Rum, living in the city to act against the Turks. Meanwhile, having been encouraged by the

<sup>16</sup> İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Nüfusun Zorunlu...", p.56.

<sup>17</sup> Ahmet Cevat Eren, *Türkiye'de Göç ve Göçmen Meseleleri*, İstanbul, 1966, s. 75.

<sup>18</sup> Adil Adnan Öztürk, Rumeli'den Aydın Vilâyeti'ne Yapılan Göçler ve Aydın Vilâyetine Gelen Rumeli Muhacirininin İskân ve İdâreleri Hakkında Talimat-ı Mahsusâ, *Journal of Research in Modern Turkey*, III/10 (1999-2000), p.123-130

<sup>19</sup> For Table 24 için see: *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı 1897 (The First Statistical Yearbook of the Ottoman Empire)*, Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi, V, Ankara, 1997, p.41.

<sup>20</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *ibid.*, s.52.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, p.52.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p.53; same author again, *Meşrutiyetten...*, p.222.

<sup>23</sup> For the memories of Hacim Muhittin Çarıklı's process, see. *Balıkesir ve Alaşehir Kongreleri ve Hacim Muhittin Çarıklı'nın Kuva-yi Milliye Hatıraları (1919-1920)*, (Haz: Şerafettin Turan), Ankara, 1967.

Greek forces, the Rum and Armenian minorities had started to act forcefully towards the Turks, and these led to the deterioration of relations at once<sup>24</sup>. The Armenians and the Rum people who had been forced to emigrate from the city started to return to their homes during the period of armistice. Feeling of animosity was growing in intensity among different ethnic groups<sup>25</sup>. These forceful behaviours of the minorities caused the Turks to partly emigrate to uninhabited regions.

Bursa remained under the invasion of enemy troops till September 11, 1922<sup>26</sup>, and during all this period of invasion, unfortunately, mulberry trees, the main source silk worms, had not been sufficiently taken care of, and its neglect led to decrease in silk production. Transfer of basic food items such as cattle for meat, grains, olives and olive oil to Istanbul had been banned by Greek forces. Destruction caused by the invasion was huge, and almost all of Bursa had been burnt by the Greek forces during the withdrawal of their troops; therefore, vast majority of settlements had become uninhabitable and large number of the local civilian population were decimated<sup>27</sup>.

While the city was suffering from postwar problems, it was preparing to bear the burden of its share from the wave of mass migration.

Ministry of Zoning and Housing for the Population Exchange had divided the country into ten sections and identified the regions where the emigrants could settle. Bursa was located in the 5th zone, and similar to other regions, district managements were established in Bursa and in Mudanya. In addition to transportation, provision, housing and agriculture branches under these management units, there were also civil engineers, inspectors and medical doctors, and mobile units<sup>28</sup>.

Towards the end of 1923, transportation of the emigrants started.<sup>29</sup> All the companies involved in the transportation of the emigrants carried the enthusiastic emigrants from different Greek ports to Turkey. Emigrants were classified according to their professions at their embarkment ports by authorities. While majority of them came from agricultural backgrounds, a small number had professions belonging to urban life. This classification according to

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<sup>24</sup> Saime Yüceer, *Bursa'nın İşgal ve Kurtuluş Süreci*(8 Temmuz 1920-11 Eylül 1922), Publications of Uludağ University Bursa 2001; also see: Adnan Sofuoğlu, *Kuvay-ı Milliye Döneminde Kuzey Batı Anadolu 1919-1921*, Ankara 1994, various pages; Orhan Hülagü, *Milli Mücadele'de Bursa*, İstanbul 2001; Tefik Doğan, *Bursa Bölgesinde Yapılan Savaşlar*, İstanbul 1940.

<sup>25</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *Meşrutiyetten...*, p.222.

<sup>26</sup> See the details of the process. Saime Yüceer, *İbid*, various pages.

