

The Impact of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration on the Economies of Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace (1881-1912): A Preliminary Approach

Angelos A. Chotzidis
Department of History and Archaeology,
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
achotzid@hist.auth.gr

Abstract

On 6 October 1875, the Ottoman Government declared the reduction of payments of interest on the foreign debt of the Empire by half. This decision led, six years later, to the imposition of international financial control on the Ottoman Empire, in order to secure the payment of the external debt. Sultan Abdulhamit II. proclaimed the Decree of Mouharrem of the 20th December 1881 by which the *Ottoman Public Debt Administration* (OPDA) was created. According to the Decree of Mouharrem, many sources of revenue were entrusted to the OPDA, including those from the salt monopoly, the silk tithe and the indirect taxes (from stamps, fishing, and spirits). The exploitation of the tobacco revenue, was also ceded to the OPDA, and was farmed to the *Société de la Régie cointéressée des tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman*, according to the 1883 agreement between the OPDA and the Ottoman Government. By the end of the 19th century, the OPDA controlled approximately 30 per cent of the Ottoman revenues. In order to achieve its goals, the OPDA tried to intensify the production of various agricultural products such as tobacco, cocoons, salt, and grapes. In addition, attempts were made to boost the trade of these products not only within the Empire but also in the international markets. The subject of this paper is to estimate the impact of the OPDA on the economies of the European provinces of the Empire, i.e. the *vilayets* of Yannina and Edirne as well as the three Macedonian *vilayets* (Thessaloniki, Monastir/Bitola, and Kosovo). In particular, it presents data on the agricultural production and the relevant manufacturing, since such products were partly used as raw material for industrial enterprises (tobacco factories, silk reeling enterprises, and wine factories), which operated in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Data on the export trade from all these *vilayets* will also be provided to substantiate the argument that the involvement of the OPDA contributed not only to the intensification of agricultural production but also to cover part of the trade deficit.

Keywords: Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Kosovo, Ottoman Empire, Agriculture, Industry, Public Debt.

Work in progress. Not to be cited without the author's prior permission.

1. Introduction

The Ottoman Empire, following its participation in the Crimean War, entered into loan contracts with London banks in 1854 and 1855.¹ On 6 October 1875, the Sublime Porte decided to default unilaterally on interest payments on its foreign debts due to a

¹ Donald C. Blaisdell, *European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire. A Study of the Establishment, Activities, and Significance of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. 27-8.

number of loans that had been contracted under unfavourable conditions in the European stock markets as well as their irrational management. That payment default was due to the fact that, in 1874, the foreign debt alone took in approximately 55% of the total annual income of the Ottoman government. Indeed, in March 1876 the Ottoman Empire had declared bankruptcy since it was unable to pay the instalments.² Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the Sultan came to an agreement with his Ottoman creditors, mainly Galata Bankers from Constantinople/ Istanbul (the most important of them being George Zariphes), and the Imperial Ottoman Bank which was of British and French interests. In particular, with the Decree of 10th November 1879, the Imperial Government ceded six sources of revenue to the bankers: tobacco and salt monopolies in the empire (for a ten years period), stamp tax, spirits tax, fish tax and silk tithe in certain districts. To this end, the Administration of the Six Indirect Contributions was established.³ Hamilton Lang was appointed Head Administrator and organized a network with branches all over the Ottoman Empire in order to collect payments.⁴ The arrangement proved to be successful and, already from the first year, the collected payments were adequate.

Later, and following severe pressure exercised by European creditors, mainly British and French, the Sultan was forced to compromise. Thus, on 20 December 1881, the Sultan issued the Decree of Mouharrem (so called from the Muslim month of the same name). That Decree regulated the internal and external debt of the Ottoman Empire and created also an institution, the Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA hereafter).⁵

OPDA has been the main instrument of European financial control over the Ottoman Empire. Although the Administration was a department of the Ottoman Ministry of Finance, it practically functioned as an independent section. The executive committee of the Administration, the Council of Administration, was based at Istanbul, and was constituted by seven representatives of the bondholders. One member represented the British, Dutch and Belgian bondholders, while five others represented the French, the German, the Austrian, the Italian, and the Ottoman holders, respectively. The seventh member was assigned by the Ottoman Bank so as to represent the holders of Priority Bonds. The revenues ceded to the bondholders were those from the tobacco and salt monopolies within the Ottoman Empire, the silk tithe from the districts of Istanbul, Adrianople/ Edirne, Broussa/ Bursa, and Samsun, the tax on fishing in Istanbul, and the stamp and spirits taxes.⁶ The most important sources of revenue, as far as the income is concerned, were those coming from tobacco and salt monopolies.⁷ On 27 May 1883, OPDA farmed the tobacco revenue to the *Société de la Régie cointéressée des tabacs de l'Empire Ottoman* (*Régie* hereafter),

² Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 38, 80-1, Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, London and New York: Methuen, 1987, p. 108-10, Edhem Eldem, "Ottoman financial integration with Europe: foreign loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman public debt", *European Review*, 13:3 (2005), 431-445.

³ Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 97, Haris Exertzoglou, "The Development of a Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie: Investment Patterns in the Ottoman Empire, 1850-1914", pp. 89-114, in Dimitri Gondicas, and Charles Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, Inc., 1999, p. 93.

⁴ Hamilton Lang was also the first director of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration in 1882. Charles Morawitz, *Die Türkei im Spiegel ihrer Finanzen*, Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1903, p. 256.

⁵ Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-99, Eldem, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-3, *Décret impérial rendu de 28 Mouharrem 1299 (soit le 8/20 décembre 1881) réglant le service de la dette publique consolidée de l'Empire Ottoman*, Constantinople: Levant Herald, 1894.

⁶ Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 108-14, Morawitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-354, Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-3.

⁷ Owen, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

for an annual rental of 17,000,000 French francs (£T 750,000) and profit share over a period of 30 years.⁸

In the course of time, OPDA and *Régie*, tried to boost the sections of agricultural economy and industry that were the source of their income. Thus, they took measures for the production of cocoons and silk industry, viniculture, winery, distillery, brewery, production and processing of tobacco and the production of salt.

