

Civil Society in the Ottoman Modern Period as Seen in “Maritime Personnel Records”

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I. Introduction

This article represents an attempt to reexamine civil society in the late Ottoman empire with a focus on “people” by analyzing materials relating to government-operated steamships. A distinctive feature of this study lies in the fact that it understands the structure of Ottoman society as a collection not of “groups” but of “individuals” and seeks ultimately to delineate an overall picture of Ottoman society through the accumulation of personal histories. In past research on the history of Ottoman society researchers have shown the greatest interest in identification with groups, a tendency that is especially evident in research on modern history. As a result there has clearly emerged a schema of contrasting Muslims with non-Muslims, conservatives with reformists, or one group with another group.¹⁾ Further, there is also a considerable body of research on mystical religious orders and guilds (*esnaf*) in Muslim society.²⁾ But the existence of the individuals constituting each of these groups has been overlooked, and they have tended to be lumped together under the rubric of “the people” or “the masses,” be they Muslim or non-Muslim, and there cannot be said to have been published very many monographs on this subject.³⁾

One possible reason for this is the limitations of source materials concerning records about individuals. As sources of this sort of information in research on Ottoman history mention may be made first of the Ottoman Who’s Who, *Sicili Osmânî*,⁴⁾ but the people included in this voluminous register are those who left their name in history. The same applies to the biographies of theological scholars (*ulema*). Not only these collected biographies, but also the basic sources of Ottoman history such as official documents (*fermân*, *hatt-ı hümayûn*, *mühimme defteri*, etc.) and biographies and memoirs of individuals are also the records of a small selection of élite soldiers, politicians, and bureaucrats and are, it has to be said, lacking in information about nameless commoners. Accordingly, in this ar-

ticle I throw light on the daily lives and jobs of these ordinary people and focus on “maritime personnel records” in order to examine civil society in the latter part of the Ottoman empire from a micro perspective that differs from past studies.

The “maritime personnel records” in question are a collection of materials relating to personnel matters held by the Turkish Maritime Organization (*Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri A.Ş.*), such as salary ledgers and documents related to the payment of pensions. The Turkish Maritime Organization is the successor to the government steamship company that boasted the largest size among such companies in the late Ottoman empire, and it holds a large number of records from that time. Among these records, the materials from the Special Administration (*İdâre-i Mahsûsa*; hereafter: SA) (later renamed Ottoman Maritime Administration [*Osmanlı Seyr-i Sefâ'in İdâresi*]) have until now remained virtually unused in evidential historical research. These materials are taken up below, and I have endeavoured to uncover as carefully as possible the records of “people” in these materials. Specifically, I focus on the background (place of birth, social class, schooling, etc.) and career patterns of people who worked for the Special/Ottoman Maritime Administration and derive statistical values from them, and after having gained a grasp of overall trends, I hope to recreate the personal histories of notable individuals from their *curricula vitae* and so on and delineate a picture of citizens of the late Ottoman empire from the aggregation of lives of nameless people.

II. Source Materials

The chief sources used in this study are the “Files of Personal Records” held by the Turkish Maritime Organization. Before proceeding to the topic, I shall provide an overview of the historical background and character of this source material.

Many of the materials on business operations pertaining to government steamships during the Ottoman period are today held by the General Archives of the Turkish Maritime Organization (*Türkiye Denizcilik İşletmeleri Genel Arşivi*) in Istanbul. These materials are in the process of being transferred to the Archives of the Prime Minister’s Office of the Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Arşivi*) in Ankara, but materials relating to personal records concerning salaries, pensions, and so on remain with the Turkish Maritime Organization. In order to understand why materials pertaining to a government commercial enterprise

of the Ottoman empire have been gathered here, we need to retrace the history of steamship services in Turkey.

In 1837 Great Britain and Russia began using one steamship each to transport passengers and cargo across the Bosphorus in the imperial capital of Istanbul, and shortly afterwards a Russian steamship also began making regular trips to ports on the Sea of Marmara. Until then the chief means of maritime transport in Istanbul had been small rowing boats called *kayık*, and the majority of ships owned by domestic shipping companies had been small sailing ships. The appearance of steamships that were far superior to these traditional ships in their transport capacity, speed, and safety brought great pressure to bear on these small local shipping companies and portended their imminent supplantation by steamships. But thwarted by the unequal treaties that it had concluded with European powers and by its long history of capitulation, the Ottoman government was unable to legally keep out the foreign ships.⁵⁾ In these circumstances the development of its own steamship companies as a countermeasure became a matter of pressing urgency. But because the private sector at the time had neither the capital strength nor the technological ability to undertake this, it was decided in 1839 to launch a shipping company under state direction by substituting for a time steamships owned by the navy. As a result, in 1844 naval steamships began operating across the Bosphorus and to ports on the Sea of Marmara.

The name of the government-controlled steamship company created to counter foreign capital changed as a result of changes in sultan and other factors. During the reign of Sultan Abdülazîz (r. 1861–76) it took his name and was called the Azîziye Maritime Administration (*İdâre-i Azîziye*), but with the accession of Abdülhamit II (r. 1876–1909) it was renamed the Special Administration (*İdâre-i Mahsûsa*). The Navy gradually strengthened its control over the SA, to place it under the Navy’s direct supervision. In this way the Navy became closely involved in its management. In 1910, after the Young Turk Revolution, it became the Ottoman Maritime Administration (*Osmanlı Seyr-i Sefâ’in İdâresi*), and in 1923, after the Ottoman empire was dissolved and the Republic of Turkey was born, it was renamed the Turkish Maritime Administration (*Türkiye Seyr-i Sefâ’in İdâresi*). This was abolished in 1933 and was split into three organizations, the Office of the National Maritime Line (*Devlet Denizyolları İşletmesi Müdürlüğü*), the Office of the AKAY Maritime Line (*AKAY İşletmesi Müdürlüğü*),⁶⁾ and the Office of Docks and Dockyards (*Fabrika ve Havuzlar İşletmesi Müdürlüğü*). These have now been taken over by the Turkish Mar-

itime Organization. In addition, documents relating to the Office of Ports and Harbours (*Liman İdâresi*), Office of Sea Rescue (*Tahlisiye İdâresi*), and Maritime Bank (*Deniz Bank*) in Istanbul, which were engaged in activities related to maritime transport from the final years of the Ottoman empire to the first years of the Republic of Turkey, and to the Hayriye Company (*Şirket-i Hayriye*), which operated steamships across the Bosphorus and was originally a private company that was integrated into the Turkish Maritime Administration in 1945, are also held in the General Archives of the Turkish Maritime Organization.

Next, I shall describe the sources on which this study is based. Sources on merchant shipping during the Ottoman period cannot necessarily be said to be complete,⁷⁾ and in fact almost no documents predating the time of the SA (1876–1909) have survived. Among extant sources, documents pertaining to the lives of those engaged in maritime activities in the late Ottoman empire, the subject of this study, can be broadly divided into two groups: Files of Personal Records (“*Personel Sicil Dosyaları*”) and Salary Ledgers (“*Maaş Defterleri*”).

The Salary Ledgers record the salaries paid to employees of the SA. They are numbered in chronological order, the first dating from the year 1291 of the Ottoman financial (*Mali*) calendar (hereafter: M.), corresponding to 1875/76, and there are in all 125 ledgers until the change to the Ottoman Maritime Administration in 1910. These ledgers record for each fiscal year the payment of salaries to employees categorized by place of employment (head office, wharves, steamships, etc.). Basically, for each position the ledger records the fixed amount of the salary, the names of those employed from the third month of that year to the second month of the following year (the financial calendar beginning on the 1st of the third month), and the salary paid to each employee. In the case of those on shore duty, their positions include for example “accounting clerk” or “wharf ticket inspector,” while in the case of those on sea duty their positions are given by steamship as “captain,” “officer,” “engineer,” “steward,” “crewman,” “fireman,” etc. Whenever there was a change in personnel, the date, the reason (illness, injury, death, dismissal, resignation, etc.), his prior position, and his new position are also recorded.

The prime source of material for this study is the Files of Personal Records. These take the form of files, and the documents relating to a single individual have been placed in an envelope, each of which has been given a serial number. Since there are more than ten thousand of these files, there exist data on more than ten thousand individuals. The serial

numbers are roughly in chronological order, but the majority of files date from the republican period, and those from the time of the Azîziye Maritime Administration, the SA, and Ottoman Maritime Administration during the Ottoman period are concentrated among the first thousand-odd files.

Why were these documents produced? In order to explain their purpose, we need to survey the history of the individual pension system in the Ottoman empire. A system corresponding to the modern notion of a pension began in the Ottoman empire with the military pension fund (*askeri tekaüt sandığı*) for army soldiers established in 1866. The next group to enjoy the benefits of this system were government officials, with a pension system for civil servants being introduced in 1881, and thirdly the SA announced a similar scheme, perhaps because it was a government business.⁸⁾ In this fashion, employees of government steamships were from an early stage guaranteed a retirement on a par with soldiers and government officials. Pension payments were funded by insurance premiums paid while employed, and one had to have worked for a certain number of years to be eligible for a pension. In addition, the size of the pension was calculated on the basis of one's salary when one retired. For this reason precise records on the positions held by each employee and the amount of salary paid from the time when they joined the SA until they retired were required, right down to the number of days. The various documents produced for this purpose were sorted into individual files, and these constitute the Files of Personal Records.

In content, they consist of the employee's curriculum vitae (see Figs. 1a and 1b), his staff notebook (see Fig. 2), and documents relating to pension payments after retirement. These latter consist of records of payment dates, amounts paid, and applications for the payment of a survivor's pension in the event of the former employee's death. Judging from the overall number of files, it is difficult to imagine that the records for all employees exist in these files, and it is to be surmised that only in cases in which some sort of problem arose in connection with pension payments have records been preserved in the form of these documents. This conjecture is supported by the fact that the files contain many documents concerning lawsuits demanding the right to receive a pension. The information that can be gleaned from the Files of Personal Records includes the individual's name, his father's name (including in some cases his occupation, title, etc.), place of birth, year of birth, marital status, positions held during employment, salary, term of employment, final position, and reason

for retirement.

