

MICHAŁ CZAJKOWSKI (SADIK PASHA) AND HIS COSSACK CAVALRY
REGIMENT

A Master's Thesis

by

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Ankara
September 2013

To My Family

MICHAŁ CZAJKOWSKI (SADIK PASHA) AND HIS COSSACK CAVALRY
REGIMENT

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Dođramacı Bilkent University

by

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ABSTRACT

MICHAŁ CZAJKOWSKI (SADIK PASHA) AND HIS COSSACK CAVALRY REGIMENT

Büyük, Saadet

M.A., Department of History, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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This study mentions about the history of Poland that was deleted from the map of Europe in 1795, also mentions about the Ottoman History at a different perspective. For Polish study areas this perspective is allowed by studying on 19th century Polish history through the eyes of Turkish researcher and Ottoman archival documents, while for the Turkish study areas by studying on Polish sources and analyzing the Polish scholars. 19th century Europe, Russia and Ottoman History is combined with political events on the battlefield: Crimean War, on the argument: Refugees Question. Growing up in szlachta family after attending nationalist movement- November Uprising- Poles, under the pressure of Russia, were forced to flee their country. In the context of period, Michal Czajkowski is an example of freedom fighter immigrants. After November Uprising, his political missions continued in France, from there he took refuge in the Ottoman Empire. When he accepted islam and got the name Sadik Pasha, he was refused as being a Polish agent.

He became the ‘Sadık’ Pasha in the Ottoman army. Many sources about Sadık Pasha and Cossack Cavalry Regiment in Polish, European and Turkish were analyzed, this thesis is extensive study about the regiment. His practices as a commander of the Ottoman Empire and his struggle as freedom fighter detailly examined.

Keywords: Mehmed Sadık Pasha (Michal Czajkowski), Cossack Cavalry Regiment, Adampol (Polonezköy), Hotel Lambert, Ottoman History, Adam Czartoryski, Polish Refugees, Eastern Agency, Slavic Unity, Crimean War.

ÖZET

MICHAŁ CZAJKOWSKI (SADIK PAŞA) VE KAZAK SÜVARİ ALAYI

Büyük, Saadet

Master, Tarih Bölümü, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Üniversitesi

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Bu çalışma 1795'te Avrupa haritasından silinen Polonya'nın tarihine değindiği gibi, Osmanlı Tarihine de değişik bir perspektiften bakan bir çalışmadır. Bu perspektifi Polonya literatürü için sağlayan 19. yüzyıl Polonya tarihine bir Türk araştırmacının gözüyle bakılmış olması ve Osmanlı arşiv kaynaklarının da incelenmiş olması iken, Türkiye literatürü için Lehçe kaynakların kullanılarak Polonyalı araştırmacıların konuya yaklaşımlarının analiz edilmesi olmuştur. 19. yüzyıl Avrupa, Rusya ve Osmanlı tarihini politik, siyasi ve savaş alanında birleştiren olaylara Mülteciler Meselesi ve Kırım Savaşı örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Soylu bir ailede büyüyüp, milliyetçi ayaklanmalara katıldıktan sonra -1830 Kasım Ayaklanması- Rusya'nın baskısıyla Lehler, ülkelerinden kaçmak zorunda kalmışlardır. Politik misyonlarına Fransa'da devam etmesi, oradan da Osmanlı Devleti'ne sığınması bağlamında Michal Czajkowski (Sadık Paşa) dönemin ayaklanmacı göçmenlerini yansıtan iyi bir örnektir. Lehlerin ajanı olmaktan çıkıp,

Osmanlı Devleti'nin 'Sadık' Paşası olarak, islamiyeti kabul etmiş ve Osmanlı ordusunda görev almıştır. Sadık Paşa üzerinde yazılan pek çok Leh, Avrupa ve Osmanlı kaynağının analizleri yapılmış, kurduğu Kazak Süvari Alayı ve görevleri hakkında detaylı araştırmalar yapılmıştır. Osmanlı Devletindeki bir komutan olarak pratiği ve sığınmacı olarak savaşımlı incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mehmed Sadık Paşa (Michal Czajkowski), Kazak Süvari Alayı, Polonezköy, Hotel Lambert, Osmanlı Tarihi. Adam Czartoryski, Leh Mülteciler, Doğu Ajansı, Slav Birliđi, Kırım Savaşı.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There are several studies on Michał Czajkowski written by different scholars after his death. First prominent study and also biography was conducted by 19th century Polish historian Franciszek Gawroński¹. He was born in 1846 at Kiev, this helped him to study on Czajkowski, because Czajkowski and he lived at the same soil, he was the next generation after Czajkowski. He could reach materials about Michał Czajkowski. His biography was named “Michał Czajkowski (Sadyk-Pasza): Jego Życie i Działalność Wojskowa: Zarys Biograficzny² (Michał Czajkowski; Sadik Pasha: His Life and Military Activity- Biographical Outline). This 102 pages length biography consisted general knowledge about him. He analyzes the Cossack ideology and his main diplomatic.

Quite a lengthy biography -600 pages- of Czajkowski was published in 1971, entitled *Dziwne Życie Sadyka Paszy: O Michale Czajkowskim*³ (The Strange Life of Sadik Pasha-About Michał Czajkowski). This book is still the most detailed

¹ Początki i Charakter Kozaczyzny, *Materyaly do Historii Polskiej XIX.Wieku*, Adam Mickiewicz na Wschodzie, Ostatnie Lata Życia Sadyka Paszy are some of his articles which were published in different journals. *Materyaly do Historii Polskiej XIX.Wieku* was published as a book and it has his articles published by ‘Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki’ journal in 1909. The Volume 36 at the pages 46, 149, 241, 331, 421, 519, 619, 703, 783, 875, 984, 1076 he published primary sources about 19th century. Some of them were about Michał Czajkowski, while some of them were written by Czajkowski.

Issue 14 of *Życiorysy Sławnych Polaków*, Publisher: Nakładem Księgarni K. Grendyszyńskiego, 1901.

19 of *Ludzie żywi*, publisher Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy

biography of Czajkowski. The writer- Jadwiga Chudzikowska⁴ argues about Cossack background of Czajkowski and his missions in the Ottoman Empire, has a large number of Polish both in primary and secondary sources in her bibliography. For the mission in the Ottoman Empire, she focused on the memories of Czajkowski, it is possible to learn about his impressions about Constantinople and his political agenda during his life. Despite the fact that these two writers did not have any Ottoman sources, they are valuable in terms of biography of Czajkowski. The comparative study needs to be written at that point, and this thesis aimed to follow this method.

These biographers would be caught by Jerzy Łątka⁵, another writer who detailed wrote and argue about the missions of Czajkowski. His studies made great contributions to the history of the Ottoman-Polish relations⁶. He was dedicated to research Polish case agents and unlike his predecessor researchers, he used Ottoman archives and resources. In his Carogrodzki Pojedynek book he told the story of Czajkowski from the beginning of Hotel Lambert mission to the end of political mission in Istanbul. His book has different approaches than other Polish scholars because of analyzing Turkish and Ottoman sources. He could easily see two sides of the same coins, he realized the fact that there is a policy background of the

⁴ She was successful at writing biography. Except for Czajkowski's biography, she wrote another one about General Bem in 1990. Both of biographies are important sources for the Ottoman History and European/ Polish history as well.

⁵ Jerzy Siemisław Łątka was born in 1944, in Poland. He stayed in Turkey for a period of time and he researched about the Ottoman- Polish relations in 1993, he was the visiting professor at Bilkent University.

⁶ Some of his studies are Polacy w Turcji, Lublin 1980. Carogrodzki Pojedynek, Kraków 1985. Ogień nad Bosforem. Warszawa 1986. Stambuł był moim domem. Kraków 1991. Pasza z Lechistanu - Mustafa Dżelaleddin (Konstanty Borzęcki). Kraków 1993. Ojciec Turków - Kemal Atatürk. Kraków 1994. 150 lat Adampola. Kraków 1994. Lew nasz, Lew Polski - Pasza Iskender (Antoni Iliński). Kraków-Gdańsk 1996. Z Ziemi Tureckiej do Polski. Dzieje polskiego legionu 1877 r. Gdańsk 2000. Adampol (Polonezköy). Dzieje i Kulturowe Przeobrażenia Polskiej Osady nad Bosforem (1842-2010). Kraków 2010. Polonya-Türkiye [Polska-Turcja], Ankara, 1986. Eski fotoğraflarda Polonezköy (Adampol) [Adampol w starej fotografii], Istanbul 1992. Polonezköy (Adampol) - Cennetten bir Köşe [Adampol-Rajski zakątek], Istanbul, 1992. Lehistan'dan Gelen Sefirler [Posłowie z Lechistanu], Istanbul, 1991. Lehistan'dan Gelen Şehit [Męczennik z Lechistanu], Istanbul, 1987.

nineteenth century; Ottomans and the Poles were obliged to cooperate in political strategies, Britain and France would support Poland and the Ottoman Empire in order to prevent the strengthening of Russia. Czajkowski was part of the duel between the great powers.

Other Polish Wójcicka⁷, Kazimierz Dopierala⁸, Teodor Tomasz Jez⁹, Juliusz Kijas¹⁰, Adam Lewak¹¹, Jerzy Borejsza, Antoni Cetnarowicz, Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, Jan Reychman, Marcei Handelsman, Maria Czapska, Maria Pawlicowa etc. These writers and scholars wrote in Polish and this made their studies almost untouched by any Turkish researcher.

In Turkey mentioned books, theses and articles have been written about Sadık Pasha. Bayram Nazır¹² mentioned about Hungarian and Polish refugees who took asylum in the Ottoman Empire were welcomed by the Empire. The hospitality was the main reason at the time of 1848 why the Empire accepted refugees in the Ottoman lands¹³. “Thanks to traditional Turkish hospitality, all political asylum seekers gained easy entrance into the country and were made feel at home during their stay in the Empire”.¹⁴ Traditional Ottoman hospitality was connected by him to the history of the Ottoman Empire. Ottomans accepted thousands of foreign people

⁷ Zofia Wójcicka, *Paryski Okres Działalności i Twórczości Michała Czajkowskiego*, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa, 1986.

⁸ *Adampol-Polonezköy: Z Dziejów Polaków w Turcji*, 1983. Ludwika Sniadecka- Dyplomata w Spodnicy. Trwanie Adampola, *Przegląd Zachodni*, 1980.

⁹ (Zygmunt Miłkowski), *Sylwety Emigracyjne*, <http://literat.ug.edu.pl/jez/>. Od Kolebki Przez Życie, Kraków 1936. (11.09.2013).

¹⁰ *Michał Czajkowski pod Urokiem Mickiewicza*, Nakł. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1959.

¹¹ *Dzieje Emigracji Polskiej w Turcji (1831-1878)*, Warszawa, 1935.

¹² *Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar- Macar ve Polonyalı Mülteciler*, İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006.

¹³ Bayram Nazır, *Ottoman Hospitality and Its Impact on Europe*, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Publications

¹⁴ Sultan Abdülmecid declared that “...I may give up my crown and throne, but I will never handover those innocent people who seek asylum in my country.” Thanks to this declaration he earned the respect and love of all refugees living inside the Empire but also received approval from many European capitals. See Bayram Nazır, *Ottoman Hospitality and Its Impact on Europe*, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Publications.

This sentence if researcher converts it on the other side, means that Ottoman Sultan needed the approval of European capitals for the Russian threat.

to Empire during the whole history¹⁵. This thesis did not find the reasons behind it as Nazır told, on the contrary the policy that France and Britain included the Empire to the Refugee Question and the Empire decided to accept refugees because of the fact that they politically should be allies against the Russian expansion. The policy was the reason of why refugees took asylum in the Empire.

Musa Gümüş¹⁶, in his thesis and article claims that Polish and Hungarian refugees that took cover to Ottoman State during the 1848 revolution attempts, made important changes and innovations in Ottoman State. The Ottoman army was the most affected institution from these changes and innovations. Because great number of these refugees were qualified soldiers who knew European military system well. Cossack Cavalry Regiment is an important example in the 19th century history, which was provided by the refugees as an element on the Ottoman modernization. The regiment brought the structural transformation and new understanding of the Ottoman modernization. Regiment structured by European manner. In his thesis Musa Gümüş said, "Regiment was subjected to an education which had modern military techniques and was meant to a good level of education for military efficiency"¹⁷.

This thesis, as a biography on Czajkowski and study on Cossack Cavalry Regiment, did not reach such a conclusion; Cossack Cavalry Regiment had some duties in the Ottoman Empire, helped to get the success in the Silistra battle of the

¹⁵ First example of it that before Ankara war Celayirli Ahmet and Karakoyunlu Kara Yusuf, who escaped from Timur, sought refuge in Ottoman Empire. Timur wanted them to rule from Yıldırım Bayezid but he refused Timur's demand. This event was one of the reasons of Ankara War. Refugees from East would continue to come there. See Bayram Nazır, *Ottoman Hospitality and Its Impact on Europe*, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Publications.

¹⁶ Mehmed Sadık Paşa (Michal Czajkowski) ve Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kazak Süvari Alayı, *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 5/3, 2010.

1848 İhtilalleri Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'ne Sığınan Leh ve Macar Mültecileri'nin Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Etkileri, Unpublished Master Thesis. 2007.

¹⁷ 1848 İhtilalleri Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'ne Sığınan Leh ve Macar Mültecileri'nin Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Etkileri, Unpublished Master Thesis. 2007, p.7.

Crimean War, provided the Balkan border security. The level of education of the army was meant to be efficient, however this does not prove that Ottoman army was tried to be modernized. No evidence was found in terms of assistance to modernize the Ottoman army as its aim.

Candan Badem¹⁸, thinks that he is eminent figure on the study of Poles in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Especially the Ottoman Cossack regiments were worth to mention. By this approach he wrote an article by rejoicing the Ottoman Archives. This article explains the importance of Czajkowski¹⁹.

İlber Ortaylı mentioned in his few works²⁰ that Michal Czajkowski changed his name as Sadık Rıfat Pasha, but Czajkowski did not take this name, his name was Mehmed Sadık Pasha²¹. This mistake was realized firstly by Musa Gümüş in his thesis. Ortaylı in his article²² wrote that General Michal Czajkowski (Sadık Rıfat Paşa) was one of the initiator of military reforms. This statement could not be supported by this thesis. While studying on the Cossack Cavalry Regiment of Czajkowski, it is realized that this regiment aimed to gather Slavs together and break the power of Russia, Czajkowski did not aim to reform the Ottoman army.

All the arguments mentioned until this paragraph are connected with Czajkowski and the world around him. In fact, this thesis is Czajkowski's biography and it offers a panorama of his missions during his life and the mission of Cossack Cavalry Regiment in the Ottoman Empire. The chapters were shaped on this way.

¹⁸ *Crimean War*, Netherlands: Brill, 2010.

¹⁹ In *Colonial Skirmish or Rehearsal for World War? Empires, Nations, and Individuals in the Crimea, 1853–1856*; Candan Badem, *Sadyk Pasha in the Light of the Ottoman Archives*

²⁰ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim (Makaleler 1)*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2004, p. 190. İlber Ortaylı, *Avrupa ve Biz*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2007, p. 162.

²¹ Hacer Topaktaş, also, in her article explained Czajkowski as “Sadık Rıfat Paşa”. Hacer Topaktaş, “Lehistan’dan Polonya’ya: Polonya Tarih yazımında Türkler ve Türkiye”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 8(15): pp. 537-590.

²² İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim (Makaleler 1)*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2004.

The first chapter reflects the life of Czajkowski from his birth until he got to France. The family that he grew up was very important to understand and analyze his future political approaches. He was shaped by the evolving political life, such as her family shaped him. The first ideology for him was to be a real Cossack and serve for Cossacks and Poland. His memory²³ was constructed to explain the importance of Cossack background of him. This Cossack background lied down to Ukrainophile and Cossackophile ideologies. Thus the idealized Poland for him was freedom of Cossacks and Ukraine under the command of Poland.

By all these half-romantic and half-positivist approaches, he attended the November Uprising in the Karol Różycki's Volhyn Cavalry Regiment. His missions in the military started with this regiment and in the second chapter I would like to analyze political missions of him. During his stay in Paris, he attended many groups that let him be part of literature history and political history. In Paris, his most significant role was to be the agent of Hotel Lambert. During that time, there was still the romantic dream in his heart despite of the political life. He did not forget Ukrainophile and Cossackophile thoughts. Adam Jerzy Czartoryski would be the Prince of Poland and he would be the ataman of Cossacks in Poland. Nevertheless this does not prove that Czajkowski would not follow the realist political approaches. By following it, he accepted to govern the Eastern Agency in Istanbul. Though in this case he had dreams, he was going to be governor of Slavs and Poles, helps of France, Britain and Ottoman Empire would make his Polish lands more powerful and in near future independent.

When the third chapter comes, he converted to Islam, he changed his name as Mehmed Sadık Pasha. This situation was realist political situation for him, he would

²³ *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, Nakładem Księgarni Gubrynowicza & Schmidta, Lwów, 1898.

have continued to serve for the Hotel Lambert, but the Hotel Lambert did not analyze the situation with the same approach. His agency mission ended with the refusal of Hotel Lambert. It was time for Crimean War and founding his Cossack Cavalry Regiment. His Cossackophil thoughts allowed him to turn his regiment into the Slavic unity. In the Ottoman Empire's eye, Czajkowski was efficient army support in the Balkan region. He was very excited about this army, it was getting stronger and this could have helped to hold his dreams. But the international policy made him depressed, and he felt to resign from his commander mission. The military mission ended in 1869 in the Ottoman Empire.

At the forth chapter he went back to Ukrainian lands- to Kiev. The policy of Russia did not support him enough even for economically, let alone political carrier. His conversion to Orthodoxy and his relationship with Russia were seen as being a renegade. But after the Ottoman Empire has to change policy, she had to let refugees go back to their lands which were occupied. The situation should not be forgotten while analyzing his as a renegade.

CHAPTER II

MICHAŁ CZAJKOWSKI

1.1. Biography Starting from His Birth to the November Uprising

The son of Stanisław and Petronęła of the Głębocki family²⁴ was baptized in Kodeń, seven months and 9 days after his birth in the town Halczyniec (Volhynia region in the today's Ukrainian lands), on the 8th of May 1805.²⁵ The future Sadik Pasza was given the name Michał, chosen in memory of his maternal grandfather²⁶. As the sixth addition to the Czajkowski family, he was a particularly desired addition to a family consisting, until this point, of only girls. When his father Stanisław told to grandfather that he had a son, he was delighted and said to him crowing that "Let him be baptized as Michał, let the Cossack archangel protect him, and he will be fine".²⁷

His father, although Czajkowski and other sources gave little information about him, could not live with his son for a long time and could not affect his son's

²⁴ The family originated from Cossack nobility. For the history of Cossacks in the history of Slavic countries see Franciszek Gawronski, *Początki i Charakter Kozaczyzny Ukrainskiej*.

²⁵ In Michał Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienia o Wojnie 1854 Roku*, Preface by Jozef Fijalek p. VII.

²⁶ The grandfather Michał Głębocki was on the distaff side. In addition to being an impetuous and capricious classical nobility of Wołyńia and Ukraine, he was also a real Sarmatian and contingent/autorament of the old contingent. Until he got married, he was poor, earning his wealth through this new connection with his wife's family. His grandmother Helena Krzyzanowska was a Kievan citizen. For details see Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne Życie Sadyka Paszy*, Warszawa, PIW, 1982, pp. 11-20.

²⁷ Michał Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, p. 4
„Niechaj go ochrzczą Michałem, niechaj archanioł kozacki go chroni, a będzie mu dobrze”

life similarly his grandfather affected because “he died when he started just to talk”²⁸. His mother, Petronęła was very happy when she had a son. She, as a rich, beautiful and understanding mother did not re-marry after the death of her husband and remained widowed to devote herself towards the upbringing her son. One she styled in a manner which would result in a true Cossack child.²⁹ After the death of her husband, the household now also included his father to raise the grandson as a true Cossack child.

In Czajkowski’s childhood, there were family atmosphere and education atmosphere, each one of them left its mark differently on Michał Czajkowski. When he was nine years old, his education began at the Zaklada Anglika Wolsey School, a school for the children of nobility, in Berdyczowa. From ten years onwards students started not coming from school to home and started the period of staying in the school. Their education program was prepared by the committee whose leader was Adam Czartoryski. In the program, students took both lectures in classes like foreign language, literature and mathematics and field education as in the example of dancing, horseback riding, target-practice, hunting and other aristocratic activities, including some military training. His lectures were mostly about learning languages. Every day they spoke different languages like “Monday and Tuesday in French, Wednesday in Russian, Thursday in Polish, Friday in German, Saturday in Latin, Sunday was free day”.³⁰

²⁸ Ibid, p.7.

²⁹ Also his mother was affected from his father. Accordingly to the wishes of the grandfather, Czajkowski was dressed in the Cossack style, was put a Cossack cap, on this cap, there was feather like old Ukranian and Zaporozian hetmans. Ibid, pp. 7-8.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 14.

According to him, “his first teacher was Mr. Antonowicz, passionate Ukrainophile³¹ and Cossack”³². It was during this early period in his education that Czajkowski met with the revival of the Cossack image idea as well as becoming acquainted with pan-Slavism ideals. He therefore, acquired the reputation of a headstrong Ukrainophile³³ from several teachers. He thought that “Cossacks are the knout in the Hands of Tsar and he aimed to form also Cossack-Slavic Council”³⁴. By criticizing this at his diary, he intended to show to the reader how his ideology started to shape for future creations.

However, the headstrong Ukrainophile after only three years was disappointed for the school was closed. He completed this early period of his education at the Piarist School in Miedzyrzecz, before attending the Krzemieniecki High school in the Ukraine.³⁵ It is highly likely impossible to get information about

³¹ Ukrainophilia “after the partition of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Russian Empire acquired the Right Bank territories with Polish or deeply Polonized local szlachta... the Polish Uprising of 1830-31 were to mark a crisis in the old Regime based on the loyalty of various- often non-Russian- aristocratic elites... In the milieu of the Polish nobility, Romanticism became the dominant artistic and ideological venue to express new nationally conscious concepts... Many writers, poets and ethnographers displayed a vivid, fashion-driven interest in the Cossacks and their folklore... Majority belonged among the Ukrainians according to modern classification (or the Ruthenians or Little Russians in the contemporary parlance)... the Ukrainian theme was less important in Russian culture than it was in Polish culture. For Russian Ukrainophile see Alekseĭ I. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question: The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Budapest, Newyork: Central European University Press, 2003, p. 50.

³² Michał Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, p. 14.

³³ In the first half of the nineteenth century, one could easily be a Polish nationalist and a Ukrainophile at the same time. Being an Ukrainophile in this case meant love for the land that made up part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Ukrainian peculiarities were marginalized as regional or ethnic, which did not exclude Ukraine from the Polish world. ...It was the Polish Ukrainophilism of the 1830s that for the first time clearly assumed political implications. The intense interest in Ukraine among Polish ideologues, many of whom had emigrated after the failure of the 1830-1831 Polish Uprising, was aimed primarily at the search for potential allies in the struggle against the Russian Empire... one of the example of Polish Ukrainophilism was Michał Czajkowski. Lysiak Rutnitsky argues that Polish Ukrainophiles and Ukrainians of Polish origin (the borderline between these two terms was rather vague), contributed greatly to the creation of new Ukraine... They idealized the past of Polish-Ruthenian encounters and saw the future of Rus’ in the re-establishment of the Polish Commonwealth as a union of three, not two, elements- Poland, Lithuania and Eastern Slavic Rus’. Alekseĭ I. Miller, *The Ukrainian Question: The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. Budapest, Newyork: Central European University Press, 2003, pp.50-51.