The aim of this paper is to show how OPDA and *Régie* influenced the agricultural economy and industry of Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace, namely the European territories that were part of the Ottoman Empire from 1881 until 1912, the year that Balkan Wars started and eventually changed the map. Our analysis will be based on data from the annual financial reports issued by the consuls of Austria-Hungary and Britain mainly on the capitals of the *vilayets* (provinces).⁹ The annual reports issued by OPDA have also been taken into account in this paper. However, these reports offer scant information on each *vilayet* individually since they present the general situation in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰

The regions under consideration here are the *vilayet* of Yannina, the three Macedonian *vilayets* (Thessaloniki, Monastir/ Bitola, and Kosovo), and the *vilayet* of Edirne, that is all western and eastern Thrace except the regions of Çatalca and Istanbul. According to M. Palairet's estimates, these regions presented the following demographic picture:¹¹

<i>Vilayet</i>	1885	1906
Edirne	903.000	1.441.000
Thessaloniki	1.069.000	995.000
Kosovo	931.000	949.000
Monastir/ Bitola	717.000	891.000
Yannina	557.000	611.000
<i>Total</i>	<i>4.177.000</i>	<i>4.887.000</i>

2. OPDA and *Régie*

OPDA and the Administration of the Six Indirect Contributions (in 1880-1881) operated a number of Local Control Offices and branch offices as well all over the Ottoman Empire. In Macedonia in 1881, the Administration of the Six Indirect Contributions was based in Thessaloniki and employed 608 persons (582 Muslims, 15

⁸ Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4, Morawitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-4, George Young, *Corps de droit Ottoman*, vol. 5, Oxford: 1906, pp. 189-247. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, one Turkish gold lira (£T) was worth approximately 22.8 French francs, or 0.91 British pounds sterling (£), Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Turks. An Introductory History to 1923*, London & New York: Longman, 1997, p. 309.

⁹ *Parliamentary Papers, Accounts and Papers (P.P.A.P.): 1880-1913, Commerzielle Berichte der kais. und kön. österreichisch-ungarischen Consular-Ämter. Beilage zur Wochenschrift "Das Handels-Museum" (Commerzielle Berichte): 1891-1899, Jahresberichte der k. und k. österreichisch-ungarischen Consularsbehörden - Nachrichten über Industrie, Handel und Verkehr aus dem Statistischen Department im K.K. Handels-Ministerium (Jahresberichte): 1880-1899, and Berichte der k. und k. österr.-ung. Consular-Ämter (Berichte): 1901-1912.*

¹⁰ Vincent Caillard, *The Ottoman Public Debt, Special Report on the Ottoman Public Debt for the twelfth financial period (13th March, 1893, to 12th March, 1894)*, followed by the Translation of the *Annual Report for the same Year of the Council of Administration*, London, 1894.

¹¹ Michael Palairet, *The Balkan economies c. 1800-1914. Evolution without development*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 13.

Greeks, 2 Jews and 9 foreigners). Oscar Edwards, a British subject,¹² was the Head Administrator. After 1881, Public Debt Collection Offices¹³ were established in all cities and nearly in every large town and, in 1893-94 the permanent personnel of OPDA amounted to 4.835 (4.446 Muslims, 332 Non-Muslims, and 57 Foreigners) while temporary personnel amounted to 2.689 persons.¹⁴

In 1892, Riza Bey, a Turk, was the Director-General of the OPDA at Thessaloniki, while Oscar Edwards acted as Chief Comptroller. The personnel under their jurisdiction (in the *vilayets* of Thessaloniki, Monastir and Kosovo, and the *sanjak* (sub-province) of Komotene) amounted to 255 officials (12 directors, 46 sub-directors, 101 clerks, and 96 guards), of whom 246 were Muslims, 4 Greeks, 2 Bulgarians, and 3 Foreigners.¹⁵ Even though the *sanjak* of Komotene (where Xanthe is also situated) fell under the administration of the *vilayet* of Edirne, it was under the direction of OPDA in Thessaloniki. In 1892, a French subject, Mr. Marechal, was the director of *Régie* at Thessaloniki. The *Régie* employed 87 inspectors, comptrollers and clerks (11 foreigners and 76 Ottomans), and 480 Muslims as guards for the prevention of tobacco smuggling which was extensively carried on in Macedonia and Thrace and particularly in Upper Albania.¹⁶

OPDA was closely cooperating with the Imperial Ottoman Bank in order to fulfill its mission. The amount collected by the officers of the OPDA was deposited to the local branch offices of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. In this manner, branch offices of the Imperial Ottoman Bank had no problems related to liquid resources and were thus much more competitive in comparison to other banks which were forced to take cash from their central branch in Thessaloniki or elsewhere. Likewise, no corruption phenomena have been mentioned during the collection of taxes (as it was the case before the operation of OPDA) since OPDA paid regularly the personnel's salaries.¹⁷

3. Agricultural production

3.1. Sericulture

Sericulture has been one of the sectors of agricultural production that was greatly influenced by OPDA. Sericulture has been one of the most important cash crops in Thrace and in Macedonia during the 19th century. During the 1820s, Thrace exported silk to England,¹⁸ while in 1830 there were silk workshops in Thessaloniki that were processing cocoons produced in the region.¹⁹

However, sericulture of these regions and of the entire Ottoman Empire suffered two major blows after the mid of the 19th century. In 1858 silkworms were attacked by the epidemic *disease pébrine* that resulted in the rapid reduction of

¹² PPAP, 1883, vol. LXXII, p. 102.

¹³ McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

¹⁴ Caillard, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹⁵ PPAP, 1893-94, vol. XCVII, 216.

¹⁶ PPAP, 1893-94, vol. XCVII, 219.

¹⁷ Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁸ Michalis Riginos, "The Economic History of Silk. From the Periphery of Europe to the Periphery of Greece", in P. Gagoulia et al. (eds.), *Sericulture at Soufli*, Athens: ETBA, 1992, p. 35 (in Greek).

¹⁹ David Urquhart, *Turkey and its Resources: Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade; The State and Prospects of English Commerce in the East, the New Administration of Greece, its Revenue and National Possessions*, London: Saunders and Otley, 1833, pp. 180-1.

cocoons production in Thrace from 900 tones in 1857 to 250 in 1868.²⁰ Secondly, in 1869 the Suez Canal was constructed and thus Chinese and Japanese silk started to reach the European market faster and cheaper.²¹ These two events resulted in the rapid reduction of the Macedonian and Thracian cocoon prices while production remained in the lowest level until the early 1880s.