In the following, I shall first present various statistics on the basis of data gained from the above two groups of source materials in order to gain a quantitative grasp of the actual situation regarding those involved in maritime affairs from a macro perspective, and then I shall trace individual careers on the basis of *curricula vitae* and so on and attempt to recreate the lives of individuals from a micro perspective with a view to examining the way in which ordinary people lived in the late Ottoman empire.

III. Workers' Lives as Seen in Statistics

In this section I shall attempt to gain a statistical grasp of the lives of people who worked for government steamships in the late Ottoman empire on the basis of data gleaned from the Files of Personal Records, supplemented by data from the Salary Ledgers and other sources. As was noted above, records from the Ottoman period among the materials in question are concentrated in the first thousand-odd files. Accordingly, from among files 1–999, having first excluded those of people who were attached to organizations other than the government steamships, I have extracted the data for 805 people, of whom 589 were employed at sea and 216 were employed on land. The data consists of the person's name, his father (name and sometimes occupation), year (month and day) of birth, place of birth, schooling, career prior to joining the SA, year of joining, year of leaving, years of service, reason for departure, career during employment, salary, and other matters warranting special mention.

1. Age at Time of Employment and Retirement and Length of Service

Fig. 3 shows the distribution of the ages of 805 people at the time of their employment. The average age was 24.4, and it is evident that many joined the SA at the ages of 18–20 and 25–26. Fig. 4 shows the distribution of their ages at the time of retirement. The average age was 52.4, and many people retired at the age of 51 or 52, but there were also quite a number who retired between the ages of 55 and 65, and there were even some who were still working in their seventies. Fig. 5 shows the distribution of years of service. The average was 26.4 years, but there were also many who worked for 30 to 35 years. This was presumably because they became eligible for a full pension after thirty years of service.

2. Sea-Going Employees

(1) Occupations

The steamships owned by the SA can be classified into large ocean-going ships of 1,000–3,000 tons, medium-sized ships of 200–1,000 tons for ocean and coastal routes (around the Sea of Marmara), and small ships of 200 tons or less that were used chiefly for routes within Istanbul harbour. Naturally, the larger ships had bigger crews. Here, I shall explain the occupations of sea-going employees by using the large steamships *Şerefresan* (1,750 tons) and *Medar-ı Tevfik* (1,674 tons) as model cases.⁹⁾

In the case of large ships there were, in addition to the captain (*kaptan/süvari*), a second officer (*ikinci kaptan/süvari*), and a third officer (*üçüncü kaptan/süvari*). There were also about forty other personnel, consisting of a ship’s clerk (*gemi kâtibi/yazıcı*), a cashier (*hesap memuru*), a boatswain (*lostoromo*), a storekeeper (*ambarcı*), a ship’s carpenter (*marangoz*), two or three winchmen (*vinççi*), four quarter masters (*serdümen*), five to ten crewmen (*taife*), a first steward (*birinci kamerot*), a second steward (*ikinci kamerot*), a third steward (*üçüncü kamerot*), and, in the engine room, a chief engineer (*ser/birinci çarhçı*), a second engineer (*ikinci çarhçı*), a third engineer (*üçüncü çarhçı*), a chief stoker (*makina lostoromo*), six or seven firemen (*ateşçi*), and four or five stokers (*kömürcü*).

(2) Occupational Trends

Next, I shall divide sea-going employees by their duties into four categories and consider the standard career patterns and characteristics of each.

(a) Captains and Officers¹⁰⁾

The 589 sea-going employees extracted from the Files of Personal Records include 128 captains and officers. Their average age when joining the SA was 22.1, their average retirement age was 53.6, and their average length of service was 27.9 years. The career patterns of those who reached the position of steamship captain can be broadly divided into three types. After having finished elementary or secondary school¹¹⁾ or having graduated from the Mercantile Marine School, etc.,¹²⁾ those of the first type were initially employed as a novice, became a third or fourth of-

ficer within about one year, and then several years later became a second or third officer on a large or medium-sized ship, after which they became the captain of a small ship, eventually rising further to the position of captain of a medium- or large-sized ship. Among the examples of the career patterns of captains shown in Table 1a, nos. 172 and 233 correspond to this type, and in terms of schooling many of them were graduates of the Mercantile Marine School. The second type was those who started out as crewmen or quarter masters and, after having served as boatswain, rose to officer and then captain. Schooling was irrelevant in this case, and there were even some who were unable to read or write. An example of this type is no. 303 in Table 1a. The third type was those who came from a private merchant ship. Table 1b shows examples of the career patterns of captains from private merchant ships. A difference with the first two types is that, because of their experience, they were sometimes appointed captain immediately after joining the SA.

(b) Engineers¹³⁾

The engineers extracted from the Files of Personal Records number 198. Their average age when joining the SA was 23.5, their average retirement age was 51.9, and their average length of service was 27.1 years.

There were three (occasionally four) ranks of engineers. Steamships apart from small steamboats (*istimbot*) and tugs (*römorkör*) usually had several engineers. Three or four engineers ranging from first to third or fourth engineer were assigned to large ships and two engineers of the first or second rank were assigned to medium- and small-sized ships, and in this case the first engineer served as chief engineer (*ser çarhçı/baş makinist*). There was an official accreditation system for engineers, and the requisite qualifications could be gained by sitting the qualifying examination part-way through one's career.¹⁴⁾ The qualifications were divided into those for coastal routes (*esfâr-ı karibe*) and ocean routes (*esfâr-ı bâ'ide*), and each had three grades. The highest rank was that for ocean routes, i.e., grade one for large steamships.

The standard career pattern for engineers was to start out as a fireman, stoker, or winchman, be promoted to chief stoker and then engineer, and subsequently rise in rank from third to second engineer and eventually to chief engineer (see Table 2). The careers of eight first engineers can be ascertained in the annexes to vol. 15 of the Salary Ledgers, and all of them started out as firemen, with the majority becoming first engineers within

about ten years. There are, however, some cases, such as nos. 224 and 244 in Table 2, in which men became engineers without passing through the lower positions of fireman and so on, but the majority of such cases were engineers on small steamboats.

(c) Other Crew Members

Apart from the captain, officers, and engineers, crew members involved in the running of a steamship included the boatswain, chief stoker, quarter masters, firemen, stokers, winchmen, and carpenter. A total of 172 such crew members were extracted from the Files of Personal Records. Their average age when joining the SA was 26, their average retirement age was 50.1, and their average length of service was 22.8 years. Their average age when joining the SA did not differ greatly from that of captains, officers, and engineers, but they retired at a younger age, and consequently their length of service was also shorter. This was probably because they did heavy physical labour.

(d) Clerical Workers

As was noted earlier, steamships also carried employees who were not directly involved in the running of the ship, such as stewards, who attended to the passengers. Among such crew members, those for whom there are the most data are ship's clerks, numbering 43. Their average age when joining the SA was 25.1, their average retirement age was 51.9, and their average length of service was 24.75 years. The position of clerk entailed the possibility of being transferred to a position on land, but many of those who became ship's clerks ended their career at sea (see Table 3).

(3) Transfers and Retirement

A point worth noting with regard to those on sea duty is the frequency with which personnel changed in particular positions. Changes among captains and chief engineers were not all that frequent, but second officers changed three or four times annually and third officers two or three times annually. Likewise, clerks changed four or five times annually, and in other occupations too there were three or four changes annually. In the case of the position of third steward on the *Serefresan* in M. 1293 (1877/78),

six men held the position during the course of one year. In addition, 26 men served as quarter masters, for which the quota was four, and 30 men as firemen, for which the quota was seven. On other steamships too the occupations in which personnel changes were the most frequent were generally those involving physical labour, such as crewmen, firemen, stokers, and winchmen. A more concrete example is provided by the records of personnel changes by position for crew on the *Kayseri* during the two years M. 1297–98 (1881/3/13–1883/3/12).¹⁵⁾ Apart from usual redeployment, the most common reason for personnel changes was illness, disability, or death, which accounted for 41 men leaving their position. This figure stands out in comparison with the fewer than 20 men who took temporary leave or resigned for other reasons. Table 4 gives the number and percentage of personnel changes due to illness, disability, or death during the same two years on large steamships with more than 25 positions that were filled by a total of more than 90 men. If we examine by occupation and in greater detail the three ships *Kayseri*, *Şerefresan*, and *Vasita-i Ticaret*, on which there was an especially high percentage of personnel changes for the above reasons, we find that in each case the percentage was particularly high among firemen and stokers. On the *Kayseri* eight among a total of 34 firemen (23.5%) and six among a total of 24 stokers (25.0%) left their position because of illness or death, on the *Şerefresan* the corresponding figures were 21 among a total of 58 firemen (36.2%) and 11 among a total of 17 stokers (64.7%), and on the *Vasita-i Ticaret* they were 29 among a total of 75 firemen (38.7%) and 14 among a total of 37 stokers (37.8%). Even if one allows for inadequacies in hygiene and the limitations of medical technology at the time, it can be readily imagined that these were occupations that demanded extremely taxing physical labour.