³⁴ Michał Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, pp.17-18.

³⁵ This particular school is of importance, as it allowed for Czajkowski to leave home for the first time and also provided him with the chance to meet Tsar Alexander I. He graduated on the 29th of June, 1821. S.Orgelbranda, *Encyklopedia Powszechna*, Tom IV, Warszawa, 1899.

this school. Instead the knowledge of the school itself, there is need to mention about his history exam at this school with the aim that his ideology was still shaping on the same way like he was before. In one of the Polish history exam, Czajkowski mentions about the kings in detail, which is important to understand his political ideology. By giving information about his history exam, he wants to prove that he is supporting the Cossack and Slavic unification.

“The Boleslaw Chrobry deserves the biggest location in Polish history because of the fact that he wanted Poles to have closer relationships with Slavs and control over them all by the grace of God, and not from the German”.³⁶ By telling this, he made his point of view clearer than before: Slavic Unity. The king Wladyslaw IV Waza was another point in his exam. He underlines that “this King saw that Jesuits tried to destroy Cossacks- the only permanent armed force- that’s why he wanted to punish them. Adding to that this King also desired to be independency of Slavs, again giving importance of Cossacks”.³⁷ At his sixteenth age, during he was mentioning details about the Polish history exam. It was possible to follow some clues about his link between his past and his day. Apparently he tries to justify that Cossacks were strong army forces for the Poland, and they had chance to still be strong forces for the country that they live. They deserved not only to be saved from hostilities, also they deserved to be honored, praised. In his diary, until the part that he joined to the November Uprising, he gives to the reader the fact that real, worthy to be praised Cossacks first of all, tried to be devoted and faithful to their traditional life. Secondly, traditional Cossack families wanted to raise children as a real Cossack because they loved Poland and its national origins, they wanted to be beneficial to Poland. Finally, Cossacks in fact could be very successful in terms of

³⁶ Michał Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, p.51.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 57-58.

their duties in society, if they were organized with Slavic countries, organized under the command of Poland.

Just right after the high school which was full of Cossackophile thoughts, these school years ended with a carefree and rollicking life style³⁸, until he began his studies at Warsaw University. Not he, but his mother was willing to register him to the Warsaw University. He remained in Warsaw studying Law Education until new of his mother's death forced him to return to Halczyniec. Huge wealth was now at his disposal, a luxurious and lavish life was awaiting him.

At that point, he had a very important lesson that he needed to attach importance to his luxurious future. Junior Czajkowski saw the grandfather "as a beaten man in the crown"³⁹ and his namesake was not an idol for him owing to being unsuccessful about managing his wealth and life⁴⁰. Grandfather had already had his girl- Czajkowski's mother Petronęła- during these hard times⁴¹. Grandfather got married with the second wife but, their marriage continued for a while because she died in a short time. Understanding of marriage at that period was seen as an association and every family had to have more power, that's why two families combined their forces. This approach can be watched in the lives starting from the grandfather's until Sadık Pasha's.

³⁸ Kazimierz Lubomierz Dopierała, Encyklopedia Emigrantów Tom I.

³⁹ Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne Życie Sadyka Paszy: O Michale Czajkowskim*, p. 16.

⁴⁰ He spent money more than he should have spent, he had to run away from the place where he lived because there was a risk to be killed. His wealth in Ukraine started to shrink. During these hard times, his wife gave the third children's birth, but she died at the birth. Petronęła was a girl's name whom he loved before. That's why he gave this name to his last girl. See Michał Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, pp. 9-11.

⁴¹ At the 16th page of Jadwiga Chudzikowska, it is mentioned that at that time nobility class loved their country but after themselves. More argument was at that page but in the 19th page, grandfather Czajkowski wanted to kill even shot to his son because he was fighting for Russian army. This means that the nobility class loved to live their luxury life, they could not give up to this life, but on the other hand they wanted to stay in their homeland, they wanted to grow their children in this ideology.

Being careful on spending money and controlling the wealth was the first lesson for him, the strategic marriage notion can be seen as the second lesson of grandfather on Czajkowski and thirdly “grandfather strongly affected his outlook and character, developing in him a tendency to aristocratism in the spirit of the Cossacks and nobility”⁴². As being the most influential person on his life and on his philosophy of life, grandfather gave testament to him that Czajkowski would never ever forget during his life:

“-Just rely on God and yourself and if you do that, God will never leave you.”

Czajkowski, by repeating this sentence to himself, he made it to be engraved in his heart and he grew up by soaking up such beliefs.⁴³ His mother told him that: do not pay attention to the people. Just you, your thoughts and the God should be important for you”.⁴⁴ All these proverbs would have helped to keep his morale to stay high in the distant future.

In the short run/ in the near future, “when he was sixteen years old, he became the school teacher, he taught mathematics and literature”⁴⁵. According to his mother, being soldier was the worst job for his son. His son could not be as perfect as any son, because he had the ideal work at the very early age. In this year, also, his sister Marianna married with Karol Różycki. For Czajkowski this was an important and strategic marriage paving the way for him to develop a relationship with various military personnel and giving popularity to the family members- especially to him.⁴⁶

⁴²Ibid., p. 19.

⁴³ Michał Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁶ As a lieutenant of second lancers regiment, Różycki attended different campaigns in Ukraine in 1812, 1815, 1816 years. For details see Jadwiga Chudzikowska, p. 30

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC IDENTITIES AND MISSIONS OF MICHAŁ CZAJKOWSKI

3.1. November Uprising and Czajkowski

The Polish people taking their independence on everything⁴⁷, rebelled in November in 1830. “...Mortal Combat, Czartoryski and Poland, aiming at modern reform, against Nicholas and Russian autocracy⁴⁸. (November Insurrection) at 29th November 1830 broke out. Różycki with 10.000 men stayed in the province of Kielce. November Uprising consisted altogether over 70.000 soldiers⁴⁹. This number of Poles including soldiers, educated class and szlachta⁵⁰ were fighting for the independence of Poland. Czajkowski was one of them, whose fighting for independence experiences started. “On January 1830, Czajkowski left his house in Berdyczowa...he did not come again⁵¹. He attended to the 1830 Uprising in the

⁴⁷ For the group who supported the November Uprising, see Brian Porter, *The Catholic Nation; Religion, Identity and the Narratives of Polish History*, *SEEJ*, 45/2, 2001, pp.289-299.

⁴⁸ After erasing from the map of Europe, Polish states became food and soldier repository for the Russian army. Poles had to provide these services. This and continuing pressures of Russia bore Poles and made ready to explode and finally an armed uprising broke out against the Russian administration in 1831. Abdullah Temizkan, *19.yüzyılda Çarlık Rusya’sının Kafkas Ordusunda Lehistanlılar, Karadeniz Arařtırmaları Balkan, Kafkas, Doęu Avrupa ve Anadolu İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 5/20, 2009, p. 75.

⁴⁹ Edited by W.F. Reddaway, J.H. Prenson, O. Halecki, R. Dyboski, *The Cambridge History of Poland*, Cambridge, 1941, pp. 291-310.

⁵⁰ Szlachta is a term which is used for nobility class in Poland.

⁵¹ Jadwiga Chudzikowska, p. 57.

Karol Różycki's army⁵². Zofia Wójcicka states that this army fought many times against Russia during the November Uprising.⁵³

This Uprising went down in history as the November Uprising, suppressed in 1831 and it was the beginning of a major cause of Great Migration. Almost all the intellectuals of the country were forced to migrate from the country⁵⁴. "The tragedy of November Uprising in 1831 not only destroyed the only hope for the independence of Poland, but also led to the death of many people and to leave the country. Number of Poles fled to France"⁵⁵ "The Polish rebellion had aroused sympathy in Europe, most vocal in France and Britain... After 1831, there was a Polish political emigration whose numbers were estimated between 5.000-7.000 people..."⁵⁶ "November Uprising was a huge national tragedy for Poland"⁵⁷. After the November Insurrection failure Różycki and his regiment went to France. Czajkowski, "stayed in Galicia for some time and on the 22th August of 1832 he went to Paris."⁵⁸ Czajkowski stayed to be a member of this regiment for some time who served for the Polish independence movements in France.

⁵² Pułk Jazdy Wołyńskiej was founded at 28.06.1831 by Karol Różycki.

For details see: Bronisław Gembarzewski, *Rodowody Pułków Polskich i Oddziałów Równorzędnych*. <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=132690&from=publication>

⁵³ Zofia Wójcicka, *Paryski Okres Działalności i Twórczości Michała Czajkowskiego*, Warszawa-Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Neşe M. Yüce, "Polonya Göçmen Edebiyatı Üzerine". In *Sürgün Edebiyatı, Edebiyat Sürgünleri*" Feridun Andaç (ed.) Ankara: Bağlam Yayınları, Haz. Feridun Andaç, 1996, p. 190.

⁵⁵ Lucyna Antonowicz Bauer, *Polonezköyü*, p. 11.

⁵⁶ Allan Bullock and F.W.D. Deakin, *Oxford History of Modern Europe*, 1967, Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp.280-290.

⁵⁷ Jerzy Łątka, p. 13.

⁵⁸ Juliusz Kijas, *Michał Czajkowski pod Urokiem Mickiewicza*, Nakł. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1959, pp. 9-10

3.2. Czajkowski and France

After the November Uprising failure, Czajkowski acted important roles both in France and in the Ottoman Empire. “In France, Czajkowski attended to the Congress, and after the congress he went to the French ministers’ parties. Czartoryski took place at these parties”⁵⁹ and Czajkowski met with Czartoryski who would be his agency patron. Being a member of Hotel Lambert group, he was going to attend to many projects, going to work with Czartoryski and defense the Polish case with his pen.

Czartoryski, a former Russian statesman now exiled to France, emerged as the leader of the Hotel Lambert group⁶⁰. Receiving authorization from the three mansions allied armed force-Ottoman Empire, France and England- he collected about 2.000 Poles⁶¹ in his care. The Poles under the roof of Prince Czartoryski and he aimed to find support for the freedom of Poland⁶². In his memoires, Czartoryski writes, that due to the fact that Russia had acted in violation of the provisions of the Congress of Vienna, Western powers would have to intervene. He hoped that this intervention would ultimately result in Polish independence. Therefore, Czartoryski led the Hotel Lambert group towards influencing the Western powers to do so⁶³. The Ottoman Empire, France and England were supporting Poland in her freedom case

⁵⁹ Zofia Wójcicka, p.18.

⁶⁰ “In the period of Alexander I, it was Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski (1770-1861) who emerged as the leading exponent of the policy of reconciliation... Prince Adam believed that Poles and Russians could live amicably together.” Charles Morley, Czartoryski as a Polish Statesman, *Slavic Review*, 30/3, p. 606.

“The accession of Nicholas I, the increasing repression of Poles and traditional Polish-Russian enmity soon brought Czartoryski back into political life where he played a leading role in the revolutionary government of the 1830-1831 Uprising”. <http://www.ohio.edu/chastain/ac/czart.htm> (08.09.13)

⁶¹ Władysław Czartoryski, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Karol Kniaziewicz, Józef Bem, Władysław Stanisław Zamoyski, Henryk Dembiński, Michał Czajkowski were some of the Polish szlachta in the Hotel Lambert.

⁶² Polacy w Turcji, Londyn, Alexander Rypinski Drukarni, 1856, pp. 5-6. This book was published to remind that Poland and the Ottoman Empire were allies. It has not got any writer.

⁶³ Henryk Zaliński, Poglądu Hotelu Lambert na Kształt Powstania Zbrojnego, pp. 36-40.

because as Lenior Zwierkowski⁶⁴ mentioned in his memorial “Polish recovery was going to be achieved by counterbalance to Russia's Pan-Slavist aspirations”⁶⁵.

Like other countries, who were involved to the partition case of Poland, Czartoryski had a policy in terms of how to recapture independence. “The policy of Prince Adam was to make Turkey closer towards France and remove from Russia”⁶⁶. In this situation, the operations of Polish independency could be allowed to go on in the Ottoman Empire. “Hotel Lambert group understood very well the importance of political interest partnership between the Ottoman Empire and Poland”⁶⁷. Czartoryski Uncrown King of Poland- Czartoryski- and Poles carried the hope that the Ottoman Empire would help Poles to get independency”⁶⁸. With this hope mobilized Poles had made several plans. Starting to be included to these plans after he had rapprochement with Czartoryski at 17.III.1832, Czajkowski joined to Polish Democratic Society (TDP) ⁶⁹ which gathered around Czartoryski.

This group achieved some Balkan projects under the leadership of Czartoryski. As a member of this group, Czajkowski did take part in some missions though they were in the France office. For instance this group by creating a small group from themselves, sent it to Burgas. However, it is possible to understand in Wójcicka's book, this small group whose members were mostly soldiers, was sent to

⁶⁴ Ludwik Zierkowski Lenior (1803-1860) served in the army of the Congress Kingdom of Poland, attaining the rank of lieutenant before emigrating to France after the failure of the Polish uprising. In France he enrolled in the politically left-wing Polish Democratic Society in 1835, one of the many organizations seeking ways to restore and independent Polish state. Late in 1841, Zwierkowski established a permanent agency in Belgrade, subordinate to the Constantinople agency headed by Michal Czajkowski.

⁶⁵ Maria Czapska, Ludwika Sniadecka, p. 175.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 128-129.

⁶⁷ Jerzy Łątka, *Lehistan'dan Gelen Sefirler*, p. 22.

⁶⁸ Bauer, p. 11.

⁶⁹ Polish Democratic Society (Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie) most of the soldiers joined from freemasonry to the reformation of Carbonari which presented ‘defend the weak against the powerful, and hate tyranny’. Zofia Wójcicka, p. 10. Also see Peter Brock, The Political Program of the Polish Democratic Society, *The Polish Review*, 14/3, 1969, pp. 5-24.

Burgas under the leadership of Bem⁷⁰. The missions -Volhyn Cavalry Regiment and TDP- that he received shows that Czajkowski had been in the most active groups and projects in France which were struggling for the independence of Poland.

The Balkan projects that he was included continued with the educational programme. "Czajkowski's note stated that the basic problem was an insufficient number of educated Bulgarians to lead the people; Russia, on the other hand, was training such men in Odessa and Bucharest. Czajkowski advocated that the Porte sanction the independence of the Bulgarian clergy to overcome this problem"⁷¹. To give new approaches and ideology to Bulgarians, with the help of Czajkowski and some Poles, schools were founded in the Balkan region. Such as Russian schools that were founded to train their own leaders, Czajkowski established and managed the schools accordingly to the projects of Hotel Lambert. "During the 1840s, Czajkowski formulated a Bulgarian policy based on two aims, to construct an educational programme that would open Bulgaria to French influence, and to improve the political position of the Poles with the Holy See by leading the Orthodox into a union with the Catholic church"⁷².

This policy of Czajkowski and Hotel Lambert shows that it was meant to be prevented to the Russian pan-slavist policy under the protection of orthodox people policy. "From the beginning of Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca Russia was on the role that she was the patron of the Orthodox Christian Subjects and she put pressure on the the Porte on every occasion"⁷³. Her pressure on the Ottoman Empire was not only in this direction. From the Refugee Problem and onwards, she wanted the

⁷⁰ Wójcicka, pp. 8-9.

For details, see Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *General Bem*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy. Warszawa, 1990.

⁷¹ Robert A. Berry, *The International History Review*, 7/ 1, p. 64.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷³ Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve Rusya*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 55.

refugees who took refuge in the Ottoman Empire, her pressure continued. Within a few years Russian pressure at the Porte forced Czajkowski to accept Islam for his own protection⁷⁴.

Besides the partition of Poland between Russia, Prussia and Austria, Alexander I. Czartoryski disagreed due to these facts, Russia put more pressure⁷⁵ and Poles tried different ways to get away from Russia. “Today, the beginning of Poland's financial strength is in Turkey, tomorrow to is in being Slavic. The start in this way requires an initial layout, a care, a decision quickly and efficiently. Each colony is not only a spiritual force in the hands of Prince, escaping from Moscow these colonies could turn the legions”⁷⁶. Small colonies were the starting point for being powerful, transforming them to the legions was the dream of Poles. The Ottoman Empire was the chance for them to gain time, during their stay in the Empire, they planned their empowerment. Czajkowski set up a mechanism whose first step was to bring Slavs together, later to increase the manpower.

Then, the Slavs and the Cossacks were going to be united under one roof- Poland- and the new Poland was going to be established with the new strong army, high population and economic and political support of powerful states. “About the independence movements of Poland, Poles got the confidence of Turkey because Balkan countries and Cossacks both in Anatolia and Dubrovnik were adorning their confidence”⁷⁷. In order to maintain the policy about the Balkans under the strong

⁷⁴ Berry, p. 67.

⁷⁵ “From its somber background there stand out the unforgettable scenes of the Polish Uprisings.... The idea of Polish Russian Union, upon which this solution was based, has shown itself to be unrealizable even in those epochs when the partitions of Poland, and the part that Russia had played in them, had not yet dug and abyss between the two countries, and when there had still been a certain equilibrium between the strength of both”. Oskar Halecki, A History of Poland, J.M. Dent& Sons Ltd. London, 1955, pp. 228-230.

⁷⁶ Jerzy Łątka, Lehistan dan gelen sefirler, p. 23.

⁷⁷ Czapska pp.128-129.

infrastructure, there was need for an Agency. Adampol would provide the infrastructure as an Eastern Agency.

3.3. Czajkowski and Polonezköy

Polonezkoy, formerly named as Adampol, “Adamkoy, Polonez Karyesi, Çingene Konak or Kirazköy by the Ottoman Empire”⁷⁸, was founded by Adam Czartoryski in 1842. Adampol or Adamkoy was given as a name because of Adam Czartoryski⁷⁹. As quoted on Antonowicz-Bauer, to establish this village the first correspondences started in February 1833. At this time he met with Namık Pasha and mentioned for the establishment of Polish colony in the Ottoman Empire territory⁸⁰. “Also described this plans that this colony would be established as an agricultural colony”⁸¹. The realization of this Polish colony would need more nine years.

Czartoryski's strong ties had great importance during the establishment of the Polish Legion. This legion was to establish in his specific policy. While his policy, according to Czapska was “Panslavism manifested itself in exile in different forms: Prince Adam promulgated that he was going to band Balkan Slavs together against Russia”⁸², his aim was to re-establish Poland. “Poles would carry out the anti-Russian activities in the Ottoman Empire. Czajkowski with this point of view wanted

⁷⁸ Nalan Sarkady, *Za gorami... za morzami... z dziejow Adampola- polskiej wioski nad Bosforem*. Muzeum narodowe; Ziemi Przemyskiej, p. 13.

⁷⁹ Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski as the former foreign minister, friend of Czar Alexander I, one of the politicians who led the November Uprising, the leader of Great Migration was making plans to re-establish Poland in Paris. Czajkowski would administer the Agent and would be under the service of Prince. Dariusz Cichocki, Marzena Godzinska, *Adampol – Polonezköy, Między Polskością a Tureckością Monografia Współczesnej Wsi*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2006.

⁸⁰ Bauer, p. 11.

⁸¹ Jerzy Łątka, *Odaliski, Poturczency i Uchodzczy Z Dziejow Polakow w Turcji*, Universitas, Krakow, 2001, p. 77.

⁸² Czapska, p. 130.

to be close to the Ottoman Empire, in short the idea was my enemy's enemy is my friend"⁸³. This meant that the independence of Poland needed to accompany with the Ottoman Empire and participate in a war together against Russia. Britain and France would participate in the political cooperation of the two countries. "Great Britain's interest"⁸⁴ in preserving the Ottoman Empire during this period paralleled the policies of the Hotel Lambert... The heavy influence of French thought and culture on Poland and the experiences of the Napoleonic period had convinced Poles that France would support their cause, and for that reason the vast majority of emigres settled in France"⁸⁵. As more active support came from France, Czartoryski got the lands from French Lazarists who were in Istanbul to found Eastern Agent"⁸⁶.

Czajkowski arrived in Bosphorus on August 25 1841 to establish Adampol.⁸⁷ "As it would not be difficult to arrive the Ottoman state, France gave him French passport and Czajkowski's French passport would prevent him from being deported from the Ottoman Empire by Russia"⁸⁸. As researcher of ancient Slavs in the Ottoman Empire and writer in Paris Literature Institute, he arrived to the Ottoman Empire...Here he met with Ludwik Zwierkowski"⁸⁹. So why Czartoryski did not choose anyone else, but chose him as an agent? Because Czajkowski was more

⁸³ Dariusz Cichocki, Marzena Godzinska, p. 11.

⁸⁴ However, the British government provided little direct support, and Czartoryski's actions remained limited. Berry, p. 47.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 45- 47.

⁸⁶ There is need to add that, "Drawing upon his considerable skills and long-established contacts within European society, Prince Adam soon developed a widespread, if unofficial, diplomatic organization..." Over the course of the next two decades Czartoryski's extensive contacts, his nobility and his reputation allowed the Hotel Lambert to play a significant diplomatic role vis-a-vis Great Britain and France in a continental context while continuing to seek support for an independent Polish state. <http://www.ohio.edu/chastain/ac/czart.htm>.

⁸⁷ Jerzy Łątka, Odaliski, Poturczency i Uchodźcy Z Dziejow Polakow w Turcji, p. 77.

However, Zwierkowski assured and for a long time he was convinced that Prince chose the most practical way to revive Polish. Cetnarowicz, p.79.

⁸⁸ Prince Czartoryski's men were being followed by Russian agents. This was the danger for Czajowski. Jerzy Łątka, Lehistan'dan Gelen Sefirler, p. 23.

⁸⁹ Cetnarowicz, pp. 77-78, Jerzy Łątka, Lehistan'dan Gelen Sefirler p. 23.

Ludwik Zwierkowski was the loyal friend of Czajkowski who was going to stay with him until the death of himself. Czajkowski for some time followed closely the opinions of Zwierkowski. p. 79

inclined to adventurous expeditions and political intrigue than for mental and literary craftsmanship⁹⁰.

Bauer puts an assertion that in 1842, Czajkowski signed an agreement to get the land of Polonezkoy with Lazarists' leader. France would provide economic support except for the land⁹¹. First settlers were immigrants who were taken from the Caucasian side of Russian army or Polish immigrants in the Ottoman Empire. More Polish citizens kept staying in the Polonezkoy and the population was growing. "After fighting against Russia in the Crimean War, some of the Polish soldiers stayed there"⁹². Cichocki and Godzinska were mentioning about the great economic and political problems of Polonezkoy, Jerzy Łątka mentions that geographical conditions of the village were inconvenient. People were very in a very difficult situation to survive.⁹³ Such as the land was fertile, also economic problems made the living conditions difficult. Settlers worked hard and lived in harsh conditions.

While settlers' placement and attempts to establish village were continuing, Czajkowski administered the village with his wife Ludwika Sniadecka⁹⁴. "Istanbul was the center of the political, military actions against Russia, so the Eastern Agency administered by Czajkowski"⁹⁵. Although Czartoryski sent him as an administrator, "his presence in Istanbul aroused much controversy at the Hotel Lambert. Previously Czajkowski was connected with TDP"⁹⁶. Czajkowski had no trouble in taking political decisions. If it was necessary to convert to Islam for administering the village and his missions in the Ottoman Empire. Against the possible plans of Russia,

⁹⁰ Czapska, pp. 129-131.