At the beginning, OPDA was responsible for the collection of silk tithes at the *vilayets* of Bursa, Edirne, Samsoun and the regions around Istanbul. For some other *vilayets*, among which Thessaloniki, OPDA was in charge of the collection of silk revenues in 1888 when it was so assigned by the Deutsche Bank within the frame of an agreement between the bank and the Ottoman government.²²

At the mid 1880s and in order to boost sericulture, OPDA imported from France and Italy yellow silkworm eggs that were produced under the Pasteur method and were resistant to the disease.²³ Then, OPDA took care of the sericulturists' training with Pasteur's method so they could be able to produce their own seeds. Indeed, in 1897 and 1902, 75% of the seeds that Thracian sericulturists were using, came from the local producers (from the areas of Soufli and Myriofyto), and only 25% came from France.²⁴ Also, OPDA set up laboratories in Edirne and Soufli that were controlling seeds, while from 1898 it awarded special prizes to the best silk-rearers.²⁵ In cooperation with the Ottoman government, OPDA supported the cultivation of mulberry trees so that there would be sufficient numbers of mulberry leaves in low prices. OPDA and the Ottoman government gave free plants (mulberry saplings) to farmers and agriculturists, and thus, from 1890 to 1910 approximately 60,000,000 mulberry trees were planted in the Ottoman Empire.²⁶

In Macedonia, the OPDA and the Ottoman government supported sericulture in various ways. From 1891 to 1892 the farmers of Thessaloniki were supplied with 29,000 mulberry saplings and cultivators were exempted of taxes for three years. This policy of boosting sericulture continued in the beginning of the 20th century when "Farme modèle" (the governmental model farm) in Thessaloniki, gave each year 40,000 to 50,000 saplings to farmers for free.²⁷

Besides measurements that aimed at increasing the production of cocoons, OPDA participated in the cocoons sales by organizing public auctions at the main sericulture centers so that cultivators could sell their products at the best possible prices. In 1905, in the *vilayet* of Edirne auctions took place at Edirne, Soufli, Didymoteicho/ Demotika, Svilengrad/ Mustapha Pasha, Ivailovgrad/ Ortaköy, and Tekir Dag/ Rodosto.²⁸ That auctions were useful for the cultivators also because the calculation of the tax was made on the basis of the sale price and thus, cultivators were protected by the high-handed actions of the councils of the *sanjaks* and *kazas*, which otherwise, would be responsible to define the value of products. The tax amounted in total 12.1% out of which 10% for OPDA and 2.1% for various

²⁰ Riginos, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

²¹ Donald Quataert, "The silk industry of Bursa, 1880-1914", in Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, Cambridge, and Paris: 1987, p. 286-287.

²² Morawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

²³ *Jahresberichte*, 64. See also Ahmet O. Akarlı, "Growth and retardation in Ottoman Macedonia, 1880-1910", in Ş. Pamuk, and J. Williamson (eds.), *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization before 1950*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 119.

²⁴ *Jahresberichte*, 27 (1899), 280, *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1902, 3.

²⁵ *Jahresberichte*, 27 (1899), 275, *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1905, 3.

²⁶ Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

²⁷ *Berichte*, Salonich, 1906, 53.

²⁸ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1905, 3.

governmental services.²⁹ In the *vilayet* of Edirne, the measures taken by OPDA increased the production of fresh cocoons in 1901 in amounts similar to those before the appearance of the epidemic disease (804.8 tons). At the end of the decade, the production had doubled (see table 2).

From 1888 onwards, the production of cocoons had progressed also in Macedonia. In only four years, from 1888 to 1892, OPDA increased its incomes from the tax from 205,200 fr. (9,000 £) to 501,000 fr. (20,000 £).³⁰ The sericulture center of Macedonia was the region of Gevgeli. In 1906 this region gave the majority of the annual cocoon production (approximately 770 tons) that came up to more than 1,282 tons.³¹ Cocoons were exported from the region of Macedonia mainly to Italy and less to France or Bursa, the sericulture center of the Ottoman Empire. Exports from Thessaloniki tripled in the period from 1891 to 1906 (see table 1). Small quantities of cocoons stayed in the region for cottage industries and the silk workshop of Gevgeli. The cocoons of the region of Macedonia were so strongly depended on the Italian market that exports to Italy continued even after the beginning of the Italo-Turkish War on 29 September 1911.

Even though Italy imposed duties 30 Centimes/kg and later 60 Centimes/kg on the cocoons coming from the Ottoman Empire that were duty-free in the past, and although cocoon prices dropped 25-30% in relation to the previous year, the Macedonian merchants continued to send their products to Italy.³² The exports from Thrace were heading to Italy, France and, mainly, to Bursa even though an important part of the production remained at the local silk industries.³³

3.2. Tobacco cultivation

The cultivation of tobacco was also one of the most important cash crops in Macedonia and Thrace from the end of the 17th century when the distinguished tobacco variety was Yenidje (Xanthe) and Vardar.³⁴ By contrast with the income from the silk, income from the tobacco monopoly was important when OPDA, and *Régie* afterwards, were responsible for the collection of tobacco returns. Two main goals of *Régie* were to increase the tobacco production in Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus but also to buy the said production from tobacco growers in relatively low prices. The third goal of *Régie* was to fight tobacco smuggling that was taking place in many regions of the Ottoman Empire (Arabia, Anatolia, Albania and north Macedonia). This is why *Régie* employed a great number of guards. In the fight against tobacco smuggling, *Régie* was not always assisted by the government. Thus, in 1895 *Régie* reclaimed lands with illegal tobacco cultivations and confiscated undeclared tobacco bulks. In return, farmers in all the Ottoman Empire reacted strongly and the government, in fear of eminent riots, did not support the work of *Régie*.³⁵

In its effort to encourage tobacco growers to be engaged in tobacco cultivation, and to reduce tobacco smuggling, *Régie* announced that growers who wished to be recorded in its registers had to present cultivable region covering an area of only 455,5 sq. meters (namely, the half of one dönüm that was equivalent to 911

²⁹ Morawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

³⁰ PPAP, 1893-94, vol. XCVII, 215.

³¹ *Berichte*, Salonich, 1906, 53.

³² *Berichte*, Salonich, 1911, 11.

³³ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1902, 3.

