

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 59

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ANATOLIA

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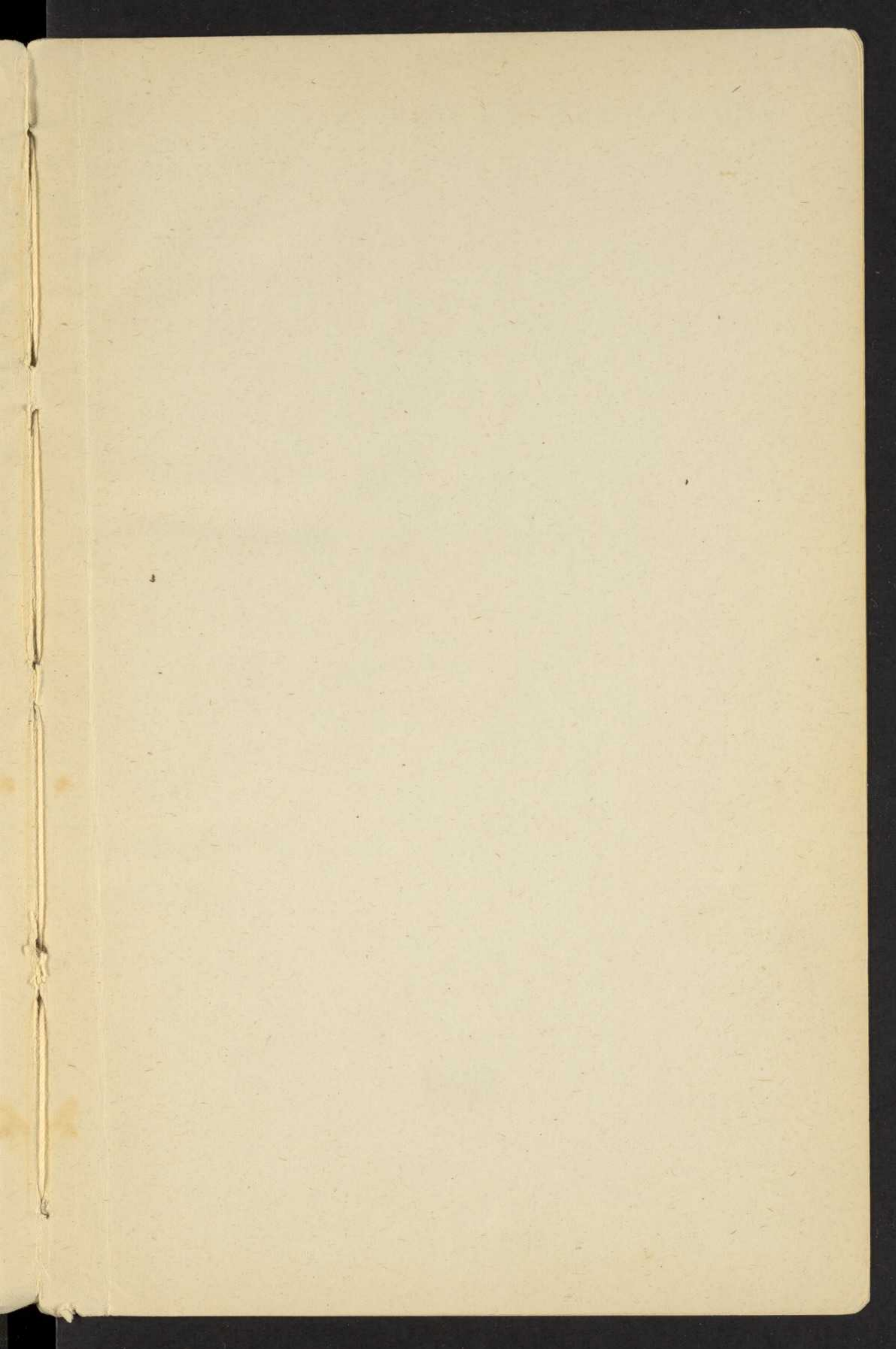


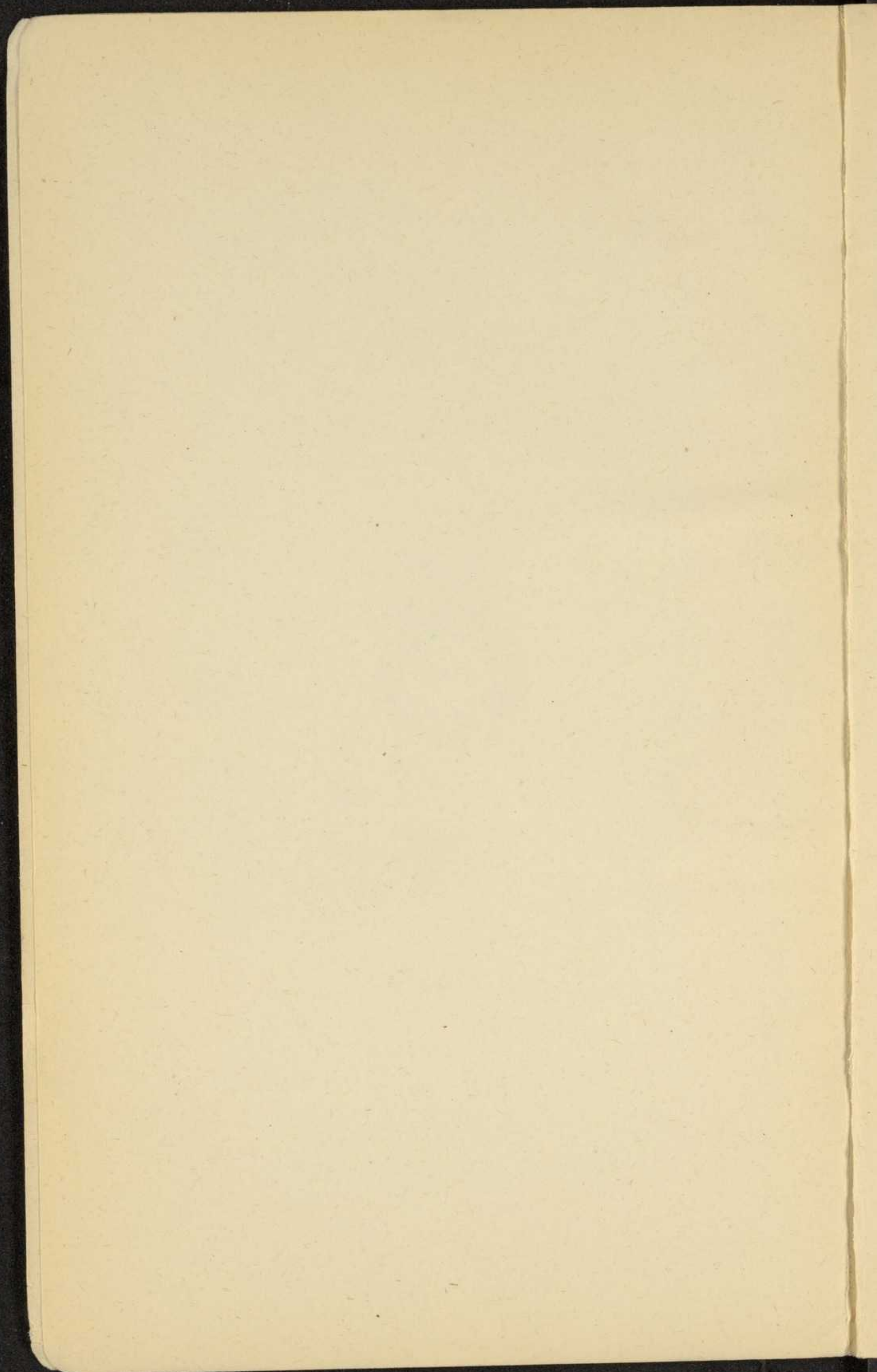
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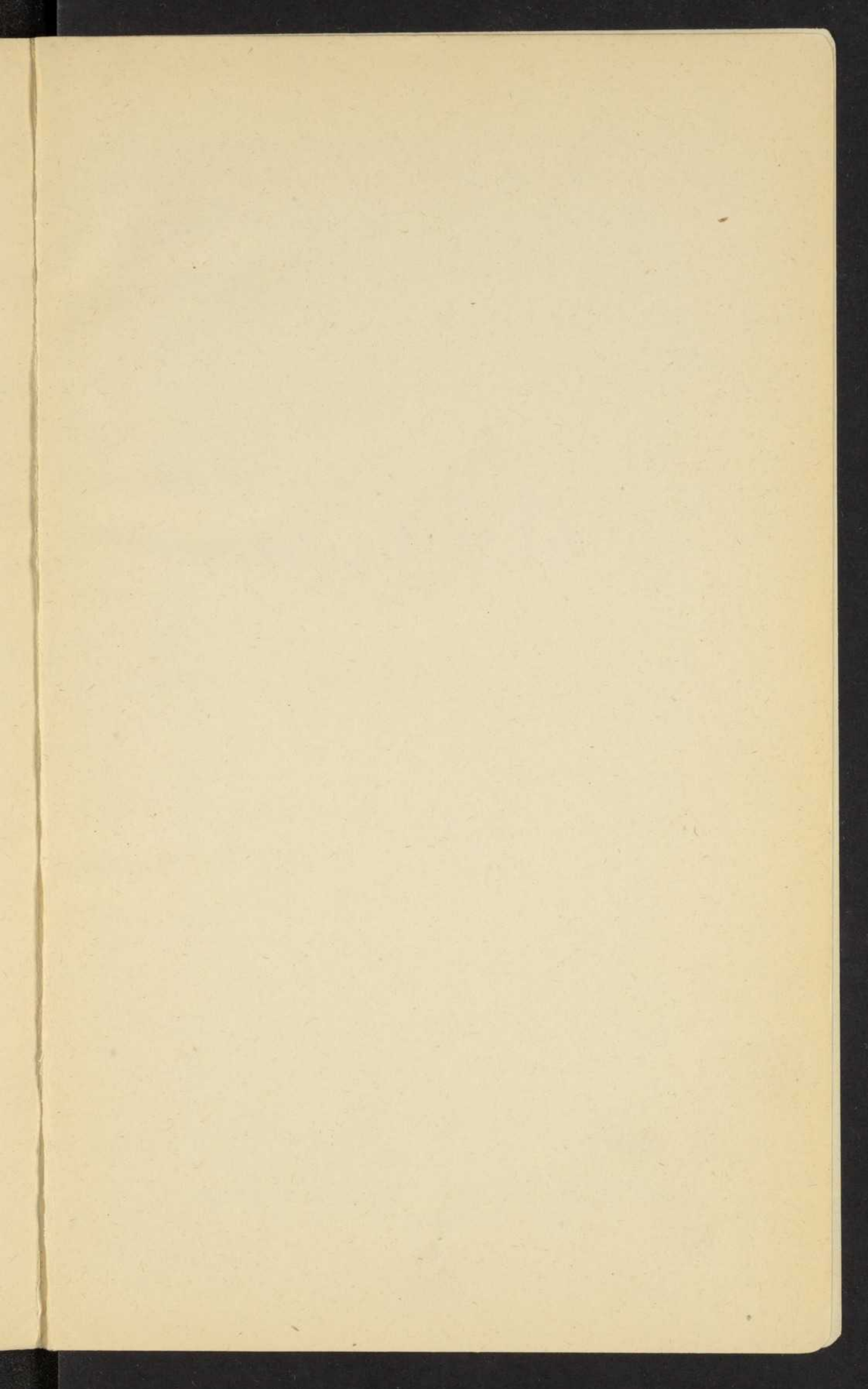