(4) Trends in Birthplace by Occupation

Among the 128 captains and officers, the birthplaces of 109 are known. Of these, 44 came from Istanbul, 49 from two provinces on the Black Sea (Kastamonu and Trabzon), and 16 from other regions, which means that approximately half came from the Black Sea region. In the case of the 198 engineers, the birthplaces of 151 are known. Of these, 78 came from Istanbul, 43 from the Black Sea region, and 30 from other regions, and again the Black Sea region produced many capable personnel when compared with other regions, although not to the extent seen in the case of captains and officers. As for the other 172 crew members (ex-

cluding clerical workers and stewards), the birthplaces of 142 are known. Of these, 21 came from Istanbul, 92 from the Black Sea region, and 29 from other regions, and the overwhelming majority came from the Black Sea region. As possible reasons for these figures, it can be supposed that the positions of captain, officer, and engineer required qualifications, and this put at an advantage men from Istanbul, where there were many opportunities to receive some form of specialized education. On the other hand, in the case of crewmen and other positions in which experience at sea counted, regardless of education, it is to be surmised that it was easy for men from the Black Sea region, where there were many fishermen and seamen, to gain employment. In addition, as was noted above, although tenure in one position was short and there was a frequent turnover of personnel, replacements tended to come from the same region, and in view of the fact that this tendency is especially pronounced among men from the Black Sea region, there is a possibility, albeit hypothetical, that there existed in this region some sort of employment network that made use of personal contacts among people from the same district. Not only are there instances in which almost all the quarter masters and crewmen came from the same district,¹⁶⁾ but the skippers and crewmen of lighters were almost all from the Black Sea region.¹⁷⁾

3. Land-Based Employees

(1) Occupations

In the case of land-based employees, their workplaces can be roughly divided into three categories, namely, the head office (*merkez*), agencies (*acentahane*) throughout the country, and wharves (*iskele*) in Istanbul harbour and other ports. Their occupations, meanwhile, can be broadly divided into white-collar jobs such as accounting, general clerical work, and specialist occupations and blue-collar positions such as watchmen, servants, and wharf staff.

The chief executive, or director, of the SA was the Navy Minister, i.e., the head of the Navy Ministry, which oversaw the SA, but its actual management was entrusted to an assistant director, who was permanently stationed in the head office, and members of the Management Council. Below them were various departments such as the Accounts Department and Records Department, each consisting of a department head, clerks (*kâtip*), recorders (*mukayyid*), office workers (*memur*), etc., and below these

were servants (*hademe*), office boys (*odacı/kahveci*), and watchmen (*bekçi*). Agencies were located around the country, and a general agency for supervising them was located in the head office. In addition, on the wharves there were office workers and labourers to sell tickets, check in cargo, inspect tickets when people boarded, and attend to the berthing and departure of ships.

(2) Occupational Trends

Land-based occupations can be broadly divided into white-collar office workers, who were required to have some knowledge of reading and writing, and blue-collar workers engaged primarily in physical labour.

(a) White-collar Workers

Workers belonging to this category were the clerks and office workers employed in the Accounts, Records, and various other departments in the head office, the clerks and office workers in the agencies, and the wharf staff (*iskele memuru*) who sold tickets, checked in cargo, inspected tickets when people boarded, and attended to the berthing and departure of ships. Among the 216 land-based workers extracted from the Files of Personal Records, 195 were white-collar workers, consisting of 32 managers, 19 clerks, 142 general office workers, and two specialists (one interpreter and one physician).

Among these, those for whom there are the most data are office workers. Their average age when joining the SA was 25, their average retirement age was 52.6, and their average length of service was 26.7 years. Table 5 shows the career patterns of clerks and office workers employed on the wharves. They generally joined the SA in their twenties and either dealt with customers on the wharves, selling tickets, checking in cargo, and inspecting tickets when people boarded, or handled documents and accounts in the office. There are examples of employees being transferred from one wharf to another, but changes from one position to another were rare. For example, no. 136 was transferred six times during fourteen years from the age of twenty, when he joined the SA, to the age of thirty-four, but in each case he was transferred to wharves on nearby routes, and even after he became ticket inspector at Burgaz Ada at the age of thirty-four he was transferred ten times between wharves on nearby routes until the age of fifty-five.

(b) Blue-collar Workers

Among the office workers, servants, office-boys, and watchmen were blue-collar workers. They were not required to be able to read, write, or do sums. Among the 21 men belonging to this category in the Files of Personal Records, only two had received secondary education and five primary education, while two-thirds had no schooling. Because of the small sample, the usefulness of the statistical values is questionable, but their average age when joining the SA was 29.6, their average retirement age was 58.1, and their average length of service was 27.7 years.

4. Salary Levels

According to the records of the *Medar-ı Tevfik* for M. 1291 (1875/76), the monthly salary for sea-going employees was as follows: captain—2,000 kuruş; second officer—1,400 kuruş; third officer, ship's clerk, and cashier—1,000 kuruş; boatswain—500 kuruş; storekeeper, carpenter, winchman, and quarter master—400 kuruş; crewman—350 kuruş; first steward—300 kuruş; second steward—250 kuruş; third steward—200 kuruş; chief engineer—2,000 kuruş; second engineer—1,250 kuruş; third engineer—900 kuruş; chief stoker—500 kuruş; fireman—400 kuruş; and stoker—300 kuruş. However, when a ship was in dock for repairs or maintenance and was not operating, salaries were reduced to a "land allowance" (*kara mahsusat*).

According to salary ledgers from the start of Abdülhamit II's reign (Def. 1, 2, 3), the wage structure for land-based employees was as follows: assistant director—5,000 kuruş; Management Council member—1,000–1,500 kuruş; head of Accounts Department—3,000 kuruş; heads of Records Department and Agency Supervision Department—2,400 kuruş; senior clerk and senior recorder—1,000–2,000 kuruş; office worker with official position, general clerk, general recorder, and office worker—400–750 kuruş; and servant, office boy, and watchman—400 kuruş.

In order to consider these salary levels in the context of contemporary Ottoman society, I shall here refer to two studies. First, data that can be compared with the salaries of sea-going employees and land-based blue-collar workers are provided by records of the wages of labourers in the construction industry in Istanbul at this time.¹⁸⁾ According to these records, the daily wage of a day-labourer in 1881 was 7.6 kuruş, and if one assumes that he worked on average twenty days in a month, his monthly

wage would have been 152 kuruş. If we employ the same method of calculation to convert daily wages to monthly wages, the monthly wages for a carpenter were 360 kuruş, for a bricklayer 386 kuruş, and for a plasterer 300 kuruş. According to the same statistics, the monthly wages twenty years later in 1901 were 160 kuruş for a day-labourer, 370 kuruş for a carpenter, 350 kuruş for a bricklayer, and 346 kuruş for a plasterer. It is evident that, setting aside captains, officers, and engineers, the salary levels of ship's carpenters, firemen, and stokers were roughly on a par with those of tradesmen in the construction industry.

Next, data that can be compared with land-based clerks and general office workers are provided by C. V. Findley's study of Ottoman civil servants.¹⁹⁾ According to Findley, in the 1890s a salary of 1,000 kuruş per month was considered adequate for a government official to support a family consisting of the official himself, his wife, two or three children, and one or two other dependent family members. In 1897 an official wrote a petition saying that he could not accept the post to which he had been assigned because he could not support his family on a monthly salary of 600 kuruş. According to a record from 1912, at the Foreign Ministry it was considered necessary to pay a monthly wage of 1,500–2,000 kuruş in order to attract qualified staff, and according to figures published in 1914 by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, the monthly budget for a family of middle standing was on average 945 kuruş; this figure included 150 kuruş for rent, but did not include luxuries such as tobacco or travel expenses. When compared with this data, it is evident that among land-based employees of the SA, the wages of clerks and general office workers were slightly lower than those of government officials, while employees in managerial positions could expect considerably higher wages than middle-rank government officials.

IV. Personal Histories

In this section I wish to recreate the personal histories of some employees of the SA on the basis of records such as the curricula vitae and staff notebooks preserved in the Files of Personal Records. Numbers in parentheses indicate the file number. When the day and month of a person's birth are not known, I have calculated his age on the basis of the financial calendar, reckoning him to have been one year old in the fiscal year following the year of his birth.

1. Captains

First let us consider some examples of steamship captains. Rıza *kaptan* (no. 172) was born in 1873 in the village of Malit in Rize district, Trabzon province. His father was the captain of a merchant vessel. After having attended the local primary and secondary schools, he went to Istanbul at the age of twelve and entered the Mercantile Marine School. Half a year after graduation, at the age of sixteen he joined the SA as a novice officer on the *Bahr-i Cedid* on a starting salary of 250 kuruş. In 1890, when he was seventeen, he became third officer on the *İstinye*, and his salary rose to 500 kuruş. During the following fifteen years, until September 1904, he served in the same position on fourteen ships. In 1896 he qualified as a second officer, and at the age of twenty-eight he did military service for one and a half years at Basra. At the age of thirty-three he was promoted to captain of the *Kalamış*, and his salary rose in November 1910 to 1,000 kuruş and in April 1911 to 1,500 kuruş. Having been born in the Black Sea region to a father who was also a captain and having graduated from the Mercantile Marine School, his career could be said to have been typical of captains of the SA's steamships.

Ali *ağa* (no. 140) was born in 1849 in Mapavri in Rize district. Since his father's name is given as Mehmet *kaptan*, he was probably a ship's captain. There is no record of Ali's having attended school. He joined the SA at the age of twenty-seven and became a crewman on the *Kayseri* on a starting salary of 400 kuruş. In July he was promoted to quarter master on the same ship, but in March of the following year he was demoted to crewman and his salary too fell to 340, 350, and 280 kuruş. During the nine years until 1885 he worked on eight ships and took leave twice because of illness. At the age of thirty-six he again rose from crewman to quarter master, and his salary rose to 320 kuruş. At forty-two he advanced to boatswain and remained in the same position for almost sixteen years, but at the age of fifty-eight he was finally promoted to assistant captain on the *Şâhin* and three years later became third officer with a corresponding pay rise to 800 kuruş. Around this time he also passed the qualifying examination for third officers on coastal routes. He seems to have received no schooling and could probably neither read nor write when he joined the SA, at which time he was already twenty-seven years old. Nonetheless he rose from crewman to quarter master and then boatswain to eventually obtain the status of *kaptan* at the age of fifty-eight. For someone who had worked his way up the career ladder, having not even gone to primary

school, let alone the Mercantile Marine School, he could be said to have had an exceptionally successful career.