³⁴ Morawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

sq. meters).³⁶ The said policy that aimed at encouraging the tobacco cultivation continued during 1880 and 1890 and resulted in an increase of the registered tobacco producers. From 1890 to 1897 the number of tobacco growers increased approximately 2,5 times in the *sanjak* of Edirne (from 5,666 to 13,685) while the total cultivation area increased from 10,575 dönüms to 26,710.³⁷ As far as the number of tobacco growers is concerned in *vilayets* of Monastir and Kosovo, see tables 4 and 6.

However, the tobacco production in Epirus was not important.³⁸ This is why *Régie* took measures to boost tobacco cultivation in the area of Preveza in 1890, unsuccessfully since farmers thought that the price suggested by *Régie* was not profitable.³⁹

At the *vilayet* of Kosovo, tobacco cultivation was particularly developed as well as the tobacco smuggling and thus, the produced tobacco quantities that were registered were less than the real ones. It is estimated that until 1890, approximately the 50% of the tobacco produced in the *vilayet* of Kosovo, mostly from the Albanian regions and mainly the best quality tobacco from the Elbasan area, was canalized to smugglers. During the first decade of the 20th century, the said percentage dropped to approximately 35% (570,000 fr. or 25,000 £T in 1905).⁴⁰

Régie has not been the unique buyer of tobacco from the producers. In 1893-94, *Régie* shared two thirds of the export trade in Macedonia with the Italian firm *Fratelli Allatini*, and the Austro-Hungarian firm *Herzog and Company*.⁴¹ Local traders bought the rest of the production so as to sell it abroad. Thus, in 1885 in Xanthe and Porto Lagos the tobacco trade involved not only the Fratelli Allatini & Friedrich Charnaud, but also several Greeks and Ottomans such as Mehmet Choukri Effendi, Mehmet Effendi Molah Zadè, Halil Pacha, Haggi Haffus Effendi, D.A. Condopulo, P. Stallio, Z. Stallio & Comp., G. Portocalloglu, Fratelli Papasoglu, Haggi Stavro Hekimoglu, A. Hristides, Th. Allagidis and C. Enfiegioglu.⁴²

Tobacco growers could either sell their product to *Régie* or to licensed private traders. In fact, if tobacco growers had not been able to sell their product within two years, *Régie* had to buy their tobacco in a fixed price.⁴³ *Régie* usually bought large quantities of low quality tobacco in order to process them in its tobacco factories in Thessaloniki, Smyrna and elsewhere. The question that was related to the processing of high quality tobacco was laid for the first time in 1892-93 with the aim of producing cigarettes for the ottoman market.⁴⁴

Due to the obligation of *Régie* to buy the whole tobacco crop, disputes between tobacco growers and the *Régie* officials occurred from time to time. Such a dispute was recorded in 1892 (?) in Xanthe when tobacco growers relying on the "Cahier des Charges" of the *Régie* tried to force their tobacco production to *Régie*, which was already overstocked. *Régie* officials refused to buy more quantity of the expensive tobaccos. Before being quieted by promises, tobacco growers threatened

³⁶ J. Frh. von Schwegel, "Das türkische Tabakmonopol", *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 10 (1884), 66, Morawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

³⁷ *Jahresberichte*, 26 (1898), 134.

³⁸ Tobacco production in Albania and Epirus in 1882 amounted to 1,025 tons. Von Schwegel, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

³⁹ PPAP, 1892, vol. LXXXIV, 460.

⁴⁰ *Commercielle Berichte*, 5.5.1892, 274, *Berichte*, Ueskub, 1906, 4.

⁴¹ PPAP, 1896, vol. LXXXIX, 65-6.

⁴² Nicolaus Gergomilla, "Lagos-Xanthi", *Jahresberichte*, 1885, 765.

⁴³ Morawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

Régie officials and sent telegrams to the Sultan.⁴⁵ Disputes also have taken place between tobacco merchants and the *Régie*. Such has been a case in Kavala in the mid-1880s when export firms appealed to the Embassies at Istanbul complaining about the custom-house formalities which have been enforced by the agents of *Régie* with regard to the exported tobacco.⁴⁶

Of course there have been occasions where *Régie* was trying to come to an agreement with private merchants so as to keep the tobacco prices in low levels. This was the case in 1904 and 1910 at the *vilayet* of Kosovo. Indeed in 1910, *Régie* and private merchants agreed to pay no more than 8 silver piastres for each tobacco oka (1.282 kgr). Tobacco growers reacted and claimed that only the production expenses came up to 10-12 piastres. Thus, they refused to sell their production. Then the Istanbul government was forced to examine this issue so as to find a fruitful solution in a critical era after the rising of the Albanians and the reappearance of the first Bulgarian guerilla bands in the region.⁴⁷ It seems that the tax issue for tobacco preoccupied the Albanians. On 20 May 1912, thousands of Albanian rebels were gathered in Junik (a region of Peć) and demanded from the government, among other things, to dispose the income from the tobacco and alcohol tax for the financial development of Albanian regions.⁴⁸

Depending on their quality, tobaccos that were produced in Eastern Macedonia (and in Western Thrace), were divided into four categories: the best quality was the so-called Giubek, followed by the Kir, Prosotsani, and Drama qualities.⁴⁹ The high quality of the Xanthe tobacco attracted foreign tobacco growers who tried to transport this variety in their homelands. The Russians came first in 1887, bought tobacco seeds from Kavala and Xanthe in order to grow these varieties in the area of Caucasus.⁵⁰ Later on, shortly after 1900, an American company unsuccessfully tried to grow Xanthe tobacco seeds in the United States.⁵¹ In 1908, the British have tried to grow tobacco similar to the one of Xanthe to Rhodesia.⁵²

The important development of tobacco cultivation in Macedonia and Thrace from 1902 onwards, is mainly due to the involvement of the American Tobacco Co. in the local tobacco market. This company, in an effort to take a large portion of the market from its competitors, bought in 1902 large tobacco quantities in very high prices by the tobacco growers of Thrace and Macedonia and paid high advances for the next year crop.⁵³ Thus, tobacco prices have raised and the number of cultivated fields in Macedonia and Thrace has increased.⁵⁴ A distinctive example of the aforesaid is that while in 1902 and 1903 the ports of Alexandroupolis and Porto Lagos

⁴⁵ PPAP, 1893-94, vol. XCVII, 241.