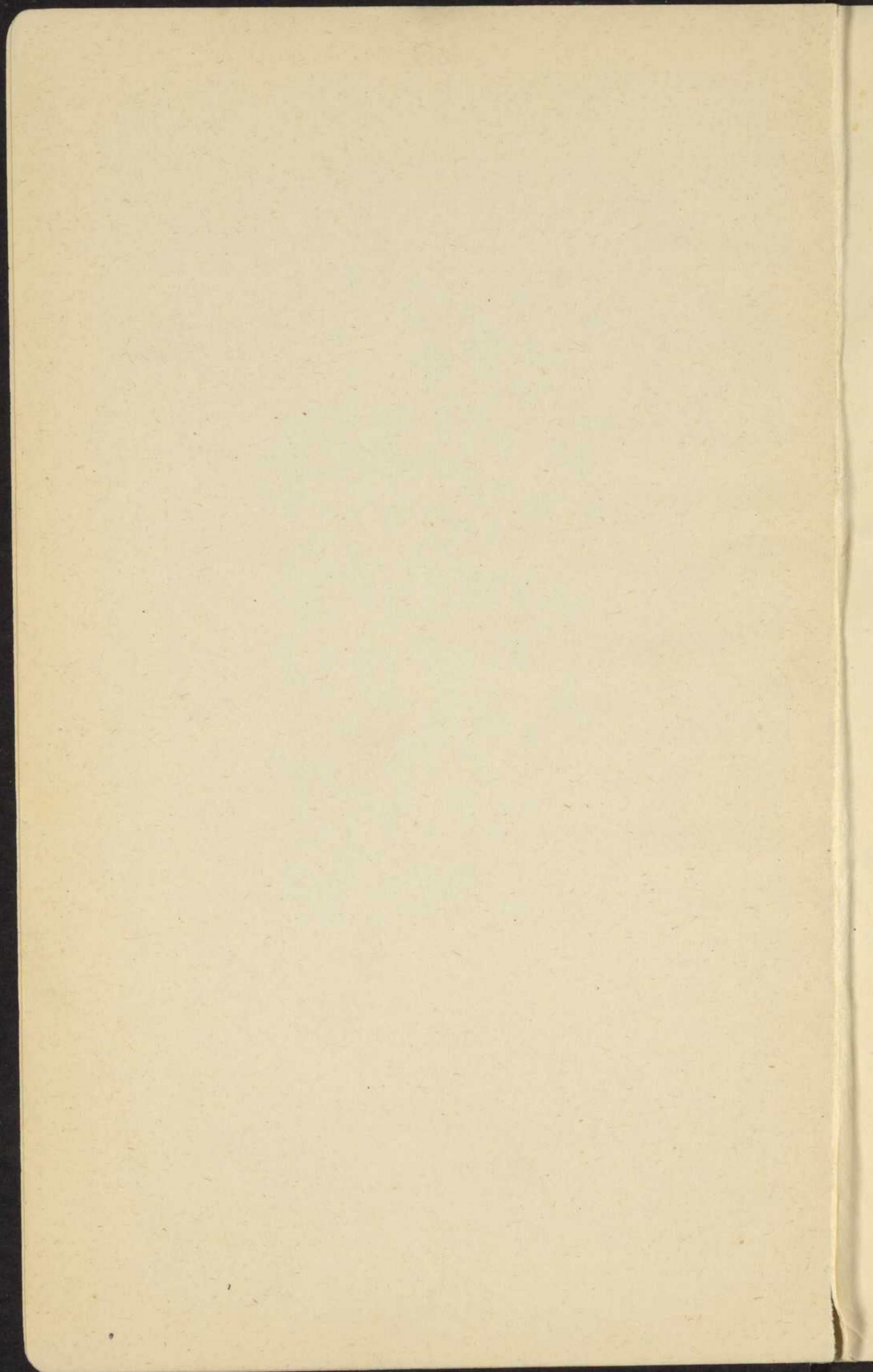
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ANATOLIA

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Editorial Note.

IN the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

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I. GEOGRAPHY, PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE name Anatolia (Turkish "Anadolu") is derived from the Greek word Ἀνατολή ("Sunrise," "East") which was used in the later Byzantine period to describe the Greek territories in Asia. In this ancient sense, the southern boundary of Anatolia was the Taurus Range, whose eastern portion was for long the frontier between the Byzantine and the Arab territories. By the Turks of to-day the name "Anadolu" is used in two different senses. Occasionally it covers the whole of the Ottoman possessions in Asia, and sometimes even Persia in addition, but commonly it means the peninsula of Asia Minor, up to an indeterminate line between the Gulf of Alexandretta and the Black Sea. It is in the latter sense that "Anatolia" is now generally understood by Europeans. In this volume Anatolia is treated as consisting of the sanjaks of Ismid and Bigha, and the vilayets of Brusa, Aidin (or Smyrna), Kastamuni, Angora, Konia, and Adana, as they were constituted before the war.¹ The area is about 158,500 square miles.

(2) SURFACE, COASTS, RIVER SYSTEM, AND LAKES

Surface and Coasts

Anatolia consists of a lofty oblong central plateau, bordered on the north, the west, and the south by a

¹ From the standpoint of the ethnologist, the eastern half of the vilayet of Adana might on good grounds be included in Armenia, but for the sake of clearness it has been thought advisable to deal with the whole province in a single book. For the same reason the vilayets of Trebizond and Sivas are treated as wholly belonging to Armenia (No. 62 of this series), though parts of them might justifiably be regarded as falling under Anatolia.

rim of mountains, on the outer slopes of which is a fringe of coastland. The plateau is about 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea level, and its surface is mainly composed of limestone, folded into ridges or penetrated by volcanic cones. The mountain rim is mostly of considerable breadth. On the north and south it is formed of chains parallel to the coast, the outermost of which generally fall abruptly to the sea.

On the west, however, the mountains slope gradually down to the coast for a hundred miles, and are separated from each other by river valleys, which provide avenues of communication between the coast and the interior.

It follows from the configuration of the land that the main routes across Anatolia have always been aligned roughly from west to east. The region, in fact, forms a natural bridge between the Balkan Peninsula and the interior of Asia, and has been used as such by merchants and soldiers from time immemorial. But there has never been much traffic between the Anatolian plateau and the north and south coasts.

The coastal region and the region of the interior present a sharp contrast. The first has more in common with southern Europe than with Asia. The second, in its surface, vegetation, and climate, betrays the fact that it is a western continuation of the mountains and steppes of Central Asia. The highlands of Asia Minor and those of Central Asia are practically identical in character; they consist alike of arid plains, studded with oases and salt lakes into which sluggish rivers flow, and fringed by mountains with parallel folds. The Anatolian Peninsula has been aptly described as "a bit of Asia set in a European littoral."

The central plateau may be divided, for the purpose of description, into three parts: (1) the Phrygian mountain region; (2) the Lycaonian steppe; and (3) the Galatian uplands.

1. The Phrygian mountain region extends from about the longitude of Ushak to about thirty miles east of Afium Karahissar, and is, indeed, continued to the

neighbourhood of Konia by the ridges which succeed the Sultan Dagh on the south-east. Though the mountains seldom rise to a great height above the general level of the plateau, they constitute a serious obstacle to traffic between the west coast and the regions next to be described, and the routes through them are few and devious.