Hasan Sabri *efendi* (no. 285) was privileged in various ways. He was born in M. 1305 (1889/90) in Istanbul. His father was a lieutenant-commander and *kaptan* from the distinguished Yanya family. He entered primary school in Fatih, but at the age of nine, when his father was appointed harbour master on the island of Sakız (Chios), he changed schools and received the remaining two years of his primary schooling and four years' secondary education on Sakız. When he turned fifteen, his father sent him to the Mercantile Marine School in Istanbul, but in the third year he became sick and quit school. He then returned to Sakız where his father was and learnt harbour management duties on the job as well as mastering Greek. At the age of eighteen he was appointed deputy director of the newly established Office of Ports and Harbours, but in March of the following year he resigned and returned to Istanbul. After having convalesced for several months, he became involved in business for a time, but he then espoused a desire to do the work of a captain for which he had previously studied and expressed a desire to join one of the SA's steamships. At the age of twenty he was taken on as an unsalaried novice officer and worked for three years and four months as a novice and for six months as a third officer. At the age of twenty-four he was formally taken on as a novice officer on a salary of 300 kuruş, and six months later he was promoted to second officer with a pay rise to 600 kuruş, which was doubled to 1,200 kuruş when he was twenty-five. His background could be said to have worked in his favour in becoming a captain for the SA. Within the SA, an organization that was under the supervision of the navy and headed by the Navy Minister, his father, a high-ranking naval officer, would undoubtedly have provided much support.

2. Engineers

Next, let us consider some examples of engineers. As was ascertained earlier, the standard career pattern for an engineer was to start out as a stoker, fireman, or winchman and then advance through the positions of chief stoker, third engineer, and second engineer to finally become chief engineer. In the following I shall present three examples, one of someone who had gained working experience before joining the SA and followed a more or less typical career path, one of someone who became an engineer straightaway without starting out from the bottom of the ladder, and one

of someone who had formal schooling and the backing of his father.

Mehmet *efendi* (no. 194) was born in M. 1280 (1864/65) in Circassia (Çerkestan) and was probably a Circassian. At the age of fifteen he joined the workshop of the arsenal (*tophâne*), and after having worked for four years in the assembly room (*tesviyeci destegâhı*) he joined the SA at the age of nineteen as a winchman on a starting salary of 336 kuruş. At the age of twenty he became chief stoker and rose to second engineer at twenty-three. His salary too rose to 560 kuruş and then the following year almost doubled to 1,000 kuruş. But when he was twenty-five he was demoted to third engineer on the *Canik* and his salary was reduced to 550 kuruş. Three years later he again rose to second engineer, and then three years later, at the age of thirty-two, he finally became chief engineer with a corresponding pay rise to 1,200 kuruş. When he was appointed chief engineer on the *Pilevne* at the age of forty-eight, his salary was 1,500 kuruş. Perhaps because of his four years' working experience at the arsenal, his was a smooth career, for he was singled out as chief stoker only one year after having started out as winchman, then became an engineer soon afterwards at the age of twenty-three, and rose to chief engineer at thirty-two.

Halil Salih *efendi* (no. 294) was born in M. 1273 (1857/58) to a merchant in Kayseri. After having attended the local primary and secondary schools, at the age of sixteen he entered the School of the Imperial Rolling-mill Factory (*Haddehane Fabrika-i Hümayun Mektebi*) in Istanbul. After five years' study he left without obtaining a diploma, but after joining the SA he gained qualifications as second engineer on a large steamship and as first engineer on a small steamship. He joined the SA's repair workshop at the age of twenty-two and three months later became an engineer on a small steamboat (*istimbot*). His starting salary was 750 kuruş. One year later, at the age of twenty-three, he rose to third engineer, and then to second engineer at twenty-seven and to chief engineer at thirty, and his salary too rose correspondingly to 1,260 kuruş. Thereafter he served as chief engineer on fourteen ships. He was transferred about every two to three years, but there were also exceptions, and in M. 1316 (1900/01) he served on four ships in the course of a single year. His salary remained unchanged at 1,260 kuruş during the twelve years M. 1313–25, but rose to 1,300 kuruş in M. 1326, to 1,500 kuruş in M. 1327, and to 1,800 kuruş when he took up his position on the *Reşit Paşa*, his last ship. In 1914 he was certified as chief engineer for ocean routes (*esfâr-ı bâide ser çarhçı*), but one month later at the age of fifty-seven he was transferred to the first reserve.

Perhaps because he had received a specialized education, he became a steamship's engineer without starting out from the bottom of the ladder and won rapid promotion thereafter.

Kâzım *bey* (no. 266) was born in M. 1286 (1870/71) in Istanbul to a lieutenant-commander. After graduating from the Military Academy (*Askeri Rüşdiye*), he joined the SA at the age of twenty-one and after having worked in the workshop for three years became a stoker. He was thereafter employed at sea and worked as a winchman and fireman on several steamships. During this time he was in the autumn of 1889 hospitalized for two weeks, only to be fired some time after his return to work. He was reinstated at the age of thirty-three, but was dismissed again two months later. Two years later he was taken on again as a third engineer, but in July of the same year he was dismissed yet again. He was rehired in 1897 and during the next three years served as third engineer, being transferred frequently between ships. He was again dismissed after having taken two months' sick leave in 1899. Nonetheless he returned to work in 1903 as a second engineer and at the age of thirty-eight finally rose to chief engineer on a salary of 700 kuruş, and at forty he gained certification as a first engineer on coastal routes. But the following year his salary was cut by a quarter and he was removed from his current position for "having acted against the interests of the Administration through carelessness," but details are unknown. However, at the start of the following financial year he was reinstated as chief engineer on his former salary of 700 kuruş, and this was raised to 1,100 kuruş one month later. When he was forty-four, his salary rose to 1,200 kuruş and remained so until his retirement at the age of forty-eight. In accordance with the pension regulations (*tekaüt nizamnamesi*), he was paid a pension of 400 kuruş, corresponding to one-third of his salary at the time of his retirement. As well as having been compelled to stop working several times because of illness, he also appears to have been involved in some untoward incident, but on each occasion he was reinstated and succeeded in advancing to the position of chief engineer and working until retirement age. It is to be surmised that background factors in this were his academic record as a graduate of the Military Academy and the backing of his father, a naval officer. At the same time, there were also men who had both academic qualifications and personal contacts but were unable to make the most of them.

Galip *efendi* (no. 170) was born in 1859 in Istanbul to a lieutenant-commander. He entered primary school at the age of six, but in his fourth year his father was appointed head of the naval dockyard at Suda on Gi-

rit (Crete), and so the whole family relocated and spent five years there. During this time he attended secondary school in Hanya. In 1872 they returned to Istanbul because his father’s tenure had come to an end, and Galip transferred to the secondary school in Galata. He studied there for a further two years, but did not master any languages apart from Turkish. At fifteen he became a novice with the Shipbuilding Office (*inşaat kalemi*) at the naval dockyard, but a year later he was conscripted and served in the army for eight years. He was discharged from military service at the age of twenty-four and was hired by the Court of First Instance (*bedayet mahkemesi*) in Beyoğlu, where he worked for five years and then resigned because he was unhappy with the salary. In view of the fact that he had originally been affiliated to the navy he joined the SA probably with the help of his father’s connections. At thirty-two he became boatswain on the *Anadolu* with a salary of 400 kuruş. Thereafter he served on many different ships but held no other position apart from chief stoker. The last ship on which he served was the *Basra*, to which he was transferred in September 1913. His salary had been 300–400 kuruş and finally rose to 450 kuruş in 1910 at the age of fifty-one and then to 500 kuruş in 1911. It is said that he changed jobs because of dissatisfaction with his salary, but when compared with his salary of 600 kuruş at the court, his salary fell, and so the real reasons for his career change are not known. His is an unusual case in that, even though he knew how to read and write and his father was a high-ranking officer in the navy, he ended his career as a boatswain without rising to the position of engineer.

3. Job Switchers

The careers of people prior to joining the SA are also interesting. While many men joined after having completed their primary or secondary education and in some cases also having attended a specialist educational institution such as the Military Academy or Mercantile Marine School, but without having worked anywhere else previously, there were also some who switched from a completely different occupation.

Let us first consider the example of a former government official. Hasan Sitki *efendi* (no. 301) was born in 1855 in İslimiye in East Rumeli province. His great-grandfather is said to have been chief secretary at a Shari’a court. He attended the local primary and secondary schools, and at the age of sixteen was taken on as a novice secretary at the Shari’a court in İslimiye. From the age of twenty he began to receive a monthly

salary of 120 kuruş, but he resigned when he was twenty-three in order to move to Istanbul and found employment in the office of the High Council (*meclis-i temeyyüz*) of Hüdavendigâr province. He received a salary of 150 kuruş as assistant (*müyizlik*), but half a year later he decided to change jobs because his salary was “insufficient to make a living.” He joined the SA at twenty-five and became head of an agency (*ser acentalığı*) on a salary of 400 kuruş. Four years later he moved to the Accounts Department, where he was steadily promoted with commensurate salary rises, becoming chief cashier (*sandık emini*) at fifty-four on a salary of 1,500 kuruş. His change in jobs is said to have been motivated by dissatisfaction with his salary, and unhappy with a salary of 150 kuruş as a government official, he had moved to the SA and ultimately obtained a tenfold increase in salary, which means that he could be said to have achieved his objective.