⁹¹ Bauer, pp. 11-12.

⁹² Dariusz Cichocki, Marzena Godzinska, p. 11.

⁹³ Jerzy Łątka, *Adampol-Polonezkoy, 1842-1992*, Universitas, Krakow, 1997.

⁹⁴ Today, it is possible to see the pictures of Michal Czajkowski and Ludwika Sniadecka on the wall of main building in Polonezköy.

⁹⁵ Jerzy Łątka, *Lehistan'dan Gelen Sefirler*, p. 23.

⁹⁶ Cetnarowicz, pp. 77-78.

he changed his religion. However, Czartoryski family stayed in controversy about his conversion to Islam. Czajkowski knew very well that, even if he changed his religion, he would continue to work for the case of Poland, and wanted to serve for this case⁹⁷, under the order of Sultan, Sadık Pasha, however, would take orders from him now. Wladyslaw Czartoryski- the son of Czartoryski wrote in his memories that “he is not our agent anymore”⁹⁸. After this decision, Koscielski was chosen as an agent of Polonezkoy, he was going to represent and administer the village”⁹⁹. He completely gave up the task of administration.

⁹⁷ Adam Lewak, *Dzieje Emigracji Polskiej w Turcji*. Warszawa, Instytut Wschodni. 1935, p. 84.

⁹⁸ Władysław Czartoryski, *Pamiętnik, 1860-1864*, Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe., The University of California, 1960, p.57-90.

⁹⁹ Lewak, p. 84.

CHAPTER IV

THE CRIMEAN WAR AND THE COSSACK CAVALRY REGIMENT

4.1. Crimean War

After the four decades of peace that was commenced with the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, Russia, ‘Police of Europe’¹⁰⁰, broke the balance of power by her strategic hostility. Suppression of 1848 with the Russian support might have brought some questions for politicians and diplomats of the British Empire and French Empire. The prelude of the Eastern Question was going to be played with a coming disastrous war. Nevertheless, it is one of the most controversial wars in 19th century because of the fact that even the name of the war is ambiguous. “The Crimean War: A Clash of Empires”¹⁰¹ is one of the preeminent works that has focused on well presented and narrated Crimean War. As it is underlined in this study, The Crimean War itself narrates the history of historians because of the fact that there is even a dispute among historians on determining the name of the Crimean War. The war is entitled by different historians as ‘The Crimean War’, ‘The Eastern War’, ‘The War Against Russia’, ‘Colonial Skirmish’ and there are more names like that. Although there had been ten battles between 1853-1856, this war would be entitled as ‘The Crimean War’ generally because of the fact that the end of this war was in Crimea.

¹⁰⁰ Akdes Nimet Kurat presents Russia as ‘Police of Europe’, especially after the Refugee Question Türkiye ve Rusya p. 69.

¹⁰¹ Ian Fletcher, Natalia Anatolevna Ishchenko, *The Crimean War: A Clash of Empires*, Spellmount, 2004, p. XI.

The main frame of the Crimean War is determined by different perspectives of historians. British naval historian Andrew Lambert analyzed the Crimean War as the ‘British Grand Strategy’ for halting the expansion of Russian Empire¹⁰². The view of the Crimean War was certainly different for British perspective. On the other hand, Ottoman historians inquired the reasons of the Crimean War on refugees that arrived to Ottoman Empire after 1848¹⁰³. These historical observations show that there are several reasons of the Crimean War but the reason of war was more than bilateral relations of Ottoman Empire and Russian Empire, rather it was the concern of the European politics and became the subject of French and British Empires.

As there are disputes on the entitlement of the war, there are discussions about the methods of analysis and content of that war. Andrew Lambert, in his prevalent work, ‘The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy, 1853-56’¹⁰⁴ mentions that The Crimean War has no historical reality, it is all about politics, grand strategies, allied cooperation and diplomacy. Surely, he did not mean that the war did not existed or there was no events, battles, maritime war, ships, cannons or deaths, but he analyzed the distortion of historians, in which was related with the depiction of Crimean War. It would not be surprising to view that politics of war would influence historians. Although Lambert deserves credit of lack of historical reality in Crimean War, this thesis has no ambition to seek the historical reality but to analyze the process. But it should not be forgotten that during the 1853-1856 War, although it had the biggest part of strategies among countries, there was not just the British strategy. The strategy of the Russia was the reason of the British strategy and this

¹⁰² Andrew, Lambert, ‘The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy, 1853-56’, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. XVIII.

¹⁰³ Ahmet Refik, Mülteciler Meselesi, Matbaa-i Amire.

¹⁰⁴ Lambert, p. XVI.

proves that historian should study without bias.¹⁰⁵ Yet, the determination of the name and context of the War of Crimea among historians remained controversial due to the political and diplomatic maneuvers held at that process.

This chapter aims to analyze the Crimean War based on the Cossack Cavalry Regiments that was linked with the Grand Army of Rumelia. It is undoubted that Crimean War played significant role in 19th century history however in this chapter, we would not investigate the Crimean War rather we would like to focus on the function and effects of the Cossack Cavalry Regiments in the Crimean War. Nevertheless, this regiment did not exist in the ten battles¹⁰⁶ of the Crimean War and most of their activities took place in Balkans. Before analyzing the regiment in general and soldiers in the regiments and their duties and responsibilities in particular, we would like to briefly mention about the Crimean War.

The countries that involved into this war and ‘politics’ were France, Ottoman Empire, Britain, Sardinia, which were allied front against Empire of Russia. As a state without any allies, it was a requirement for Russian state of forming a strategy towards Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Russian Empire aimed to launch its great project of exerting dominance on Black Sea¹⁰⁷. Russian Empire ambitioned to exercise the project for the establishment of hegemony on the Black Sea as a part of its expansionist policy. Also, Russian state did not only seek the hegemony on seas but on the Ottoman soil as well, in which Ottoman Empire was named as a ‘sick man of Europe’ by Tsar Nikola I. Besides that Russian ambassador Ignatiev applied the Orthodox propaganda widely in Balkans. Since Balkan states were Orthodox,

¹⁰⁵ It is needed to underline that he explains why he has the name of this book. It was not his tendency to use this name for his book.

¹⁰⁶ This war was made in these regions like Baltic, Danube, Anatolia and around Kars. These regions included the Battle of Inkerman, Battle of Alma, Siege of Sevastopol, Battle of Kars etc.

¹⁰⁷ Akdes Nimet Kurat explained it briefly and clearly that; the idee fixe of Czar Nikola I was to get the heritage of sick man, p. 68.

Russian Empire was determined itself as a protector state. The other Russian claim was to capture Constantinople and reconstruct the city as a center of Orthodox Patriarchate. Yet, this war had been fought for the grounds of the strategic importance of the Ottoman lands as well as religious missions but it should be mentioned that this politics of religion was only for diplomatic gaining of Russia.

As a result, Russian Empire resumed its Orthodox propaganda strategy, which might be called as Pan-Slavism over Balkan states, France perceived that as a realistic threat for Ottomans¹⁰⁸. In addition to the Russian claim for protecting Orthodox population in Balkans, Russian Empire's policies on Bosphorus maintained an international question. Frankly, that political strategy of Russian Empire was much more realistic and dangerous than reflecting itself as a protector of religion. This political deadlock was a messenger of war. The 'sick man of Europe' was collapsing and its soils had strategic significance. Now, the question was not to be given those vital lands to Empire of Russia that was pursuing expansionist policies. Hence, Empires of France located themselves in the game of diplomacy and war with the weak player, which was Ottoman Empire. By that alliance, they welcomed the Crimean War.

Nevertheless, the prelude of war could not be solely relying on the Russian Empire's political strategies and diplomacies. In order to analyze this diplomatic and political deadlock, the grassroots of the question should be sought in the Congress of Vienna. After the destructive wars of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna gathered to reconstruct the Europe's new order. The era of Reconstruction was commenced with

¹⁰⁸ France's interest in the Ottoman Empire is the oldest among the great powers... France chose to lean on the Catholic church and therefore turned his attention to the Holy Places in Palestine... which had fallen more and more under the influence of the Orthodox Church, the protector and the head of which was the Russian Tsar. Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War 1853-1856*, 1999, p. 7.

the decrees of Vienna (1815) and concluded with 1830 revolutions and uprisings¹⁰⁹. Ottoman state was not invited to the Congress and alienated from that process since it was the so called 'sick man of Europe'. Nicholas I's term 'sick man' was no coincidence or humiliation of the Ottoman Empire but it was for glorifying the Russian Empire and . The message behind that was clear: The sick man was going to die very soon and it was time to grow expectations over Ottoman lands.

On the other hand, in parallel with Russian politics over Ottoman Empire, the interventions of Great Powers were intensifying. The reason behind this was "the decline of the Ottoman Empire created a vacuum in the strategic Near Eastern area"¹¹⁰. As Stavrianos asserts, this resulted with the intervention and awakening of nationalism of the subject peoples¹¹¹. "In 1848, in most of the European states, nationalist rebellions for independence erupted and they destructed old regimes"¹¹². As a consequence of those rebellions, the question of refugees¹¹³, which was linked with Ottoman policies, emerged. In that process, Ottoman Empire approved the settlement of Hungarian and Polish refugees that fled from Russian and Austrian pressure. Although, that attitude drawn reaction of Russia, Ottoman Empire did not seek to deliver refugees back to Russia based on Ottoman political agenda. Surely, it could be observed Ottoman Empire's approach towards the European politics.

It is certain that Ottoman Empire safeguarded and patronized the people that were suppressed and exiled from their motherlands; on the other hand, even it was a

¹⁰⁹ Hamiyet Sezer Feyzioğlu, 1848 İhtilalleri Sırasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Balkanlar ve Adalar'da Aldığı Önlemler, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi, 1963

¹¹⁰ L.C. Stavrianos, The Ottoman Empire- Was It The Sick Man of Europe, Rinehart&Company, Inc., New York, p. 37.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 37.

¹¹² İlhan Saygılı, Balkanlardaki Milliyetçilik Hareketlerinin Osmanlı Devleti'nin Dağılması Üzerindeki Etkileri, Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, p. 15.

¹¹³ For detailed information :Bayram Nazır, Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar: Macar ve Polonyalı Mülteciler; Ahmet Refik, Mülteciler Meselesi; Musa Gümüş, 1848 İhtilalleri Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'ne Sığınan Leh ve Macar Mültecilerinin Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Etkileri, unpublished master thesis.

humanitarian policy that was no more than a diplomatic retribution and passive retaliation towards Russian Empire. Bayram Nazır analyzed the Polish and Hungarian refugees that were settled in Ottoman Empire by a different approach and asserted that Polish and Hungarian refugees could survive by the hospitality and humanitarian policies of Ottoman Empire¹¹⁴. This approach is a basic and simple instance of history-writing on an Ottoman ideal by neglecting the political process of the time. Ottoman Empire, as a part of the 19th century European ‘realpolitik’, maintained serious diplomatic strategies, in which could not be combined with hospitality, friendship and humanitarianism. Approval of the Polish refugees in the Ottoman land presents a political pattern against Russian Empire. Besides that, settlement of the Polish and Hungarian refugees in the Ottoman Empire could not be related with the morality of policies or philanthropy¹¹⁵. Eventually, it could be observed the Ottoman Empire’s enterprise for the intervention to the play of diplomacy, which was between wars and rebellions.

The traffic of diplomatic questions ascended to the peak point with the Question of Refugees and that was the one of the paths towards the Crimean War. The consequence of all the mentioned questions originated the 19th century’s one of the bloodiest wars. The reason of the war was summarized by Karal as, “Russian Empire was not pleased because of the fact that the Question of Polish and Hungarian Refugees could not be resolved as they were expected. Two years later, diplomats of the Russian Empire offered to share the Ottoman Empire with British Empire but their attempt failed. As a result, the venture of protecting and patronizing

¹¹⁴ Bayram Nazır, *Osmanlı’ya Sığınanlar: Macar ve Polonyalı Mülteciler* pp. 226-230.

¹¹⁵ "... when the Ottoman Empire was head to head with the material-spiritual distress, for the protection of the dignity of the Empire against two Great Powers such as Russia and Austria, refugees were taken to the Ottoman Empire. Not leaving them ownerless is the proof of the humanitarian aspect rather than political aspect." Umut Karadoğan, *XIX. Yüzyılda Avrupası’nda Yaşanan İhtilal Hareketleri ve Bu İhtilallerin Osmanlı Devleti İle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’ne Etkileri*, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, 35, p. 15.

the Orthodox-Slavic population in the Ottoman Empire erupted the war”¹¹⁶. Surely, it would not be enough to assert that Russian Empire’s claim on maintaining political hegemony over Orthodox and Slavic population for the beginning of war but Russian Empire’s that significant propaganda system was going to influence the war and the political developments in Balkans.

Russian Empire’s disturbance on the case of existing Question of Refugees was natural. Advocating the Polish and Hungarian Refugees and taking protecting them was “the greatest diplomatic achievement of Ottoman bureaucrats of the 19th century”¹¹⁷ as Karadoğın indicated. Ahmed Refik mentioned about the Question of Polish and Hungarian Refugees as a “cumulative of events that would honor the history of Turkish diplomacy”¹¹⁸. Indeed, Ottoman Empire could both avoid the Russian expansionist policies and also created an image of weak but honorable and humanitarian state. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the Ottoman Empire was one of the reasons of Crimean War in terms of agitating the Russian Empire’s power in international level and finally, accelerated the war.¹¹⁹ The play of diplomacy that was performed for a long time between Europe and Russian Empire eventually concluded and reasoned a war that was going to result with grave political developments in 19th century history.

The role of foreign countries was vital on the Ottoman Empire’s profound diplomacy¹²⁰ during and after war as well as the foreign elements in the Ottoman

¹¹⁶ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 5., Ankara 1994, p. 217.

¹¹⁷ Umut Karadoğın, XIX. Yüzyılda Avrupası’nda Yaşanan İhtilal Hareketleri ve Bu İhtilallerin Osmanlı Devleti İle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’ne Etkileri, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, 3, 2013 p. 15.

¹¹⁸ In quate Umut Karadoğın, XIX. Yüzyılda Avrupası’nda Yaşanan İhtilal Hareketleri ve Bu İhtilallerin Osmanlı Devleti İle Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’ne Etkileri, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, 35, 2013 p. 15.

¹¹⁹ What I mean here, not the injustice or justice of any state, only to show the causes of the war.

¹²⁰ I need to give a brief summary of diplomacy, Britain and France supported the Ottoman Empire in this war. While the Ottoman Empire was not part of the concerto in the Congress of Vienna, Russia appeared not to be part of the concerto during the Crimean War. Russia has become more problematic

army. Technically, Ottoman State divided its army into two corps as the Army of Rumelia and the Army of Anatolia. The commander in chief of the Anatolian Army was Abdi Pasha and Army of Rumelia was under the command of Ömer Lütfi Pasha (1806-1871)¹²¹. The Rumeli Army included our main subject, the Cossack Dragon Army as well. Those regional armies were characteristic features of the War of Crimea. The other characteristic feature of the Crimean War was it “was fought out on the Crimea only in a part; but there were also Danube and Caucasus fronts^{122,123}”.

As it is mentioned above the War of Crimea included several fights like the Battle of Alma, Siege of Sevastopol, Battle of Balaklava and Battle of Inkerman¹²⁴ that took place in various fronts and regions. Though, the war began in Balkans. Russian Empire attempted to invade Wallachia and Moldavia and invaded Bucharest in July 1853¹²⁵. After that the Supreme Court officially declared a state of war against Russia.¹²⁶ On June 22, 1854, the territory of Silistra and on 24 July, 1854, Romania was evacuated by Russian forces, then, Russia headed to Crimea¹²⁷. The rest of the war was resumed in Crimea and eventually, spread into Kars. “by mid-July the Russians’ blockade of Kars was complete...”¹²⁸. Although Ottoman Army’s

and were excluded. Bernadotte E. Schmitt, *The Diplomatic Preliminaries of the Crimean War*, 25/ 1, 1919, pp. 36-67.

¹²¹ Candan Badem, *Crimean War*, p. 49.

¹²² For details see: Abdullah Temizkan, Albay Teofil Lapinski ve Lehistan Lejyonunun Kafkasya’daki Faaliyetleri, *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, X/ 1, İzmir, 2010, , pp. 149-171.

Abdullah Temizkan, Lehistanlıların İstanbul’daki Lobi Faaliyetleri ve Kafkasya’ya Lejyon Gönderme Girişimleri, *TÜBAR*, XXVIII 2010.

¹²³ Eds: Fikret Adanır, Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, p. 33.

¹²⁴ Michael Barthop’s book was very helpful in understanding these battles. The book consists pictures, maps, poems which makes the topic easy to understand. *Heroes of the Crimea-The Battle of Balaklava and Inkerman*, Blanford, London, 1991.

¹²⁵ Coşkun Üçok, *Siyasal Tarih*, Ankara, 1975, p. 118.

¹²⁶ According to Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, “when there was no reply, the Ottomans crossed the Danube and attacked, thus beginning the conflict without waiting for official declarations”. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Volume II, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 138.

¹²⁷ Krzysztof Dach, *Działalność Michała Czajkowskiego (Sadyka Paszy) i Władysława Zamoyskiego na Ziemi Rumuńskiej w Czasie Wojny Krymskiej.*” *Studia Historyczne*. XXVIII. 1(108): p. 43.

¹²⁸ Paul Kerr, *The Crimean War*, Channel for Books, Great Britain, 1997.

vital resistance in most of the fronts, troops in the Caucasus Front faced with a defeat. In consequence of that Ottoman Empire was going to surrender Kars to Russian Empire¹²⁹.

Through the end of the war, the Second Congress of Vienna was mustered for maintaining a negotiation with the Czar. Nevertheless, the Congress remained in a short time and it was dissolved on June 4, 1855, due to controversy on the neutrality and independence of Black Sea, limitations of the Navy of Russian Empire and blocking the straits in Ottoman Empire¹³⁰. Battles continued because of the dispute on the II. Vienna Conference, but eventually, Russian Empire was convinced that her ambitions on Ottoman Empire would not be materialized and in 1856, two states signed a bilateral peace treaty in Paris. This treaty¹³¹ was regulating the balance of power that was established in 1815 and was more than a mere document since it resulted with significant changes for the coming European politics. As Gencer indicated, “by this treaty European States purposed to reestablish the violated order because of the the political claims of Russian Empire and they located Ottoman Empire by their side during this reconstruction process.”¹³² Consequently, it was assured that Stripes of the Ottoman Empire would not be open to Russian Empire until the next turn and the independence of Black Sea is determined by this treaty. The most significant consequence of the 1856 Treaty of Paris is the status of

¹²⁹ R.L.V. Ffrench Blake, *The Crimean War*, Leo Cooper, London, p. 150.

¹³⁰ Erdoğan Keleş, *Kırım Savaşı'nda (1853-1856) Karadeniz ve Boğazlar Meselesi*, p. 185.

Ian Fletcher and Natalia Ishchenko give information about the results of Vienne Congress in detail: “The first point demanded that Russia give up her protectorate of Wallachia, Moldavia and Serbia, whilst the second would remove all obstructions from the Danube and that there should be freedom of navigation upon it. The third point demanded that the Black Sea become a neutral zone and be opened up to the commerce of all nations”. *The Crimean War, A Clash of Empires*, pp. 521-522.

¹³¹ “Treaty of Paris resulted in 34 articles... The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was recognised, Russia returned Kars in exchange for concessions in Bessarabia and agreed to the neutralization of Black Sea. She also agreed to relinquish claims to the Danubian principalities and finally dropped the right to act as a guardian to the Christians resident in the Ottoman Empire”. Trevor Royle, *Crimea-The Great Crimean War*, Unites States of America, Palgrave, 2000, p. 482.

¹³² Ali İhsan Gencer, *Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması*, <http://www.bilimtarihi.org/pdfs/KIRIM.pdf> (09.09.2013), p. 1.

Black Sea, in which none of the states could trespass their navy into Black Sea¹³³. For Britain, the expansion of Russian Empire was blocked and that saved the commercial routes through India. Also, French Empire guaranteed their commercial profits in Eastern Mediterranean. Long years of diplomatic initiatives and enterprises resulted with failure and resulted that war but at least this war halted the Russian expansionist strategies for a while.

French, British, Russian and Ottoman Empire had great casualties and mostly their naval units suffered in that war. Due to the technological developments in 19th century, Crimean War witnessed some preliminary events in world history. It was the first time that telegram was used and war photography¹³⁴ and publication functioned in the fronts and linked the war to the world¹³⁵. Ottoman Empire had its first external debt¹³⁶ because of the Empire's financial trouble during war¹³⁷. It was the first time that Ottoman Army applied several war tactics on the field and "for the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire, people saw 'the giaour' soldier as real allies"¹³⁸; first patriotic Ottoman theatre play "Vatan yahut Silistre by Namık Kemal" was inspired by the Crimean War. G.P. Bąbiak analyzed "the Crimean War as the first modern European war"¹³⁹ and some scholars mentioned that "the Crimean war

¹³³ Erdoğan Keleş, Kırım Savaşı'nda (1853-1856) Karadeniz ve Boğazlar Meselesi, p. 187.

¹³⁴ For Crimean War photography, see: James Lawrence, Crimea 1854-1856, The War with Russia from Contemporary Photographs, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, Great Britain, 1981.

¹³⁵ See Stefanie Markovits, "Participatory Journalism" during the Crimean War, *Victorian Studies*, 50/4, 2008, p. 559-586.

¹³⁶ Details: Olive Anderson, Economic Warfare in the Crimean War, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 34-47.

¹³⁷ Fatih Akyüz, Kırım Savaşının Lojistiğinde Osmanlı'nın Yeri, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2006, p. 95. "The first external debt of the Ottoman Empire was five million pounds in 1854. As collateral for the loan, a definite quantity of the Egyptian tax was showed. With support from France and Britain, 3 million pounds were used for the war and this amount of money lacked to cover the costs of war. In 1855 this led to a new external borrowing costs also constitute..." For more detailed information see: Sevket Kamil Akar, Hüseyin Al, Osmanlı Dış Borçları ve Gözetim Komisyonları 1854-1856, İstanbul 2003.

¹³⁸ Candan Badem, Crimean War, p. 329.

¹³⁹ In Polacy i Ziemia Polskie w Dobie Wojny Krymskiej, ed. by J.W. Borejsza, G.P. Bąbiak, Warsaw 2008.

played an important part in the Ottoman modernization.”¹⁴⁰ Therefore, the consequences of Crimean War could not be degraded into politics and diplomacy because it originated several changes in social and economical life in Ottoman Empire and in Europe. Still the Crimean War remained interesting and mystical politics in the background of the battle.

Different perspectives could be maintained for diplomatic history by analyzing each state that involved in that war. Surely, that would claim new debates on political and diplomatic history of the mentioned time and this is the reason why Crimean war was significant in the history of 19th century. It is even possible to legitimize the benefits of war that countries obtained by their allies. For instance, the Crimean War seems to be the war between Ottoman Empire and Russian Empire but allies of Ottoman Empire- England and France- joined this fight. This shows that it is required to focus on the background of the war. In fact, battles took place in Ottoman and Crimean lands but also, great powers were involved in that process and it includes significant and complex political and diplomatic achievements. It is undoubted that gravity of wars, in particular, in history could not be underestimated but it should also be mentioned that this war was important than other wars that took in the early 19th century in terms of struggle for political power and expansion. This war resulted with the victory of the policy of England- France and Ottoman Empire.