2. The Lycaonian steppe stretches from the Phrygian Mountains on the west to the neighbourhood of Kaisari on the east, and from the Taurus Range on the south to the Tuz Geul on the north. This plain, which contains large tracts of salt desert, is for the most part extraordinarily flat, but is varied by a number of isolated mountains, almost all of which are volcanic cones. Along the southern fringe of the steppe, wherever there is water for irrigation, there is a considerable amount of cultivation; elsewhere the plain gives a bare subsistence to cattle and sheep.

3. The Galatian uplands border the Lycaonian steppe on the north, continuing upwards to the mountain rim, and stretching from Eskishehir on the west to Sivas on the east, beyond the limits of Anatolia as defined in this book. This region, although generally classed with the steppe, is quite distinct from it in character, and consists of a series of bare rounded downs, intersected by cultivated valleys.

The coastal region falls into three zones: (1) the Black Sea or Pontic zone; (2) the Ægean zone; (3) the zone of Karamania or the South Coast.

1. The Black Sea or Pontic zone comprises the mountain country, 60-90 miles in width, lying between the Black Sea, with the eastern part of the Sea of Marmara, and the central Anatolian plateau. The mountains are broken through by transverse valleys only at a few points. On the north, they generally fall sheer down to the sea; but small alluvial plains border the coast here and there, and the Peninsula of Bithynia is a plateau of no great height. Of the valleys, only those running parallel to the coast afford room for cultivation and facilities for communication.

The whole of the Pontic area is well wooded, and rich in minerals. The coast, however, is singularly lacking in natural harbours.

2. The western coastal zone is, in extent and importance, much the most considerable of the three. Its northern portion extends from the Dardanelles to the Phrygian mountain region, and from the western half of the Sea of Marmara to the northern rim of the Hermus basin, comprising the ancient Troas and Mysia. It is characterised by rugged mountains in the east, and by lower ranges, separated by fertile plains and valleys, in the centre and west.

The region south of Mysia takes its character from the great river valleys of the Hermus (Gediz Chai) and Maeander (Mendere), along which lie the historic routes from the west coast to the central plateau, *via* Afium Karahissar and Dineir. Between the parallel valleys of the Hermus and Maeander lies the smaller valley of the Cayster (Kuchuk Mendere). All these river valleys are fertile, and the whole district is economically one of the most valuable in the Near East.

The west coast of Anatolia is deeply indented, and has many sheltered gulfs and bays which are suitable for harbours.

3. The south coast zone consists mainly of the Taurus Range, which is for the most part a plateau lying at a height of 6,000 to 9,000 feet above sea-level. On its southern side it has a steep scarp, which generally falls sharply to the shore, but leaves room for a few alluvial deltas and the fertile plains of Pamphylia and Cilicia. The coast has several good natural harbours.

River System

Apart from the torrents which drain the outward slopes of the coastal mountains, the rivers of Anatolia either break through the mountain rim to the sea, or flow inwards to form marshes or lakes on the central plateau. The most considerable of the latter are the Akar Chai, east of Afium Karahissar, and the Charshembe Su, south of Konia.

The most important rivers of the north are the Kizil Irmak and the Sakaria, both of which have winding courses and drain large areas. On the west, the valleys of the Hermus and the Maeander are rich and populous regions. The chief southern rivers are the Sihun and the Jihun, which flow from the northern slope of the Taurus into the Gulf of Alexandretta. The lower courses of these two rivers open out into a delta region which is one of the most fertile districts in Anatolia, and contains the important town of Adana.

With these exceptions, the southern rivers are mostly mountain torrents, only useful for such purposes as floating timber and supplying power for mills.

Lakes

Anatolia contains many extensive lakes, the largest being the great salt lake Tuz Geul, in the desert tract to the north-east of Konia. Other considerable stretches of water are Beyshehir Geul and Egerdir Geul, to the west of the chain of the Sultan Dag, and Akshehir Geul, to the east of that range.

Another lake district exists to the north-west of Anatolia, in the region of Brusa. The chief lakes here are Isnik Geul and Abulliond (Apollonia) Geul.

(3) CLIMATE

In Asia Minor, three climatic regions, which differ widely from one another, are to be distinguished: (1) the north coast or Pontic province, with a moisture-laden atmosphere all the year round; (2) the central plateau, characterised by aridity throughout the year; (3) the west and south coasts, with a climate of the Mediterranean type.

1. In the Pontic climatic province, which includes the edge of the Black Sea and of the Sea of Marmara, moist northerly winds are constant, blowing in summer towards Mesopotamia, and in winter towards the Ægean and the Levant. In summer the temperature

in this area is not very high, but the weather is damp and sultry. The winter is damp and cold, and very snowy. The rainfall decreases considerably from east to west.

2. The climate of the central plateau runs to extremes. The winters are cold, with snow and severe frost; the summers dry, with clear skies, intensely hot days and cool nights. For the latitude, the mean annual temperature is low. The winter temperature varies much with the locality; in valleys and depressions it is much lower than on hillsides or plains at the same level above the sea. The prevailing north winds discharge their moisture on the Pontic area, and the rainfall on the plateau is small, except in districts lying near the mountain rim. The Phrygian mountain district, for instance, has a good deal of rain, which reaches it from the south and west. The wettest season on the plateau as a whole is spring, though in early summer violent thunderstorms and hail attack districts near the mountain rim. Towards the south and south-east, as the depression of Mesopotamia is approached, the spring and autumn rains are replaced by winter rains, and the heat in summer increases. The greater part of the central plateau has an annual rainfall of 8-14 inches (20-35 cm.).

3. Mediterranean climatic conditions prevail in the coastal areas of the west and south. In winter there are damp south and west winds, accompanied by a mild temperature and a copious rainfall, which enables the vegetation to survive the intense summer heat. In summer north winds prevail, which are very hot and dry when they reach the south coast.

The weather of Anatolia has an important effect on the soil. The fact that the seasons of heat and of moisture do not coincide retards the disintegration of the rock, and soil is formed slowly. On the other hand, in consequence of the violence of rainstorms, there is much erosion. Thus deforestation, or the neglect of cultivation, often leads to an extensive wastage of the available soil.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

The principal disease to which Europeans in Anatolia are liable is malaria. It is common in the low-lying portions of the west and south coasts, but comparatively rare on the central plateau, except in the neighbourhood of swamps. Europeans, especially those new to the country, suffer also from diarrhoea and occasionally from dysentery.

Outside malarious districts, conditions are generally healthy for Europeans. Precautions must, however, be taken against the sharp and sudden changes of temperature which occur everywhere in spring and autumn, and on the central plateau also in summer, and against such risks as are inevitably encountered in a country where scientific sanitation is unknown. Whether immigrants from northern Europe could be permanently acclimatised, and retain their vigour, is doubtful.

As regards the natives, malaria, tuberculosis, and syphilis are the chief diseases. Typhoid, smallpox, and rheumatism are also common, and epidemics of cholera and bubonic plague occur from time to time. The personal cleanliness enjoined by Islam, the healing power of the dry atmosphere, and the custom, almost universal in hot districts, of moving into *yailas* (tents or high-lying villages) in summer, do much to counteract the effects of the general filth.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Religion and language rather than race, form the political and social dividing lines in Anatolia. The vast majority of the population is Moslem in religion, and the common language, for Moslem and Christian, is Turkish. Most of the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Kurds speak their own language as well, and the Turcoman and Yuruk nomads retain their ancient dialects, which are thought to resemble very closely the speech of the original Turkish conquerors of the country. But the character of these and other elements in the heterogeneous population of Anatolia cannot be

explained without constant reference to their history and religious institutions, and all these topics are accordingly discussed together in Parts II and III of this Handbook.

(6) POPULATION

The distribution of settlements in Anatolia is conditioned by the character of the country, with its large uncultivable tracts surrounding and isolating patches of fertile soil. Villages crowd on each other in the most favourable places, widely separated from other groups by mountain or desert. Except on the coast, most of the towns and villages consist of one-storey or two-storey houses, sometimes crowded so closely together that the roof of one house is the area of the next, but sometimes surrounded by extensive gardens. There are no trustworthy statistics regarding the population of Anatolia, but the following figures may be taken as approximate for 1914:—

Vilayet.	Population.	Vilayet.	Population.
Constantinople .. (Asiatic side)	240,000	Angora	932,800
Ismid	222,700	Kastamuni	961,200
Brusa	1,626,800	Sivas	1,057,100
Bigha	129,500	Adana	422,400
Smyrna	2,500,000	Trebizond	1,265,000
Konia	1,069,000	Total	10,426,900

Since 1914 the whole population has suffered serious losses through war, and the Greeks and Armenians have undergone repeated persecution; while, to complicate matters further, there has been a considerable influx of Moslem refugees from Europe.