The greatest number of men who started a new career at the SA were former merchants. İbrahim Şevket *efendi* (no. 163) was born in A.H. 1266 (1849/50) near Taksim in Istanbul. His father was head (*kethüda*) of the guild (*esnaf*) of clog-makers (*nalıncı*). Having attended primary school in Tophane, at seventeen he entered secondary school in Beşiktaş, studied for three years, and then left without receiving a graduation certificate. Through his father’s connections, at nineteen he started his own business, buying wood in Şike and selling it wholesale to the clog-makers’ guild. But when he was thirty-two he suddenly joined the SA and became a steward on the *Pendik* on a monthly salary of 140 kuruş. The reasons for his change in career are not known. The following year he rose to first steward on 240 kuruş, and he subsequently served as steward on seven ships for twenty-six years all together, but at fifty-nine he switched to land-based employment, becoming a wharf worker. Although he had been born the son of a tradesman, he did not take over the family trade and gave up his business to become a seaman in his thirties. He worked on ships for close to thirty years and shortly before turning sixty switched to a land-based position. While his occupation as steward involved attending to passengers, work at sea may still have become more taxing as he grew older.

In the case of office workers, there were some who had switched from companies in a different line of business from a steamship company. Mehmet Naşit *bey* (no. 246) was born in M. 1302 (1886/87) in Kadıköy in Istanbul to an ex-colonel. After finishing primary school he entered a French language school where, according to his own testimony, he learnt to “read, write, and speak French perfectly.” After graduation he entered Galatasaray High School (a.k.a. Imperial School [*Mekteb-i Sultânî*]), where

he studied Turkish and French until the second year but then left for his own reasons. At twenty-one he joined the Ministry of Education (Maarif Nezareti), becoming a novice in the Supervisory Bureau for Foreign Schools, but he left after one year and joined the Anatolian Railway Company. He received a daily wage of 9 kuruş as an office novice, but later his clerical competence was recognized and his daily wage was increased by 4 kuruş. But he resigned at twenty-three because of poor health. After a blank of more than a year, at twenty-four he became an assistant interpreter with the Ottoman Maritime Administration on a novice's wage. But a month later he was formally taken on with a starting salary of 250 kuruş, which rose to 600 kuruş three years later. When he was twenty-nine he moved to the Engineering Department, but he injured his leg and took sick leave. In the end he did not fully recover from his injury and, deemed to be unable to continue working, retired at thirty-two on a pension of 300 kuruş, corresponding to half his monthly salary at the time. The Anatolian Railway was a foreign-owned company and ought to have been a workplace where he could have utilized his proficiency in French. He probably changed jobs because he had been forced to resign for health reasons, and he presumably gained employment at the Ottoman Maritime Administration because of his father's military connections.

There were also men who joined the SA after a long period of military service. Mehmet Nuri *efendi* (no. 278) was born in M. 1278 (1862/63) in Arabgir. After having studied at primary school, he entered the Industrial School (*Mektebi Sanayi*) in Istanbul at the age of nine but dropped out after one year because of ill health. But even so he was able to read and write. He then worked at his brothers' watchmaker's shop in the Grand Bazaar, but at sixteen he joined the army as a volunteer in the Russo-Turkish War. After the war he returned home and opened his own watchmaker's shop, but at twenty-one he was called up for military service by ballot. In the army he became an orderly attached to Delaver *Paşa*, head of the Navy Ministry's Office of Ports and Harbours, and having earned recognition for his performance, he was given the position of quarter master. At twenty-seven, his military service having been completed, he was discharged and returned to his business. Some years later, for reasons unknown, he joined the SA at the age of thirty-eight. He became a novice steward and shortly afterwards was formally taken on, receiving a salary of 200 kuruş. Three months later he was taken on as cook on a steamship and his salary rose to 320 kuruş, but five months later he was demoted to third steward and his salary too was reduced to 160 kuruş. He continued

working as a steward on a salary that fluctuated between 120 and 200 kuruş. In February 1909, when he was forty-seven, he became a messenger delivering documents between the SA and government departments while keeping his position as steward on the *Konfide*. Later his nominal occupation changed to crewman (*taife*), and his salary rose to 280 kuruş. The following year his affiliation was changed to the *Kâmil Paşa*, but in practice he continued working as a messenger, and when he was fifty-one his salary rose to 400 kuruş. When he was fifty-three he took sick leave during the winter for one month, two months, and one and a half months, and he retired at fifty-eight. It is conceivable that, having decided on a career change at the age of thirty-eight, he joined the SA hoping to use his experience as a quarter master gained during military service, but in actual fact he was employed in a variety of jobs, none of which were directly related to seamanship.

4. Non-Muslims

A considerable number of non-Muslims were also employed by the SA.²⁰⁾ Let us consider examples from the three religious communities (*millet*) of Orthodox Greeks (Rum), Jews, and Armenians.

Hiristo *kaptan* (no. 162) was an Orthodox Greek who was born in M. 1284 (1868/69) on the island of Sakız (Chios). His father Pandali Franka was a ship's captain but is said to have drowned at Karaburun on the Black Sea. He completed his schooling at an Orthodox secondary school (*Rum Mekteb-i Rüşdiyye*) and high school (*Rum Mekteb-i İdâdiye*), and as well as being able to read and write Greek, he also understood Turkish, French, and Italian. He served as vice-captain on his father's and uncle's sailing boats and later himself became a captain. From the age of eighteen to twenty he served on the *Maltilda*, a merchant steamship belonging to Friskolo, from twenty-one to twenty-nine on the steamship *Likavis*, belonging to the merchant Lanir, and from twenty-nine to thirty-one on several steamships owned by the Marmara Company. While serving on the latter company's *Vasilna* he rescued the SA's *Mudanya* and was consequently dismissed. It is difficult to understand why he should have been censured for having carried out a sea-rescue, and details are unclear. But this came to the attention of the Navy Minister, head of the SA, and through his good offices he was hired as captain of the SA's *Çeşme*. Two months later he was appointed captain of the SA's *İnebolu*, which had been put in commission on order to compete with the Marmara Company, and he held

this position for nine years. During this time he sometimes also served as captain on other ships when there was an important task to be done. For example, he earned the SA 400 pounds when he towed an Italian ship from the Sea of Marmara to Istanbul. He gained national qualifications as a captain and also received medals for his sea-rescues. Orthodox Greeks constituted a *millet* that sustained maritime affairs as a whole in the Ottoman empire, including both the navy and merchant shipping. Even after Greek independence many remained in the Balkans and Anatolia and were active especially in the area of merchant shipping. There were numerous Greek Orthodox captains in the SA, some of whom, like this Hristo, had previously been captains of private merchant vessels. But as relations with Greece deteriorated, their numbers gradually declined.

Lazar *efendi* (no. 125) was a Jew born in Istanbul in 1865. His father was the deacon of Chief Rabbi (*Haham başı kethüdası*), distinguished member of the Jewish community. After having received his elementary education at a French language school, he entered the Military Medical School at the age of twelve, where he advanced to the fourth and final year of the premedical course, but he was injured in an accident and, having become disabled in one leg, gave up the idea of graduating. He was able to read and write Hebrew, Turkish, French, Italian, and Greek. At the age of nineteen he joined the secretariat of the agency headquarters of the SA as an unsalaried novice. From the following year he was paid a salary of 200 kuruş, and this rose almost annually to reach 500 kuruş as he worked as clerk and officer in charge of remitting shipping fees. But when he was twenty-eight he suffered a relapse and convalesced for two years. He returned to work at thirty on a salary of 250 kuruş, and with steady pay rises his salary returned to 500 kuruş at the age of forty-five. But his salary was low when compared with his high level of education, and he did not enjoy good remuneration.

Komik Kasbaryan *efendi* (no. 131) was an Armenian born in Istanbul in 1863. He studied at Galatasaray High School but fell sick in the fourth year and withdrew from school for one and a half years, and consequently he did not receive a graduation certificate. He was able to read and write Turkish, Armenian, French, and some Greek. At the age of twenty he was hired by the SA as a ship's clerk. The standard salary for this position was 600 kuruş, but because he was assigned to the Trieste route, he received an additional 200 kuruş. This was presumably a special allowance for ocean routes that went to other countries. Thereafter his salary fluctuated between 500 and 800 kuruş, and he changed ships every one or two

years. In 1897, when he was thirty-four, he was dismissed because of the Armenian revolt²¹⁾ but was reinstated two years later, and his salary rose to 900 kuruş when he was forty-seven and to 1,200 kuruş when he was forty-eight. From March 1902 to 14 May 1904 payment of his salary was suspended. The reason for this is not known, but it may have been for the same reason that he had been dismissed in 1897. But even so he was better paid than the Jew Lazar. Armenians formed a *millet* many of whom were proficient in European languages and also knowledgeable about financial matters, and many were employed at the head office of the SA, especially in the Accounts Department, with some even becoming department or section heads. But as is evident from Komik's temporary dismissal, in the final years of the Ottoman empire the Armenian question cast a shadow over their lives.

In the above we have taken a look at a variety of life patterns of citizens in the late Ottoman empire, and one point to be noted is that many people were exposed to unstable employment conditions. There are many examples of people who were repeatedly dismissed and reinstated or were temporarily discharged and had payment of their salary suspended, and in some cases this lasted for more than two years. I hope to make the investigation of the influence this unstable employment system had on the lives of their families a topic for future research.

V. Concluding Remarks

At the time when the people who have figured above were living, the Ottoman empire was in the midst of much turmoil punctuated by the absolute rule of Sultan Abdülazîz, the first constitutional era, the despotism (*istibdat*) of Abdülhamit II, the Young Turk Revolution, World War I, and the Turkish revolutions. It was also a time when the policies for modernization and Westernization introduced since the Tanzimât era began to show some results. Furthermore, the steamship business was a new field of endeavour born of a modern technological revolution in the form of the steam engine. These people could, in other words, be said to have been products of their time. Therefore, by carefully examining the conditions of their lives and work, it may be possible to gain leads for determining the degree to which changes occurring at a national level were infiltrating down to the grass roots.