⁴⁶ PPAP, 1887, vol. LXXXVI, 465.

⁴⁷ *Berichte*, Uesküb, 1904, 7, *Berichte*, Uesküb, 1910, 2.

⁴⁸ Peter Bartl, *Albanien. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1995, σ. 131.

⁴⁹ See comparative prices table, Basil C. Gounaris, *Steam over Macedonia, 1870-1912. Socio-economic Change and the Railway Factor*, Boulder: East European Monographs, 1993, p. 114-5.

⁵⁰ *Commerzielle Berichte*, 9.6.1892, 394.

⁵¹ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1906, 3.

⁵² Sir Robert Graves, *Storm Centers of the Near East. Personal Memories 1879-1929*, London, 1933, p. 230, "In the train which took me back [from Drama] to Salonika [March 1908] I made the acquaintance of a tobacco merchant of Xanthi, who was able to tell me that twelve tobacco growers of that district had been successfully got out of the country and sent to Rhodesia, thanks to Madame Kathi's discreet handling of the matter."

⁵³ *Berichte*, Salonich, 1902, 19.

⁵⁴ "Tabakanbau und Tabakausfuhr der europäischen Türkei", *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 33 (1907), 44.

exported equal quantities of tobacco (2,415 tons in 1902 and 2,343.6 tons in 1903), their value in 1903 was 41% higher than the previous year, namely from 9,433,500 francs to 13,346,115.⁵⁵

In many districts in 1903 tobacco had been grown in regions with double-size in comparison to 1902.⁵⁶ Although the coming years the price increases were irrelative to the years of 1902 and 1903, prices remained up afterwards.⁵⁷ As a result, farmers abandoned the cultivation of cereals and grapes (in Thrace), poppy and cannabis (Florina and Perlepe) in order to grow tobacco.⁵⁸ Tobacco exports from the port of Thessaloniki tripled from 1903 to 1910 (table 5). Between 1905 and 1910 in the *vilayet* of Monastir land given to tobacco had increased more than 100% (table 6). In the *vilayet* of Edirne (*sanjak* of Komotene included) annual tobacco production amounted during the second half of the 1900s from 4,000 tons to 5,000 tons (table 8). At the end of the 1900s, farmers of the *vilayet* of Kosovo abandoned the cultivation of cereals and started to grow tobacco. Thus, tobacco production increased from 1.200 tons in 1908 to 3.000 tons the coming year and to 4.000 tons in 1910 (table 4),⁵⁹ and tobacco exports tripled from 1900 to 1908 (table 3). According to estimations,⁶⁰ the annual production of tobacco in Macedonia and Thrace in the mid-1900s came up to 11,800 tons (see table 9). *Régie*, in response, tried from 1905 and onwards, to prevent the additional expansion of tobacco cultivation in regions such as those which were located near Edirne where there were low quality tobaccos and there the risk of smuggling was evident due to the overproduction of tobacco.⁶¹

3.3. Viticulture

OPDA was assigned with the collection of taxes for alcoholic drinks; thus, it was only natural to engage in viticulture, one of the most important branches of agricultural economy in Macedonia, Thrace and Epirus. Viticulture offered raw material for the preparation of wine and raki, drinks largely consumed in the Ottoman Empire, as well as export products. Most vineyards were small in size and were being exploited by individual families. Farmers used part of the production of grapes to produce wine or raki for their own needs, while the produce surplus was directed to the local or international market either as grapes or as wine or raki. In fact, each producer had the right to keep 256.4 krgs (200 okas) of the annual wine produce tax-free.⁶²

Viticulture was also especially developed in Macedonia and mainly in Thrace from the beginning of the 1880s up to the end of the 1890s, when demand for local wines was great in the French market. This was due to the fact that phylloxera had struck the French vineyards and their production was reduced up to around 1895.

The fact that at the end of the 19th century there were no significant vine diseases contributed to the development of viticulture in Macedonia and Thrace during this period, in contrast to the vineyards in the region of Istanbul and Smyrna, where phylloxera appeared in 1884. This way, the performance of the vineyards of

⁵⁵ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1903, 22.

⁵⁶ "Tabakanbau und Tabakausfuhr der europäischen Türkei", *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 33 (1907), 44.

⁵⁷ Gounaris, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 and 126.

⁵⁸ *Berichte*, Monastir, 1903, 4, *Berichte*, Monastir, 1907, 3. See also Akarlı, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁵⁹ *Berichte*, Uesküb, 1909, 4-5, *Berichte*, Uesküb, 1910, 2.

⁶⁰ "Tabakanbau und Tabakausfuhr der europäischen Türkei", *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 33 (1907), 43.

⁶¹ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1905, 2.

⁶² Morawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

Macedonia and Thrace continued being high at least up to the end of the 19th century. Nevertheless, when, immediately after 1900, peronospora was causing farmers severe problems in the *vilayets* of Monastir, Kosovo and Edirne, OPDA supported the vine growers and provided -under favourable financial conditions- the farmers with machinery and materials to fight the disease.⁶³

4. Manufacturing

4.1. Silk industry

Although great part of the cocoon production of Macedonia and Thrace was exported either in other *vilayets*, mainly in Bursa, or abroad, a part of it made up the raw material for the numerous cottage industries running in cities and villages in all cocoon producing areas. Abundance in cocoon raw material gradually led to the increase in silk thread quantities produced by local silk workshops. In Edirne, where two silk workshops were operating since 1864 and 1865, there were four silk workshops by 1902.⁶⁴ All four were situated close to the city's railway station, in Karagac, and employed around 600 girls, while the first silk workshop that operated in Soufli in 1903 employed 80 girls with a day wage of 2 to 5 piastres.