<sup>27</sup> Mehmet Kaya, "Mondros Mütarekesi'nden İşgale Kadar Bursa'nın Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yaşamına Dair Gözlemler", *Ulusal Zaferimizi Taçlandıran Kent : Mudanya*, Mudanya Municipality publications, p.158; see also: Mümtaz Şükrü Eğilmez, *Milli Mücadele'de Bursa*, Bursa, 1983.

<sup>28</sup> Kamal Arı, "Mübadele Göçmenlerini Türkiye'ye Taşıma Sorunu..", p.27.

<sup>29</sup> Kemal Arı, *ibid*, p.36.

their professions and skills was of vital importance so as to transport them to settlements where they could have smooth and easy adaptation to their natural and social environments and become active producers as soon as it was possible for them. Olive cultivation, vineyards and orchards, sericulture and silk weaving industry were among the primary business fields of Bursa. Stemming from the commonplace destruction that the city suffered from during the war years, there had been a significant decrease in production in these areas. Emigrants could have a revitalizing role in these fields.

During determining places of settlements for the emigrants, the principal identifying factor was the real estate property abandoned by the Rums. The property that had been left behind by the emigrating Rums had been severely destroyed during the course of plundering in the city. Many villages and important places of urban centers had been burnt down. There was a group of fire victims in the city called "harikzede". Real estate property abandoned by the Rums had been destroyed by both this group and others that had been adversely affected during the war. In contrast, this property had to be reserved for the emigrants of Population Exchange according to the provisions of the Exchange Agreement. There were numerous problems ranging from identification of the property to taking them back from the ones who unrightfully had occupied the estates.<sup>30</sup> The villages of Yeniköy, Ortaköy, Keramet, Çengiler/Sugören, Ermenigürle, Yenice, Derbent, Gündoğdu, Başköy, İnkizce, Çatalağıl, Gündoğdu, İsmetpaşa and Subaşı had entirely been burnt down<sup>31</sup>. The locals of the city were putting their efforts into fixing more than half of the burnt places<sup>32</sup>. Unnecessary occupations had become a common place in Turkey,<sup>33</sup> and such was the case for Bursa as well. In a report of the District Management published in the newspaper, *the İleri*, there was information about the conditions of the abandoned houses in and around Bursa. As revealed in this report, repairs of the destroyed houses in the region were progressing with great speed. The repair work continued even after the arrival of the emigrants<sup>34</sup>. However, the unauthorized occupations of these houses, and the lootings and not ceasing these illegal occupations hindered and prolonged the efforts to find housing and accommodation for the emigrant<sup>35</sup>. Similar to other places in the country, there

<sup>30</sup> Genel olarak bkz. Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele...*, various pages

<sup>31</sup> Kaplanoğlu, *ibid*, p.103.

<sup>32</sup> *TBMM Zabıt*, Devre. II, İçtima. II, v. VIII, Ankara, 1968, p.1042.

<sup>33</sup> For two separate studies on this topic, see. "Yunan İşgalinden Sonra İzmir'de 'Emval-i Metruke' ve 'Fuzuli İşgal' Sorunu", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VI/18 (Temmuz, 1990), 691-706; "1923 Türk-Rum Mübadele Anlaşması Sonrasında İzmir'de 'Emval-i Metruke' ve 'Mübadil Göçmenler'", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, VI/18 (Temmuz, 1990), 627-657; also see "Kurtuluş Savaşı Sonrasında İzmir'e Yönelik Göçler ve Etkileri", *Üç İzmir*, Yapı Kredi Pbl., İstanbul, 1992, 273-282; "Migration into İzmir Following the War of Independence and its Effects", *The Three of İzmir*, Yapı Kredi Publishing, İstanbul, 1994, 273-282.

<sup>34</sup> *İleri*, 27 Kânunusani 1924.