For example, if one looks at the schooling of people from the provinces, it is evident that the Tanzimât educational reforms, which made

elementary education compulsory, had by the late nineteenth century spread to a considerable degree to the provinces as well. However, quite a lot of people dropped out of secondary school or higher-level education. In addition, there are many cases of people who, having completed their elementary and secondary education, entered an institution of higher learning in Istanbul or gained employment at the SA or elsewhere in Istanbul, and one can discern a flow of people from the provinces to the capital. Meanwhile, conscription was by the ballot system, but there are surprisingly few examples of men who were drafted partway through their career. The prime reason for being forced to discontinue their career was health problems. Nonetheless, those who joined the government steamship company were promoted during the course of their careers, and their salary also rose commensurately. During the course of two revolutions and a world war the company’s organization *per se* did not undergo any major changes, and employees continued in their careers. After the dissolution of the Ottoman empire the Ottoman Maritime Administration was taken over by the Turkish Maritime Administration, and years of service with its predecessor were added to those with the new organization, so that surviving family members continue to be paid pensions down to the present day.

Research on the modern and contemporary history of Turkey has regarded Atatürk’s liberation movement as a “revolution” and has considered the current of history from the Ottoman empire to the Republic of Turkey to have been one in which there occurred a radical transformation from a multiethnic state to a Turkish nation-state and from an Islamic empire to a secular modern state. But in recent years the continuity between the final years of the Ottoman empire and the Republic of Turkey has begun to attract attention. The results of the present study show, I believe, that there already existed not only among the élite but also among the general population the necessary foundations for responding to “revolutionary” changes.

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Notes

- 1) See, e.g., Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler* (Ankara, 2001);

- Salâhi R. Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (Ankara, 1993); Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma* (Istanbul, 1978); B. Braude & B. Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 2 vols. (New York, 1982).
- 2) See, e.g., Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Ahîlik ve Esnaf* (İstanbul, 1986).
 - 3) Nonetheless, noteworthy examples of research into family histories include: İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile* (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2000); A. Duben & C. Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
 - 4) Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicil-i Osmani yahut Tezkire-i Meşâhir-i Osmaniye* (Istanbul, M. 1308 [1890/91]–1316 [1899/1900]).
 - 5) Article 1 of the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty concluded in 1838 between the Ottoman empire and Great Britain began: “All rights, privileges, and immunities which have been conferred on the suspects or ships of Great Britain by the existing Capitulations and Treaties, are confirmed now and for ever...” Cf. N. Kurdakul, *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Ticaret Antlaşmaları ve Kapitülasyonlar* (Istanbul, 1981), p. 216.
 - 6) AKAY is an acronym formed from the first letters of the chief routes from Istanbul to Adalar, Kaidöy, Anadolu Yakası, and Yalova.
 - 7) The building in which the organization for steamship services was located was burned down during the time of the Azîziye Maritime Administration (1869?), and it was relocated several times thereafter (Abdülâhd Nuri, *Seyri Sefâin İdâresi Tarihçesi* [Istanbul, 1926], p. 21).
 - 8) A. Makal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Çalışma İlişkileri 1850–1920 Türkiye Çalışma İlişkileri Tarihi* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 1997), p. 215.
 - 9) The following data are based on the figures given in “*Maaş Defteri*,” vols. 1 & 3.
 - 10) The status designated *kaptan* or its synonym *süvari* in Ottoman sources can generally be understood as “captain,” but, as was noted above, there were usually several on board large and medium-sized steamships, in which case they were ranked “first,” “second,” etc. Here, I accordingly refer to those of the first rank as “captain” and those of the second rank, third rank, etc., as “second officer,” “third officer,” etc. In addition, the position of *mülazim*, who was generally unsalaried, has been translated as “novice” or “assistant.”
 - 11) In the Ottoman empire the *medrese*, or religious schools, had traditionally served as educational institutions, but with the introduction of Westernization policies during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II secular educational institutions were born, and during the Tanzimât era a compulsory education system gradually developed. In 1869 a Public Education Law (*Maârifî Umûmî Nizâmname’si*) was promulgated, and during the reign of Abdülhamit II primary schools (*ibtidâî*; four years), secondary schools (*rüşdiye*; three years), and high schools (*idâdiye*; five to seven years) spread throughout the country. On the education system during the modern period of the Ottoman empire, see Hasebe Kiyohiko 長谷部圭彦, “Osman teikoku ni okeru gimu kyôiku seido no dônnyû” オスマン帝國における義務教育制度の

- 導入 [On the introduction of the compulsory education in the Ottoman empire], *Nihon no Kyōikugaku: Kyōiku Shigakkai Kiyō* 日本の教育學 教育史學會紀要 51 (2008), pp. 82–94; Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitimi Sistemi* (Istanbul, 1980); Selçuk Akşın Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908* (Leiden, 2001).
- 12) In 1885 a Mercantile Marine School (*Ticaret-i Bahriye Kaptan Mektebi*), with evening classes only, was established in the grounds of the Naval Cadets School in Istanbul for pupils who had completed their secondary education, and in the same year a full-time Mercantile Marine School was established in the precincts of the naval dockyard for the purpose of reeducating captains and other officers of merchant ships. Those who passed the practical test after graduation were certified as captains. The evening school was abolished in 1905, and the students were enrolled in the Naval Academy.
 - 13) The term for “engineer” in the source materials is *çarhçı* or the synonymous loanword *makînist*.
 - 14) Engineers’ qualifications were certified by the Office of Ports and Harbours (*Liman İdaresi*) and granted by the Naval Arsenal Commission (*Bahriye Fabrika Komisyonu*).
 - 15) The following data are based on the figures given in “Maaş Defteri,” vol. 15.
 - 16) For example, in M. 1302 (1886/87) 29 of the 30 men on the *Hasan Paşa* and 20 of the 21 men on the *Şerefesân* who served as quarter masters and crewmen were from the Black Sea region, as were 20 of the 21 men on the *Kâmil Paşa* and all 19 men on the *Sakarya* who served as quarter masters and crewmen in M. 1303 (1887/88) (“*Maaş Defteri*,” vols. 24 & 25).
 - 17) On steamship services and seamen from the Black Sea region, see Komatsu Kaori 小松香織, “Osuman teikoku makki no kaiyō katsudō to Kokkai enganmin” オスマン帝國末期の海洋活動と黒海沿岸民 [Sea activities and the Black Sea people during the late Ottoman period], *Rekishī Jinrui* 歴史人類 [History and Anthropology] 38 (2010), pp. 1–23; K. Komatsu, “Yakınçağ Osmanlı Denizciliği ve Karadenizliler,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 190 (2009), pp. 26–33.
 - 18) These figures have been taken from Şevket Pamuk (ed.), *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler 1469–1998* (Ankara, 2000), pp. 196–197. The original figures are given in *akçe*, the smallest monetary unit, but I have converted them into *kuruş*.
 - 19) Carter Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 320–322.
 - 20) On the number of non-Muslims employed by the SA, see Komatsu Kaori, “Kaiun shiryō ni miru Osuman teikoku makki no shakai hen’yō” 海運史料にみるオスマン帝國末期の社會變容 [The social change in the late Ottoman empire as seen from the maritime archives], *Isurāmu Chiiki Kenkyū Jānaru* イスラーム地域研究ジャーナル 5 (2013), pp. 43–50.
 - 21) The Armenian national independence movement turned to armed struggle from 1895 and caused disturbances in the capital Istanbul, including demonstrations in front of the grand vizier’s office and an attack on the Ottoman Bank in August 1896.