In 1903, all five silk workshops in Edirne and Soufli produced 52 tons silk threads. During the same period, in 1905 and in the same areas the cottage industry total production was barely 500 kgrs.⁶⁵ In 1902 the three silk workshops in Edirne absorbed 30% (241 tons) of the *vilayet's* total cocoon production. In fact, in order not to have a problem with providing raw material, a quantity of cocoons was imported tax free from Bulgaria.⁶⁶ The rest of the *vilayet's* production was exported to Bursa and France. The development of silk industry was such as to attract fund investments from Italy in 1909. Ceriano Fratelli company from Milan set up a silk workshop to process cocoons and produce threads that were exported to Italy. However, at the end of 1911, the Italian company suspended production due to the Italo-Turkish war.⁶⁷

In Thessaloniki, in the early 1870s, there were 18 silk factories that employed 950 workers⁶⁸ and at the beginning of the 20th century OPDA was managing a silk workshop in Gevgeli. In 1906, that silk workshop was leased to a French company and annually processed 15,000 to 20,000 kgrs of cocoons, producing 6,000 to 7,000 kgrs fine quality silk threads, which were exported to Vienna, America and Australia. But in 1910, the silk workshop closed down due to high day wages that had been increased primarily after 1908.⁶⁹

4.2. Tobacco factories

Régie kept a cigarette factory in Thessaloniki, where in 1884 250 persons were employed, most of them Jewish girls, and turned out 100,000 machine-made

⁶³ *Berichte*, Uesküb, 1901, 3, *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1902, 2, and *Berichte*, Monastir, 1904, 4.

⁶⁴ Riginos, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.

⁶⁵ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1905, 5 and *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1906, 5.

⁶⁶ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1902, 5.

⁶⁷ Riginos, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-7.

⁶⁸ Gounaris, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁶⁹ *Berichte*, Salonich, 1906, 38 and 54, *Berichte*, Salonich, 1910, 8. In 1901 a silk factory employed 120 workers in Gevgeli, Gounaris, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

cigarettes per day.⁷⁰ The produce of the factory increased between 1888 and 1892 from 10,000,000 to 22,000,000 cigarettes per year and in 1892 it was under the management of Gregory Lucas, a British subject, and employed 15 foremen, 5 Ottomans as guards and 330 manipulators, 270 of whom were Jews (70 men and 200 girls) and 60 Greeks and Bulgarians (10 men and 50 girls).⁷¹ Wages at the *Régie* factory were much higher than 70% compared to the wages of the 640 Jewish workers (160 men and 480 girls) at the two cotton mills at Thessaloniki in the same year.⁷²

There were a great number of tobacco workers in Kavala, numbering approximately 12,000 people in 1908. When, during the summer of that year and after the Young Turk movement, many workers in the Ottoman Empire went on strike to claim pay rise and better working conditions, nearly all workers in Kavala went on strike on 14 September. A bit earlier, on 23 August, *Régie's* workers in Thessaloniki had done the same.

4.3. Wine factories, distilleries, breweries

Vine produce abundance and fine quality allowed wine makers to use it as inexpensive and fine raw material for the production of wine. As mentioned above, many farmers produced wine for their families' needs. But there were also wineries that directed their products into local and international markets. In general, it is mentioned that vinification methods used by producers in the areas in question were by far inferior to the methods used by their fellow workers in other parts of Europe. However, given that the grapes were of very fine quality, the wine produced could be directed to international markets, too.

Hence, Macedonian wines were exported to Serbia, Switzerland etc, while Eastern Thrace wines, mainly wines from Kirkklari (Kirk Kilise/ Saranta Ekklisies) and areas like Soufli were even channelled to the French market, where they were blended with French wines with less vivid colour and alcohol content.⁷³ As mentioned above, the phylloxera spreading in France from the middle of the 1880s to roughly the middle of the next decade was an important factor for the development of viticulture and vinification mainly in Thrace. Even in 1905 when John Foster Fraser visited Kirkklari, from where red wine was exported to France to be blended with French wines, he wrote about Kirkklari in the book he published: "Where the 'Best Bordeaux' comes from".⁷⁴ Actually, for a number of years the *vilayet* of Edirne exported the greatest quantities of wine, in relation to the rest *vilayets* of the Empire. Therefore, in 1900 it exported 7,398.3 tons from a total of 17,118.7 tons of the whole country,⁷⁵ while from 1899 to 1905 the average annual wine production of the *vilayet* amounted ca 209,000 hl. (see tables 11 and 12).

Macedonia exported smaller quantities since the local market was absorbing major part of the production, while a lot of grapes were being sold as table to the local or international markets or were being exported for vinification to Bulgaria or Serbia. In the beginning of the 1890s, the average annual wine produce in the *vilayet* of

⁷⁰ PPAP, 1887, vol. LXXXVI, p. 399, Gounaris, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁷¹ PPAP, 1893-94, vol. XCVII, 218-9.

⁷² PPAP, 1893-94, vol. XCVII, 219 and 230.

⁷³ *Jahresberichte*, 20, 1892, 188, *Commercielle Berichte*, 3.6.1897, 423, *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1902, 2.

⁷⁴ The chapter in Fraser's book was entitled: "Where the 'Best Bordeaux' comes from", John Foster Fraser, *Pictures from the Balkans*, London, New York, Toronto, and Melbourne: 1912 (1st ed. 1906), p. 123-131.

⁷⁵ Morawitz, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

Thessaloniki was estimated in 120,000 hl., in Monastir 35,000 hl., in Skopje 60,000 hl., while in Prisen and the *sanjak* of Novi Pazar 50,000 hl., which is a total of 265,000 hl. In 1890 it was 210,000 hl. from which only 3,000 to 4,000 hl. were exported.⁷⁶ Wine production in the *vilayet* of Monastir quadrupled between 1891 and 1904 (table 10).

About distillery, we must note that its basic produce was raki, which was largely consumed not only in the Ottoman Empire European but also Asian provinces. Like with wine, the raki produced by local producers was partly consumed by their families, but there was also a surplus that was directed to the local market, in other *vilayets* or even abroad, like in Serbia.

The new alcoholic produce that appeared in the Ottoman Empire's European provinces during the second half of the 19th century was beer. In the region of Edirne, the consumption of beer was unknown up to around 1870. In Thessaloniki the steam brewery of Misrachi, Fernandez & Cie began work on 11 July 1893 and its annual production amounted to 20,000 hl. (440,000 gallons) of beer.⁷⁷ The Thessaloniki brewery provided not only the market in Macedonia (Skopje, Monastir) with its produce, but Edirne and Istanbul as well.