<sup>35</sup> Kemal Arı, "1923 Türk-Rum Mübadele Anlaşması Sonrasında...", p. 627-657.

was a vast problem of housing in Bursa. In addition to the wide destruction that the city had to survive through during the war years, many people emigrated to Bursa from other places competing to get ownership of the Rum leftovers. The city had already had significant number of war victims, and when their demands were at peak, addition of international migrations to the domestic migrations created an unbearable housing problem culminating in the paralysis of urban social life of the city. There was the problem of overcrowding fed by these migrations. In addition to the housing problem, problems of unemployment, extreme price increases, health and crooked urbanization emerged<sup>36</sup>. The real estate property abandoned by the Rums when they emigrated from Turkey to Greece were irresponsibly occupied by the disaster victims, most common and worst of which were the fire victims, refugees, government officers who had initially been led by the state, army officers and eastern emigrants and opportunists. Majority of the abandoned property had been severely destroyed during the initial stages when government authority was very weak. In addition to this act of plundering, with the establishment of local administration and relocation of Turkish troops after the withdrawal of foreign forces, houses were assigned to state and army officers as well. During the transition period before the Population Exchange Protocol was even signed in Lausanne, with the faulty governmental politics, and part of the real estate property of the Rums and their personal possessions were sold in public auctions. Some of the property were leased to the needy locals. These properties had been transferred to the authority of Ministry of Finance prior to the foundation of Ministry of Zoning and Housing for the Population Exchange. Ministry of Finance had attempted to create additional income to the budget. Obviously, these attempts bounced back after the protocol was signed and the emigrants started to arrive. It was observed that undoing the acts that were the outcome of immediate and irresponsible decisions was not possible. In a way, the chaos caused by the Ministry of Finance was tried to be solved by Ministry of Zoning and Housing by vacating the real estate properties, cancelling the contracts signed or by not renewing them. However, not much was achieved from the attempts to solve the mistakes<sup>37</sup>.

Despite all these difficulties, the government was still viewing Bursa as a location to settle the emigrants. According to the explanation of Mustafa Necati, the initial plan had been the construction of 27 sample villages for the settlement of the emigrants, and construction of two of these villages had been suggested to be in the Bursa region. In the planning of these villages, every village was

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<sup>36</sup> For an article examining these problems in the example of İzmir, see. Same author, "Kurtuluş Savaşı Sonrasında...", p. 273-282; again see İbn'ül Cemal M. Ragıp, "İzmir'in Vaziyet-i İktisadiye ve içtimaiyesi" ..., p. 312-314.

<sup>37</sup> Kemal Arı, "Türk-Rum Mübadele Andlaşması Sonrasında" ..., various pages; also see. Büyük Mübadele, p.115.

planned to have 50 houses, one school and one mosque<sup>38</sup>. In practice, the number of villages exceeded the number initially planned. Gradually, efforts to construct sample villages increased. Until 1930, 69 sample villages had been constructed all over Turkey with additional budget of 1.480.684 liras<sup>39</sup>. In this planning, the suggested villages for Bursa were İkizce ve Karacaoba near the Apalyont lake. Construction of these villages had been planned for years 1924-1925<sup>40</sup>.

Bursa seemed to be a region that emigrants especially wished to settle in. Its fertile soil and the fact that it was among relatively one of the most advanced places in Turkey formed the basis of this expectation, and hopeful thinking. Bursa was the name mostly commonly uttered and heard of among the waiting emigrants in Greece. Emigrants who were being informed that they were going to be transported to places other than Izmir, Aydin, Istanbul and Bursa, were feeling disappointed for being transported to places the names of which they had never heard of. When these emigrants were being questioned to obtain basic information regarding themselves at their ports of embarkment, some of them preferred to present misleading information to the port authorities either due to rumours or due to personal and family reasons.

According to the research of Nesim Şeker, Bursa received its first emigrant group on December 19, 1923 from the port of Mudanya<sup>41</sup>. The ship named the *Sakarya* had transported emigrants from the cities of Langadas and Thessaloniki who embarked on the *Sakarya* at the Port of Thessaloniki and disembarked at the Port of Mudanya<sup>42</sup>.