It was a war that meant to expand its political power for Russia and to defend its territorial integrity within the rising European territorial claims for ‘sick man of Europe’ and to establish independent countries like Poland and Hungary for revolutionaries like Michal Czajkowski. The war impeded Russia to dominate some

¹⁴⁰ Candan Badem, Crimean War, p. 329.

İlber Ortaylı, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Askeri Reformlar ve Polonyalı Mülteci Subaylar, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim (Makaleler I), Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2004.

commercial routes on globe and invade some naval bases like Black Sea and by that British Empire could ceased the Russian claims of expansion. Also, it is worth to mention that France benefited that war for its policy of saving holy lands. This war was vital for Ottoman Empire and Poland as well. Ottoman Empire involved in the process of reestablishment of Polish state that had been partitioned between three states in 1795. The purpose of the Ottoman Empire was to preserve its status in European politics by involving in political processes. Hence, it could be asserted that both states had its own importance: the Ottoman Empire had strategic significance in European politics whilst Poland had important geographical location. Besides those direct involvements of various states, Kossuth mentioned about the political achievements or initiatives of other states that had indirect influence of the process: “If Poland still existed, and Hungary were free, neither the existence of Turkey would be in danger, nor Russia was over powerful”¹⁴¹ .

4.2. Cossack Cavalry Regiment

4.2.1. Plans for the Establishment of the Regiment and Beginning of the Process

The Cossack Cavalry Regiment was Part of the Rumeli Army and it was commanded by the Polish Refugee and our main character Sadık Pasha. It could be asserted that Sadık Pasha had intention for the establishment of a regiment even before the Crimean War.¹⁴² Therefore, the weak diplomatic achievements were providing some signals of the Crimean War to Sublime Port and its allies and Sadık Pasha was developing some proactive military strategies for that. After he settled to

¹⁴¹ Lewak, p. 75.

¹⁴² Mösyö Çaykovski tarafından memlekete bazı memur gönderilmesine dair Hariciye Nezaretine takrir: HR.TO. 408-57, 1848

Constantinople, Sadık immediately commenced correspondences with Sublime Port and travelled in different places to meet with Cossacks in the Ottoman Empire¹⁴³. After the beginning of the Crimean War at short notice, the regiment was officially established by Ottoman Sublime Port¹⁴⁴. It is assumed that the title of the regiment was originated by Sadık's adoration and enthusiasm for Cossacks. Nevertheless, after the establishment of the regiment it was called with various names since it included several different Slavic groups. Mainly titles were Slavic Region, Kazak Taifesi (Cossack Group/Crew), Cossack Soldiers and Balkan Cossacks.¹⁴⁵ The prominent role of the Cossack Cavalry Regiment during the Crimean War could not be underestimated and we would like to analyze this regiment in this chapter.

Cossacks were depicted as traditional, pastoral, sacred and strong personalities as it is mentioned in the diary of Sadık Pasha. This definition is important because he chose for his army thinking that they had these characteristics. Cossacks were bounded with their Slavic features but they were dispersed in different places and they were also members of different nationalities. Besides their Slavic origins their anti-Russian politics united them into Cossack identity in this regiment¹⁴⁶. Besim Özcan, in his article 'Gayr-i Müslim Osmanlı Tebasının 1853 Kırım Harbi'ndeki Siyasetleri', mentioned about their purposes in the Ottoman Empire: "Policies that were executed by Non-Muslim communities during the Crimean War represented a very well example of coalescence of state and nations. Because they presented their enthusiasm to the Sublime Port by their publications,

¹⁴³ In 1841-42, Czajkowski was walking around the Bulgarian lands. In the Northern Dobrudja he met with Cossacks. These Cossacks were the ones who fled from Ukraine and Russian pressure. Ivan Kr. Stoichev, *Kazak Alayat na Czajkowski* [The Cossack Regiment of Czajkowski], Sofia 1944, p. 18.

¹⁴⁴ Michał Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienia o Wojnie 1854 Roku*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1962, chapter 2.

¹⁴⁵ Stoichev, p. 17.

¹⁴⁶ Most of the nations were in the understanding that they did not want to be under Russian pressure, taking them to regiment and management of them in regiment became easier. For example, Moldovian and Romanian people, Poles and Hungarians did not want to be under the pressure of Russia.

declarations and actions they sought, in which were disposed to sacrifice everything that they have for this fight as Muslim communities”¹⁴⁷. Indeed, projecting the foreign refugees arriving to Ottoman Empire was a requirement and nature of the process. Sublime Port and different nationalities as subjects of the Ottoman State sought to fight against their common enemy for constructing their future interests. Besim Özcan inserted his comment that “...it would not be wrong to indicate that supporting discretion of non-Muslim communities were consequence of the state’s tolerant religious and humanitarian policies and rights and privileges that were provided for non-Muslim communities”¹⁴⁸. Nevertheless, Besim Özcan neglected the pragmatist nature of politics since it was no more than a fight for survival. The notion of loyalty and sacrifice might be analyzed in individual level but policies of non-Muslim communities were shaped by the requirements of the time. On the other side of the analysis, the tolerance of state was reasoned by the necessity of the support of non-Muslim communities that were providing man power to war..

At this very requirement, Sadık Pasha made a very significant strategic move and converted the Islam¹⁴⁹. As a commander of an international regiment, he was no longer Czajkowski in Ottoman Empire but Sadık Pasha. His conversion and name change was appreciated by Sublime Port and he received writing about his conversion and name change¹⁵⁰. Within internal correspondence the Sublime Port

¹⁴⁷ Besim Özcan, *Gayr-i Müslim Osmanlı Tebasının 1853 Kırım Harbi’ndeki Siyasetleri*, p. 394.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

¹⁴⁹ As mentioned by Adam Lewak, changing religion of refugees was strategically important in many ways. By this, Austria and Russia could not want them back. Conversion would provide some important roles for the Ottoman Empire and refugees. p. 75.

For Sadık Pasha, conversion to Islam was mandatory. One of the refugees that Russia wanted back was Sadık Pasha.

¹⁵⁰ Bu tahrirat 12 safer sene 66 tarihiyle arz edildi.

Bu sırada mültecilerden Kont Çayka da islamiyeti kabul etti. Fakat kendisi “ huzur ve alay-ı fetva penahide telkin-i din mübeyyin olunmasını ve bir isim tahsis buyurulmasını niyaz” etdi. Sadaretin bu mes’ele hakkındaki tezkeresine müşihatden şu cevap yazıldı:

Müfad tezkere sa’ir vekaletpenahilerin karye itlag daiyanemiz olub şeref (olan)edlam ile teşrif eden müma-ileyh bendeleri taraf-ı hulusuriye gönderilmesi (miş) olduğundan taltif ve ikram olunup

called him as Sadık Pasha, the commander of Cossack Cavalry Regiment¹⁵¹ and he quickly embraced his new title and name and wrote to Sultan about the establishment of the regiment with his Ottoman signature instead of Czajkowski¹⁵².

Actual patrons of Sadık Pasha were Czartoryski and Hotel Lambert community approved the idea of the formation of the new Cossack Regiment for Ottoman Army¹⁵³. Also, Czartoryski thought that the regiment would obtain financial support by British Empire: “We could get weaponry and financial support from British Empire and maintain our funds by them. However, there is a very requirement to avoid the appearance of Condottieri¹⁵⁴, because we could not lose the support of the Ottoman Government and their hosting.”¹⁵⁵ Perhaps Czartoryski and Sadık Pasha intended to recruit mercenary from Ottoman State.

It is possible to view the positive consent and ratification of British Empire by Prime Minister Palmerson’s meeting with Zamoyski on 11th of September: “If Russia would reject the terms of peace, I have three suggestions; one is the the creation of a Cossack corps of part-time assistance of England/or lean on England, second is the establishment of Polish branch in the foreign legion and third is the extension and the transition of existing Cossack regiments in the pay of Britain under

mukaddema telkin-i din olunmuş olmağla tekrara hacet-i mess etmeyüb fakat Sadık mahlas ile tahlis olunmuş ise de tebriken Mehmed ismi dahi zamm olunarak Mehmed Sadık namıyla benam olunduğu ve bu husus-u kemal ile memnuniyyet ve ba’is-i mahzuziyyet mahlasanemiz olmağla Allah-u Teala bundan böyle Devlet-i Ali ebedi’l devamın nice hidemat-ı seniyyesinde istihdam olunarak nail-i meram olması me’mul daiyanemiz olmağla ol-babda emir ve irade efendim hazretlerindir fi 14 sad sene 66, Arif Hikmet

Quated from Ahmed Refik, *Mülteciler Meselesi*, Matbaa-i Amirâ, İstanbul 1926, p. 152.

¹⁵¹ Musa Gümüş quoted in his article that "Czajkowski, after changing his religion, got the name Sadık Pasha, Sultan Abdulmecid chose this name for him, and later took the name of Mehmed". Mehmed Sadık Paşa ve Osmanlı Devletinde Kazak Süvari Alayı, *Turkish Studies*, 5/3, 2010, p. 1367.

¹⁵² Some examples: Lehistandan bir alay kazak askeri tertibi ve istihdamı yapılması, Kazak ve Dragon hareketleri talimatı

¹⁵³ For detailed information about Sadık Pasha was successful on the Crimean War and how Hotel Lambert supported him see Maria Pawlicowa, *Ze starań o Legia Polska w poczatkach wojny krymskiej (1853-54) Kwartalnik Historyczny*, XLVI, Vol. I, 1932

¹⁵⁴ Conditteri: A commander or soldier in a professional mercenary company in Europe from the 13th to the 16th centuries.

¹⁵⁵ Pawlicowa, p. 624.

the command of the general Vivian in the Ottoman lands.”¹⁵⁶ As it could be viewed British plan for the establishment of Cossack Regiment was not under the command of Sadık Pasha. They knew and trust Zamoyski and they wanted him to be the commander of that regiment. On the other hand, Ottoman Government demanded Sadık Pasha, who converted to Islam and promoted successful relations with Ottoman bureaucracy, to command the regiment. “British plans against Russian policies were corresponding with the Polish officers that fled from the revolutions of 1848. Those Polish revolutionaries sought to establish regiments and legions in Caucasus and Balkans, therefore they could defeat the Russian Empire and establish Polish state.”¹⁵⁷ Cossack delegates of Ukraine and Besarabya found the inspiration of forming Cossack Regiment with the command of Sadık Pasha. They expected that the sources of Ottoman Empire could be useful to fight against Russian Empire. On the other hand, For British Government, Sadık Pasha was not thought to be a military commander, rather his role would be diplomatic that could facilitate their policies in Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, Sadık Pasha was not merely regarded as a military commander but he was seen as a politician and diplomat but Ottoman and Cossack claim of his military function was going to make him ‘persona non grata’ on behalf of his ‘actual patrons’ and British Government. Also, any political or military interventions to Russian politics were espoused by Sadık Pasha and loys of Polish intellectuals and military officers.

Hopes of Polish intelligentsia for establishing their independent Polish State erected with this military corp. On the other hand, primarily, Ottoman Empire

¹⁵⁶ Pawlicowa, pp. 620-630.

¹⁵⁷ Quated by Abdullah Temizkan, *Lehistanlıların İstanbul’da Lobi Faaliyetleri ve Kafkasya’ya Lejyon Gönderme Girişimleri*, *TÜBAR*, XXVIII, p. 368.

¹⁵⁸ In Jerzy Borejsza, Grzegorz Bąbiak, *Polacy i Ziemia Polskie w Dobie Wojny Krymskiej*, Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, Warszawa, 2008: ”Pawel Wierzbicki, *Działalność Sadyka Pasza w Czasie Wojny Krymskiej na Tle Jego Relacji z Obozem Czartoryskich*, p. 108.

disapproved the idea of establishing a regiment consists of different nationalities and commanded by foreign officer. Ivan Kr. Stoichev explained the reason of that as “Ottoman Empire opposed the idea of armed civilians because of the janissary revolts in the 18th century. Besides, in Kircaali, government distributed weapons to people to defend themselves from janissaries but civilians united with janissaries and created a power against the central authority. Mustafa Reşid Pasha was in great suspicion on the formation of Cossack regiments. He thought that distribution of arms to Bulgarians would be dangerous because of their close relation with Russians by their Christian Orthodox links. Coalescence of Bulgarians and Russians was a great threat for Ottomans and Ottoman bureaucrats were anxious on that issue. Because of that suspicion, even though the Ottoman Government approved the establishment of the regiment, only a small military corps was permitted to be armed and trained.¹⁵⁹ Fears and doubts on the regiment vanished but till that time, Ottoman statesmen could not be certain on the fact that the regiment might remain with Ottoman state and fight against Russians. Indeed, Ottoman bureaucrats were exerted accurate policies and resulted with great military success –which would be analyzed further- unlike their failure of arming people of Kircaali during the Age of Turmoil.

During the controversy of Ottomans on Cossack Cavalry Regiment, in 1852 Sadık Pasha lived in Szalbosna farm¹⁶⁰. This farm reminded him his past days in Halczyniec and pleased that the Sublime Port permitted him to stay in this farm¹⁶¹. Sadık Pasha established his political environment and base in that farm and everyday he added new companies and political allies in Constantinople. He mentioned his political life in that farm as, “As a converted man to Islam, almost all Turks are

¹⁵⁹ Stoichev, p. 56.

¹⁶⁰ It was the chiftlik which was at the Asian side of Bosphorus.

¹⁶¹ Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne Życie Sadyka Paszy*, pp. 331-333.

visiting me and my farm. Between them there were no naïve politicians, therefore, in order to set a well instance, I constructed a small mosque in my garden. Mahmud Aga was the imam of this mosque and saying Allahu Akbar in it. Then, I start to call for visitors to my mosque and since I welcomed them with sincerity, I was almost ranked as a true saint or dervish. Then, in April 1853, I decided to turn back to Constantinople”¹⁶². Perhaps, he arrived by the appeal of Grand Vizier or Sublime Port, in which is not very clear.

Hereafter, events turned to be related with the internal politics of the Ottoman Empire and the main controversy on the establishment of the regiment. Grand Vizier called Giritli Mustafa Pasha¹⁶³. He notified Sultan’s decree on Sadık Pasha’s new duty that was commanding all the Cossack corpses in the Ottoman Empire and his promotion to *mirmiran pasha*¹⁶⁴. Sadık Pasha was extremely appreciated since he was the first person in history that could obtain this duty as a Zaporozian Cossack leader (hetman)¹⁶⁵. The royal decree that indicated about the organization of all Cossack regiments was read in the Sublime Port¹⁶⁶. Also, as Chudzikowska mentioned one of the most prominent leaders of Tanzimat process, Mustafa Reşid Pasha thought that Sadık was politically talented as well as he was skilled in military issues and he was in favor of Sadık Pasha and they had mutual amity. Besides that he had very close relations with the Sheikhul-Islam, in which Sadık had a great influence on him. Therefore, Sadık’s political skills mustered all political powers of Sublime Port, therefore he might be regarded as locomotive of Ottoman Empire at that time¹⁶⁷. As it was analyzed, Sadık Pasha valued political affairs primarily rather

¹⁶² Ibid., pp. 331-333.

¹⁶³ Giritli Mustafa Pasha was Ottoman Grand Vizier during the reign of Abdulmecid.

¹⁶⁴ According to Stoichev, firman was given in 1853. He became mirmiran (Rumeli Beylerbeyi).

¹⁶⁵ Hetman is the name of an elected leader of the Cossacks; ataman.

¹⁶⁶ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienia o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, p. 16.

¹⁶⁷ Chudzikowska p. 353.

than presenting and applying his military actions. Hence, he approached Ottoman statesmen and composed very well relations with them. He was aware of the fact that it would be difficult to work in Ottoman Empire as a non-Muslim, in which he might have thought that he could get the reaction of bureaucrats as a non-Muslim commander and his religious difference might have facilitated his rivals claims. Eventually, he converted to Islam and acquired the amity of Ottoman bureaucrats and now, the Cossack Cavalry Regiment that he dreamed of was officially blessed and approved by the Sublime Port.

Sadık Pasha immediately commenced his works to establish Cossack Regiments. Within the time that he stayed in Turkey, he visited most of the Cossack settlements and deployed his agents to those places: 'I had talented political agents whom I settled them to different points: In Belgrade, Ludwik Zwierkowski (he is known as Lenoir, in France), in Serbia, Czerny, in Caucasus Karakrak Bey and Franciszka Zacha, in Moravia, Jan Ludwik Gradowicz, in Bosnia, Juliusz Korsak, in Dobruca Jozef Zukowski and Antoni Ilinski (Iskender Pasha), in Bulgaria, Michal Budzynski and Butkiewicz'¹⁶⁸. The agent strategy of Sadık facilitated his military achievements as well as enlargement of his political power to periphery. He mentioned the missions of those agents and their significance in their duty stations in his diary. Agents of Sadık informed him about the regions that they had been functioning and in order to sustain the updated intelligence and circulation of information he formed moveable agent units. Their original station was Constantinople but they visited strategic points in Ottoman Empire. For instance, Sefels de Soldenhoff, Rozumowski, Boleslaw Wielogłowski, Horwat Jelenski,

¹⁶⁸ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienia o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, pp. 11-12.

Gregorowicz, Wolanski and others worked for the Polish case¹⁶⁹. Probably, these agents resumed their work starting from the establishment of the regiments till the end of the Crimean war. After Sadik reviewed all evaluations of those agents, he started to make decisions on the establishment of the regiment. Finally, in November 1853, the organization of the Cossack regiments officially started¹⁷⁰. Therefore, it could be asserted that Czajkowski did not only form well political and diplomatic relations with Ottoman bureaucracy but also he ambitioned to generate an international intelligence network. Those revolutionary agents that were mostly Polish Cossacks formed a secret organization based on theirs and Sadik Pasha's political agenda.

The organizational structure of Cossack regiments was designed by Sadik Pasha. Nekrasov Cossacks and Dobruca Cossacks were going to be on their horses. They will be uniformed and armed for their squadrons. Sadik Pasha was going to regulate those riders himself. There were 1.600 riders and they were divided into 6 squadrons. This regiment would be consisted of Poles, Slovians that were living in the Ottoman Empire and included foreigners without regardless of their religion and ethnicity. This regiment should be founded in Istanbul because soldiers coming from Poland and Russia to Balkans were not enough¹⁷¹. Deserters of the Russian Army and soldiers fled from Russian oppression as well as Polish, Circassian, Armenian, Bulgarian and Serbians were part of that regiment.¹⁷² Ivan Kr. Stoichev indicated that

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹⁷⁰ Lewak, p. 121.

¹⁷¹ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienia o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, p. 16.

¹⁷² Stoichev gives the list of soldiers in the regiment. In these lists different nations were realized in the regiment. These nations were given above. This book was very valuable in terms of details inside about the Cossack Cavalry Regiment. The context was very rich; some of general issues were the beginning and the end of the regiment, the structure and the inner life of the regiment, the activities of regiment in times of peace and war, the internal structure of the regiment, flags, Czajkowski and her relationship with the Bulgarian revolutionaries, the regiment, and its place in folk songs, poems and novels.

there were quite few Russian soldiers in that army. Therefore, the historical outrage and the desire of revenge were materialized with that army. Surely, soldiers and revolutionaries in the army had their own political agendas and interests but the notion that mustered them was their historical enemy, Russia that oppressed them for centuries.

Sadık Pasha was aware of the fact that there was a very requirement of financial development in order to generate military corps. Obtaining significant military achievements was based on armament of soldiers, their equipments, sufficient food and fair salaries. However, Sadık Pasha had some questions on financing the regiment because he could not acquire the promised financial support by Ottoman Empire. British assistance was not directly for the regiment, instead the support was received via Ottoman Government¹⁷³. Eventually, he found a solution on the issue but it was based on his own sacrifice. He hypothecated his farm in İşkodra and immediately after then, he commenced recruitment of soldiers from Tulça and Şumnu in Istanbul and Edirne¹⁷⁴. Within a very short time, recruitment of soldiers to the regiment increased rapidly and in January 1854, three squadrons were established and organized in Constantinople. Those preparations were not independent were not unaffiliated from Ottoman State. For those preparations, Ottoman Sultan conducted an investigation on the regiment and he appreciated for all efforts and preparations. Squadrons that were prepared, marched to Edirne and attached with another squadron.

¹⁷³ Stoichev, Chapter 3

Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienie o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, pp. 20-22.

¹⁷⁴ Lewak, pp. 121-122

Those squadrons were consisted of Bulgarians, Orthodox groups from different origins, Catholics and Muslims, known as Pomacs¹⁷⁵. In his memoirs Sadık Pasha mentioned about Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha that carried the banner and flag of the regiment as well as Gospel, Talmud and Qur'an. After the ceremony of loyalty, in the middle of February, the regiment arrived again to Şumnu¹⁷⁶. The multinational and multi-religious regiment of Sadık Pasha was deployed to its training and fighting places.

On the issue of covering requirements of the regiment Ivan Kr. Stoichev analyzed the question further. Kıbrıslı Mehmed Paşa provided requirement of horses to the regiment. Notables and Beys of Edirne followed a Turkish traditional war customs and supplied great amount of horses. On 23rd January, the regiment received the flag and banner and soldiers took oaths based on their religion and customs. Hereby, the amount of soldiers in the regiment became 1.200. Most of the soldiers were Bulgarians and commanding section was composed of Polish military officers.¹⁷⁷ This was a great success for Sadık Pasha since it had not been a year since the royal decree was announced on the establishment of the regiment and as it was intended Bulgarian population of the army highly increased. The escalation of Bulgarian soldiers was not only based on incitement of Sadık Pasha but also Czartoryski ambitioned for that cause as well. 'Czartoryski supported the efforts of Bulgaria about the autonomy on their church'.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, it would be asserted that the Bulgarian ambition to support Ottoman and Polish cause might be derived of the fact that their independence was prevented by Russian pressure and they might hoped that the only possible way to acquire the autonomy of Bulgaria was based on

¹⁷⁵ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienie o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁷⁷ Stoichev, p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ Lewak, p. 80.

this war. Unsurprisingly, Sadık Pasha's aim of supporting Bulgarians was to increase the military capacity of the regiment.¹⁷⁹

Also, Sadık Pasha designed the uniforms of soldiers himself. Uniforms had characteristic features because as Ataman of Nekrasovs Army¹⁸⁰ Sadık Pasha, implemented his Cossackophile over uniforms: "... he made them wear half szlachta and half Cossack. Each squadron had different colors that were red, white, blue and yellow¹⁸¹". All were armed with a saber, first three squadron had lance, the last one had guns¹⁸². Other than those squadrons, Omer Pasha gave one more squadron, consisted of cavalry brigades that were going to remain in Balkans permanently. The regiment of Sadık Pasha became 2.500 soldiers including regular cavalries and irregular (bashibazouk) soldiers¹⁸³. The increase of number escalated the varieties in the army due to its multinational form and great ethnic diversity in Balkan geography.

The first squadron of the regiment was going to be established by soldiers from Istanbul, Tulça and Şumnu, the second squadron was going to be composed of soldiers from Adrianopol and interestingly, the third squadron was going to be formed by an enthusiasm of a bandit named, Matej Raszo, and his gang members¹⁸⁴. This 2500 soldiers regiment was going to be founded by three squadrons: first squadron was composed with soldiers from Istanbul, Tulcea and Shumla, the second squadron with soldiers from Adrianapol, third one with its interesting story composed with soldiers bandit Matej Raszo and his bandit group. Czajkowski emphasized on this

¹⁷⁹ Czajkowski wants dualist state. Cossack Cavalry Regiment was the beginning of dualist state ideology. Ottoman Empire- Bulgarian state could be established.