The Christian inhabitants of Anatolia, especially the Armenians, are very prolific, and, if left in peace, would probably soon outnumber the Moslem population, which, notwithstanding immigration from Europe, has of late tended to decline.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY¹

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 1000-600 B.C. Greek colonies in Asia Minor.
 546 B.C. Asia Minor conquered by Persians.
 334 B.C. Asia Minor conquered by Alexander.
 133 B.C. Roman Province of Asia.
 A.D. 324-1453 Byzantine Empire.
 Eleventh and twelfth centuries. Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor.
 1245 (*circa*) Mongol invasion of Asia Minor.
 1270 (*circa*) Ertoghrul at Yenishehir.
 1288-1326 Osman I.
 1326 Brusa captured by Ottomans.
 1386 Conquest of Karamania by Ottomans.
 1425 (*circa*) Nearly all Asia Minor under Ottomans.
 1461 Trebizond captured by Turks.
 1498 Cape route to East discovered.
 Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Power of Dere Beys.
 1808-1839 Mahmud II; centralising policy in Asia Minor.
 1869 Suez Canal opened.
 1876-1909 Abdul Hamid II.
 1894-96 Armenian massacres.
 1902 Baghdad Railway agreement.
 1908 Young Turk Revolution.
 1909 Armenian massacres.

(1) INTRODUCTORY

Ethnical Boundaries.—Anatolia is washed on three sides by the sea, but on the north-west and west the sea is too narrow, or the water-ways too easy, to establish a definite dividing-line between Anatolians and Greeks or Slavs. On the east the boundary between Anatolians and Armenians, Kurds, or Syrians is still more indefinite. Only on the north and south are clear lines of demarcation imposed by nature.

¹ This section owes much to the works of Banse, Ramsay, and Vambéry.

Origin and Composition of Population.—So far as our knowledge reaches, Anatolia has never, with the possible exception of the Hittite period, formed a single and complete political state, governed from a capital inside it. It has always appeared as a land of passage, a land-bridge, whose possession has been contested by States lying outside it. From this situation it follows that the population has absorbed in the course of history, and still goes on absorbing, many external elements. But it belongs to the genius of the land that all immigrant elements gradually die out, or lose their individuality and become merged in the Anatolian type.

Since the opening of the historical period, the ground stock of the Anatolian population, taken as a whole, has been the race called "Hittite," or "Armenoid," which has been ruled by many foreign masters, has learnt several languages in succession, has absorbed numerous foreign racial elements, such as Greek, Phrygian, Galatian, and more recently Turkish, but has always maintained its essential character and remained fairly uniform over the whole peninsula. Greek civilisation and the Greek language obtained a considerable hold on this population under the successors of Alexander the Great and the Roman Empire: and this hold was strengthened and extended by the Christian Church, which by the end of the sixth century of our era succeeded in producing a level uniformity of language and religious profession over the entire country. But beneath the veneer of Hellenism, whether Macedonian, Roman, Byzantine, or Ecclesiastical, the bulk of the native population has always appeared as Anatolian or Asiatic in type and mentality, in contrast with the European Greeks and other South European peoples. The pure Greek element, away from the vicinity of the west coast, has never been large. It is usual to speak of the Byzantine Anatolians and their modern Christian descendants as "Greeks"; but the term must be understood as connoting religion, language, political aspirations, and to

a certain extent civilisation, certainly not race. The majority of the present-day Greeks in Anatolia are of the same stock as the Moslems; the two are distinguished mainly by their religious profession, and by the mental and moral qualities engendered by Christianity and Islam respectively. The Greeks are Anatolians who have retained their Christianity. The Moslems comprise Anatolians whose ancestors embraced Islam, blended with a Turkish element, the strength of which varies in different regions—it is especially strong in the centre and south-east—and a sprinkling of races of pure blood, Turkish, Kurdish, Circassian, &c. These facts form the groundwork of any study, ethnological, social, or political, of the modern population of Anatolia. It should be noted, however, that the people themselves are quite unconscious of a racial identity. Their entire history, and the relief of the country, which breaks the population up into isolated groups, have tended to accentuate differences rather than to promote unity.

“*Osmanli*” and “*Turk.*”—“*Osmanli*” (Europeanised through the Greek as Ottoman) is a title claimed by the Turks of Anatolia and Thrace. It has no racial significance. It did not come into existence until two centuries after the conquest of Anatolia had been achieved by the Seljuk Turks. The original *Osmanli* were the “people of Osman,” a Turkish chieftain who settled in the mountain district south and south-east of the Sea of Marmara. The successors of Osman rapidly extended their power, overrunning the north-west part of Asia Minor and the south-east part of Europe, and ultimately making themselves heirs to the Seljuk Sultans of Konia and leaders of the Turkish race and Empire.

The name “*Osmanli*,” in these circumstances, became a sort of imperial designation. All Moslem subjects who felt loyalty to the *Osmanli* Sultans called themselves *Osmanli*. The title implies adherence to the governing religion and loyalty to the Ottoman Empire. It thus acquires true political application

and force. It expresses and sums up all that exists in the way of political and social unity and of loyalty to the dynasty among the separate Moslem races in Turkey. In theory, all Turkish subjects are Osmanlis. Thus a Kurd or a Circassian subject of the Empire may call himself "Osmanli," but not "Turk." In the first enthusiasm of the Revolution of 1908 the title was assumed by the Anatolian Christians, but the enthusiasm was short-lived.

In the name "Turk" several shades of meaning are to be distinguished. The name is often applied in Europe to the totality of the Moslem subjects of the Turkish Empire. This use is misleading.

(1) As affecting Anatolia, the name "Turk" first occurs in Byzantine and Arab historians, who use it indifferently of the Seljuk Turks and of the later bands of invaders (including those afterwards called Osmanli) who entered the country from the eleventh century onwards. As regards race and language, all these invaders were Turks, and the name was used as a racial designation covering all. Sometimes the Turcomans are distinguished from the Turks in the Byzantine histories; the distinction possibly corresponds to a sub-division¹; it was certainly not racial. From the ethnical point of view this is the only correct use of the name "Turk" in reference to Anatolia.

(2) As the invaders settled down, and as sections of them became merged in the older population, the name "Turk" gradually became confined to the mixed Moslem population who lived in towns and villages. This is the connotation of the name "Turk" as used in the country at the present day. It is rather sharply defined as meaning the settled Moslem population of mixed Turkish and Anatolian blood, or of pure autochthonous descent, as opposed on the one hand to the nomadic or semi-nomadic Yuruks, Turcomans, and Kurds, and on the other hand to the settled Moslem immigrants who have entered the country recently

¹ See below, p. 19.

(Circassians, Rumeliotas, Cretans, &c.). In the south-east Turks and Arabs are sharply distinguished. As Turcomans or Yuruks settle down, they come in the course of a generation or two to be called "Turks."

We have therefore to note the paradox that the name "Turk" is now given in the country to a section of the population which has comparatively little Turkish blood in its veins, and withheld from or rejected by other sections, such as the Yuruks and Turcomans, who are apparently of pure Turkish blood.

The restriction of the name "Turk" to the settled population probably explains the "contemptuous" use of the name, common in the country. "Turk" has long been used as a term of abuse, *e.g.*, "Turk Kafa" means "blockhead." This is probably an echo of the nomad's contempt for his settled neighbour, which is characteristic of Turkestan or Arabia.

(3) In the last few years there has been a tendency, springing from political motives, to give dignity to the name "Turk," and to regard the empire as cemented and represented by the governing Turkish race, rather than by the Moslem religion—in other words, to establish a political and racial ideal in opposition to the Pan-Islamic ideal of Abdul Hamid. This is the sense in which the Young Turks (many of whom, be it observed, are not Turks at all) apply the name to themselves; and this is the sense in which the name "Turk" forms the basis of Pan-Turanian claims in so far as these are urged from the Ottoman side (*cf.* No. 57 of this series). The odd feature in these claims is that they are put forward, in the first instance, by the class described in the next section.

(4) As applied to the thin upper stratum in the Ottoman State, the *effendis* of the large towns and the Turkish official class generally, the term "Turk" has a somewhat different connotation. Racially and physically, this caste is quite unclassable. They represent a mixture of elements derived from Turkish landowners, Albanian officers, Circassian women, kidnapped Christian children from Europe or Armenia,

Arabs, Greeks, Negroes, and renegade Poles. Their common bond is their religious profession, their politico-national pride, and, as the only remaining inheritance from their Turkish predecessors, a militaristic aggressiveness which makes them the scourge of their subjects and a danger to their neighbours. They are the only element in Islamic society which has adopted European ways of life, especially in dress. In character and outlook they stand in marked contrast to the ordinary Anatolian Turks. Among Englishmen who have lived long enough in Turkey to survive the glamour of first impressions, Turkophiles will generally be found to be thinking of class 2, Turkophobes of class 4.

(2) THE TURKISH CONQUEST

There are two aspects of the Turkish conquest of Anatolia which claim the consideration of students of modern conditions in Anatolia—the causes which led to its rapid and complete success and its effects on social and economic conditions in the country.

At the time of the Turkish invasions Anatolia was governed from the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. Coming from the east, the Turks had no difficulty in overrunning defences which had been shattered by centuries of war against Sassanians and Arabs, and making themselves masters of an empire weakened by internal corruption and dissension. Anatolia fell piece by piece into the hands of the Turks between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The racial affinities and original home of the various bands of invaders who successively overran Anatolia and each other during those centuries need not be discussed here. It is enough to say that the Turkish invaders came from Central Asia, and were the kinsmen of some of the Turkish-speaking tribes who still extend from the Caucasus to the Pamir Plateau.

The invaders were mere hordes of nomad warriors, adventurers who fought Byzantines or Crusaders, or who quarrelled among themselves, transporting the

custom of the steppe to the highly-cultivated soil of Anatolia. After centuries of strife a definite hegemony over large parts of the peninsula was established by the Osmanli. The capture of Constantinople, which commands the principal route from the west into the interior, confirmed them in the possession of Anatolia.