After the cargo of the emigrants had been loaded, and the emigrants had embarked, the ship sailed off from the Port of Thessaloniki, but it had a technical problem as it came close to Turkish coast; and, therefore, it went to Tuzla, had the repairs done and then came to Port of Mudanya when the emigrants set their feet on Turkish soil. Emigrants were warmly greeted by both official people and institutions, and the locals. A guest house had already been prepared before their arrival in Muradiye, and they were taken to the Guest house for a few days where they would have some rest<sup>43</sup>. Local newspapers of the period, the *Ertuğrul*, the *Hüdavendigar* ve the *Yeni Fikir* were calling the locals to come and help the emigrants. Almost all of the emigrants had become so poor that they were unable to meet their need of food and drinks. Volunteers among the locals

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<sup>38</sup> Kazım Öztürk, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi*, TBMM II: Dönem, 1923-1927, II, TBMM Foundation Publishing., Ankara, p. 371; also see. Nedim İpek, *Mübadele ve Samsun*, Turkish Historical Society Publications., Ankara, 2000, s.70-71; Ali Cengizkan, *İbid* p..28.

<sup>39</sup> Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele*, p.65-66; and also, Ali Cengizkan, *İbid* p.28.

<sup>40</sup> Ali Cengizkan *İbid* p.28 et al.

<sup>41</sup> Nesim Şeker, *İbid* p .46.

<sup>42</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *İbid* p. 76.

<sup>43</sup> *İbid* p. 77.

and civilian organizations were supplying food assistance for those needy emigrants, and especially to the ill ones. The view was that of collective work<sup>44</sup>. These aids were provided in coordination with the Ottoman Red Crescent. Locals were highly interested in and responsive to these calls for help. Official organizations such as Muhacirin-i İslamiye Muavenet Heyeti, the Exchange Association, the Red Crescent, and the Red Cross participated in this campaign to help the emigrants<sup>45</sup>. The city council had met, and at the meeting the decision reached was to collect financial aid so as to support them in their health, food and accommodation needs. According to the research findings of Nesim Şeker, a week prior to the arrival of the emigrants, Ahmed Tevfik, Hacı Sabri, Hakkı Baha, Ahmed Ziya, Mehmed Kamil and Mümtaz Şükrü Bey visited the Office of The Governor and founded an organization under the name "*Muhacirin Yardım Cemiyeti*" - "Support Organization for the Emigrants". The aims of this support organization had been explained by Nesim Şeker as "*providing the utmost support to the government in their efforts to provide our brothers with their resting, food and housing needs*"<sup>46</sup>.

Emigrants were coming in groups on ships and their port of disembarkment was mostly Mudanya. The ships which transported the emigrants from Greece to Mudanya were *the Akdeniz, the Sakarya, the Teşvikiye, the Cumhuriyet, the Dumlupınar, and the Kırzade*<sup>47</sup>. Emigrants who had lived close to the Bulgarian border in Greece chose to travel through railway or motorways., but their number was less than the number of those who traveled on ships. Emigrants who had set on their journey with their cattle preferred railway to motorway. Because travelling on trains involved safety issues, transportation of emigrants to Turkey by rail had not been the preferred means of transport, and the number of those who chose railway transport had been very low. Emigrants who had been from Drama, Sarışaban and the surrounding villages used the Port of Kavala, and the peasants from Thessaloniki, Langadas, Vodina and Kilkis and the surrounding villages embarked on their ships at the Port of Thessaloniki and their Port of disembarkment was Mudanya. Emigrants from the Island of Crete used the Port of Kandiye and those coming from Ioannina and Preveza used Port of Preveza as their ports of embarkment.<sup>48</sup> Emigrants were coming to Mudanya via Tuzla, because in Tuzla there was quarantine and the emigrants were being disinfected in Tuzla, and then they were being transported to Mudanya<sup>49</sup>. A Health care facility and a guest house that could accommodate and hospitalize upto 1000 people had been prepared in Mudanya, and upto 500 people in Bursa had been made ready before the arrival of the

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<sup>44</sup> A.g.e., s.94; Nesim Şeker, *İbid* p.46.

<sup>45</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *İbid* p. 98-100.