¹⁸⁰ Chudzikowska calls Czajkowski with this name, p. 372.

¹⁸¹ Lewak, p. 123.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁸⁴ Hajduk means freedom fighters in the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe. For details: See: Aleksandar Petrović, *The Role of Banditry in the Creation of National States in the Central Balkans During the 19th Century - A Case Study: Serbia* (M.A. Thesis)

gang leader: ‘The physical appearance of Raszo was really resembled a hajduk (bandit)¹⁸⁵. All of those squadrons were going to assist Czajkowski in order to accomplish his missions¹⁸⁶.

4.2.2. Soldiers of the Cossack Cavalry Regiment

During the process of the establishment of the Cossack Regiment, the main intention of Sadık Pasha was to recruit as much as soldiers to invade Podolia and Poland and on the case of the increasing the population of the regiment, Sadık intended to recruit Cossacks from Dobruca and Polish refugees in the Ottoman Empire. However, since the total population of Polish refugees and Cossacks in Dobruca was inadequate, Sadık Pasha had to find new human sources, yet, he recruited Bulgarians and Serbians at the second stage¹⁸⁷. Sadık Pasha sought to reunite Cossacks and Polish soldiers because he romantically thought that the integration of those two ‘marvelous’ and ‘strong’ communities would achieve prominent victories. If Poland could attain independence, the fame of Cossacks would be known by Europe again and legitimacy of Cossacks would be approved.

In the first place there were no sufficient soldiers to cover the capacity of the regiment. Therefore, a general amnesty was declared for Bulgarian *hayduts* that were bandits and gangs. Therefore, the population of Bulgarians in the regiment increased rapidly and by those soldiers, Sadık Pasha formed the third, fifth and sixth Dragoon

¹⁸⁵ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienie o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, p. 19.

¹⁸⁶ Tadeusz Szpotański, *Michał Czajkowski w Turcji*. Warszawa, Biblioteka Warszawska, 1911, p. 470.

¹⁸⁷ Stoichev, Chapter 3

Squads¹⁸⁸. Bulgarian participation to the Cossack Regiments could be maintained by Nayden Gerov, who was Bulgarian origin and secret agent of Ignatiev. His extreme incitement to this regiment resulted with hundreds of Bulgarians to be recruited. ‘One of the citizens in Kazanlık town sent a letter to the son of Stoyanço Gruyo’’. He aimed to convince Bulgarian youth to fight for this army and their cause¹⁸⁹. Nonetheless, people were suspicious for the multinational and multi-religious regiment and it required some time to be known and blessed by people.

Sadık Pasha, on the other hand, had no intention to wait and halt the process and he suggested a solution for that question: ‘In order to be incentive during the process of recruitment, he offered the rank of military officer. Still, this could not satisfy the expectations of Sadık Pasha because although it was a high rank only five Cossacks applied to the regiment. Until the end of 1853, Jews, Serbians, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, Italians, Arabs and Gypsies were included to the regiment¹⁹⁰. The number of Cossacks that joined the regiment was less than Nekrosov Cossacks that came from Anatolia.¹⁹¹. Although Cossacks were outnumbered, people that were informed about the high rank recruitment sent letters to Director of the Office of Cossacks, Berto d. David, who was appointed by Sadık Pasha. David brought those letters to sultan and within those letters it was written that people coming from the Ukranine and Besarabia’s feudal Cossacks would like to serve the Ottoman Empire if they could obtain privileges as in Muntenia and Wallachia. They asked to join the Dobruca Cossacks that served on the Danube line. Sultan considered their offers as reasonable¹⁹² but Sadık was concerned about this situation and started to inquire

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., Chapter 3

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., document Number 7, p. 154: The date of the letter 07 June 1860 Filibe

¹⁹⁰ For the Tatar population in the regiment see: Mara Kozelsky, “Casualties of Conflict: Crimean Tatars during the Crimean War”, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 67, No. 4, 2008 p.p. 866-891.

¹⁹¹ Stoichev, Chapter 3

¹⁹² Szpotański, p. 471.

those people. Sadık Pasha secretly read some of their memoirs within his investigation and eventually revealed the fact that most of the members of those feudal communities were Russian agents¹⁹³. Sadık Pasha deserved the trust of Sultan by exposing spies that were trying to infiltrate to the regiment. After Sadık's investigation they did not be included to the regiment. Although Sadık was Cossackophil, he was aware the fact that most of the Cossacks were under the influence of Russian Empire. Hence, he did not permit all Cossacks to be part of the regiment but the significance of the Sultan's and Sadık Pasha's inspection on the case of recruitment was posed.

It was mentioned that the main corpses of the regiment, consisted of the first and second troops, were deployed in Constantinople. Sadık Pasha's son, Adam Czajkowski noted on his observations only a year after, in 1854, the establishment of the regiment as; 'There are six squadrons, third, fourth and sixth squadrons are consists of Bulgarians¹⁹⁴'. In the second and third squadrons, there were Cossacks of Dobruca, refugees fled from Russian oppression, diseased soldiers and intemperate soldiers. Other squadrons were composed of Bulgarians, Italians, Armenians and Jews¹⁹⁵. Third squad was not consisted of Bulgarians only but again there were Bulgarians. On the second and third squad Adam Lewak¹⁹⁶ and Pawel Wierzbicki mentioned the same. Adam Lewak mentioned about the strange case of Matej Raszo that is different from Pawel Wierzbicki's assertions: 'A famous bandit/haydut used to live in Constantinople. For Raszo that could not be caught for a very long time, there was announcement; if he would surrender and abandon banditry, he was going to be absolved by the Sultan. Finally, he surrendered and settled into a farm close to

¹⁹³Ibid., p. 471.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., Chapter 3, p. 33.

¹⁹⁵Pawel Wierzbicki, *Działalność Sadyka Paszy w Czasie Wojny Krymskiej na Tle Jego Relacji z Obozem Czartoryskich*, p. 109.

¹⁹⁶ Lewak, pp. 121-122.

Constantinople but when he heard the news about the Cossack Regiments, he wanted to join this military duty. He told Sadık Pasha that he could brought sixty eight more people with him to serve for the Ottoman Sultan but the question was all of those people were chained in prison. He gave the list to Sadık Pasha and within three days, Sadık Pasha formed the third squadron with those prisoners¹⁹⁷. The situation of Matej Raszo and his companies presents that third squadron was based on different groups and Sadık Pasha formed his squadron by that ‘army of bandits’. Yet, the requirements of life were more than Czajkowski’s romantic ideals. He was eager to establish his military organization by Cossacks but he could not actually find the support that he expected by Cossacks.

The other method for appeasing the very requirement of soldiers to the regiment was to record youths in groups. Members of the regiment travelled in different regions to recruit more soldiers and organized some shows to local people. Those public demonstrations were influential and convenient way to recruit youth population of the villages and towns. For instance, in January of 1856 seven people from Islimiye; in February twenty people from Islimiye and thirty-two people from Edirne were registered to the regiments¹⁹⁸. Registrations in groups sustained a notion of trust for the regiments by local people. ‘During the process of registrations in groups, local notables, merchants and pashas of that region assisted the recruitment campaign financially in order to encourage young population in villages and towns. ... Besides that stuffs for uniforms were distributed¹⁹⁹. The financial assistance by the local was interesting and reveals that the regiments were supported by people as well as by the Ottoman Government. Also, regiments that are advertized by pashas

¹⁹⁷ Szpotański, p. 470.

¹⁹⁸ Stoichev, p. 35.

¹⁹⁹ Ivan Kr. Stoichev, the scholar quoted it from the Church Newspaper.

facilitated the process of recruitment. Regarding to the notes of Adam Czartoryski, in 1857 that system still had been resuming. Once the regiments moved from Filibe to Biola (Manastır), 120 Bulgarians were registered to the regiments. In 1861, there were registrations as it was in 1857²⁰⁰. This method was very efficient method for the regiment in terms of collecting soldiers.

It is also possible to detect some document related the structure and form of the regiments. The studies in Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive show some analyzes about Bulgarians in the regiment. Czajkowski's Bulgarian sympathy and policy was seen in this document: Bulgarian who wanted to be written to Cossack Cavalry Regiment, should be sent to Sadık Pasha's side²⁰¹, Bulgarian people who were volunteer to be written, must be written to the Cossack Cavalry Regiment²⁰². To define the soldiers in the regiment, Bulgarians must be mentioned. Czajkowski's interest for them started while he was in the Hotel Lambert group. In this regiment he kept alive his plans for Bulgarian and he wants them near to himself.

After Bulgarian people, his tendency to take Cossacks to the regiment was seen in the Ottoman Archive. Dubrovnik Cossacks were received to the Cossack Cavalry Regiment, but after a while they were exported, then it was planned that other Dubrovnik Cossacks were going to be taken to the regiment²⁰³. At the final stages of the Crimean War Poles who escaped from Russian Army were accepted to the Cossack Cavalry Regiment²⁰⁴. The document writes about it and demonstrates that the group already enemy to Russia could easily be ally to fight against Russia,

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 35.

²⁰¹ A.MKT.MHM. 82/72 1272

²⁰² A.MKT.MHM.85/37 1272

²⁰³ A.MKT.MHM. 88/69 1272

²⁰⁴ HR.MKT.102/67 1271

plus this way was easier than collecting soldiers from place to place and more accurate results could come.

Although, commanders of the regiments were enthusiastic and encouraging about the recruitment, there was a constant circulation within regiments. Some of the recruited soldiers were not actually capable of fighting in the army, therefore, some of them were expelled from the regiments²⁰⁵. Soldiers that decelerated the troops and could not be accepted to the officer's rank were requested to be disposed. In lieu of those soldiers, Sadık Pasha preferred Polish soldiers and that points the fact that Polish soldiers that fled from the 1848 revolutions were experienced and trained. In order to activate the regiment there was a constant change and circulation. Another document from the archive points that a troop consisted of two hundred soldiers with unknown nationalities were requested to be sent to the Cossack Cavalry Regiment after the Crimean War and finally they were sent to Şumnu.²⁰⁶ It also shows that it was written when the Cossack Cavalry Regiment was in Şumnu and indicated the requirement of soldiers to the regiment at that time. Qualities of the experienced and trained officers were in priority rather than qualities of regular soldiers. Another document dated as the same with the previous document points that another Cossack Cavalry troop was established in Varna and three hundred Polish soldiers from Britain to join corpses in Varna²⁰⁷. It is also mentioned that corps in Varna required more soldiers and in order to cover necessities all authorities were ordered to facilitate their recruitment process.

Hungarian revolutionaries were also part of this process, although they were not as much as Bulgarians or Cossacks. The decree from the Sublime Port ordered

²⁰⁵ A.MKT.MHM. 97/14 TARİH1273

²⁰⁶ HR.MKT. 116/44 Tarih 1271

²⁰⁷ HR.MKT.110/50 Tarih 1271

that Hungarians, Cossacks and Polish communities living at the coasts of Danube should be detected and registered to *defters*²⁰⁸. Besides that document displays that part of the regiment was deployed on the delta of the Danube River. Some of the Polish soldiers that were imprisoned during the Crimean War were in Britain due to the prisoner exchange and pursuant to their arrival to the Ottoman Empire, they were ordered to join the regiment by the Sultan²⁰⁹. One of the simplest method of recruitment was acquiring former prisoners of wars and sending them to the regiment. Also, those Polish soldiers were not stable in one region. The moveable units were transferred to any strategic location based on military requirements and their settlement procedures were facilitated by the Ottoman Government²¹⁰. Also, some of the soldiers were separated from the regiment and sent to other places based on their tasks, in which was approved by Sublime Port²¹¹.

Sadık Pasha managed the registration process himself and travelled within Balkans. Nevertheless, he had to cope with bureaucratic issues for registratiand and even for his own visits to different locations. Therefore, Sublime Port issued an order to all authorities to facilitate Sadık Pasha's registration procedures of Cossacks in Dobruca²¹². It was sought to prevent any questions related with the settlement issues of Sadık Pasha and his soldiers on the way through Danube and Islands of Danube. Ottoman Government was also aware of the fact that recruitment policy was very delicate, therefore ambitioned to subdue and coordinate the issue.

Composing from different nations, backgrounds and ideologies, the regiment showed the unity of policies. Czajkowski by choosing different methods and

²⁰⁸ HR.MKT.195/74 1273

²⁰⁹ HR.MKT.108/54 1271

²¹⁰ HR.MKT.172/43 1273

²¹¹ HR.MKT.172/43 1273

²¹² HR.MKT.185/96 1273

discourses, handled tactfully and tried to carry out his dreams. The element of soldiers needed to be careful in terms of leading and commanding them. His Slavic Unity ideology paved the way for his plans because he was going to achieve the policies that he had in his mind. His background also shaped him (Cossackophilism).

4.2.3 Duty Stations of the Regiment

As it was mentioned above, the regiment was commenced to be mustered in Constantinople, then marched to Edirne. With formed corpses Sadık Pasha moved the regiment to Şumnu within couple of weeks in February 1854. Çerkes Ali Pasha and İsmail Pasha welcomed the regiment in Şumnu. There was a great public demonstration with marching band and local people were excited for the regiment. Lots of peasants from villages around Şumnu attracted by the arrival of the regiment and went to road between Edirne and Şumnu to welcome and cheer the regiment. When they saw the cross with the crescent in banner of the regiment they prayed and shouted: ‘God would grant the victory to the Sultan and power upon the arms of the regiment²¹³’. Excitement of people and public attraction to the regiment pleased Sadık Pasha and gave hope to all members of the regiment for the better future. The cross with the crescent became a symbol of joy and proud for Bulgarian majority living in Şumnu.

When the Crimean War erupted and the Russian Army neglected the very strategic location, Silistre. Sadık Pasha’s regiment was deployed in Silistre as well and Sadık Pasha surprised by the fact that Russian’s missed a strategic point and

²¹³ Stoichev, pp. 26-28.

evaluated the situation as the Russian fear of the Cossack Army²¹⁴. Hence, Sadık Pasha not only constructed the regiments but also he also designed ideological framework based on the form and features of the regiments. The international regiment consisted of different ethnic groups and various religious communities under the banner of crescent and cross and Cossacks' historical power embraced the universal notions and humanity. The idealistic and romantic characterization of the regiments by Sadık Pasha was the imaginary Russian fear. Therefore, the form and the feature of the regiments were propaganda tools against Russian Army as well.

Under the direct command of Sadık Pasha, there were 1.000 infantry, 1.500 horsemen and six cannons. Cossack Regiment struggled to drag Russian troops towards Rusçuk and eventually repelled the Russian troops. In the next stage, united armies of Ottoman Empire, British Empire and French Empire invaded Bucharest in July 1854. Cossack regiments, on the other side, pushed the Russian Army towards the back of the River Prut. Then, Sadık Pasha was appointed as a commander of the Army of Bucharest because Empires of Britain and France sought to distance Sadık Pasha from the Polish territory²¹⁵. None of the allied states pleased with the idea of free Polish state and another trouble like invasion of Polish territory by a visionary, romantic and idealistic high ranked office. Sadık did not have any other alternatives and he had to accept the duty and ejected Russian Army from the contemporary Romania.

The regiment's first deployment point was Şumnu and then Sadık marched his soldiers to Silistre. Lewak mentioned that Russian Empire succeeded several military achievement at the beginning of the war²¹⁶ that made Omer Pasha stressed

²¹⁴ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienie o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, Chapter 3.

²¹⁵ Stoichev, pp. 48-49.

²¹⁶ It is meant Wallachia, Moldavia and Bucharest blockade.

but still he confided in to Sadık Cossack Regiments due to their victories in Şumnu and Silistre²¹⁷. As it was mentioned before, there were several battles within the content of the Crimean War and one of them was Battle of Silistre. In Battle of Silistre, the Cossack Regiment provided a great resistance and support to Giritlioğlu Mehmed Paşa²¹⁸. In his memoirs, Sadık Pasha depicted the Battle of Silistre as, ‘the battle commenced with the Russian approach to Silistre with 7.000 horsemen. Those 7.000 horsemen were forced to be retreated by heavy assault of the Cossack Regiment. Eventually, Russians moved back from Silistre although commanders of the regiments faced with death. The fighting escalated concerns of the enemy²¹⁹.

The support of Sadık Pasha and his soldiers to Giritlioğlu Mehmed Paşa contributed a great victory in Balkans. The victory pleased the Ottoman Sultan and he sent him a letter of appreciation. Sultan appreciated the army on the border of Silistre and especially to the Cossack Regiment due to their prominent achievements²²⁰. Besides the Sultan, Ömer Pasha also sent his sincere gratitude for his supports during the war via letter. In a ceremony after the war, he whispered to Sadık Pasha: ‘You managed the Cossack spirit, bravery and experience very well. Cossack Cavalry Regiment became the intelligence, arms and power. You, Slavs are always the best²²¹’. In his memoirs Sadık wrote that he was pleased with Ömer Pasha’s compliments and he added that ‘I knew that Ömer Paşa never forget his Slavic origin²²²’. The Battle of Silistre and his achievements became a very significant turning point for Sadık Pasha because not only he obtained the full appreciation of Ottoman Sultan –in which, the Sultan was his vital ally for his sacred

²¹⁷ Lewak, p. 123.

²¹⁸ The commander of Silistre defense.

²¹⁹ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienie o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, Chapter 3.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, Chapter 3.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, Chapter 3.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

mission of reconstruction Poland- but also, he experienced that his dreams could be materialized.

Sadık Pasha's military achievement was not only restricted with the Battle of Silistre. During the Crimean War, Sadık Pasha and his regiment became very active in Wallachia and Moldavia. In August 1854, Sadık Pasha and his First Regiment of the Sultan's Cossacks started to stay in Bucarest. During the Crimean War, Sadık Pasha marched at most to the River Prut. Because of the diplomatic struggles and intrigues Bucharest was given to Sadık Pasha. Great Powers did not allow the regiment to go to Anatolia because their project did not comply with this idea²²³. The duty stations of Sadık Pasha and his regiment was not determined by himself. Mostly the Britain and France, the Great Powers, maintained the process of tactical development and designated deployment points²²⁴. However, it could be asserted that this regiment composed of mostly Slavic origins and stationed in Balkans in general.

In Bucharest Sadık Pasha coped with lots of bureaucratic procedures and military challenges against Russians since he obtained much more duties than before. One task was to handle with the banditry issue that created some problems in the region. Actually, Sadık Pasha planned to focus on the issue of bandits in the regiment for regulating them in the regiment, but this plan was for the end of the Crimean War. Luckily, he could acquire some experiences from a bandit group called as 'Black Band'. Bandits were mostly British and they started plundering during the wartime and he prevented Wallachia from their assaults²²⁵. His second task was to protect the Romanian people from Austrian Army. After the invasion of Bucharest, Austrian Army sacked some parts of the city and tortured the civilian population.

²²³ Krzysztof Dach, *Działalność Michała Czajkowskiego i Władysława Zamojskiego na Ziemi Rumuńskiej w Czasie Wojny Krymskiej*, pp. 50-54.

²²⁴ In future pages, the project will be explained.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Sadık Pasha sought to save civilians during that process. Besides those, he was a commander of Turkish garrison deployed near Bucharest. Nevertheless, the only mission of him was not military; the spread of cholera disease influenced both civilians and military personnel and he served against the cholera disease.²²⁶ Lastly, the anti-Turkish propaganda was launched by Russians and Austrians but Sadık Pasha successfully obtained confidence and appreciation of local people²²⁷ by counter-propaganda. Hence, he commanded an army on the basis of his military duties and along with that he succeeded in his political mission.

After he arrived to Wallachia he formed a huge intelligence network as he had done before the establishment of Cossack Regiment. He started to organize agents for espionage-intelligence network. Some of them were Captain Teohar, Por.Baronts and Por. Andreiescu. Sadık Pasha transfers to Omer Pasha all the political, economic and military news about the Russia and Austria via his intelligence units. Also, Sadık Pasha reported his intelligences to his actual patrons in Hotel Lambert²²⁸ which meant that French government knew all the information at the same time with the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, Sadık Pasha was not only a commander of armies but he coordinated all intelligence issues as well. The agent role of Sadık Pasha for the rearguard of Russian Army's Movements made him prominent political character as his military skills.

'Great Powers' of that war knew that Sadık had different agenda rather than the Crimean War, therefore, they assigned him with political duties along with his intelligence services. Sadık Pasha's military ambitions could expand the size of this war and none of the allied powers could jeopardize the victory that they were

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

expecting. In fact, their conviction on Sadık Pasha was correct because he intended to create a new front to fight against Russia. Dach analyzed this as, ‘The other desire of him was to open the second front against Russia. However, he was not the commander-in-chief on the Balkan Peninsula, it was Ömer Paşa that controlled all military activities²²⁹’. Yet, Sadık Pasha’s plan to insert his regiment into Russian territory through the River Prut was concluded. This plan might weaken the possibility of victory and that could not be approved by allied powers. Although Sadık Pasha protested the restrictions on him and stressed²³⁰, he did not have any other options. Both Ömer Paşa and British Empire openly rejected his claim because intention was extremely romantic and unrealistic for them. Although, he achieved vital success in Silistre front, another battle against Russians would turn development of the war against allied powers.

The date that he left the Romanian soil is not certain but his next station was Burgaz, where famous nationalist Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz stayed. On September 11th, 1855, Adam Mickiewicz arrived to Burgaz from Paris and stayed in Sadık Pasha’s camp for 10 days. Mickiewicz did not come to Turkey for a visit to the regiment but he had a program that he created in Paris and wanted to work with Sadık Pasha in that. The poet came to Turkey with secret mission and sought to establish relations with Polish Union under Ottoman protection and strengthen the military corps’ political power in Turkish lands²³¹. For Stoichev, the main purpose of Mickiewicz was to go to East and unite Polish population in there and establish a strong legion with the assistance of France and Britain and eventually establish the

²²⁹ Ibid., pp. 50-58.

²³⁰ Szpotanski, p. 472.

²³¹ Quated by Seda Arslantekin Köycü, „Adam Mickiewicz ve İstanbul”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 45/2, 2005, p. 18.

Polish State²³². He offered to Sadık Pasha to include Jews to the regiment and that points that Mickiewicz actually sought to strengthen the regiment in the Ottoman Empire. Sadık Pasha considered the offer on Jews positively but the project of enlarging the regiment and the idea of establishing the greater Slavic legion was suspended because of Zamoyski. Although he knew that the relations between Sadık Pasha and Zamoyski was quite problematic, he disappointed by their personal rivalry²³³. The task of Mickiewicz was to sustain the coordination between those two regiments²³⁴. However, his mission was failed due to political struggle between two parties. Zamoyski, Hotel Lambert and Britain did not permit Sadık Pasha to obtain stronger army and eventually the project of Mickiewicz was terminated.

Although Adam Mickiewicz failed in his mission, Sadık Pasha was insisted on the enlargement of the regiment and strengthening the military forces by other ways. Therefore, as a consequence of Sadık Pasha's request 200 infantry and about twenty Polish officers were sent to Şumnu²³⁵. As the Bulgarian professor, who stimulated Bulgarians for registration to the regiment, informed that the regiment went through the contemporary capital city of Macedonia, Skopje. However, the regiment did not stay there during winter and turned back to Akay-Manastır region²³⁶.

In winter of 1856, Sadık Pasha made a speech to his officers of the regiment and informed about the incoming soldiers to the regiment: In total 42 people were registered to the regiment including, 28 Bulgarians, four Bosniaks and ten soldiers

²³² Stoichev, pp. 50-54.