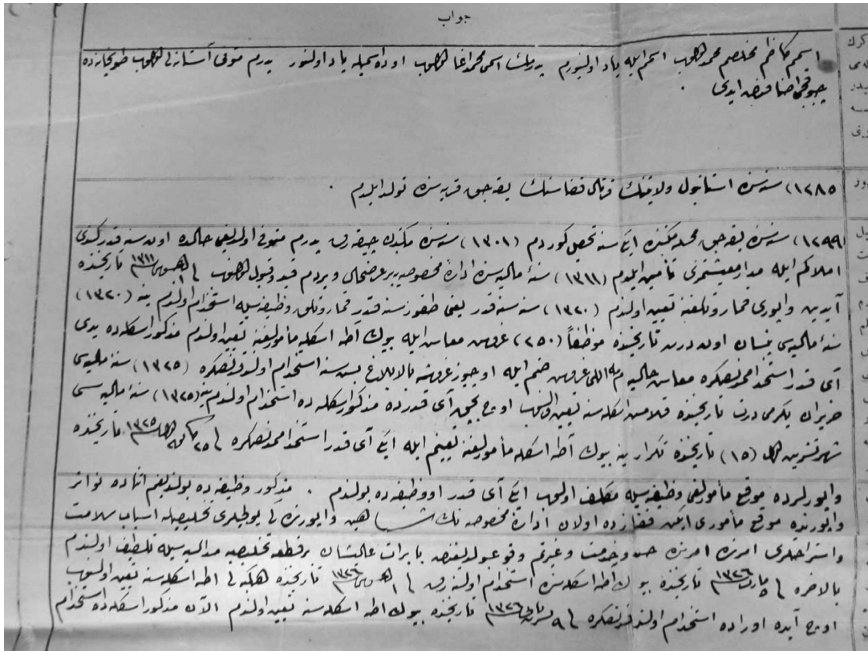


Fig. 1a. The Employee's Curriculum Vitae

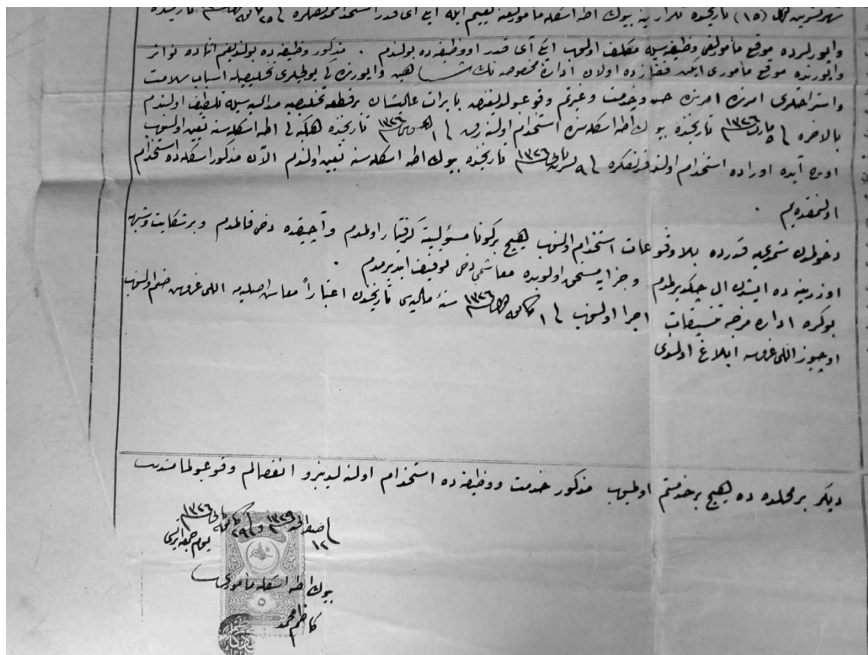


Fig. 1b. The Employee's Curriculum Vitae

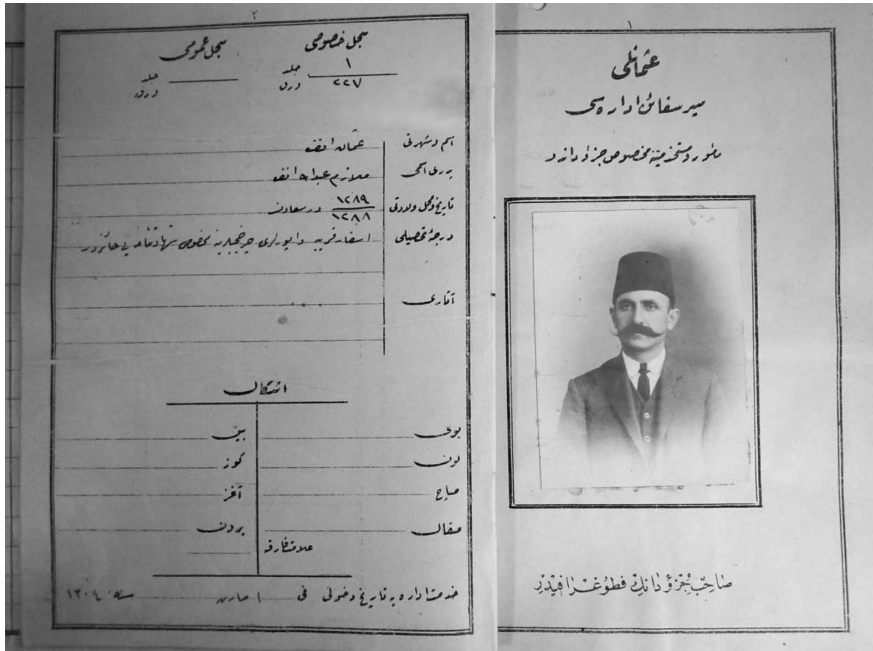


Fig. 2. The Employee’s Staff Notebook

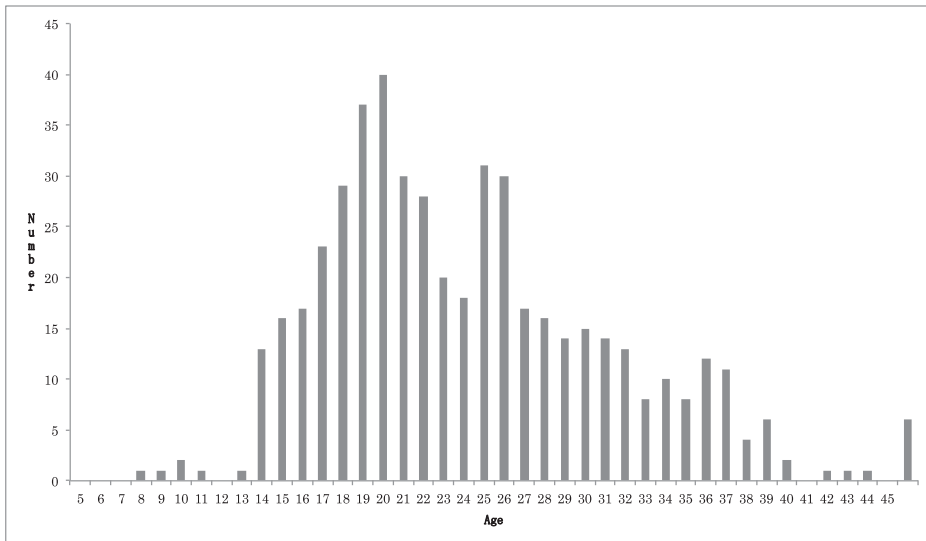


Fig. 3. Employment Age

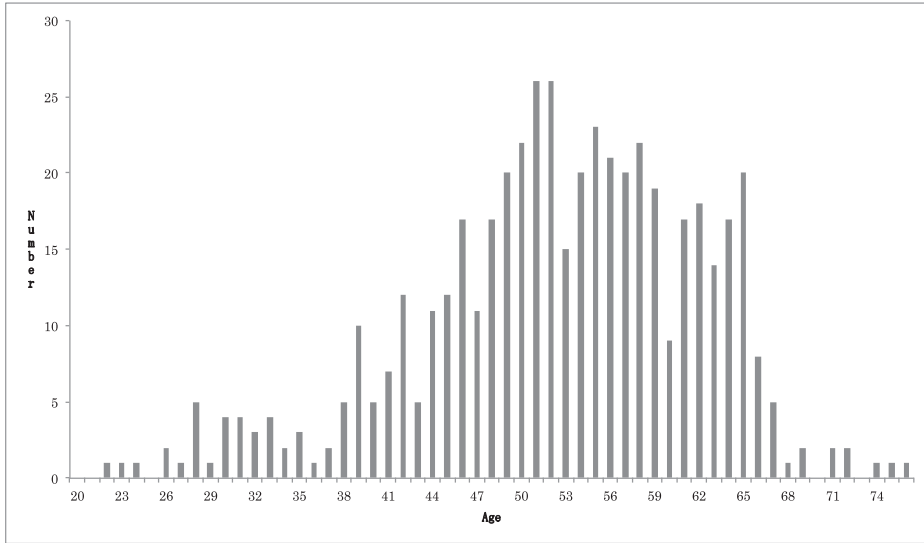


Fig. 4. Retirement Age

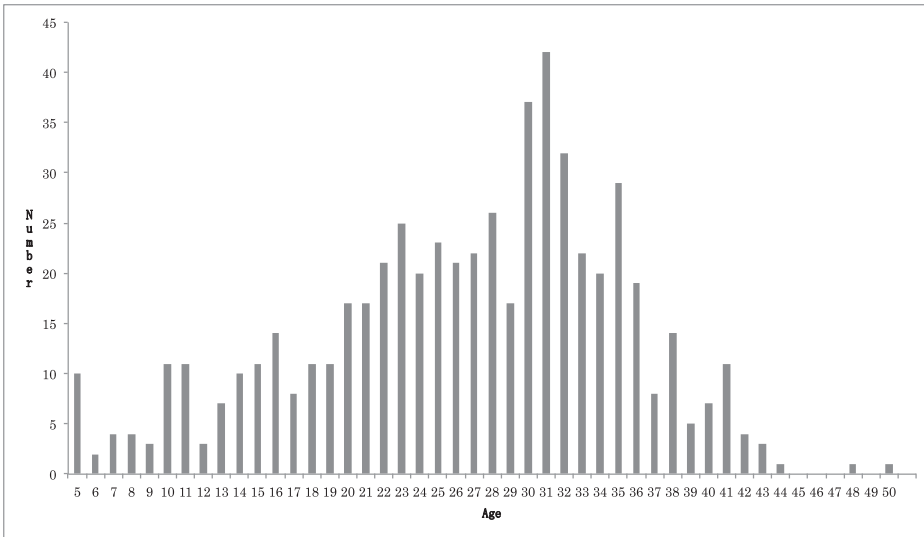


Fig. 5. Length of Service

Table 1a. Career Patterns of Captains

No.	Place of Birth	Father	Year of Birth	Education	(Age) Position <Type of Ship>
172	Rize	<i>kaptan</i>	1288	TBKM	(17) mü. <b.L> → (17) 3. <b.M> → (21) 2. <b.M> → (34) 1. <b.M>
191	İstanbul	<i>kaptan</i>	1290	TBKM	(19) mü. <b.M> → (20) 2. <M> → (24) 1. <b.M>
233	İstanbul	<i>esnaf</i>	1290	TBKM	(20) mü. <b.L> → (20) 3. <b.M> → (27) 2. <b.M> → (41) 1. <M>
272	Ünye	<i>kaptan</i>	1272	<i>rüşdiye</i>	(36) 2. <M> → (42) 1. <S-M>
309	Babadağı	—	1269	—	(27) t. → (39) lost. <k.S> → (45) süv. <ist.> → (47) 1. <k.S> → (60) 1. <M>

Table 1b. Career Patterns of Captains from Private Merchant Ships

Steamship	Place of Birth	(Year of Appointment [Malî calendar]) Position <Type of Ship>
<i>Lütfiye</i>	Arhavi	(1290) 3. <M> → (1292) 2. <L> → (1295) 1. <L>
<i>İzmit</i>	İstanbul	(1279) mü. → (1280) 2. <S> → (1282) 1.
<i>Gemlik</i>	Raguza	(1286) 1. <L>
<i>Marmara</i>	Sürmene	(Salih P.) 1. <k.>
<i>Maltepe</i>	Trabzon	(1280) lost. → (1287) 3. → (1288) 2. <L>
<i>Hereke</i>	Tilebolu	(Topuz P.) 3. → (1282) 1. <k.>
<i>Medar-ı Fevâ'id</i>	Rize	(1288) mü. → (1290) 1. <k.>
<i>Pendik</i>	Rize	(1288) mü. → (1289) 4. <L> → (1290–1292) private company → (1293) 3. <L> → (1293) 1. <k.>