The Turks adopted Islam, and they appear to have combined a ruthless repression of opposition with a ready welcome to all who cared to embrace Islam. The Anatolian population went over to Islam in masses.

The change from Christianity to Islam was not indeed sudden or catastrophic. We have seen that the bulk of the Anatolian population, under a veneer of Hellenism, remained Asiatic in habit and outlook; and this population, while it has repeatedly proved amenable to just and competent administration by external Western authority (Macedonian, Roman, Early Byzantine), has never had any difficulty in submitting to Oriental rule or Ecclesiastical authority (Persian, Arab, Turkish). It has been pointed out by Sir William Ramsay that the Byzantine Government itself had been growing more Oriental century by century.

“ One dynasty overturned another, and each was less ‘ Western ’ than the preceding one. Phrygians, Isaurians, Capadocians, and Armenians ruled under the style of Roman Emperors, till at length a purely Oriental dynasty of Osmanlis eliminated even the superficial forms of the West. The change (from Byzantine to Turkish rule) was not in all respects so great as we are apt to suppose. The language and the religion and the government of Anatolia reached at last the Oriental goal to which the genius of the land tended.”

In such a propitious soil the process of Turkification cannot have been difficult. The manner and duration of the process are obscure, and historians throw little light on it. It was Armenians and “ Greeks ” who were most exposed to Turkish influence, while the Kurds in the east and the Caucasians in the north were less and more gradually affected. Even as between the two Christian peoples, it should be noted that

Great and Lesser Armenia, partly owing to the mountainous nature of the country, partly to the fact that they were more rapidly overrun, and that their population escaped decimation in protracted wars, were less exposed to Turkification than the "Greek" populations of the central plateau and coast-lands of Anatolia proper. Those districts became so Turkified in the earliest period of Turkish rule that in 1334 it was said that the only Greek city remaining in Asia Minor was Philadelphia. Among the causes of this extraordinary change must be reckoned the loss of political and religious control, which resulted from the rule of a succession of effete monarchs in Byzantium. The continued success of the Osmanli hordes had its effect in the complete demoralisation of the Anatolian population; and the cooling of Christian fervour after the Crusades opened the way to Moslem proselytism. Further, the declining Christian civilisation of Anatolia suffered from comparison with the brilliant culture of Seljuk Persia, which found an Anatolian home at the court of the Sultans of Konia. If the light of the Persian culture dazzled the eyes of the pious Crusaders from Europe, it is small wonder that the half-græcised Anatolian, deprived of both moral and material support from Byzantium, turned his eyes to the same light, and as time went on ceased to look on Osmanli domination with that horror which the advent of the Turk later aroused in Europe. In South-Eastern Europe, at the centre of Greek culture, the Turk represented the hated Asiatic spirit. In the outlying provinces of Anatolia he had less difficulty in imposing himself on a population already more than half-Asiatic.

Among the newly-arrived Turks, the notables settled in the towns, bringing masses of officials and craftsmen in their train, while the agricultural work on the estates granted to individual nobles was done by imported slaves and conquered Christians. At first "absenteeism," which more recently has been one of the drawbacks of Turkish agriculture, was no doubt the

exception; and until a century ago many landowners governed their estates in patriarchal fashion. In such a situation the effect of the privileges assured by the adoption of Islam soon made itself felt on the masses, and many went over to the Turkish faith. The weakness and helplessness of average Christian feeling can be judged from the fact that we find high officers in the Byzantine army, who fought as bitter enemies against the Turks, appearing presently as their co-religionists and fervent partisans. No doubt the Greeks who went over to Islam maintained their own language for a time; and there are said by Vambéry to be Moslems who still use that language in their prayers; but as a rule it was only those Greeks who remained Christian, and not even all of them, who retained its use. Where the Turkish element predominated, any opposition to it was of course out of the question; and, as time went on, forcible conversion on a large scale succeeded to the easy tolerance of individual Turkish leaders in the earlier period. It was the later Osmanli, rather than the earlier Seljuk princes, who carried on the work of Turkification with most energy and success. The Seljuks, in their political and cultural relations, looked to the east; the Osmanlis conceived the idea of a Turkish State astride the Straits. Those among the older population who resisted the new order perished or fled oversea; and the strong military and hierarchic constitution of the Turkish State reduced the remainder to a uniform level in a surprisingly short time.

Had the Christian population of Asia Minor not been divided by the sea from its co-religionists in the West, had it been able (like the Greeks of Europe) to lean for support on a continuous chain of similar religious systems, the Osmanlis might have found the task of Turkification much more difficult. So much might be argued from the analogy of the Slavs in Europe, who, though they flocked in crowds to Islam, yet continued to maintain intact their ethnical individuality and their language. In any case the Turkish

influence could not be so intense on the north-western frontier of the gigantic empire as in the centre and east, and could not produce the same denationalising effect. In Anatolia, on the other hand, the ground was already prepared for the coming transformation; and it has been assumed with much probability that before the end of the fourteenth century Anatolia had been Turkified to as great an extent as it is to-day.

In its effect, the Turkification of Anatolia is a historical curiosity. It is the process whereby a minority of invaders of a lower civilisation than the older population has been absorbed physically by the older population, but has in turn imposed its language, religion, habits, and aspirations on its subjects. Anatolia is now, and has been for centuries, the core of the Turkish Empire. All the Turkish possessions lying outside Anatolia and the adjacent strip of Thrace have for long been kept in subjection to the Turks with the blood of Anatolian soldiers.

(3) EFFECTS OF THE TURKISH CONQUEST

Racial.—From what has been said above it follows that little of the physical type of the true Turk can be looked for in Anatolia. From the beginning of the process of amalgamation the Anatolian peasant and townsman represented at the most a mixture in which the Turk was never an important ingredient; and, as time went on, the population continued to absorb an uninterrupted influx of Aryan and Semitic elements—Kurds, Persians, Lazes, Circassians, Georgians, Macedonians, Bosniaks, Rumeliotas, Tatars, Jews, and other smaller bodies. But these elements have done little to modify the characteristic Anatolian type. As a rule the new-comers do not intermarry with the older population; many of them fail to become acclimatised in Anatolia, and die out.

To sum up, the Anatolian Turk is of mixed race, springing from a union between a section of the Turkish invaders and the older population, and he is

more Anatolian than Turkish. This stock falls into two originally different, but now indistinguishable, classes:—

(1) The offspring of Turkish conquerors marrying women of the old population.

(2) A large proportion of the old population who adopted Mohammedanism.

Side by side with the Turks, as thus defined, two important groups are to be noted:—

(1) The descendants of those portions of the old population who resisted amalgamation with the conquerors and their Mohammedanised neighbours, and have conserved their orthodox faith to the present day. These are the Greeks, who are discussed below.

(2) The nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes of pure Turkish blood who are found in relatively small numbers in parts of Anatolia. These tribes extend over the southern mountains from Aidin to Diarbekr, and over large portions of the central plains. The population of the towns and settled villages consists of Turks, or, as they call themselves, Osmanli; the nomads and semi-nomads of Turkish blood are the Turcomans and Yuruks. The distinction between Turks and Turcomans is clear to the foreign observer, and is emphasised by the people themselves. The Turcomans and Yuruks are closer in character to the original Turkish invaders, for they are more distinctly central-Asiatic in physical type and in occupation. The Turks of the towns and settled villages approximate more in social type, and in their peaceful and law-abiding character, to a European population.

Generally speaking, the Yuruks are more truly nomadic than the Turcomans, whose winter and summer settlements are usually close together, while the Yuruks travel over a wider area. The real difference is that the Turcomans practise agriculture, which binds them to a particular locality, to a greater extent than the Yuruks. Whatever original tribal difference may

have existed between Turcoman and Yuruk, they represent to-day respectively the semi-nomad and the nomad, and their habits illustrate the manner in which the Turks as a whole—originally nomads—have gradually settled down and become merged in the old sedentary population.

The common hypothesis that the sedentary Turks of to-day are the descendants of the original Seljuk and Osmanli invaders, while the Turcomans and Yuruk nomads are the offspring of tribes who entered Anatolia at a later date, is disproved by all the evidence. The distinction between Turks and Turcomans goes back to the Byzantine historians of the Turkish conquest. There may have been an original tribal difference between the two; but any such distinction has been entirely supplanted by the much broader and deeper line of cleavage which has been described above. The question why some of the invaders mixed with the old population and settled down almost at once, while others remained of pure stock, and retain their nomadic habits till the present day, is a psychological as well as a historical puzzle. It is no doubt true that the nomads have been reinforced from time to time by fresh immigration of kindred tribes from the East.

Certain it is that the nomads retain the physical characters of the true Turk in a purer form than their sedentary neighbours. In appearance they are said to resemble the Turks of Azerbaijan, especially the Terekme and Karapapak tribes. Their dialect is likewise said to bear a striking resemblance to the language of Azerbaijan, both in peculiarities of pronunciation and in the retention of a stock of old Turkish words, which in Ottoman Turkish have been modernised or replaced by borrowed words from Persian or Arabic.