²³³ Ibid., pp. 53-54.

²³⁴ Seda Arslantekin Köycü, Adam Mickiewicz ve İstanbul, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi 45/2, 2005, pp. 20-21.

²³⁵ HR.MKT. 116/44 1271

²³⁶ Stoichev, Letter 11.

from Moldavia and Ukraine²³⁷. In this speech Sadık Pasha honored the incoming soldiers by their bravery and their enthusiasm for that noble duty: “Welcome to our regiment, our Supreme leader, his majesty the Sultan is pleased for your attention and he would be glad with your arrival as well. Christian and Muslim population would admire of your service because your mission is sacred. Christians and Muslims are altogether and serving for the Ottoman Empire!²³⁸” Sadık Pasha constantly repeated those phrases due to his concern of conflict between Muslim and Christian soldiers and therefore, he aimed to create an ideological base to manage all those different groups. He embraced all Muslim and Christian population and remembered them their sacred duty and show his proud for his soldiers to manage a unity of different religions and various nations.

Sadık Pasha gave part of his regiment to the command of Niczui Wierzbicki. He emphasized the march of these troops to the Kalafat, near Çanakkale.²³⁹ After the Crimean War, between 1857 and 1858, these troops were placed through Danube river as it could be comprehended by the Imperial Decree ordered registration of Hungarians, Cossacks and Poles in the Regiment²⁴⁰. In addition, as it is mentioned by Musa Gümüş, it could be viewed that Mehmed Sadık Pasha executed his duty in Lebanon with the Regiment as commander of the garrison²⁴¹.

After the Crimean War the regiment tracked bandits from Dobruca to Thracia and pursued combats against them²⁴². The regiment fought against bandits on the moudations of Balkans, in Thracia, Deliorman and Dobruca and succeeded for defusing bandits. The regiment was dispatched to Thessaly as well to fight against

²³⁷ For the full part of speech see: Stoichev, Appendix Number: III, Church Newsweek.

²³⁸ Stoichev, Letter 1.

²³⁹ Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienie o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, Chapter 2.

²⁴⁰ HR.MKT.195/74 1273

²⁴¹ Musa Gümüş, *Sadık Paşa...*p. 1369.

²⁴² Stoichev, pp. 50-54.

bandits in 1857. There are significant reports about the bandits and deployment points of the regiment in Ottoman archival documents although they are not in detail. Three squadrons that had been previously mandated by the Regiment were sent to the Greek borders.²⁴³ Moreover, the Regiment was sent to the border because Ottoman Government was very strict on the protection of borders between Greece and Ottoman Empire and eventually sent an order on the preservation of the border by Cossack Cavalry Regiment²⁴⁴. In addition to that, the Sublime Port requested extra attention for providing resources for the regiment and facilitate their procedures of transition²⁴⁵.

When Sadık Pasha performed his duty of border protection (muhafaza-ı hudut-ı Yunaniyye) in Thessaly in 1859, he went to Yanya to meet with the Governor of Yanya²⁴⁶. At the end of the third year, on May 15th, 1860 the Cossack Cavalry Regiment was sent to Bosnia and Pristine. They had a new border duty and it was to preserve the border between Ottoman Empire and Montenegro. In 1862, the regiment was sent back to Thessaly²⁴⁷. The moveable regiment of Sadık Pasha marched to different places and Sadık Pasha intended to utilize these tours as an opportunity and organized public demonstrations for his regiment. These demonstrations were important since Sadık ambioned to maintain sustainability of the regiment and yet, he aimed to gain attraction of the Balkan societies. However, Sublime Port comprehended that differently and positioned Sadık and his regiment

²⁴³ A.MKT.NZD.20/1 1273

²⁴⁴ HR. MKT.170/60 1273

A.MKT.MHM. 151/1 1275

²⁴⁵ HR.MKT.180/96 1273

²⁴⁶ BOA.A.MKT. MHM. 130/82

²⁴⁷ Stoichev, pp. 54- 55.

within the regiment of sword girding ceremony²⁴⁸. Sadık Pasha band and that regiments were united and participated ceremonies together.önemliydi²⁴⁹.

In 1869, the regiment was required to cope against bandits in Balkans again. Sadık Pasha organized a special platoon for that issue. The platoons consisted of Bulgarians and commanded by Polish officers. This platoon was responsible for combating against guerillas and bandits and also providing resolutions for the questions occurred by the criminal activities of bandits in Danube and Silistre²⁵⁰. Nevertheless, the Cossack Rivalry Regiment and its platoon were not able to cope with that question and finally, Sublime Port prepared a new program to eliminate banditry. Mithad Pasha was the administrator of the lieu between the mountains of the Balkans and Danube in Bulgaria. Mithad Pasha gave the rule of a huge region to Sadık Pasha starting from the south parts of the upper Balkan mountains to Thracia and Edirne²⁵¹.

The regiment was supported by Bulgarians more than Sadık Pasha's expectations. Sadık Pasha wrote his diary that Bulgarians worked for the regiment with great devotion and loyalty²⁵². Bulgarians supported the regiment when it was established and they continued to support until the end of the regiment. The accommodation of the regiment was maintained in the regions that soldiers registered to the regiment. Between 1868 and 1878 the accommodation of the regiment was provided in either Edirne or Şumnu. Because of the diplomatic pressures of Russians, the Sublime Port did not allow any accommodations in Rusçuk, Ziştovi and

²⁴⁸ A.MKT.NZD. 357/12 1277

²⁴⁹ Sadık Pasha's son, Adam Czajkowski mentions that Cossack Cavalry Regiment had band and choir. Stoichev, p. 33.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 55-56.

²⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 55-56.

²⁵² Czajkowski, *Moje Wspomnienie o Wojnie 1853-1856 Roku*, p. 60.

Tirnova²⁵³. Nevertheless, the regiment was popular in Balkans and Bulgarian people were amiable as Romanians. The fame of the regiment was expanded through Balkans and eventually the regiment became a significant cultural theme in the region. Stoichev emphasized that ‘the regiment was quite popular and Bulgarian people started to create popular songs about the regiment, Czajkowski became a hero in Bulgaria. Even people named their sons with –ski, which is related with Polish language- and some changed their names as Czajkowski²⁵⁴,

4.2.4. Supports for the Regiment

As mentioned, a huge regiment was preferred and as a result the requirement for the soldier was constant and there was a permanent circulation within the regiment. The new established regiment had significant requirements. On January 11th 1854, Sadık Pasha reported Reşid Pasha that Ömer Pasha invited him and by the approval of Sublime Port, he went to Adrianopol from Istanbul as commander of whole Cossaks. When Sadık Pasha arrived to Adrianopol, the Governor of Edirne, Kıbrıslı Mehmed Pasha, and Patriarch of Roman Orthodox Church offered food and clothing assistance to the regiment²⁵⁵. At the same time, the regiment was being equipped with uniforms and arms but still there was a serious requirement of military tools. The basic assistances of Patriarch and the Governor facilitated this process.

The support of Ottoman Empire and the other allied states for Sadyık Pasha to increase the qualifications of the regiment was dwindled due to the establishment of the Second Regiment, commanded by Zamoyski. The idea of dividing the Cossack

²⁵³ Stoichev, p. 61.

²⁵⁴ See Stoichev, pp. 124-131.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 60-69.

Cavalry Regiment into two segments as democrats and aristocrats was British origin and supported by Czartoryski. This subject needs to be analyzed for further studies however, British support for Zamoyski showed that there would not be enough financial support for Czajkowski and his regiment in the future.

Besides that, there were some rumors in the regiment. According to Maria Pawlicowa, serving for Ottoman Empire was regarded as humiliating for some of the officers of the regiment. Working under the British Administration was more advantageous than working for Ottomans that was an Empire coping with poverty and the disruption of the Empire was always in minds. On the other hand, serving for Britain was reliable due to their qualified institutions and military units. In addition, some of the Cossacks requested to serve for Britain instead of Ottomans because the working conditions as the military personnel were difficult and dangerous. Soldiers in the regiment of Sadık Pasha were abused and some of the soldiers were began to escape from the regiment due to difficult military tasks²⁵⁶. In Britain, only Lenoir supported Sadık Pasha and his regiment because for him Sadık Pasha obtained great respect and power in Sublime Port and he was still loyal to Ottomans²⁵⁷. Besides that Mickiewicz emphasized that Sadık Pasha did not only commanded the regiment but also administrated the regiment very well and therefore, the regiment could bear the

²⁵⁶In the Ottoman archives the documents on this subject “Kazak Alayı neferlerinden olup firar eden Stefan'ın Ahyolu'nda yakalandığı ve gerekenin yapılacağına dair”. However, this document is dated to the year of 1285. So it was the last years of Sadık Pasha. A.MKT.MHM.419/66 Date 1285.

During the Crimean War the regiment took part actively, and to say that organization and the economic situation were bad seems to be propaganda of Zamoyski. He possibly wanted to take soldiers to his regiment.

With another document in the Ottoman archives it is possible to arrive at definite conclusions about the runaways. However these runaways belonged to the times that soldiers would have to face with bandits in the Greek frontier. In the document “Rumeli Ordu-yu Hümayun'u maiyetinde olup Yenişehir'de ikamet eden Süvari Kazak Alayı'nın onbir neferinin firarına sebep olan Yunan Devleti tebaasından Yorgi'nin cezalandırılması” event was seen. Yorgi was punished, not soldiers who escaped from bandits. (14. Rumeli) MVL.953/43 date: 1279 so 1863/64

²⁵⁷ Maria Pawlicowa, O Formacjach Kozackich w Czasie Wojny Krymskiej, *Kwartalnik Historyczny* içinde makale. Rocznik L, Lwow 1936 p. 635. See the article for more details, but he warned Czartoryski to avoid retaliation.

financial difficulties²⁵⁸. When Mickiewicz was in Burgaz, he wrote a letter to the Ottoman sultan defending his companion who served for Polish causes:

Sadık feelings for Poland and your Majesty did not change and everyone close to him has same feelings towards him... Everything is alright in Sadık's camp and his regiment and joy and ambition is widespread in the camp. Soldiers are extremely loyal to their commanders and the rarest and most professional of the officers serve to the regiment... Everything is coherent and within the sincerity of fraternity...I felt myself at the heart of my country and if I did not fell a sudden exhaustion, it would be hard for me to split from this regiment²⁵⁹.

As mentioned, Sadık Pasha and his regiment was not supported by diplomats and politicians of the British Empire. The British strategy related to the Cossack Cavalry Regiment was developed within the framework of Zamoyski's command of the regiment. Rumors on the regiment about the financial difficulties, the mismanagement of the regiment and soldiers' humiliation thought could be propaganda against Sadık Pasha. Any disorder in the regiment could result with the disobedience to Sadık Pasha and end of the regiment.

Nevertheless, despite Britain was the most prominent and powerful player of this game of diplomacy and war, the existence of other players could not be underestimated. Sadık Pasha could obtain the support of Empire of France. In Saint Arnoud, there had been a general enquiry on the military capacity of the Ottoman Empire in January 1854. The regular army of Ottomans was well but there had been problems related to their equipments, especially their uniforms and shoes. On the other hand, these questions did not been observed in the Cossack Regiment;

²⁵⁸ For sample of soldiers' salaries compare appendix.

²⁵⁹ Quated by Seda Arslantekin Köycü, pp. 22-23.

comparing to the whole Ottoman Army the Cossack Regiment was much more equipped. In this enquiry, there was Prince Napoleon with Arnoud and the Prince could observe the Regiment of Sadık Pasha. All the regiment was regular; even all of their horses were white and the Prince reported his gratitude to Ottoman Sultan. After that Sultan permitted to establish the second regiment of Zamoyski. Napoleon III donated 1.000 saddles to the regiment via her sister, Hortensja Kornü²⁶⁰. Sadık acquired the blessing, trust and support of France contrary to British disapproval.

Besides Sadık Pasha's well relations with France, reconciliation of the Wallachian people and the Cossack Regiment could be maintained by Sadık Pasha's efforts. In addition, Sadık ambitioned to establish détente between Romanians and Ottomans. On August 18th 1854, he made a proclamation: "I lifted the spirit and nationality of Rumanian people... I love Romanian who deserved it, like my own homeland people"²⁶¹. He not only kept ally with the words to Romanians, but also continued relationships in the future services to Romania. When the regiment came to the Romanian lands, "on 24th August 1854 Konstanty Cantacuzino sent presents to Sadık Pasha. Presents were 2500 yards blue cloth for uniforms of 100 soldiers, 300 pair of shoes, 30 trousers, 10 horse cavalry. All of them were for Cossacks who are well disciplined and behave with respect to Romanian population"²⁶². Another reason was probably the fact that a large group of Wallachians and Moldavians was serving in its ranks.

The regiment obtained support even in 1862 that was after the war. The assistance was not governmental based only but also there were public support for the regiment. For instance, an archival source from Turkish Prime Ministry points

²⁶⁰ Stoichev, p. 26.

²⁶¹ Dach, p. 40.

²⁶² Ibid., 44

that people of Osmanpazarı (Omurtag) collected provision and donated to Cossack Regiment²⁶³. This could be analyzed with two approaches: First, although the war was over, Sadık Pasha's regiment had still financial troubles and his regiment was supported by Ottoman Empire and/or other states. Second, in order to stabilize his political power, Sadık might pursue close relations with bureaucrats and local leaders. Eventually, he aimed to preserve his political power and related to that he acquired financial assistance.

²⁶³ MVL 934/6

CHAPTER V:

KNOWN AND UNKNOWN

5.1. Czajkowski's Marriages and Return to Ukraine

In his life, Czajkowski had three wives which make this situation worth to study on. It is not just his private life, it is also part of his political life. Michal Czajkowski, while he was in Paris, married with a French woman who “loved Sadık Pasha very much”²⁶⁴. They had four children- two boys and two girls. These children were grown up in solitude when their father was in Istanbul. One of the most significant children of Czajkowski was Adam Czajkowski that was vital personality in terms of publishing Czajkowski's diary. Other son, Wladyslaw Czajkowski, after his education in France, came to serve for the Ottoman Empire. There are two controversies about Wladyslaw Czajkowski; first, it is not certain that he was the son of Sadık Pasha or Sefer Pasha (Wladyslaw Koscielski). Second, a claim of malfeasance towards him during his service in Ottoman Empire²⁶⁵. His girls Karolina and Michalina got married with educated men. “Karolina and Michalina came to Istanbul with their husbands and stayed there with their father during his

²⁶⁴ Czapska, p. 135.

²⁶⁵ See Musa Gümüő, 1848 ihtilalleri Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'ne Sığınan Leh ve Macar Mültecilerinin Osmanlı Modernleşmesine Etkileri, pp. 71-77.

missions.²⁶⁶ Both Czajkowski's sons in law and his own son Adam served in the Cossack Cavalry Regiment.²⁶⁷

Czajkowski was informed that he was going to be sent to Constantinople in 1841 September and both children and his wife were going to face with distance and solitude. Czajkowski came to the Ottoman Empire as a main agent of Hotel Lambert between 1842-1850 years. After his arrival, in the spring of 1842, a woman named, Ludwika Sniadecka came to Istanbul²⁶⁸, she stressed of her solitude in Constantinople and expressed her complaints to her new friend Czajkowski.. On July 1842 Hotel Lambert group called him back to Paris²⁶⁹. On his way, he was sure that he felt in love with Ludwika and made future plans about her. Ludwika could understand Czajkowski's passions on politics and she was beautiful. Her education, character and culture charmed him and for Czajkowski, 'she was a woman that resembles an empress'²⁷⁰.

Another mystery about Czajkowski's life emerges during this travel to Paris. Strangely, Czajkowski disguised when he arrived to Paris with change of identity and stayed in France for ten months. Since he was a prominent political character in Ottoman Empire, Hotel Lambert group might seek his security by eliminating Russian threats and therefore he might be required to conceal his real identity. Secrecy of his journey covered what exactly he did in Paris but it is known that he turned from Paris with much more power and authorization. He was charged with

²⁶⁶ Maria Czapska wrote that his father loved her so much that stepmother Ludwika was jealous about it. For Details see: pp. 255-56.

²⁶⁷ Dopierala p. 209.

²⁶⁸ The pictures in her mind about how she saw Istanbul were drawn at the Czapska's book. These are some examples: "...At that moment in Istanbul nobody knew about the European carriages. Women left the harems to take a walk with the öküzlerden tarafından çekilen arabalarla which were ornamented like snuffboxes. Men were always on horseback..." while she was observing the capital city, she expressed his ideas like that, p. 128.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 135.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 135.

new directives and orders and he had the authorization to establish and represent Polonezköy.

Interestingly, Czajkowski resumed her relation with her wife in Paris and after he turned back to Constantinople his wife was pregnant for his fourth child²⁷¹. However, after he turned back to Constantinople, he never took care of his first wife and she was taken care of by his fellow friend and patron Czartoryski. As it would be expected, Czajkowski married to Ludwika and never turn back to her ex-wife again.

The gravity of the influence of Ludwika on Czajkowski could not be underestimated. Ludwika Sniadecka was born on 4th of August, 1802 in Vilnius as a third child of family²⁷². Ludwika had two brothers. Dopierala in his article and Czapska in her book mention about Sniadecka's family and house that she grew up. This family gave the culture, education and character that Czajkowski adored. Fascination of Ludwika on Czajkowski would not be surprising because she was an educated young woman of Lithuanian origin that was very rare in 19th century Slavic world. The dream of independent Poland was instilled to young Ludwika by her parents that were revolutionaries as well. Ideals of Ludwika matched with Czajkowski's political passions of establishing the Polish state again and shaped her approach to Czajkowski. Therefore, she became a great supporter of him during his campaign for the independence of Poland.

Before his last love –and political- affair with Czajkowski Ludwika Sniadecka, , had a relationship with romantic Polish poet Juliusz Slowacki²⁷³. After this love affair with the poet, she preferred to be with Czajkowski, who was an activist and political leader. As Czajkowski was affected by her charm, she was

²⁷¹ Ibid., 135.

²⁷² Today, it is the capital city of Lithuania.

²⁷³ Neşe Taluy Yüce, Polonya Edebiyatında Aydınlanma-Romantizm-Realizm, p. 137.

Juliusz Slowacki wrote in his correspondences about their relationship. See Czapska, pp. 62-70.

influenced by Czajkowski as well. “Ludwika thought that Czajkowski should be an Armenian because of his black eyes and hairs”²⁷⁴. Apparently not only by his physical features, but also she was affected by his opinions, as well. In one of her letters to Lenior, she mentioned about Czajkowski as, ‘If I was a Pole, I would like to be like Sadık, because he was born in the family who had completely the best Polish soul. I was not Polish woman until I met him. His incomparable devotion of his all life and his essence for the national case made me to turn back to the old days’²⁷⁵. In these sentences, it could be viewed a woman who is really admirer of Czajkowski. The national case of Poland that she dreamed of at her house long time ago, revived again with her lover’s political passions.

The second thing that made Ludwika attached to him was about Catholicism; “Czajkowski was reluctant to Catholicism. This fact strongly influenced the subsequent events. Zamoyski’s ideas on religion were different than Czajkowski’s. Zamoyski wants to He sought to support all activities in exile on Catholicism and relationships with the West. This explains the importance of why Czajkowski chose to convert to Islam. On the other hand, Czajkowski recognized the exclusive Catholic as one of the causes of the collapse of Polish and he sought Slavic union from the widest measure of religious tolerance²⁷⁶. Ludwika thought mutually on the case of religion. Sympathy of orthodoxy was also related with his next religion Islamism. Zamoyski and Czajkowski had different ideological approaches this situation supports their argument and intrigue between the two. So the difference between the Cossack Cavalry Regiments goes back to their commanders

²⁷⁴ Czapska p. 134.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 133.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 134.

The opposite ideas of two prominent leaders paved way for rivalry in the Cossack Regiment as well. The division of Poland was because of Poland's catholic idealism. If Poland had sought the Slavic Unity, it would have been more powerful and it would be impossible to be divided between three countries. Slavic Unity sympathy was the basis of his Cossack Cavalry Regiment. Ludwika became the supporter of these approaches. After she met with Czajkowski, she became much more radicalized since her ideals were going to materialize with her revolutionary lover.

When Czajkowski turned back from France, Ludwika was living a house in Ortakoy²⁷⁷ that had been given to her. Moving to her house, they started to live together. In their spare time they used to exercise their daily joy, horse riding. Ludwika's love was not only based on her desire of Czajkowski and her political ideals but she was also seeking power and probably she thought that Constantinople was a suitable place for possessing that. "...her aim was to look for power in Istanbul, and she found this power by a friend that protects her and inspires her in political missions"²⁷⁸. Two years later Ludwika and Czajkowski married. In order to get the appreciation of local leaders, they organized their wedding in oriental Turkish style. Ludwika wore like a Turkish maid as Czajkowski was a Turkish groom but it not certain whether they had Muslim ceremony or not²⁷⁹. Czajkowski was very attached to her best wife and she was under the influence of that young beautiful and strong woman. "Ludwika Sniadecka presented her despotic character on Czajkowski and she controlled him for a long time"²⁸⁰. Their marriage did not prevent their

²⁷⁷ At the house of Ludwika Sniadecka, there were politic and private correspondences, memories, belongings, souvenirs which were burned by the fire in Ortakoy in 185. Dopierala p. 202.

²⁷⁸ Czapska, p. 136.

²⁷⁹ Kazimierz Dopierala, pp. 202-204.

²⁸⁰ Jerzy Borejsza: *Emigracja Polska po Powstaniu Styczniowym. 150 Lat Później*, in: Eugeniusz Niebelski, *Emigracja Polska 1863 Roku*, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 2010, p. 264.

political affairs, in fact, they actively took part in politics. For instance; Zamoyski and Czajkowski were in rivalry and had disputes on Regiments. Once Zamoyski came to visit Ludwika and they talked about the situation between Czajkowski and him, then Ludwika politely explained Zamoyski for his maltreatment towards his lover. Czajkowski trusted on his wife much that even he let her write his correspondences and having interviews and talks with Sublime Port. She was becoming a spiritual patron of Czajkowski in which the Hotel Lambert group was not pleased on that issue.²⁸¹

Their relationship revealed that they were not just couple and lovers; but they were also political allies. If Sadik Pasha was out of Istanbul for his missions, they informed each other about the current situation and political issues. Between 1855-1856 Sadik Pasha and Ludwika constantly wrote letters to each. In these correspondences, they discussed about history, people, political issues and their future political plans as well as their love letters²⁸². For instance, on the March 2nd, 1856 Czajkowski wrote a letter to Ludwika mentioned about the political situation of Burgaz he went and analyzed the conflict in detail²⁸³.

Nevertheless, in time, Ludwika, started to feel tired about all the political plays and intrigues in which she found herself for the aim of helping Czajkowski's case. It was her case either but the political games in reality were not same as she dreamed and idealized. In the spring of 1857, Ludwika wrote a letter to general Bystrzonowski, explaining her exhaustion. "God gave me miraculous, incomprehensible power, I endured the greatest misfortune in life, blows and huge

²⁸¹ Czapska, pp. 111-114.

²⁸² Ibid., p. 232.

All these correspondences turned into big handwriting collections. "These primary materials were today at the Czartoryski Library and Jagiellonska Library. But unfortunately some parts of the collections at the Rapperswilska Library burned" Dopierala, pp. 202-203.