<sup>46</sup> *Yeni Fikir*, Narrated from February 17, 1925 by: Nesim Şeker, *İbid* p.47.

<sup>47</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *İbid* p.77.

<sup>48</sup> *İbid* p. 75.

<sup>49</sup> *İbid* p. 94.

emigrants. Upon their arrivals, their identities were checked and they were given identity cards issued under the name of the head of the family<sup>50</sup>. The guesthouse on the Port of Mudanya could accommodate the emigrants for a day. After this one-day rest, they were either transported by trains to the new emigrant settlement areas or to the emigrant camps located in Bursa<sup>51</sup>. In the event that there were not any trains available, then transportation was provided via rental cars arranged by the district offices of zoning.<sup>52</sup> The lodging places in Bursa were in Muradiye and Isiklar regions.<sup>53</sup> According to the findings of Kaplanoğlu; there had been emigrants who had been transported to Bursa after their disembarkment at the ports in Tekirdağ, İzmit, Trabzon and İzmir. In addition to this, emigrants had also been transferred from Bursa to other settlements such as Kutahya and Afyon<sup>54</sup>.

According to the information delivered at the Assembly by Deputy Minister of Interior Affairs, and Minister of Zoning and Housing Recep (Peker) Bey, by the end of December 1924, 26204 of the emigrants who had come to Turkey had been settled in Bursa<sup>55</sup>. In time, the number of emigrants who had been settled in Bursa rose to 32075<sup>56</sup>. Kaplanoğlu made a reference to 1927 Yearbook of Bursa, and reported that the sum of the emigrants had reached 32.315 in total, but also added that this was an imaginary figure<sup>57</sup>. In his research studies, Cevat Geray made a reference to the number of emigrants who had been settled in Bursa between 1924-1930 as 31.658, and he had accepted this

<sup>50</sup> *İbid* p.92.

<sup>51</sup> *İbid* p.77, 92.

<sup>52</sup> *İbid* p. 94.

<sup>53</sup> *İbid* p. 92.

<sup>54</sup> *İbid* p.78.

<sup>55</sup> 358,465 people were resettled; 73.502 people to Thrace, 35.332 people to Istanbul, 26.578 people to İzmit, 38.925 people to Karesi (Balıkesir and its region), 62.524 people to İzmir, 6.179 people to Antalya, 29.189 people to Konya ' 20,856 of them to Adana, 1,100 of them to Erzincan, 38,076 of them to Samsun. In addition, 32,506 people were waiting to be resettled and 16,806 of them were in Samsun. Kazım Öztürk, *ibid*, p.371; Nedim İpek, *İbid* p.70.

<sup>56</sup> *State Institute of Statistics Statistics Yearbook,1929-1930*, Ankara, 1930, p. 100-101. According to this resource, 40,041 of the migrants who came to Turkey via exchange to were settled to Edirne, 33.138 of them were settled to Balıkesir, 32.075 of them were settled to Bursa, 22.237 of them were settled to Tekirdağ, 32.773 of them were settled to İstanbul, 31.867 of them were settled to İzmir, 19.920 of them were settled to Kırklareli, 16.277 of them were settled to Samsun, 15.530 of them were settled to Koca-eli, 15.668 of them were settled to Niğde, 11.872 of them were settled to Manisa. Compared to other sources, these figures should be viewed as suspicious.

<sup>57</sup> According to this data, 13,218 people have been settled in the center and the settlements affiliated to the center: 4,345 people to the center, 1,800 people to Susırlık / Gürsu, 590 people to Yaylacık, 474 people to Dansarı / İrfaniye, 417 people to Kilisan / İ.Paşa, 729 people to Fledar / Gündoğdu, 477 to İnesi / Özlüce people, 800 people to Demirtaş, 85 people to Anahor / Çaylı, 133 people to Tahtalı, 177 people to Bladiyunus / Yunuseli, 1266 people to Görgülü, 540 people to Apolyont, 1254 people to M. Kemalpaşa, 6.463 people were settled in Mudanya, 3.368 people in Karacabey and 3.645 people in Gemlik. Thus, the number of those settled in Bursa reached 32.315.. This number is a total of 7,480 households. For the full table, see. Raif Kaplanoğlu, *İbid* p 86.