The fluctuation in the ethnical composition of Anatolia is continuous, because Anatolia is a bridge over which peoples must move. But in spite even of such recent immigration as that of Caucasian, Bosniak, and Rumeliote colonists—who, it is true, were Moslem-

ised before they entered the country—there has existed for centuries a stereotyped character which cannot be ignored. There is an unmistakable type, or series of similar types, which to some extent level down the racial and local divergence. In any case these divergences are slight. Vambéry has distinguished a northern, western, and southern type, mainly on the rather slippery ground of dialect; and it has been suggested that the old Anatolian ethnical core is stronger in the north and west than even in the settled population in the south. It is true that the "Greek" element in the physical type grows more pronounced as the west coast is approached; but the difference in physical character between the inhabitants of north and south, east and west, is negligible.

Social.—Together with this uniformity of physical characteristics, there is an even greater uniformity of intellectual and moral qualities and of social habits over the whole country. In a country marked off both by geographical conditions and by a pre-existing Greek culture from both Arabia and Central Asia, the effect of centuries of a Byzantinised Moslem civilisation has been to produce among the Anatolian Turks an individual type of social life and custom. In spite of the deep chasm dividing Moslems from Christians, the former came strongly under the influence of Byzantine and Græco-Anatolian culture. In the process of settling down among a people used to centuries of civilised life, the children of the steppe had to learn more than they taught. The influence of Persian and Arab culture on the Osmanlis is matter of common knowledge. So long as the Osmanli were a society of nomad warriors, the influence of the Seljuk culture of Persia held sway over them. The strong Persian element in their language and literature is derived from this phase of their development. Their conversion to Islam brought them likewise under the influence of Arab culture, which gave the Turkish State its strong hierarchic character, and stamped literature and the language of daily life with a deep Arabic impress.

Both these influences, and especially the second, are still operative. But there must also be included the Græco-Anatolian influence, which came more fully into play when the Ottoman State was finally established on the Bosphorus, and masses of Christian Greeks were incorporated into the body politic and even into the race. The change in geographical conditions from Central Asia to the Anatolian peninsula imposed a similar change in dress and habits; Byzantine art combined with Persian models to produce the characteristic monuments of the early Turkish period, and Byzantine culture effected a subtle transformation in Turkish and Moslem ideas and customs. Among customs due to Byzantine influence we may quote the Ottoman's predilection for the "salta," or short jacket, which offends against the orthodox Moslem's insistence on a cloak which shall cover the outline of the body, and the fashion of shaving the beard, introduced by Sultan Selim I, and strongly disapproved of by other Mohammedans, in particular by the Turks of Central Asia.

Economic.—It is a common charge against the Turk that his genius is to destroy, not to build. A study of the economic effects of the Turkish occupation of Anatolia will enable us to test this statement, and clear the ground for a consideration of measures to improve the economic position of the country.

Asia Minor was regarded by the Romans as one of the richest portions of their empire. Its wealth was derived from the development of its natural resources, vegetable and mineral, which are immense, and also from its position astride the main highway between the Mediterranean world and Asia, which made it a great avenue of trade. In discussing the effects of the Turkish regime on the prosperity of the country, it is necessary to distinguish between these two sources of wealth. The Turks may or may not be held responsible for interference with the first. Causes over which the Turks had no control interfered with the second.

Deterioration had of course set in before the coming of the Turks. Over-taxation, misgovernment, and civil dissension during the Byzantine period must have exacted a heavy toll from the internal well-being of Anatolia, and the long series of wars with Saracens and Arabs must have disturbed the course of trade over the country. But the important point to note is that the Turks found Anatolia a settled agricultural and industrial country. They were responsible for its becoming to a great extent a country of nomads.

Many of the bands of Turks who entered Asia during and after the conquest were nomads. From the first a line of cleavage seems to have developed among the conquerors themselves, some of them settling with the older population in towns and villages, and practising crafts and agriculture, while others retained, and retain to this day, their nomadic habits. Agriculture implies settlement, and cannot flourish in a country overrun by nomadic shepherds and goat-herds. The result was that large stretches of fertile country went out of cultivation, and the century-long accumulation of agricultural skill was irretrievably lost. The forest wealth of the country suffered from the same cause. The goat keeps down forests by destroying the young trees, and the nomad does not scruple to set fire to large tracts of forest land to clear ground for pasture. Vast stretches of timber-bearing land have been, and continue to be, laid waste by these causes. Other economic effects have followed from the introduction of Central Asiatic modes of life. For example, the cultivation of the olive, a prime source of wealth in Mediterranean countries, is now confined to the few districts where Greeks predominate. The nomadic Turks prefer butter to olive oil.

While the Turks may be fairly charged with the impoverishment due to these causes, it should be noted, on the other hand, that the Turkish Government has done all in its power to suppress nomadism and to force or cajole the nomads to settle down. Where nomadism has been encouraged, as in Armenia, it was

done with a special purpose. The nomad is the particular enemy of the tithe-collector, and the Government has a special interest in suppressing him. Nomadism has long been disappearing, and will in the end disappear completely, apart from the central steppes, where it is the only possible mode of existence, and where the nomads are easily isolated.

The discovery of the Cape route, opening up sea communication with the Far East, heavily discounted the second source of the wealth of Anatolia, and the opening of the Suez Canal practically destroyed it. The Baghdad Railway, when completed, will restore the position of the country on an active trade route, and will continue and extend the work which has already been done by the existing railways in developing the country. The diversion of Far Eastern trade from the overland route to the sea routes has had as much to do with the impoverishment of Anatolia as the sins of the Turkish Government and the ineptitude of the Turkish people. It must not be forgotten, however, that one of the motives for the discovery of new routes to the East was the closing of the old land-routes owing to the Turkish conquests.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

Religious Organization

Mohammedanism is the established state religion; and the profession of Islam is the touchstone of loyalty as well as the guarantee of privilege. The Sultan, as Caliph, is supreme head, even if he holds the position illegally according to the letter of the Koran. The chief ecclesiastical dignitary is the Sheikh ul-Islam, who is a member of the Cabinet. It is characteristic of the political character of the Mohammedan Church that the main functions of the Sheikh ul-Islam are judicial rather than spiritual.

Mohammedans form the vast majority of the population of Asia Minor, and the term is used to include the members of many small sects like the Takhtaji and Ansarie, who are Mohammedans only in name.

A priesthood in the strict sense of the term cannot be said to exist in Mohammedan Turkey. The Ulema, however, or persons connected in one way or another with the official ministrations of Islam, form a separate class. The principal offices in connection with mosques, theological schools, &c., are to a large extent hereditary.

The temporalities of the State Church are controlled by the Ministry of Pious Foundations, or Vakuf, which has a separate budget of its own. The revenue of the Vakuf is principally derived from charges on, and reversionary interests in, real property which has at one time or another been consecrated to religious or benevolent purposes, and which is known as Vakuf. A large part of the urban property of the Empire is Vakuf.

The Orthodox Church in modern times has accepted the practice that, wherever there is an independent State, the Church within that State should have its own government. Owing, however, to historical reasons, there are three patriarchates within the Ottoman Empire—those of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem. It is sometimes held that the first of these has authority over the others, but the extent to which this is so in practice is very limited. The Anatolian Greeks are under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. There is a minority of Greek Uniats in communion with Rome.

With the Anatolian Christians, as we have seen, religion and nationality are identical. This conjunction has had important effects on the history of the Greek Church. Since 1453 the Greeks have always spoken with one voice; their mouthpiece has been their Church. They have been singularly tenacious of their rights, which have all clustered round their Church. In return the Church saved the race. They had privileges granted to them by Mahomet II immediately after the conquest of Constantinople. Throughout the centuries which have passed since his time, these privileges have often been confirmed, the latest formal confirmation being in the Hatti Sherif of Gulhane, of 1839, the Hatti Humayun, of 1856, and the Constitution of 1876. Among their most valuable privileges has been the right of the Patriarch to make representations on behalf of his flock to the Sultan and the Turkish authorities respecting the violation of any of the privileges, and to exercise legal jurisdiction over the members of his community in all matters in dispute among them. The concession was in accordance with mediæval practice not only in Moslem but in Christian States. It was not long, however, before the jurisdiction was limited to what now exists, *viz.*, to the right of jurisdiction in reference to marriage, succession, and questions of personal status. To maintain these privileges the Church has constantly been in conflict with the State. So long as by the Constitution the estab-

lished religion of the country is Mohammedanism, it is a necessity for the Christian communities that they should maintain their own courts. Monogamous family life is the basis of such communities; and, if the State does not recognise this, the Christians must be permitted to exercise jurisdiction in regard to such matters as bigamy and right of succession.

The Greek Church in Anatolia is miserably poor; the clergy are ill-paid, and the standard of education among them is very low.

*The Armenian Church.*¹—The National Church of Armenia is called the Gregorian, because the conversion of the nation was largely due to Gregory, the Parthian, known as the "Illuminator," whose great work was accomplished about 300 A.D., when Christianity was adopted as the established religion. The Kingdom of Armenia was thus the first State to erect Christianity into the national faith. The Church has adopted only the decisions of the three great Councils—Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus—as against the seven recognised by the Orthodox Church. The history of the Armenian Church is a long martyrology, and it has always maintained a powerful hold over the race. Armenians felt the influence of Hellenism very slightly. They were always iconoclasts, with a strong tendency to reject Trinitarian doctrines—traits which suggest a certain spiritual kinship with the Moslems.

The Armenian Patriarch has no territorial title—he is called "Patriarch of all the Armenians." He resides in Constantinople. While the government of the Church is in his hands, aided by his council, the spiritual head is the Catholicos, who resides at Echmiadzin in Russia. Although the majority of Armenians are found in Armenia, there is no province or important city in the Empire which is without them.