A negative factor on the increase of the production of alcoholic drinks was the high tax percentage imposed by the Ottoman government on the local alcoholic products in relation to the imported ones. Alcoholic drinks produced in the Ottoman Empire were burdened with a high tax percentage, which in the case of wine was, apart from the tithe and the *verghi* tax, a tax to the tune of 15% for OPDA that the producer had to pay within three months after production, regardless of whether he had sold the product or not. *Kaza* or *sanjak* councils, that took many arbitrary decisions, evaluated the worth of production. OPDA returned to the exporters half of the tax of the 15% in order to encourage wine exportation.⁷⁸

But in this way, these products, and especially beer, were facing severe competition by equivalent products imported from abroad. This situation did not favour the further development of brewery, which could also develop in Thrace, where there was plentiful and inexpensive raw material (barley), which was in fact exported abroad to be used in brewery.⁷⁹ The situation in the *vilayet* of Monastir was also difficult. The effort made there in 1891 by two breweries in Bukovo and Tyrnovo near Monastir was discontinued.⁸⁰ The steam engine brewery "Première fabrique à vapeur de bière Kosovo" with an annual beer produce of 4,000 to 5,000 hl. operated in Skopje only just in autumn 1910.⁸¹

5. Conclusions

The involvement of OPDA in the Ottoman Empire's European provinces agricultural economy after 1881 resulted in the development of sericulture and viticulture, and in the increased production of tobacco (through *Régie*). In sericulture, despite the big problems up to the mid-1880s, OPDA's dynamic interference led to a great increase in the production of cocoons in Macedonia (from where they were being exported to

⁷⁶ *Commercielle Berichte*, 2.5.1892, 303.

⁷⁷ PPAP, 1893-94, vol. XCVII, p. 229, Gounaris, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁷⁸ Morawitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 344-5.

⁷⁹ *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1901, 2.

⁸⁰ *Commerzielle Berichte*, 9.6.1892, 400.

⁸¹ *Berichte*, 1910, Ueskub, 8.

Italy) and mainly in Thrace, where, in fact, part of the production was being used as raw material for the silk workshops in Edirne and Soufli. As far as tobacco growing is concerned, OPDA initially and *Régie* afterwards did not face any particular problems in their efforts to increase production - with the exception of Epirus - as the tobacco of both Macedonia and Thrace was in great demand in international markets. In fact, after 1902 a lot of farmers in Macedonia and Thrace were abandoning other cultivations, especially cereals, to engage in it, the financial benefit being greater, due to the increase in tobacco prices because of the involvement of American companies in the trade of Macedonian and Thracian tobacco. In many cases, there have been disputes recorded between *Régie* and tobacco merchants or farmers over the issue of the purchase of the crop, while the problem of the smuggling of tobacco, which *Régie* attempted to tackle, was major, mainly in north Macedonia and the Albanian regions. Spirits production is a field in which OPDA made huge efforts to help producers, who were facing severe competition by equivalent products of other countries. The local wine and raki produce fully satisfied the needs of the market in Epirus and Macedonia, while Thrace exported great part of the wine produce in France, mainly up to the first years of the 20th century, when OPDA helped vine growers of Macedonia and Thrace fight vine diseases. The work by OPDA and *Régie* was also favoured by the expansion of the railway network in Macedonia and Thrace, from the beginning of the 1870s up to the middle of the 1890s, as the agricultural products of the area could now be transferred faster and cheaper to the local and international markets. Finally, another factor that supported their work was the fact that, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, other cultivations, like cereals were not profitable and the farmers abandoned them to engage in cocoon, tobacco and vine culture so that they would get more cash and OPDA and *Régie* would increase their profits.

TABLE 1. Cocoons Production and Exports (*Vilayet* of Thessaloniki)

Year	Production (Fresh) (Tons)	Exports (Dry) (Tons)	Exports (Fr.)
1891		200	
1902		450-500	4,500,000- 5.000.000
1903			5,000,000 (?)
1904			
1905		450	4,125,000
1906	1,282	641-705	5,250,000
1907	2,201.6	700	6,000,000
1908	2,400	430	4,600,000
1909	1,500	500 (?)	
1910	1,500	550	
1911		572	5,000,000

Sources: *Jahresberichte* 1891, *Berichte*, Salonich 1901 to 1911.

TABLE 2. Fresh Cocoon Production in the *Vilayet* of Edirne

Year	Tons
1857	900
1859	665
1869	250
1877	200
1899	700
1900	538.6
1901	804.8
1902	803
1904	1,180
1905	1,320
1906	1,200
1907	1,800
1908	1,300
1910	1,500
1911	1,620

Sources: *Commerzielle Berichte*, 1877 and 1899, *Berichte*, 1901 to 1910, and Riginos, *op. cit.*, p. 35 and 37 for 1857, 1859, 1869, and 1911.

TABLE 3. Tobacco Exports from the *Vilayet* of Kosovo

Year	Exports (Tons)	Exports (Fr.)
1891	490.2	380,000
1900	520	525,000
1901	530.6	420,000
1902	1,067	420,000
1903	787	
1904	543	
1905	1,000	
1906	1,417	
1907	1,480	2,651,000
1908	1,768	2,650,000 or 2,782,500
1909	1,187 or 1,700	2,000,000 (?)
1910	2,323	5,610,045

Sources: *Jahresberichte* 1891, *Berichte* Ueskub 1901 to 1910

TABLE 4. Tobacco Production in the *Vilayet* of Kosovo

Year	Cultivators	Licences	Sown Land (Dönüms)	Production (Tons)
1891	2,465		7,860	
1900			15,000	573
1901	6,298		14,482	946
1903				1,160
1904			36,500	850
1907	6,341	10,644	26,024	1,098.9
1908	5,976	9,961	24,480	837? (1,200?)
1909				3,000
1910				4,000

Sources: *Jahresberichte* 1891, *Berichte*, Ueskub 1901 to 1911.

TABLE 5. Tobacco Exports from the *Vilayet* of Thessaloniki

Year	Thessaloniki		Kavala-Xanthe	
	Tons	Fr.	Tons	Fr.
1891			3,300	
1901	700		10,000	34,000,000
1902	1,300	2,600,000	12,000	50,000,000
1903	1,500	4,000,000	9,000	36,000,000
1904	2,000	4,500,000	10,000	25,000,000
1905	1,500	3,000,000	8,000	16,000,000
1907	1,700	4,000,000	9,000	27,000,000
1908	2,000	5,000,000		
1909	2,000	6,000,000	6,000	20,000,000
1910	4,500	12,000,000	9,500	23,500,000
1911	4,930	16,000,000 (?)		