²⁸³ For details; Franciszek Rawita Gawronski, *Materyaly do Historii Polskiej XIX.wieku*, Krakow, Gebethner, 1909.

fights were great, I persevered them all. However, the policy was fight which on every day, every hour, every step was oppression. It was against the main approach and intrigue. This fight consumed my remaining power²⁸⁴. She summed up her endurance until that time. An audience that would read Ludwika's this letter would comprehend the fact that she was exhausted by all those political challenges and tired of being lonely in the crowd. Most of the times she was alone and coping with Czajkowski's political matters and although she had companies, her dream was concluded with intrigues of politicians. . Perhaps, what she tried to mention on oppression was the responsibility that she took to manage political missions of Czajkowski and her role of guidance of passionate revolutionary.

Maria Czapska described the pressure on her mission while supporting Michal Czajkowski. Because in 1830 Ludwika was very reluctant for military action as she apprehended that as fraternal bloodshed and to the revolt against the legitimate authority was not only dangerous but also unreasonable. Now, as a sixty years old woman and as a wife of Sadik Pasha, she had to greet the crazy gust of heroic youth with enthusiasm. She blessed him with unshakable faith in the victory of the sacred cause²⁸⁵. In her youth, she was against the military action, now she was supporting a military leader that had political ambitions for a long time and she felt a pressure on leaving Czajkowski at the middle of the way.

In 1865, she wrote another letter to general Bystrzonowski. She clearly expressed her mental suffering this time. "I do not fear the death, but I would like to die with a healthy mind"²⁸⁶. The feeling of death suffered her and now, she had two considerations: physical pain and mental pain. Ludwika wrote a letter on 17th January

²⁸⁴ Czapska p. 248

²⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 269.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 292.

1866, mentioned about her escalating physical as well. She was in pain from head to toe, and full of restlessness and anxiety. Ludwika was wrote that “Sad life...But stay with God, with faith and hope. In the spring of 1866, there had been apparent conflicts that might contribute to the rebuilding of Polish State. I like the feeling of that thought and idea. Austria would be forced by circumstances; it would perhaps be met the situation that it had not met before. If god wants to resurrect Poland, enlighten and guide the Poles, and will give them a leader who will make what could have been made so far”²⁸⁷.

Feeling pain in her body seemed to be made her feel weak, in fact after a long period of time, trying the best policy in the Ottoman Empire made her exhausted. . She found a hope to save her body and soul and release from the pain that she suffered, by the recreation of Poland. The establishment of Polish state was clearly linked with her physical and mental recovery. She demanded the blessing of God and accepted its universal power and thought that all Polish people including her and Czajkowski put their best foot forward to recreate the Polish State. Therefore, she thought that if god demands, Poland would enjoy liberty with a chosen leader to create an independent state. It is tragic that the idea combined with eternal ruler, the God, appeared during her mental and physical sickness. However, her idea on the reestablishment of Poland was not yielded to God only. She assumed that Austrian support and its historical rivalry against Russia would lead to reconstruction of Poland.

In 1866, “she dramatically died at this panorama and was buried where she wanted”²⁸⁸. Her tomb, made of white marble stood at Alemdag²⁸⁹. “This death was

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 306.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 310.

not a mere painful personal loss of Czajkowski for the Ottomans, but also irreparable harm to the Ottoman Empire. Her death was also his socially death...but still he found the sincerest feelings among the Ottomans²⁹⁰. After she was died, Czajkowski felt himself alone and the life became meaningless. For long years, Czajkowski had been living with Ottomans and now he was all alone that he had never felt it before. Czapska indicated that Czajkowski started to dream that when he would go to Russia, he would find new political life. He thought that leading role he wanted to play in Polish-Russian rapprochement was smiling to him in Russia²⁹¹.

Before Ludwika was died, she was thinking to get help from Austria, but Czajkowski was now thinking rapprochement with Russia. This means that after Ludwika was died, Czajkowski's political strategies changed automatically. He thought that it was meaningless to follow the old political strategies that they had decided and applied together with his wife. In despair, he thought that the solution for the Polish case was to agree with Russia which was the enemy for a long time. After Ludwika, he felt less powerful, for him it was hard to fight both physically and politically. Adding to that, The Ottoman Empire had to give the Polish refugees back²⁹². This also caused him to feel less powerful and he inevitably took refuge in Russia.

Czajkowski farewell saying to Ottomans and his friends "Peace to you and to me new life in old Kiev²⁹³". In 1872 December he returned to Kiev with the adjutant Morozowicz and new Greek young wife. Adjutant Morozowicz was one of best,

²⁸⁹ Alemdag is the hill that is on the Anatolian side of Istanbul. It is the secondary highest point of Istanbul.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 310-311.

²⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 311-312.

²⁹² The Ottoman Empire gave the refugees back to Russia. For details see Bayram Nazır, *Macar ve Polonyalı Mülteciler Osmanlı'ya Sığınanlar*, Yeditepe Yayınevi.

Ottoman Hospitality and Its Impact on Europe, Istanbul Chamber of Commerce Publications

²⁹³ Czapska, p. 312.

loyal friends of Sadık Pasha. Greek young wife Irena came from the island of Tinos to Istanbul. She was divorced woman who came to the Ottoman Empire to “look for new chances and life”.²⁹⁴ Meeting with Czajkowski became the chance of her new life. The Turkish passport wrote her as his wife, but it is not known whether there was wedding ceremony or not. Gawronski describes this woman as “...she was beautiful, but she had no aesthetic pleasure in life, was a straight, uneducated woman, her religion was not even clear... Their meeting was a great misfortune”²⁹⁵. As can be seen in the future pages, Irena has been a misfortune for Czajkowski.

Irena and Czajkowski had a daughter whose name was Alexandra. The name derives from the name of his godfather Alexander II. This girl was important for Czajkowski because he was playing games with her and forgot the problems of sad days. His economic problems were the origin of his sadness. When Czajkowski returned back to Kiev, he was taking salary from the Ottoman Empire. His 6.000 kurus was withdrawn from him because he did not go back to the Ottoman Empire when he was called in 1877. He was so much in debt that “Irena wrote in her dairy about Czajkowski and economic problems. If he could not pay Alexandra’s needs, he was not the father of daughter. Russian government was paying for her.”²⁹⁶ When she was grown up, Tsar Alexander paid for school and she started to get education in Petersburg.

The daughter was in Petersburg now, and Czajkowski had difficulties in paying daily life expenses. “Dreams and money had been taken away. Russia did not give him any property despite the excuse/apology... For him, this failure and defeat was a bitter experience. He could not go back to a previous wealth. Dreams, hopes,

²⁹⁴ Franciszek Rawita Gawronski, *Studia i Szkice Historyczne*, Lwow, 1903, p. 72.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

plans had fallen on the despair... The lack of material things and old age created his unpleasantness”²⁹⁷. The father who could not pay for her, the husband who could not satisfy her wife, the man who was not as strong as before; this was the breaking point in his life. His life gradually came to dead end. The situation would be even worse, Czajkowski would find the opportunity to reconsider his life.

Once he and the Ottoman Empire had had very good communications, but now “Patients were not trying to save the healties who have fallen into deep”²⁹⁸. The Ottoman Empire stopped helping and changed the policy towards Poles. It was time for Czajkowski to get help from Russia. At that time Czajkowski was getting money from Tsar. According to Gawronski 1200 ruble every year was his help for living²⁹⁹. With this money, he was living in calm and relax in the small, not crowded Borki village.

This village started to lose the meaning that was before. His daughter was not there anymore, he had very less things to be happy. Irena was not the best wife for him, but this relationship was going either this or that way until Czajkowski recruited Jankowski as an assistant to help him in the village. One of the last things of calm life ended with Jankowski. Jankowski and Irena liked each other, Czajkowski realized it and sent Jankowski from the house. But their connection did not end with this separation³⁰⁰. Finally Czajkowski abandoned her, because “she brought only shame and sadness, also had been a nightmare for Czajkowski”³⁰¹, he left this house and moved with Morozowicz to another village in name of Parchimowa in 1880³⁰².

²⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.71-72.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 71.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 74

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 78.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 79.

³⁰² Ibid., pp. 80-81

Morozowicz and Czajkowski lived together for five years, he was lacked of money, he was “thoroughly isolated, felt morally humiliated, experienced a life free of any lux. He withdrew from the competition and life, never looked for a friend, forgot about political life, he knew the situation, only experienced his pain and suffered from his pain. Only friend Morozowicz died at 1885”³⁰³. Completely alone Czajkowski went to Borka- Irena’s house- to see his daughter Alexandra who came from Petersburg. Czajkowski was really unable to provide his own needs, by seeing this Irena cheated him and bereaved all his money. She intentionally locked him to the neighbor's house. On 05 January 1886, at midnight five blasting were heard on January 5, 1886 at midnight, came the sound of shots, he committed suicide³⁰⁴. After his death, which religious ceremony was prepared and which ritual happened, there is not clear.

His life after returning to Kiev shows that he had not get enough money to trust on himself and pay the expenses of the family. This seems to have created problems between Irena and Czajkowski. Also he was getting older and physically he was not so strong as he had been before. That’s why he rarely was part of the work during the day. Last thing that he was not strong as before was the politic life. He was under the pressure of Russia. He came to the Russia with the hope that Russia would be helpful for the Polish case. He would be active in military activities. But it happened in the opposite way. He lived in the small village. When the Ottoman Empire called him in 1877, he could not come because he did not know what Russia was going to think about this situation. This was his hesitation against the approachment to the Ottoman Empire. This was the knife-edge situation.

³⁰³ Ibid., p. 79

³⁰⁴ According to Franciszek Gawronski, Czajkowski wrote letter before he committed suicide. This letter was very important because he wrote about the reasons of why he committed suicide. But unfortunately Irena torn it into small pieces.

He must have realized his situation because he describes it as “Judith Beheading Holofernes³⁰⁵, there is no my Poland any longer. I am a political corpse.³⁰⁶” In full of despair, he accepted his defeat. Holoferne was Poland which had no chance to revive again. Now the head was beheaded. Also Holoferne was himself who was unable to maintain the reestablishment of Poland policy. The flashbacks belong to his life were coming to his mind. They were half bemoaning, half regretting. According to Michal Czajkowski w Turcji, he was disappointed about his friends, they knew where was Czajkowski and what he achieved. He worked thirty years for Poland in the East. He commanded the Poles and Slavic origin Cossacks and Dragons for seventeen years. He builded an effective and real policy for Poland in the East. This policy linked the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern governments at the case of Poland. He linked Southern Slavs and Poles each other. he created the Polish & Slavic army according to the old laws of the Zaporozian army. He carried this army to fight till the Prut borders. After Crimean War he kept a strong connection between Poles. At the end of everything, problems were not solved, dreams turned to lies. He wanted Poles restore their Polish spirit. Both from his generation and from next generations³⁰⁷.

It is possible to understand that Czajkowski felt himself alone in his dreams about Poland. He was convinced that he worked as much as he could do for Poland and Slavic origin people. He was real politician but “... his views were not accepted by the whole Polish nation”³⁰⁸. This led him to live isolated from people. Czajkowski

³⁰⁵Caravaggio painted this work in 1598-99 and named it “Judith Beheading Holofernes”. According to the mythology, Holoferne destroyed the country in which she lived, but somehow he got fall in love to Judith, but she did not love, she hated him. The widow Judith to first charms the Assyrian general Holoferne, then decapitates him in his tent.

³⁰⁶ Szpotanski, p. 473.

³⁰⁷ Szpotanski, p. 473.

³⁰⁸ Gawrosnki, page 80.

understood perfectly that his political role in Russia was over. He was standing at the crossroads and looking for a way out. However, it was impossible to find.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

“Türkiye ’nin güç durumda bulunduğu,...bitaraf kalırsa, bağımsızlıkları için savaşan milletlerin bu tutumdan gocunacakları,...geçmişte olduğu gibi fakat daha etkili bir şekilde Polonya ’ya yardım etmesinin gerektiği; kendilerinin de ... askeri kuvvetler ve politik tavsiyelerle yardımda bulunacakları,... bu hususların Sadrazam ’a arz edilerek Padişaha (Abdülmedid) duyurulmasının sağlanması hakkında”

From Prince Czartoryski to Michel Czaykowski³⁰⁹

“Nicholas ’ın bütün isteğinin Türkiye ’yi yok etmek olduğu, Batılılar,...kendi prensiplerine uygun bir prensibi koruyan Türkiye ’yi yalnız bırakmayacakları...Polonya ’nın politik durumu ne kadar güçsüz olursa olsun, Sırpların ve diğer Slavların Rusların kucağına atılmalarına engel olmaya çalıştığı, Ruslar Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna iltica edenlerin kendilerine teslimini isterken, bu durumdan haberdar oldukları,...Polonyalı mültecilerin Müslümanlığı kabul etmeleri için, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından bir bildiri yayınlandığı, Rus imparatorluğunun işkencelerinden kaçmak ve hayatlarını kurtarmak için Türkiye ’ye sığınan Polonyalılara Müslüman olmaları teklifinde bulunmanın Osmanlı Devleti ’nin çıkarlarına hanel getireceği,... Polonyalılar kendi arzuları ile müslüman olmak isterlerse... politik bir anlam taşıyacağı,...Polonyalılar Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun en samimi koruyucusu oldukları ve onun menfaatlerine... hizmette buldukları, Rusya ’nın bu geleneksel bağı koparamayacağı ve mücadelenin iyi bir sonuca varacağına muhakkak olduğu hakkında”

From M. Czayka Czaykowski to Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşid Pasha³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Nigar Anafarta, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Lehistan Arasındaki Münasebetlerle İlgili Tarihi Belgeler, p. 113 (cryptical letter).

³¹⁰ Ibid, p. 119

In the first document by Prince Czartoryski, two important characters of the 19th century were negotiating each other in a secret way. By changing his religion animosity grew up in their relationship. As his Hotel Lambert agent, he carried out his missions. However, the Russian pressure put the Ottoman Empire in a difficult situation. With the support of France and Britain, Ottoman Empire was able to hold some of the refugees in the lands. The Ottoman Empire effectively helping Poles, benefited from the military forces and political advices. About their modernization of the Ottoman Empire, there is need to be careful. Generally speaking about them might be inappropriate³¹¹. The example of Sadık Pasha and his regiment did not have any intention to modernize the Ottoman army. This was the biggest trace that can be shown in terms of having other intentions.

As a result of studies of this thesis Cossack Cavalry regiment strengthen the Ottoman army in many ways. Regiment contributed to the Ottoman army about protecting borders, participating in the Crimean War. The importance of besiege of Silistre was underlined, incorporating bandits to the regiment, the Empire controlled them. These missions like founding Eastern Agency and Cossack Cavalry Regiment, included him to the politics³¹². Slavic Unity³¹³ was Hotel Lambert's policy and it was his mission in the Ottoman Empire. Cossack Cavalry Regiment was the connection to reach the Slavic people and Cossacks.

³¹¹ Borejsza also gives the same idea about generally speaking. "The war has often been treated as a cornerstone for the transformation and modernisation of the Ottoman Empire, but that is far from the full picture. For example, the Pole Konstanty Borzęcki (Mustafa Djelaleddin), who has been presented in this volume, does not fit well in the ranks of the Turkish modernisers due to his open racist and conservative stance". Crimean war- Jerzy Borejsza article; Crimean War after 150 years, p. 12.

³¹² Czartoryski supported the efforts of Bulgaria about the autonomy of their church, thus he became part of this Project.

³¹³ Czajkowski in his diary tells his dream about Slavs. "I dreamt of Polish Case, Poles made friends with Slavs, they kissed each other, exchanged like decorated Easter eggs, but neither one of them said to anyone that Resurrection of Jesus, people said that Resurrection of Slavs". After this dream, Czajkowski started to make his dream as daydream. Czajkowski, *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego*, p. 22.

Czajkowski's Cossackophile ideology drew his way for a long time of his life. My aim is to set the frame of my consideration and understanding by referring main issues. Limitations of this thesis would be in some parts of his life like he was in France or he was in Ukraine. As a small biography of Czajkowski this study rakes up the unknowns about Czajkowski. His Cossackophile approach was a little-studied topic. The period of romanticism in which Sadık Pasha lived, was a period of partitioned Poland. The efforts to undertake independency of the country made them think about the solutions. At that time, people remembered the glorious history of their country. Czajkowski remembered Ukrainian³¹⁴ Cossacks under the rule of Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Another thought of his mind was seen when he thought that Slavs and Cossacks in the Ottoman Empire could help them in this case. Jerzy Łątka presenting the ally of Ottoman Empire and Poland, establishes a connection with the history of these countries. "After the Polish Republic was partitioned, however, this interest in Turkey took on a different dimension. To this day the benevolent legend is recounted that the Ottoman was the sole nation which refused to recognize the partition of Poland and how the sultan, whenever he received the diplomatic corps, and seeing the empty seat of the Polish representative, would ostentatiously inquire 'and where is the delegate from Lechistan'?"³¹⁵ This empty delegate seat is a symbol of being alliance.

Being grown up in the Cossack family, taking the Cossack image as a solution for Polish independence helped him to stay in deep politics during his life.

³¹⁴ He believed that old Ukraine was the embodiment of the highest ideals of life. This was important for all over the Europe. He supports his idea with the Napoleon's words. He based his idea on Napoleon's sentence. "In fifty years Europe will be republican or Cossack." The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. Karl Marx 1852.

Zygmunt Szweyowski, *Owruczanin*, p. 4.

http://archive.org/stream/bibliografiapols10estr/bibliografiapols10estr_djvu.txt

³¹⁵ Jerzy Łątka, *Odaliski, Poturczency i Uchodzczy Z dziejow Polakow w Turcji*, p. 209.

His wife Ludwika Sniadecka helped him in this hard life. After this life Czajkowski turned into unhappy man. As a result different scholars see him as an unsuccessful or dreamer man in the life. "A man seriously injured morally, the border between reality and dream. In reality he was lost man, in illusion he sought support in his dreams"³¹⁶. Zofia Wójcicka analyzes him as an exotic character derived from the romanticism legend. "He has special complicated character, has a very strong will, fights for the freedom of 'Homeland'"³¹⁷.

Jerzy Łątka, as opposed to scholars mentioned above, studies on Czajkowski as he was not only just a conspirator, but also a great politician. According to him, Czajkowski, had established connections in politics so strongly that British ambassador Redcliff said that "there is no one in the East who could carry the name of Diplomat"³¹⁸ This thesis shows that Czajkowski was good at in politics, he had thoughts in his mind, he worked for these dreams and he was determined. As a military commander he was passionate, hardworking and successful in terms of determination about commanding. His private life shows that every politician or commander is human being. Some mistakes could be happen in his/ her lives, they were not human from stone.

As this study mentioned, it could be shown as humanitarian diplomacy, yet here is no humanitarian diplomacy during his life or refugees' life. The political structure is in political realities, it is seen that international political organization is so important on international people. Sadik Pasha was renegade, who was loyal to his case. Czajkowski and the world around him drew the picture of nineteenth century, also gives the idea about the politic life of this century. If history is a dialog between past,

³¹⁶ Chudzikowska, p. 7.

³¹⁷ Wójcicka, p. 3.

³¹⁸ Jerzy Łątka, *Odaliski, Poturczency i Uchodźcy Z dziejow Polakow w Turcji*, p. 77.

today and future, in this century people should understand Czajkowski, oppressed Polish people and sick man of Europe better.

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Appendix A: The Map of the Poland in the Nineteenth Century



Source: R.F. Leslie, *The History of Poland since 1863*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Appendix B: Berdyczow: the Village that Michal Czajkowski Was Born in Ukrainian Lands.



1 Berdyczów. Kościół i klasztor obronny oo. karmelitów

Source: Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne Życie Sadyka Paszy*. Warszawa: PIW, 1982.

Appendix C: Michal Czajkowski in 1842.



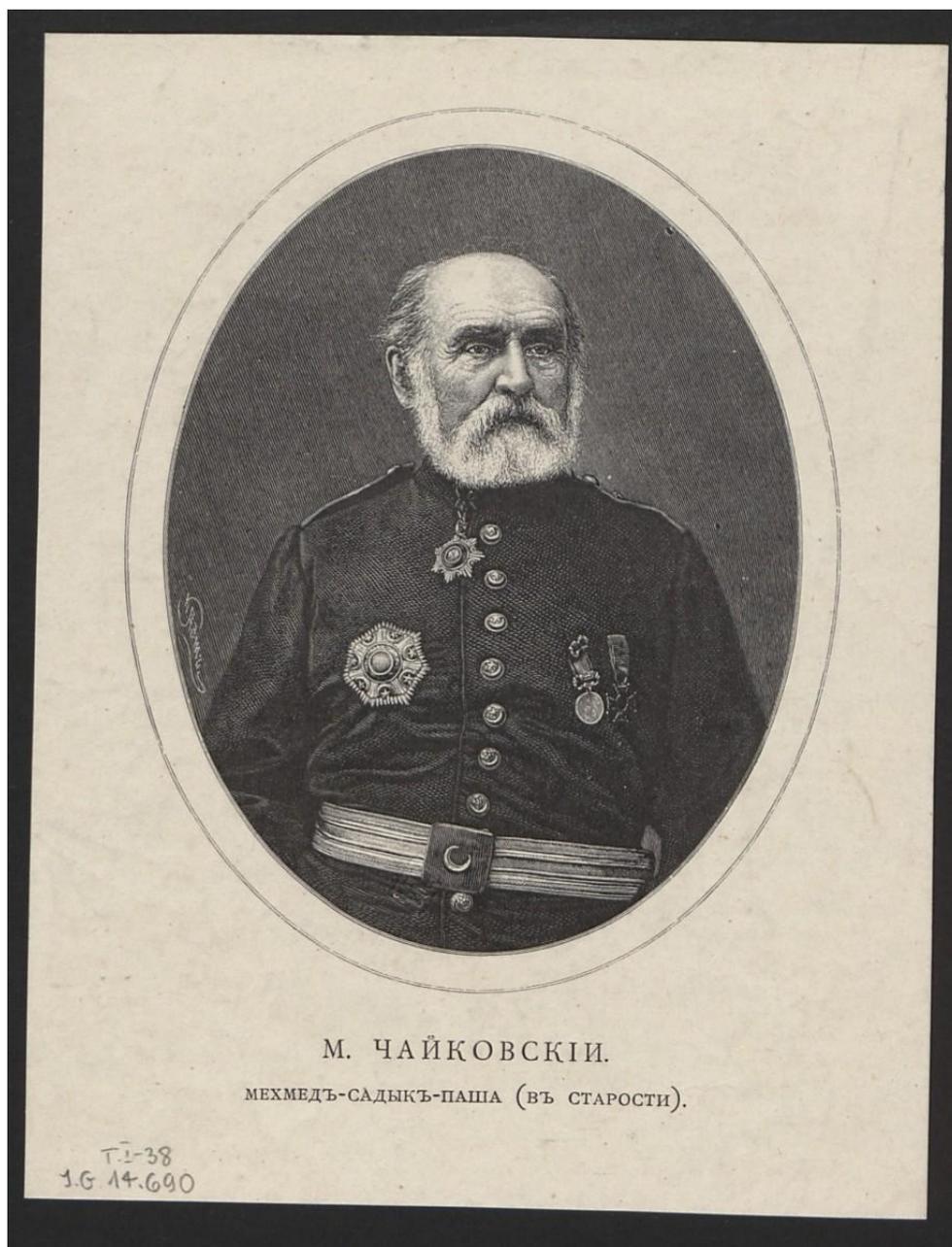
Source: Hanna Widacka, Katalog portretów osobistości polskich i obcych w Polsce działających, Vol. 1 Poz. 791, Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994.