A large number of Armenians have gone over to the Catholic communion, and form a Uniat Community known as the Armenian Catholic Church. This com-

¹ See *Armenia*, No. 62 of this series.

munity has on several occasions enjoyed the protection of the French and Austrian Governments.

Protestant communities, mainly found as the result of the teaching of American missionaries, exist in many places.

(2) POLITICAL

Form, Character, and Methods of Government

Anatolia, like the rest of the Turkish Empire, is divided into vilayets, these into sanjaks, these into kazas, and these into nahies. A Vali or Governor-General, representing the Sultan, and assisted by a Provincial Council, is placed at the head of each vilayet. The minor divisions are subjected to inferior authorities (respectively Mutesarrifs, Kaimakams, and Mudirs), who are responsible to the Vali of the vilayet in which their division is included.

An exception to the general method of sub-division is formed by the so-called "independent" sanjaks, which are governed by Mutesarrifs reporting directly to the Minister of the Interior. The tendency of recent years (accentuated since the war began) has been to increase the number of these "independent" sanjaks by detaching ordinary sanjaks from the vilayets to which they were assigned. The feudal government of large tracts of Anatolia by independent chieftains or Dere Beys, in vogue in the early part of last century, has everywhere ceased, often to the detriment of the peasants, who have now no one to protect them from the Government officials.

In theory the official career is open to all subjects of the Sultan. In practice the administrative services are manned from a restricted, largely hereditary, caste, mainly Moslem (including, in Anatolia, some Circassians and Kurds), with a large number of Armenians filling the lower offices. The officials receive no adequate training, and are poorly paid, if paid at all. The result is that they are tempted, or inclined, to amass wealth from the proceeds of bribery and exac-

tion. Their exactions fall with impartiality on Moslem and Christian alike; and even the Moslem cannot secure justice except at a price in bribes which usually deters him from seeking it. Naturally, therefore, the Turk reduces his dealings with the Government to a minimum, and distrusts and shuns the officials.

Under Abdul Hamid government was centralised in the capital, and rested on a system of espionage and police coercion, which penetrated into every house in the country. Since the Revolution the local authorities have had a freer hand; but all power rested with the Committee of Union and Progress, which controlled Parliament and dictated all appointments.

The Young Turks made some effort to improve and cleanse the administration, not without success. After the Revolution the police in particular were for a time regularly paid, and their former methods of treating the peasants discouraged. But the deadweight of traditional usage, and the total absence of a class from which honest and efficient officials can be drawn, brought these efforts to nought.

That mutual confidence on which democratic government ultimately rests is absent in Anatolia, not only as between the different races and creeds, but as between the members of each race and creed. Although government now rests nominally on a democratic franchise, it appears inevitable that power will continue to be centralised in the hands of a despot or of an irresponsible oligarchy such as the Committee of Union and Progress. Capacity apart, the Anatolian population has no real belief in self-government. They long, without exception, for an honest and efficient administration. Whether they would prefer the moderate amount of honesty and efficiency which is all they can expect under the most enlightened native government, or the higher standard of administration and justice which they know to obtain in Egypt or Tunis, is a question which different Anatolians would answer differently. It is certain that in the years of

disillusionment which followed the Revolution the great majority of the natives would have welcomed any government but the Turkish. The success of British administration in Egypt, and the example set by foreign schools and hospitals, especially the American, have provided the natives with a standard by which to judge the similar efforts of their own Government.

(3) PUBLIC EDUCATION

Elementary education is nominally obligatory for all children of both sexes. Under the Provisional Law of October 6, 1913, all children from 7 to 16 are to receive primary instruction, which may be given in State schools, schools maintained by communities, or private schools, or, subject to certain tests, at home. The State schools are under the direct control of the Ministry of Public Instruction, which also provides for the inspection of schools maintained by the non-Moslem communities, &c. Besides these there survive a large number of Medressehs or theological seminaries, connected with religious foundations. The general level of efficiency in the State schools is low. There are a large number of foreign schools, mostly conducted by French, English, and American missionaries; but they draw the majority of their pupils from the Christian population.

The Mohammedan *bourgeoisie* can read, write, and count; few of them know any European language, except officials and residents in the coast towns, some of whom speak French. The Mohammedan peasants are totally illiterate. The best native schools are those maintained by the Greeks, who show by far the smallest percentage of illiterates. Most Greeks, even in country villages, are masters of the "three R's"; like the Armenians, they generally write Turkish in the characters of their own language. The Greeks and the Armenians are both interested in education; but the Greek rises above the Armenian in his appreciation of education as an end in itself. The Armenians and Greeks flock in large

numbers to the American schools and colleges, with the result that in most towns and villages in the eastern part of Asia Minor English-speaking Christians are found.

The American colleges have played a very important part in the development of an interest in education in Anatolia; and the influx of able students from the Balkans and from Southern Russia has given these colleges a position of considerable influence throughout the Near East.

Educated Turks are attracted by the literature and civilisation of the French, to the exclusion of other European nations. England and Germany make poor seconds.

(4) SOCIAL

(i) *Moslems and Christians*.—Social distinctions of the type familiar in Europe are absent; social life is thoroughly democratic. The sharpest line of cleavage in Anatolian society is that formed by religion. The chasm dividing Moslems and Christians is abysmal; even if a common environment produces an appearance of uniformity in regard to externals, yet, in respect of mental and moral qualities, and of attitude to the problems that affect Turkey or the outside world, the Moslem and the Christian represent two entirely different points of view.

In keeping with its diversified cultural origin, the social custom of the Anatolian population is a patchwork of Byzantine-Christian, Arabian-Islamic, and Central Asiatic elements on a solid autochthonous background. Age-long custom, determined by soil and climate, government by a caste which still retains traces of all the stages in its progress from the steppes of Central Asia to the rich inheritance of the Emperors of Byzantium, and the spiritual and social predominance of Islam fix the large traits of social life for old population and immigrant alike. It is often difficult to assign its origin to a particular custom or to prophesy regarding its retention or disappearance. Thus

the habit of moving into *yailas* in summer, which characterises a large part of the population, sometimes corresponds to the "semi-nomadic" stage in the settling down of true nomads, sometimes is simply the age-long habit of moving from winter village to summer village and back again which is imposed by the variety of climatic conditions in a limited area. Under one aspect, the custom is transient, and may disappear; under the other, it is a permanent way of life.

Islam, with its contemplative outlook, its dignified and courtly forms, its quiet submission to established authority, influences Moslem and non-Moslem alike; and even the Christian communities wear a strong Moslem aspect to the European eye. As an example, the seclusion of women, and their employment in all the drudgery of everyday life, while more pronounced among the Moslems, is also a Christian characteristic. Difference in religion brings out sharp contrasts in isolated particulars, but a common racial origin and a common physical environment produce a level uniformity of custom in regard to dwellings, dress, food, etiquette, industry, amusements, and superstitions, which overrules all divergences.

An external form of "Europeanisation" has made considerable progress in the social custom of Anatolia, affecting both Moslems and Christians; but, as between the two creeds, there exists an instructive difference of attitude to the culture of Europe. Moslems and Christians are united by the similarity of their Oriental culture; both alike are conscious of the deep chasm which divides their civilisation from that of Europe. But Christianity and political aspirations bring the Christian peoples into a certain sympathy with European ways. This sympathy expresses itself in varying ways with different individuals and classes. The educated Greek or Armenian adopts European manners as the outward symbol of his acceptance of the modern educated man's view of life. But if a Turkish official follows European customs in dress or other external matters, it is in order that he may challenge com-

parison, in the eyes of his fellow-Moslem, with the progressive Franks, and prove his capacity for leadership among the nations in the circumstances of modern times. To this end he is prepared to bow the knee to modernism in almost any form, even if he is not prepared to abandon his distinctive culture in the process.

Moslems.—Those classed as Moslems comprise a variety of races of varying degrees of orthodoxy, from the free-thinking Young Turk official, whose conformity to Islam is merely adopted for political reasons, at one end of the scale to the wild and retiring Takhtaji of the Taurus Mountains, who is outwardly a Moslem, but practises rites derived from pre-Christian paganism at the other. The vast majority are orthodox and pious Sunni Moslems, as a rule strikingly free from fanaticism (though many districts form exceptions), with a sprinkling of Shiahs represented by some of the immigrant Kurds and Kizilbash Turcomans. All the Moslems speak Turkish; generally speaking, among the peasantry only the Kurds and a few of the Circassians are bilingual.

Christians.—Leaving the Levantines (generally Roman Catholics) out of account, the principal Christian communities are the Greeks and the Armenians. They form the chief of a number of non-Mohammedan native communities, or *milletts*, recognised by the Turkish Government, and granted complete religious, and a large measure of civil, autonomy.

After the capture of Constantinople in 1453, Mohammed II organised his non-Moslem subjects in communities under ecclesiastical chiefs, to whom he gave absolute authority in civil and religious matters, and in dealing with criminal offences (such as bigamy) which did not come under the religious law of Islam. This arrangement, designed to simplify the task of government, has had far-reaching effects on the political life of Anatolia. It established an *imperium in imperio*, which secured to the Christians a distinct position before the law, the free enjoyment of their religion, control over the education of their children,

and considerable autonomy in the management of their communal affairs. The *millet* organisation encouraged the growth of a separate communal life, which in its turn engendered a longing for separate national life. In Anatolia the Greeks and the Armenians are the main representatives of this tendency.