number as being closer to reality than the other figures<sup>58</sup>. Actually, Geray appears to have made more accurate assessments about the number of emigrants. On the other hand, Nesim Şeker indicated that the number of exchange emigrants having arrived in Bursa from 1921 to 1929 was 34,523<sup>59</sup>. According to the figures indicated by Geray, Bursa was the city that received the most number of emigrants following İzmir, Edirne, Kırklarkeli, Tekirdağ and İstanbul. The number of emigrants who settled in Canakkale was 26126, Edirne was 84946 and İstanbul was 80721. Based on the references made by Seker to the 1927 Yearbook of the City of Bursa, the number of Exchange Emigrants who have been settled in Bursa until 1927 was 33,215'tir. 14,117 of these were in central Bursa and its villages, and the remaining 19,098 emigrants settled in Orhangazi, Mustafa Kemalpaşa, Mudanya, Karacabey, Gemlik and the surrounding villages. The number of emigrants settled in Bursa reached 40708 when nonexchange emigrants, refugees and fire victims were added to the number of exchange emigrants. However, the emigrants who had come to Bursa did not remain limited with this number. The number of emigrants who chose Bursa to settle in the years following the Balkan War was 81625<sup>60</sup>.

Majority of the emigrants who had been settled in Bursa had come from the island of Crete, Pereveza, Ioannina, Drama, , Langadas and Vadina regions<sup>61</sup>. Those who had come from Langadas had been settled in the Subaşı, Seyran, Harmanlı, Ulubat, Karakoca, Karacaoba, İrfaniye, Görükle, Yaylacık villages of Bursa, and those of Drama origin had been settled in the following villages of Bursa: Yeniköy, Şahinyurdu, Cihatlı, Yaylacık, Tahtalı, Karacaoba, İkizce, Karakoca, Harmanlı, Seyran, and Subaşı. Similarly, emigrants who had abandoned Vadina had been settled in the Yeniköy, Gündoğdu, Gürsu, Karamet, Ortaköy, Yenigürle, Yenisölöz, Yunuseli villages of Bursa. According to the research findings of Kaplanoğlu, the number of ships that had transported emigrants from the Island of Crete to Bursa was two, and they were mostly from Kandila and Chania; and they had been settled near Gemlik and Mudanya. When emigrants had come from Crete, they spoke no Turkish, and these islanders cooked all sorts of greens such as marata, radika, vuruver, askolibrus, feva, asfaraca, avranos, and rezico (chikory). These people knew harvesting of olive and extracting oil from olives; therefore, they made great contributions to the development of olive oil industry in Gemlik and Mudanya. Those who had come from Serres had been settled in Cihatlı, Marmaracık, Gürsu, Ulubat, İsmetiye, Sugören, and Trilye villages of Bursa, and those from Ioannina became the residents of the provinces of Gemlik and Mudanya. The former residents of

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<sup>58</sup> Cevat Geray, *Türkiye'den ve Türkiye'ye Göçler ve Göçmenlerin İskamı (1923-1961)*, SBF Pbl., Ankara, 1962, Ek 5; ayrıca bu kaynaktan akt: Raif Kaplanoğlu, *İbid* p.88; Nesim.Şeker, *İbid* p.74.

<sup>59</sup> *İbid* p.73.

<sup>60</sup> Nesim Şeker, *İbid* p.75.

<sup>61</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, *İbid* p.58-59.