Appendix D: Michal Czajkowski during the Crimean War



Source: Hanna Widacka, Katalog portretów osobistości polskich i obcych w Polsce działających, t. 1 poz. 790. Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994

Appendix E: Michal Czajkowski- Mehmed Sadik Pasha in 1880



Source: Hanna Widacka, Katalog portretów osobistości polskich i obcych w Polsce działających, t. 1 poz. 789. Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1994

Appanedix F: Karol Rozycki (Czajkowski participated to the November Uprising in the Volhynian Cavalry Regiment of Karol Rozycki)



Source: Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne Życie Sadyka Paszy*. Warszawa: PIW, 1982.

Appendix G: The French Passport of Michal Czajkowski Given in 1832.



8 Paszport Czajkowskiego wystawiony w 1832 r. przez ambasadę francuską w Wiedniu

Source: Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne Życie Sadyka Paszy*. Warszawa: PIW, 1982

Appendix I: Sample of the List of Cossack Dragon Army giving the name, nationality and date of birth of officers.

Приложение В — № 2

СПИСЪКЪ
на българи, служили въ казакъ-алая
(по азбученъ редъ на фамилно, бащино или собствено име
споредъ възможноститѣ)

№ по редъ	Име, презиме, фамилия прѣкоръ, чинъ	Отъ где иде	Отъ где се чер- пятъ сведенията	Бележки
1	Алгютюре	Сливенъ	Ил. Гудевъ	
2	Андрей-офицеръ . . .	Пазарджикъ	Карапетровъ, с. 37	
3	Бенчевъ Иванъ Янковъ	Шуменъ	Прил. Б-9 и Д-2	Билъ въ Палестина: постжпиль въ К. А. 1854 г. † 1906
4	Бенчевъ Иванъ Илиевъ	Сопотъ	Прил. Б 8	Портретъ въ Е-14
5	Бойчовъ Николай . .	Разградъ	Явашовъ Разградъ ч. I, с. 151	
6	Брадински Маринъ .	Калоферъ	ген. Н. Ивановъ 1861-1940)	
7	Бураджията Дамянъ .	Плѣвенъ	Трифоновъ — Ист. г. Плѣвенъ с. 243-4	
8	Бълчевъ Радъ	Ст. Загора	Карапетровъ, с. 37	
9	Бърдаровъ Иванъ Димитровъ	Разградъ	Явашовъ Разградъ ч. I, с. 151	
10	Ване казака	Щипъ	устни сведения	Въ 1941 г. имаше синъ живъ
11	Василевъ Руси	Ямболъ	Ив. Козловски полк, оз. писмо 10. I. 42	оръжейникъ
12	Василевъ Юрданъ Пановъ	Сливенъ	Илия Гудевъ и „Ист. г. Сливенъ“ ч. II-с. 256	музикантъ. обесенъ въ 1876 год.
13	Василиолу Атанасъ Жековъ	Разградъ	Явашевъ Разградъ ч. II, 151	
14	Василь Гайдаржията .	Калоферъ	ген. Н. Ивановъ	
15	Василь Чергата	Сливенъ	Табаконъ-Ист. г. Сливенъ, ч. II с. 256 писмо 21. II. 39	
16	Вачката	Сливенъ	Карапетровъ, с. 37	
17	Вълчевъ Никола	Ст. Загора	п/мо отъ М Стояновъ 21. III. 39 г.	
18	Вътовъ Въто Димитровъ	Пирдопъ	Никола Трайковъ септ. 1941 година	гробътъ му запазенъ въ църквата „Св. Недѣля“ въ гр. Битоля
19	Галевски Кръстю . . .	с. Дол. Оризаре - Битолско		

20	Гено Казака	Котелъ	письмо 18.I. 1939	
21	Георги, хаджи-офицеръ	Ст-Загора	Цонко Поповъ письмо 6.II. 39 отъ	слодъ освобожде- нието олол. упра- вотелъ Н Загора
22	Георги казака (или Иванъ)	с. Бѣлово	Страшимировъ, III с. 64	
23	Георги	Ст. Загора	п/мо 18.I. 39 отъ	
24	Георги Чауша	Сливенъ	зап. ген. Витановъ	обесенъ въ 1876 г.
25	Георги Чауша	Ямболъ	Табаковъ, II, с. 256	
26	Георги Чауша	Г. Джумая	Ил. Гудевъ - Сливенъ	
27	Георгиевъ Димитъръ	Хасково	Андоновъ Ив. с.	
28	Георгиевичъ Коста хаджи-подофицеръ	Враня	17-18 синъ Яша живъ	живѣлъ 1820-1900 год билъ пазачъ на султанска дъщеря портр. въ прит. Е-6
29	Гочевъ Сава табака .	Сливенъ	Табаковъ ч. II. с. 256	
30	Гръблевъ Пенчо Колевъ-подофицеръ . . .	г. Габрово	има синъ бившъ	живѣлъ 1848-1930 год. музикантъ
31	Гургуля х Радковъ	Русе	капелмайсторъ сведение 25.XI. 38 г. отъ Н. Обретенъ	
32	Гургура Андонъ	Сливенъ	новъ	
33	Гумоолу	Ст. Загора	Табаковъ, II с. 256	
34	Делича Никола	Калоферъ	зап. ген. Витановъ	
35	Дѣлинъ Тодоръ	Плѣвенъ	свед. ген. Н. Ивановъ	
36	Дѣлковъ Дѣлко Алипиевъ	Пирдопъ	Трифановъ, с 243-4	
37	Димитровъ Илия, офицеръ	Пазарджикъ	письмо 23.II. 39 отъ М. Стояновъ	
38	Димитрsvъ Мирчо Чауша	Сливенъ	сина му дръ Н. Илиевъ-Пловдивъ	
39	Димитъръ казака	с. Градецъ	Ил. Гудевъ	
40	Думусчийски Димитъръ	Панагюрище	К. Г. Кънчевъ полк. о.з.	
41	Домусчиолу Ангелъ	Плѣвенъ	Карепетровъ с. 208	
42	Драгиевъ Димитъръ	Сливенъ	Трифоновъ с. 243 4	
43	Драгиевъ Стефанъ	Ст. Загора	Табаковъ, II, с. 256	
			письмо 6.II. 39 год гео. о.з. Витановъ	

44	Дюкмеджиев Петър Костакев	Шуменъ	писмо Ив. Маловъ	недослужилъ до края
45	Дяко	Ст. Загора	писмо ген. Вита- новъ 6. II 39	
46	Жечевъ Стефанъ . .	Сливенъ	Ил. Гудевъ	
47	Ивановъ Власаки . . .	г. Клисура	Поповъ Ф. с. 64	
48	Иванчевъ Костаки . .	Казанлъкъ	Стамболски, с. 14	ималъ синъ Спасъ
49	Иванчо юзбаши	Шуменъ	Поповъ, Ив. Н. с. 19-20	
50	Калтговъ	Сливенъ	Ил. Гудевъ	
51	Кантарджиевъ Петъръ	Сливенъ	Кючуковъ с. 64 в „Изтокъ“ бр. 331-2	
52	Катранджията Петранъ	Плѣвенъ	Трифоновъ с. 234	
53	Карнобатски Божилъ .	?	Чайковски с. 194	
54	Караколчевъ Стефанъ	Разградъ	Явашевъ Разградъ ч. I с. 151	
55	Караолановъ Ботю . .	Габрово	д-ръ К. Вапцовъ	офицеръ следъ
56	Катърджията Петъръ (векиль онбаши) . . .	Сливенъ	Бояджиевъ, с. 42	освобождението
57	Костовъ Георги	Разлогъ	Чайковски с. 20 в „Изтокъ“ 331 2	(1а сотня, 1-й взводъ)
58	Костовъ хаджи Пе- търъ хаджи	Сливенъ	К. Михайловъ ген. о. з.	
59	Кралевици братя	Шуменъ	Табковъ II. 256	
60	Кръстьолу Йорданъ То- доровъ	Разградъ	С. Н. У. т. X. с. 460	(изглеждатъ хър вати)
61	Кочоолу	Плѣвенъ	Явашевъ Разградъ ч. I с. 151	
62	Лало	с. Клисура	Трифоновъ с. 243-4	
63	Лучкинъ Вѣто казака	Пирдопъ	Ив. Ландоновъ с. 17-18	
64	Манолъ чаушъ	Сливенъ	М. Стояновъ пис- мо 23. II 1939	
65	Мановъ Димитъръ . . . (Мано пиротчанецъ)	Пиротъ	Табакъ II 256	
66	Маринъ Казака	Шуменъ	С. Н. У. X с. 457	отличилъ се при
67	Марковъ Стою	с. Аджаръ	и Ц. в. бр. 314 отъ 3 II 37 г.	обсадата на Си- листра
68	Мархоловъ Иванъ Ген- ковъ	Калоферъ	св. М. Андреевъ генер оз	
69	Матеевъ Георги	Пирдопъ	Андоновъ Ив с 17 18	
			св. Н. Ивановъ ген оз.	повече сведения и портретъ въ Е†3
			писмо М. Стояновъ 23. II. 39	

70	Матеевъ Рашо . . .	Сливенско?	М Чайковски с. 174-184	
71	Мишевъ Алексо п. .	Кратово	Ад. Чайковски с.19	† Прилепъ
72	Мишковъ Стефанъ Ива новъ	Шуменъ	Писмо Д. Стоя новъ Кюстендилъ	† 1888
73	Никола Кръчмаря . .	с. Петърчъ софийско	писмо Иванъ Мол ловъ 29 II. 39 г	прѣкоръ Черкеза
74	Николовъ Коста . . .	?	писмо М. Стояновъ 23 II, 39.	билъ лѣчитель
75	Оджаконъ Димитъръ Павловъ	Пирдопъ	Цър в 314 отъ 2, II 57. год.	билъ офицеръ
76	Ошавовъ Василь Ди митровъ	Пирдопъ	писмо отъ М. Стоя новъ 23, II. 39	
77	Панайотовъ Юрданъ .	Сливенъ	21, III, 39 "	
78	Панайотъ	Ломъ	Табаковъ II, с. 256 Дрангова	служувалъ у баша й Денко Николовъ Ломъ
79	Папанчевъ Тодораки .	Сливенъ	Табаковъ II с. 256	
80	Пегъръ Токмака . . .	Сливеръ	Ил. Гудевъ	
81	Пегъръ чауша	Пиротъ	св Ил. Гудевъ	
82	Пиндоолу Стефанъ . .	Сливенъ	Табаковъ, II, с. 256	
83	Попъ Георгиевъ То доръ Икономовъ .	Разградъ	Явашевъ-Разградъ ч. I, с. 151	прѣкоръ Онбаши яга
84	Савовъ Андрей Па найотовъ	Шуменъ	св' ген. о з. С. Са вовъ-тѣхенъ братъ и Т. Джабаровъ	
85	Савовъ Мито Панайо товъ	Шуменъ		
86	Серивълната	Сливенъ	устни сведения 10 III, 942 г.	
87	Симеоновъ Андрей Ка левраджията	Сливенъ	Табаковъ ч. II, с. 256	
88	Спасовъ Младенъ . .	?	—	починалъ въ при юта „Всѣхъ скър бящихъ“ София
89	Станкоолу	Сливенъ	Табаковъ ч. II, с. 256	
90	Старопопковъ	—		
91	Стефанъ Еленченина .	Елена	С. Н. У. т. X с. 456	
92	Стефанъ хаджи . . .	Сливенъ	писмо Ил Гудевъ отъ 10 I. 42 с.	
93	Стефановъ Иванъ . .	с. Върбица Преславско	писмо отъ Върб. обш. № 63 отъ 5. I 1939 год.	Ималъ синъ въ Варна Спасъ Ив. Стефановъ
94	Стошевъ Ив. казака .	Враня ул. Рудничка 5	устни сведения 17. VI, 941 год.	

Source: Ivan Kr. Stoichev, Kazak Alayat na Çaykovski, Sofia, 1944.

Appendix J: Michal Czajkowski Rumeli Beyler Beyi



Source: Michal Czajkowski, Kozaczyzna w Turcji

Appendix K: Letters of Officers of Cossack to Grand Visier

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЕ Д — № 5
(начало)

A.
Son Altesse le Grand Visier
de la Sublime Porte
Ministre de la Guerre.

Altesse

Les sous-signés Officiers du Régiment des
Cossacks et des Escadrons de Dragons ottomans
font de la bienveillance de Votre Altesse gouverner
la liberté de leur adresser la présente pétition en espérant
ce qui suit

L'origine de notre organisation et de notre
nationalité, est bien connue à Votre Altesse, ainsi ce que
de passer actuellement en Pologne. Mais par le senti-
ment du devoir sacré et de l'amour envers notre
patrie, nous nous supplions Votre Altesse de prendre
en considération notre demande actuelle et nous venir
en aide, comme Votre Altesse nous l'a promis, comme
passé, par l'intermédiaire de Son Excellence Ahmed
Seydi Pacha, notre commandant en chef

Maintenant le printemps approche et
par conséquent le moment d'aller, notre Gouvernement
National ordonne à tous les Polonais, de se ranger
sous le drapeau de l'Indépendance. Notre malheur

Justice

justes, se débattaient sous l'oppression incessante, nous les
lues et fait appel à tous les enfants. Pourquoi nous
en redoutés nous et n'admet pas notre dernière plus sacré
de répondre à son appel? Nous nous en rendons
Juge. Mais, nous nous d'avance de votre appel plus
rable. C'est avec cette confiance que votre Nation nous
apprécie, nous nous supplions, de nous faire au plus
belle du service les officiers, avec que les sous-officiers
& soldats, enfin tous ceux, auxquels l'honneur de la patrie
est le plus sacré des devoirs.

Deux ans de braves faits par lesquels nous
ont surpris de nos mérites devant le Gouvernement
Impérial, nous nous en espérons d'avantage, et de
notamment à en les récompense avec exécution.

C'est avec le plus haut respect, que nous sommes
et de plus profond respect, que nous sommes
de votre Nation.

Les plus humbles et les plus obéissants serviteurs

Montréal le

1854

Jules Dumont d'Urville
Charles Markham Capitaine des Cosaques
Alexandre Vitkovitch Capitaine
Jean Mikhaïlovitch Lieutenant
Théodore Mikhaïlovitch — id.
Dokob Kuznetsov — id.
Alexandre Chernychev Lieutenant

Monsieur Kozlov Capitaine
Joseph Kabanov Capitaine en 2^e
Redoubt
Stanislas Komarov Lieutenant
Gyuliyev Lieutenant
M. G. G. G.
E. P. G. G.

(Handwritten signatures and names in Cyrillic script, including names like J. Jozhkeev, J. Moise, and others, arranged in two columns.)

ОБЩО ПИСМО ОТЪ ОФИЦЕРИТЪ ОТЪ КАЗАШКАТА БРИГАДА ДО ВЕЛИКИЯ ВЕЗИРЪ.
(Текстътъ на френски и преводътъ сж дадени въ приложение Б — №№ 13а и б)

Appendix M: “Piotr Suchodolski”. Adam Mickiewicz in the Camp at Burgas, returning from hunting with Sadyk Pasha and Witold Czartoryski and Henryk Sluzalski, 1857 after the artist’s drawing, of 1855, etching.



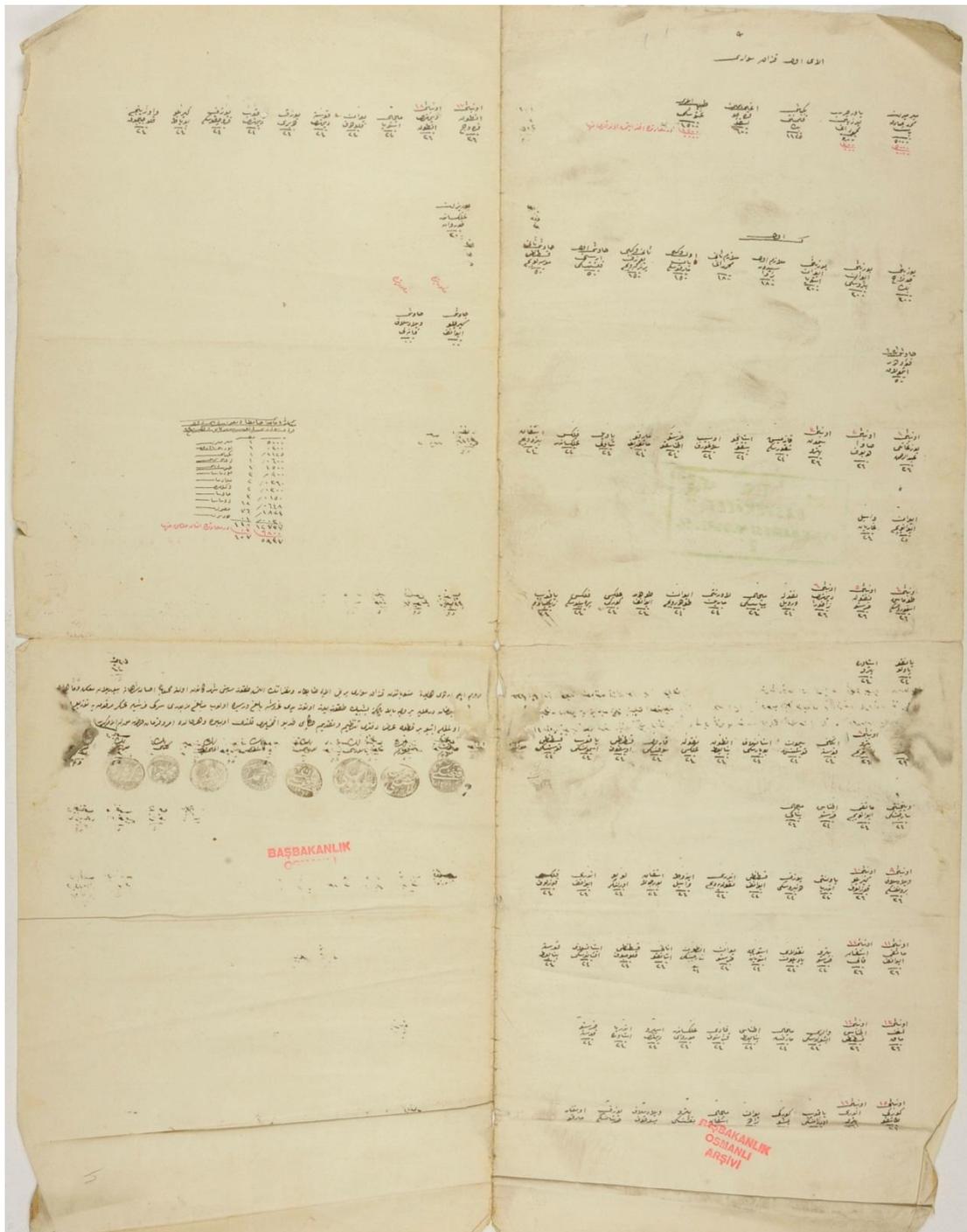
Source: Cat. 470/ Muzeum Literaturny Rynek Starego Miasta 20 in Warsaw

Appendix: Polish Legion in Turkey, of 1855, after a drawing by Karol Wawrosz, of 1888, photolithograph, coloured.



Source: Cat. 472/ Muzeum Literatary Rynek Starego Miasta 20 in Warsaw

**Appendix: Sample of Roll Call Register of Cossack (Dragon) Cavalry Regiment
Maliye Nezareti Masraf Defteri, defter no: 10668**



Document 78317

Alay-ı Dragon Kazak Süvari

Mir-Miran Mehmed Sadık Bey..... 5000

= 5000

Yaver Çavuş Yüzbaşı Mehmed Ağa... 300

= 5300

Binbaşı... Bey..... 1120

Yüzbaşı Cidlah Bey 300

Yüzbaşı İvan Borovski 300

Yüzbaşı İvan Esveb... 300

Mülazım Seyrur Rava... 180

Mülazım-ı Salis Mehmed Aga.... 180

Evvel Vekil Jan Markovski... 150

Salis Vekil Yuzef Yertomovic... 150

Çavuş Ersen Futotski ... 50

Çavuş-u sani Fatezi Muselevic... 50

Çavuş-u Salis Fudhur Aşulak...50

Onbaşı (1) (Bozgatı) Yozgatlı Abdurrahman... 39

Onbaşı (2)Sava Hobuf... 39

Onbaşı (3)Seyon Yezev ... 39

Fazmisen şekurski ... 24

İstancev Bonkof...24

Osbeb Selagurek...24

Harsetev Etnasekov...24

Marko Hanfebov...24

Bavil Şavli...24

Felikos Aleksander...24
İşfan Bazurovic ...24
İvan İvanovic...24
Vasil Gariban...24
Onbaşı (4) Tomas Esforovski... 39
Onbaşı (5) Nikol Hersev...39
Onbaşı (6) Dimitri Zafora...39
Nikol Vrubel...24
Mihal Beyasoski...24
Lavronti Marben...24
İvan Tohorovic...24
Tohor İvanof...24
Aleks Gorgi...24
Feliks Yereselev...24
Yakub ..24
Yankov Yavlu...24
İsnavi (Estavan) Bezev... 24
Onbaşı(7)
Onbaşı(8) Yuzev....39
Ebkal Fusez...24
Kostensi...24
Esnaflaf Boyarski...24
Anton Benabevit...24
Nikol Aleks...24
Kar Suhengi...24
Fertezi Osfuf...24
Yakub Esveski...24

Fertezi Kostaski...24
Manefi Abvanovic...24
Etnas Hersetev...24
Mihal Betan...24
Onbaşı (9)Viladislaf Boronofski...39
Onbaşı(10) Estefan Kali ...39
Yavneti Enverya ...24
Yuzef Hunborovski... 24
Fetnezi İvanof...24
Enveri (Enderi)Nikolarovic... 24
İzvet(İzut)Vasil... 24
İşfan Borcela... 24
Luyev Orletli...24
Enderi İvanof...24
Feliks Kozluk...24
Onbaşı (11) Manki İvanof...24
Onbaşı Estefan Kali...24
Yuzev Hartev...24
Nikolai Pavilon...24
Estevice İşuyan...24
Yovan Harsetev...24
Anton Sarceski...24
Anaki Estafekov...24
Fastezi Kalumof...24
Ebanelaf Akanovski...24
Kusez Yenabut (Benabut)...24
Onbaşı (13) Lafz Make...39

Onbaşı (14) Etnas Fastezi... 39
Valeri İşulerski...24
Mihal Marfes...24
Etnas Benabut...24
Fadi Karatof...24
Aleksander Murvay...24
Etderya Estavsas ...24
Hazsenev (Harsetev) Kosez...24
Onbaşı(15) Gorgi Halşekov...39
Onbaşı(16)Enveri Bezu...39
Yakub Ederzangi...24
Gorgi Yesu...24
Yovan Serah...24
Mihal İşfan...24
Yuzev Befşenski...24
Viladislaf Bokuf...24
Yuzef Heryenanski...24
Onfar(otgar) Marko...24
Onbaşı (17) Anton Fesavic...39
Onbaşı(18) Anton...24
Mihal Esnub...24
Yovan Feluhof...24
Koset(Kosut).....24
Yuzef Hubri...24
Kub24
Yuzef Kruçekovski...24
Kirbev Boyat....24

Vavjebenc Kolucbelef...24

Ba'deyzelen Aleksander Hidrevan...30(0)

Çavuş Ebvanof.... 00 (mülurebin)

Çavuş Viladislaf Fanek.... 00 (Mülurebin)