Sources: *Jahresberichte* 1891, *Berichte*, Salonich 1901 to 1911.

TABLE 6. Tobacco Production in the *Vilayet* of Monastir

Year	Cultivators	Sown Land (Dönüms)	Production (Tons)
1891			33.8
1900			145
1901			200
1902			110
1903			356.7
1904			150
1905	2,132	6,211	224.5
1906	2,286	6,981	470.7
1907			141
1910		13,494	1,130

Sources: *Jahresberichte* 1891, *Berichte*, Monastir 1901 to 1911.

TABLE 7. Tobacco Production in the *Sanjak* of Edirne

Year	Tons
1882	340.5 (?)
1884	1,000
1885	1,225
1890/91	305
1891/92	419
1897	1,506
1899	1,500
1901	784

Sources: *Commerzielle Berichte*, 1882, 1884-1885, 1890-1891, 1897, and 1899, *Berichte*, 1901.

TABLE 8. Tobacco Production in the *Vilayet* of Edirne

Year	Tons
1906	4,000
1907	4,050
1908	5,000
1910	4,000

Sources: *Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1906 to 1910. *Sanjak* of Komotene included (*Berichte*, Adrianopel, 1907, 2).

TABLE 9. Tobacco production (tons) in Macedonia and Thrace (early 20th century)

East Macedonia		Thrace		Thessaloniki-Skopje	
Serres	1,200	Xanthe-Komotene	2,300	Mayadagh	80
Drama	2,700	Soufli	240	Kilkis	220
Eleutheroupolis	1,000	Kuschu-Kavak	360	Langada	70
Kavala	300	Svilengrad	260	Skopje	1,400
Nevrokop	500	Kirdjali	220	Tsinarli-Dere	180
Djuma	500			Stip	270
Total	6,200	Total	3,380	Total	2,220

Source: "Tabakanbau und Tabakausfuhr der europäischen Türkei", *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 33 (1907), 43.

TABLE 10. Wine production in the *Vilayet* of Monastir

Year	Tons
1891	2,720
1903	9,422.7
1904	11,538
1905	10,256
1906	7,029
1907	7,100
1909	12,000
1910	6,226.8

Sources: *Jahresberichte* 1891, *Berichte*, Monastir 1903 to 1910.

TABLE 11. Wine Production (hl) in the *Vilayet* of Edirne

Sanjak	1900	1901
Edirne	40,802	10,720
Kirklaleri	136,032	49,270
Gelibolu / Kallipolis	62,000	37,400
Tekir Dag/ Rodosto	16,943	5,400
Alexandroupolis	21,409	11,300
Total	277,186	114,090

Source: *Berichte*, Adrianopol, 1901. *Sanjak* of Komotene not included.

TABLE 12. Wine and Raki Production (hl) in the *Vilayet* of Edirne

Year	Wine	Raki
1885	100,000	
1886	>128,000	
1895	17,948 tons or 21,794 tons	
1899	120,000	
1900	277,186	
1901	114,090	
1902	185,000	8,090
1903	237,300	
1904	310,000	29,000 (?)
1905	220,000	29,000

Sources: *Commerzielle Berichte*, Adrianople and Kirk Kilise (Kirkklareli), 1885 to 1899, and *Berichte*, 1901 to 1905. *Sanjak* of Komotene not included.

Bibliography

Décret impérial rendu de 28 Mouharrem 1299 (soit le 8/20 décembre 1881) réglant le service de la dette publique consolidée de l'Empire Ottoman. Constantinople: Levant Herald. (1894).

“Tabakanbau und Tabakausfuhr der europäischen Türkei”, *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 33 (1907), 43-44.

Akarlı, A. (2000). “Growth and retardation in Ottoman Macedonia, 1880-1910”, in Ş. Pamuk, and J. Williamson (eds.), *The Mediterranean Response to Globalization before 1950*. London: Routledge, 109-133.

Bartl, P. (1995). *Albanien. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet.

Blaisdell, D. (1929). *European Financial Control in the Ottoman Empire. A Study of the Establishment, Activities, and Significance of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Caillard, V. (1894). *The Ottoman Public Debt, Special Report on the Ottoman Public Debt for the twelfth financial period (13th March, 1893, to 12th March, 1894)*, followed by the Translation of the *Annual Report for the same Year of the Council of Administration*, September 1894. London.

Eldem, E. (2005). “Ottoman financial integration with Europe: foreign loans, the Ottoman Bank and the Ottoman public debt”, *European Review*, 13:3, 431-445.

Exertzoglou, H. (1999). “The Development of a Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie: Investment Patterns in the Ottoman Empire, 1850-1914”, in D. Gondicas, and Ch. Issawi (eds.), *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, Inc., 89-114.

Fraser, J.F. (1912). *Pictures from the Balkans*, London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne.

Gounaris, B. (1993). *Steam over Macedonia, 1870-1912. Socio-economic Change and the Railway Factor*. Boulder: East European Monographs.

Graves, R. (1933). *Storm Centers of the Near East. Personal Memories 1879-1929*, London.

McCarthy, J. (1997), *The Ottoman Turks. An Introductory History to 1923*, London and New York: Longman.

Morawitz, Ch. (1903). *Die Türkei im Spiegel ihrer Finanzen*. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag.

Owen, R. (1987), *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800-1914*, London and New York: Methuen.

Palairot, M. (1997). *The Balkan economies c. 1800-1914. Evolution without development*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quataert, D. (1987). "The silk industry of Bursa, 1880-1914", in Huri İslamoğlu-İnan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy*, Cambridge and Paris.

Riginos, M. (1992). "The Economic History of Silk. From the Periphery of Europe to the Periphery of Greece", in P. Gagouliia et al. (eds.), *Sericulture at Soufli*, Athens: ETBA, 15-69 (in Greek).

Urquhart, D. (1833). *Turkey and its Resources: Its Municipal Organization and Free Trade; The State and Prospects of English Commerce in the East, the New Administration of Greece, its Revenue and National Possessions*, London: Saunders and Otley.

von Schwegel, J. Frh. (1884). "Das türkische Tabakmonopol", *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 10, 65-73.

Young, G. (1906). *Corps de droit Ottoman, vol. 5*, Oxford.