Source: “Maâş Defteri,” vol. 15

TBKM: Ticaret-i Bahriye Kaptan Mektebi

mü.: <i>mülâzim</i>	1.: 1. <i>kaptan</i>
2.: 2. <i>kaptan</i>	3: 3. <i>kaptan</i>
4.: 4. <i>kaptan</i>	lost.: <i>lostromo</i>
süv.: <i>süvari</i>	t.: <i>taife</i>
k.: <i>esfâr-ı karibe</i>	b.: <i>esfâr-ı bâ'ide</i>
L: large	M: medium
S: small	ist.: <i>istimbot</i>

Table 2. Career Patterns of Engineers

No.	Place of Birth	Father	Schooling	Qualification (Age)	Career (Age) Position & Rank <Type of Ship>
120	İstanbul	<i>ağa</i>		k.1.	(35) m. lost. <k.S> → (42) 3. <b.L> → (43) 2. <M>
150	İstanbul	<i>ağa</i>	<i>ibtidâî</i>	k.1. (53)	(24) m. lost. <M> → (32) 2. <k.S> → (37) 1. <b.M>
151	İstanbul	ç.	<i>rüşdiye</i> ▼	k.2.	(19) köm., ateş., v., etc. → (29) m. lost. <b.L> → (33) 2. <k.S> → (34) 3. <b.L> → (36) 2. <k.S> → (38) 2. <b.L>
152	İstanbul	<i>ağa</i>	—	b.3.	(31) serdü. <b.M> ateş., köm., v., etc. → (41) m. lost. <b.M> → (43) 4. <b.L> → 2. <b.S> → 3. <b.L>
224	Mapavli	<i>ağa</i>	<i>ibtidâî</i>	k.2. (35)	(17) köm. <k.S> → (19) ateş. <M> → (36) m. lost. <k.S> → (38) ç. <römorkör>
244	Kayseri	<i>tuccar</i>	<i>haddehane fabrikası mektebi</i>	1.&2. (29)	(23) ç. <istimbot> → (24) 3. <b.M> → (28) 2. <b.M> → (32) 1. <b.M>
251	İstanbul		<i>rüşdiye</i> ▼	b.3.	(9) v. <b.L> → (10) köm., ateş., v. <b.L> → (39) 2. <M> → (41) 3. <b.M>
253	İstanbul	<i>ağa</i>	<i>ibtidâî</i>	k.	(19) köm., ateş. → (32-40) Lloyd Co. → (40) m. lost. <M> → (51) ç. <istimbot> → (53) 2. <M>

▼ Left before graduating

k.: *esfâr-ı karibe*b.: *esfâr-ı bâ'ide*

L: large

M: medium

S: small

ç.: *çarhçı*1.: 1. *çarhçı*2.: 2. *çarhçı*3.: 3. *çarhçı*m. lost.: *makina lostromosu*serdü.: *serdümen*ateş.: *ateşçi*köm.: *kömürcü*v.: *vinççi*

Table 3. Career Patterns of Ship’S Clerks

No.	Place of Birth	Father	Schooling	Career (Age) Position <Salary (kuruş)>
158	Sinop	<i>tuccar</i>	<i>rüşdiye</i>	(28) joined SMA, m. → (31) g.k. <500>— ¹² → (42) same <800>
202	İstanbul	—	<i>rüşdiye</i>	(24) joined SMA, g.k. <600>— ¹⁸ → (49) acentalık <720>→ inspektor <800>→ g.k. <800>→ (56) same <1200>
209	Vakfikebir	<i>imam/hatip</i>	<i>medrese</i>	(36) joined SMA, g.k. <500>— ⁸ → (56) same <1800>
306	İstanbul	<i>maliye kalemi müdürü</i>	Mekteb-i Tıbbiye ▼ Mekteb-i Sultânî ▼	(21) joined SMA, tahrirat m., <100>→ (26) same <350>→ (30) g.k. <500>— ⁸ → (53) same <800>
310	İstanbul	<i>balıkçı esnafı</i>	<i>rüşdiye</i>	(37) joined SMA, g.k. <640>— ⁹ → (54) taded m. <576>

Circled numbers indicate number of ships on which he served during period in question

▼ Left before graduating

m.: *memur*

g.k.: *gemi kâtibi*

SMA: Special Maritime Administration

Table 4. Number of Retirees for Health and Other Reasons

Steamship	Complement	Total Number	Illness	Injury	Death	Percentage
<i>Kayseri</i>	43	186	41		2	23.1
<i>Şerefesan</i>	37	166	42			25.3
<i>Vasıta-i Ticaret</i>	47	223	56		1	25.6
<i>Medar-ı Tevfik</i>	36	93	18		1	20.4
<i>Canik</i>	42	179	21		5	14.5
<i>Batum</i>	41	110	6		1	6.4
<i>Lütfiye</i>	34	142	17	1		12.7
<i>Selanik</i>	39	109	11			10.1
<i>Mudanya</i>	26	99	17		2	19.2
<i>Şehber</i>	38	139	16	1		12.2

Source: “Maaş Defteri,” vol. 15 (M.1297[1881.3.13–1882.3.12]–1298[1882.3.13–1883.3.12])

Table 5. Career Patterns of Wharf Office Workers

No.	Place of Birth	Schooling	Career (Age) Position <Salary (kuruş)>
136	İstanbul	<i>ibtidâî</i>	(20) joined SMA, iskele m. <400> → (23) <200> → (25) same <400> → (34) kapı m. <250> → (39) same <300> → (55) same <400>
143	İstanbul	—	merchant → (47) joined SMA, y. <200> → (54) acenta m. <300> → (58) tadad m. → (60) y. <400> → (63) retired
225	İstanbul	<i>askeri rüşdiyesi</i> ▼	(19) joined SMA, iskele m. <300> → (20) yük m. → (21) iskele y. → (36) <600>
239	Boyabad	<i>ibtidâî</i>	(26) joined SMA, iskele y. <300> → (27) tadad m. <270> → (37) iskele m. <300> → (48) iskele y. <600>
248	Kastamonu	<i>ibtidâî</i>	(36) joined SMA, iskele m. <300> → (42) bilet m. <400> → (49) died of typhus
263	İstanbul	<i>rüşdiye</i> ▼ Askerî Tıbbiye Mektebi ▼	(26) joined SMA, y. <300> → (40) 1.y. <400> → (55) kantar m. <500>
293	İstanbul	<i>askeri rüşdiyesi</i> ▼	(25) joined SMA, acenta m. → (27) iskele bilet m. <250> → (30) kapı m. <350> → (30) yük.m. <400> → (33) fabrika k. <500>
297	Servi	<i>ibtidâî</i>	(29) joined SMA, iskele m. <200> → (30) kapı m. <300> → (32) same <400>

▼ Left before graduating

m.: *memur*y.: *yazıcı*k.: *kâtip*

List of Terms (Abbreviation–Turkish–English)

Abbreviation	Turkish	English
Career		
kap.	kaptan	captain
1. kap.	birinci kaptan/süvari	captain/chief officer
2. kap.	ikinci kaptan/süvari	second officer
3. kap.	üçüncü kaptan/süvari	third officer
mü.	mülâzim	novice/assistant
lost.	lostoromo	boatswain
m. lost.	makina lostoromo	chief stoker
ç.	çarhçı/makinist	engineer
1. ç.	birinci (baş/ser) çarhçı/makinist	chief engineer
2. ç	ikinci çarhçı	second engineer
3. ç.	üçüncü çarhçı	third engineer
serdü.	serdümen	quarter master
köm.	kömürcü	stoker/burner of charcoal
ateş.	ateşçi	fireman/stoker
v.	vinççi	winchman
t.	taife	crew
	ambarcı	storekeeper
	marangoz	ship’s carpenter
r	kamarot	ship’s steward
g.k.	gemi kâtibi	ship’s clerk
	hesap memuru	cashier
m.	memur	employee
isk. m.	iskele memuru	wharf staff
k.	kâtip	clerk
y.	yazıcı	clerk
	mukayyid	recorder
	sandık emini	chief cashier
	odacı/kahveci	office boy
	hademe	servant
	bekçi	watchman
Organization		
	İdâre-i Azîziye	Azîziye Maritime Administration
	İdâre-i Mahsûsa	Special Maritime Administration
	Osmanlı Seyr-i Sefâ’in İdâresi	Ottoman Maritime Administration
	Türkiye Seyr-i Sefâ’in İdâresi	Turkish Maritime Administration

	Devlet Denizyolları İşletmesi Müdürlüğü	Office of National Maritime Line
	AKAY İşletmesi Müdürlüğü	Office of AKAY Maritime Line
	Fabrika ve Havuzlar İşletmesi Müdürlüğü	Office of Docks and Dockyards
	Liman İdâresi	Office of Ports and Harbors
	Tahlisiye İdâresi	Office of Sea Rescue
	Deniz Bank	Maritime Bank
	Şirket-i Hayriye	Hayriye Co.
Education		
TBKM	Ticaret-i Bahriye Kaptan Mektebi	Mercantile Marine School
	ibtidâî	elementary school
	rüşdiye	secondary school
	medrese	Madrasa
	idâdiye	high school
	Mekteb-i Sultânî(Galatasaray Lisesi)	Imperial School (Galatasaray High School)
	Mekteb-i Tıbbiye	Medical School
	Askerî Tıbbiye Mektebi	Military Medical School
	Askerî Rüşdiyesi	Military Academy