Kilkıs became the new residents of the villages of Derbent, İsmetiye; Apolyont, İkizce and Yunuseli; and those who had been the residents of Florina were settled in Apolyont; and those from Kozani, Veria and Ptolemaida were settled in Çatalağıl, Harmanlı, Başköy, Yenigürle. Those from Kavala had been settled in Mudanya and Görükle; those from Sarışaban had been settled in İnesli, and those from Preveza had been settled in Gemlik, those from Yenicevardar had been settled in the villages Karacaova, Mustaca, Davutça, Topçu, Karaoğlu, Doğanç, Sarıca, Kurfalı, and Gündoğdu. The Pomaks who had been occupied with cattle raising in the mountainous regions were relocated to the villages of Yenice and Mudanya<sup>62</sup>.

Majority of these people were not wealthy. Some of them did not have the knowledge about how to do farming. Among the emigrants who had been settled in Bursa were also the Coptics. These people who were occupied with tinsmithing, forging and serving had been settled in Bursa and its provinces like Yenişehir, İznik, and Karacabey. They continued their crafts as shoe coloring, tinsmithing and forging<sup>63</sup>. A part from these people, there were emigrants who were not included in the exchange group and referred to as nonexchange emigrants: Albanians, Pomaks and those from Bulgaria and Skopje in Macedonia had also been settled in Bursa. Kaplanoğlu had used the term “*thousands*” for the Albanian emigrants<sup>64</sup>. In addition to all these, attempts had been made to provide settlements for “*harikzede*” in Bursa, and they had been the fire victims of the war who had been left homeless<sup>65</sup>.

Emigrants were in search of conditions that they had abandoned in Greece. Initially, zoning officers attempted to settle these emigrants according to a plan, and sometimes this decision to chose where the emigrant was to settle was left to the freewill of the emigrant. Depending upon the conditions, while emigrants were sometimes directly transported to where they would be housed, at other times they would be kept in temporary housing areas. Many emigrants had to stay in tents until they constructed their homes in their zoning areas. Governmental support was being provided, yet emigrants were having to work in the constructions of their own homes<sup>66</sup>.

The general appearance of the issue observed in Turkey had differences in details but on the whole the features were common everywhere. In Bursa, with the decrease in the population of the minorities, there occurred a big gap in production. Big deficiencies occurred in ways and varieties of production with the departure of the nonmuslims. The newly arriving emigrants tried their best efforts to fill this gap. They carried new ways and varieties of production to the

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid* p.66-71.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid* p..58-73.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid* p.90.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid* p.92.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid* p.100-101.

region. Just as they introduced a new culture to the area, so were they influenced by the existing varieties and forms of production. There was a period of mutual adaptation for both sides. In other words, exchange emigrants added to the agricultural, industrial, commercial and service knowledge of the region and added new wealth to its cultural tissue in addition to being highly influenced by the local culture. They had a significant role in filling the gap in agriculture. While some of the emigrants were settled in the state property, others were settled in the abandoned Rum and Armenian properties. With occupation of vacant land, these places became involved in the production process. In addition to land distribution among the emigrants, the government tried to accelerate agricultural processes by giving loans as financial resource to provide the farmers with opportunities to obtain new agriculture equipment. Land, seeds, agricultural equipment and ploughing animals had been distributed. The emigrants who had been settled in the houses abandoned by the Rums and Armenians started cultivating these lands. Corn, tobacco and rye were the principle agricultural products that the emigrants cultivated. Emigrants from Thessaloniki, Drama and Kavala were very talented in the cultivation and production of tobacco. Turks who had emigrated from the Island of Crete and had settled in Trilye were interested in vineyards, sericulture and wine making<sup>67</sup>. There were also fishermen among those who had come. Distribution of land, vineyards and orchards were done according to the regulations and suggestions of Ministry of Zoning and Housing. 5.315 houses, 719 shops, 1844 fields, 150.221 dönüm land( 920 square meter= 1 donum), 4.445 dönüm vineyards, 33.885 dönüm orchards were distributed to the 31568 people from the 7082 families who had been settled in Bursa<sup>68</sup>. In addition to these, some of the emigrants received ploughs, harvesters, meadow machines, around 50 harrows, tractor to be paid on installments and seeds. Those who had been settled in city centers filled the employment gaps by taking their active place in industrial, commercial and service areas<sup>69</sup>.

Meanwhile, important health issues were observed. Especially, after the emigrants had been provided with housing, contagious diseases spread rapidly. Owing to severe winter conditions, of the 800 emigrants in Demirtas village, 43 died in two days time.<sup>70</sup>. To be able to fight the problem, sick bays had been formed at Vefikpaşa Hospital and the Military Hospital, and sick bays with 30 patient capacity and nurses were opened in the villages of Kuruçeşme,

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<sup>67</sup> Fulya Karakoç Dövençi's interviews with Ercan Kara, İsmet Park, Abdi Uyanık on September 13, 2007 and with Safiye Ersöz on 20 June 2007 in Trilye.

<sup>68</sup> Cevat Geray, *ibid.*, Narrated from Annex 5 by: Nesim Şeker, *ibid.*, p.88.

<sup>69</sup> *İbid*, p.47.

<sup>70</sup> *Arkadaş*, Narrated from January 30, 1924 by: :Raif Kaplanoğlu, *ibid.*, p 95.

Apolyont, Demirtaş, and Susıgırlık. They had also established mobile health units<sup>71</sup>.

Despite all these legal actions taken, there were many emigrants who were attempting to change their place of settlements in the name of uniting with their families or uniting with their relatives, and at times they would even try to return to Greece in order to unite with their neighbours.<sup>72</sup> There had been a number of emigrants who had changed their settlements in this way. In order to prevent such settlement transfers, sometimes there would even be official warnings to stop such transfers<sup>73</sup>.

Emigrants who had come from Kavala, Thessolaniki, Dedeğaç ve Ustrumca could not speak Turkish. Some of the emigrants could not even learn any Turkish during the rest of their lives despite being in Turkey. Similarly, most of the Rums who had emigrated from Turkey had not been able to speak Turkish. Emigrants from Crete were famous for their cooking of various greens, and upon seeing this, Turks started to tease them by saying “no greens would be left for animals to graze”. In the course of history, process of urbanisation caused big changes in the Cretians. Olive cultivation, sericulture, apiculture, and upholstery became common professions in Bursa region. This awakening in apiculture soon evaded, and the vineyards were removed because of diseases<sup>74</sup>. Use of disinfection in olive trees was a requirement for agricultural development, and this largely led to the disappearance of apiculture. Manual labour used in olive business was soon replaced by modern factories. In the course of time, sericulture went backwards. Emigrants weaved their own patterns on their own weaving looms. With the increase of automation in industry, these hand looms totally disappeared. Those from the Island of Crete were mainly eating goat meat, therefore, raising of goats was very common among the Cretians<sup>75</sup>.

After the emigrants of population exchange, Bursa has always been a city which has been a destination for immigrants. Especially, a significant number of emigrants who came from Bulgaria were arranged to settle in Bursa<sup>76</sup>. With the contribution of these immigrations, cultural texture of the city progressively was subjected to changes; and cultural and social structure of Bursa today is the culmination of the cultures that the immigrants brought with themselves to their new settlement and the already existing culture in Bursa. It is inevitable to avoid the painful processes that can be experienced during the course of transitioning

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, p. 97.

<sup>72</sup> Kemal Arı, *Büyük Mübadele*, p.56.

<sup>73</sup> *Hüdavendigar*, Narrated from January 1, 1925 by: Nesim Şeker, *ibid.*, p.45-46.

<sup>74</sup> From the conversation of Fulya Karakoç Dıvenci.

<sup>75</sup> From the same conversation.

<sup>76</sup> Zeliha Yeşilyurt, “Bulgaristan Türk Çocuklarının Faciası”, *Türk Kültürü*, XIII/ 153-155 (July, August, September, 1975), p.34.

from empires to nationalization. Therefore, studying the historical roots of demographical structures in cities, and making an analysis of the social, economic and cultural textures is helpful in our understanding and perception of these structures. These analysis have significant place in the process of determining objectives and strategies in education, architecture, infrastructure, production relations, political and cultural tendencies.

Bursa has been a laboratory from these perspectives.

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