Greeks.—Physically, two types can be recognised among the Anatolian Greeks, corresponding to a diversity of origin. One is the old Anatolian type, descended from the Hellenised Christian population, which the Turks found in Anatolia on their entry into the country. The other corresponds to the type of Greek in Europe and the Ægean Islands, from which there has been continuous immigration throughout history.

Before the war the extension and importance of the Greek element in Asia Minor had been increasing year by year. They occupy the fertile coast-lands of the west and south, and to some extent of the north, in solid masses, and move slowly but continuously into the interior. Their native language, long neglected, is now carefully fostered, and nearly all Greeks speak it as well as Turkish. They spare no expense to secure teachers and give their children a good education. The Greeks of the west coast are skilled seamen and fishermen. In the interior the majority are engaged in agriculture, industry, and trade. The intelligent Greek has found a lucrative industry in the cultivation of fruit and vines, and the rearing of silk-cocoons and the spinning of silk is largely in their hands. Crafts requiring special skill in the towns are almost exclusively manned by Greeks. Like the Armenians, they engage not only in retail trade in the interior, but in commerce on a large scale in the coast towns. This gives them great influence in the economic sphere, and has enabled them to amass much wealth. A strong sense of community holds the Greeks together and increases their power. A leading trait is their quarrelsomeness, which brings them into continuous conflict with the Turkish authorities.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Greek population of Anatolia was reckoned at 1,300,000,¹ and given favourable conditions, would have increased rapidly. But the action of the Turkish Government during and after the Balkan War drove many of the Greeks oversea; and even sterner measures appear to have been adopted during the present war.

The great majority of the Greeks of Anatolia belong to the Orthodox Church, and are under the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople in religious matters. The Greek Uniats, who recognise the Roman Pontiff as their head, are few in numbers.

*Armenians.*²—These exist (or existed before the war) as a settled population only in Armenia and in some parts of the adjoining vilayets. Only here do they live *en masse*. In Anatolia generally they belong to the Diaspora, and usually live in separate quarters of the towns. They practise all arts and crafts requiring skill and intelligence. They are distinctly more oriental than the Greeks; and the ordinary Turk is better disposed to the Armenians than to any other non-Moslem people. The majority belong to the Armenian or Gregorian Church. There are minorities of Catholics, under the authority of the Pope, and of Protestants, organised in a *millet* by themselves.

Relations of Moslems and Christians.—Loyalty to the Sultan and Caliph, a strong sense of political dominance, a firm conviction that, man to man, they are superior to the Christians—such are the leading political motives of the Anatolian Moslems. Their feelings towards their Christian fellow-subjects vary between non-committal friendliness and jealous hostility, and their general attitude is one of contemptuous toleration. As against their sense of superiority must be set the fact, of which the Moslems themselves are conscious, that they stand on a lower intellectual plane

¹ Another estimate gives 1,715,000; R. Puaux and P. L. Alaux, *Le Déclin de l'Hellénisme*; Paris, 1916. Sir E. Pears, *Turkey and its People*, 1911, gives 1,600,000.

² See *Armenia*, No. 62 of this series.

than the Christians, and cannot compete with them in trade and industry. Under normal circumstances the two creeds live together on terms of neighbourliness.

This does not mean that the Greeks and Armenians are satisfied with their lot. Whatever their racial origin, the important fact is that the Greeks regard themselves as the kinsmen of the European Greeks; and Pan-Hellenic irredentism has awakened hopes of union with Greece, especially on the west coast. The Armenians of Anatolia—or, at any rate, such as are capable of clear thinking—are under no similar illusion; but they share and support the political aspirations of their race, and have borne their share in its persecution.

This brings us to the subject of massacre, which is, unfortunately, the feature most familiar to Europeans in the relations of Moslem and Christian in Anatolia. Various explanations of the motives of the massacres of Armenians are fashionable in Europe, and vary from time to time as one European nation or another is friendly or hostile to the Porte. German publicists lay stress on the intrigues of Russia and England, who encourage Armenian revolutionaries, with the object of weakening Turkey, or giving an excuse for intervention. But the real motives, both under Abdul Hamid and under the Committee of Union and Progress, have been, on the part of the Government, the determination at all costs to maintain the dominance of the Moslem over the more intelligent and progressive Christian nationalities, and, on the part of an assenting public opinion, jealousy of the economic strength of the Christian element. It should also be remembered that, from the Pan-Turkish point of view, the Armenians and Kurds are a non-Turkish *bloc* separating the Osmanli Turks from the Turks of Central Asia.¹

(ii) *Turks and non-Turkish Moslems.*—While the Anatolian Moslems form a solid block in opposition to the Christians, they are by no means a compact body

¹ See, in this connexion, *The Pan-Turanian Movement*, No. 57 of this series.

in respect of sentiment any more than of race. The main motives of feud or dissension are as follows:—

The Turks are the old settled Moslems, in contrast, on the one hand, with the nomads or semi-nomads, and, on the other, with the settled communities of recent immigrants. Between a settled agricultural population and roving groups of nomads there must always be some friction; and this is intensified in Anatolia by diversity of race and differing grades of religious orthodoxy, and often outlasts the settling-down of the nomads. The chief races who are still or have recently been nomadic are the Turcomans, Kurds, Yuruks, and Avshars. All these groups, and the Turks, live apart from each other, hold little communication, seldom intermarry, regard each other with dislike or contempt, and curse the religions of their respective fathers. The degree of attachment to the doctrine of Islam varies considerably in the different groups, although all are officially classed as Moslems, and none are officially treated as rayahs, like the Christians. The parts of the peninsula most affected by nomadism are the central steppes and the mountains of the south and south-east.

Similar causes of feud exist between the older settled population, including in this case the nomads who are in process of settling down, and the large numbers of *Muhajirs*, or immigrants of Moslem religion from neighbouring Christian States, who have been given land throughout Anatolia in recent years. The older inhabitants resent the intrusion of these immigrants, who occupy much land formerly available for pasture. Between the quarrelsome and predatory Circassian immigrants and their Turkish neighbours there is a standing feud everywhere. The Rumeliote *Muhajirs* are more popular. On their side the *Muhajirs*, who have one and all been induced to migrate to Anatolia with promises which are never more than half fulfilled, are unhappy and discontented; they pine for the homes they have left.

The situation in 1897 is well summed up in the

following passage from Sir W. Ramsay's *Impressions of Turkey* (p. 94 *sqq.*):—

“ One of the facts that are most striking to the traveller in Asia Minor is the interlacing and alternation of separate and unblending races. In half-a-dozen villages which you visit in the course of a day you may find four or five separate peoples, differing in manners, dress, language, and even religion, each living in its own village and never intermarrying with, rarely even entering, the alien village a mile or two distant. The broad distinction of Christian and Moslem is wholly insufficient, and even misleading. The Turkish peasants entertain a stronger hatred towards the Circassian, rigid and pious Moslem as he is, than towards the Greek or Armenian Christian; while they regard the Kyzyl-Bash or heterodox Turkmans with a mingled loathing and contempt, surpassing their worst scorn for the Christian. You often meet a Greek in a Turkish village, sitting in the Oda, apparently in quite friendly conversation with the people; but you will hardly ever see a Turk in a Circassian village, and rarely a Circassian in a Turkish village, or, if you do, he glares about, feeling himself an enemy among enemies.”

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) INTERNAL

(a) *Roads*

LIKE every part of the Turkish Empire, Anatolia suffers from a lack of roads. There are two trunk routes leading to the Bosphorus, one from Armenia through Angora, the other from Syria through the Cilician Gates and Konia, and in certain districts—notably the littoral of the Sea of Marmara and the neighbourhood of Smyrna—properly made roads are fairly numerous. But Anatolia cannot be said to have a road-system, means of communication between one province and another being extremely scanty. Moreover, even when two places are supposed to be connected by a metalled road, it often happens that only small stretches have been completed, the work having been divided among the villages on the line of route, some of which perform their task while others neglect it. It is also to be noted that a road once made is seldom or never repaired, so that a metalled highway may in a few years become a rough track, quite unfit for wheeled traffic.

In the following notes the roads of each vilayet or "independent" sanjak are treated separately.

Sanjak of Ismid.—The roads in the western part of the sanjak are dealt with in *Turkey in Europe* (No. 16 of this series). Three important roads converge in the eastern half of the province. South of Adjije the very important trunk route from Angora and Armenia meets the main road from Brusa and the Marmara coast, while, to the east of Ismid, the continuation of these roads is joined by one from Adabazar, Bolu, and

Gerede. Apart, however, from these highways, communications in the district are poor.

Vilayet of Brusa.—For a Turkish province, the vilayet of Brusa is excellently furnished with means of communication, possessing upwards of 1,400 miles of metalled roads. These are for the most part in the north, the chief centres being Panderma, Brusa, and Yenishehir. In the mountainous middle portion of the province there are only rough tracks, but the east is traversed by the highway from the Marmara basin to Konia and Syria. A branch road leaves this at a point a little south of Kutahia, and runs to Ushak and Alashehir on the Smyrna—Kassaba railway.

Sanjak of Bigha.—This small region, which includes the southern shores of the Dardanelles, has a comparatively good system of roads, mostly constructed for strategical reasons.

Vilayet of Aidin.—The roads here are above the average for Turkey, alike in number and quality. The chief centre of communications is Smyrna, from which metalled roads run in all directions except towards the south, where the Smyrna—Aidin railway renders them less necessary. In other parts of the province there are roads running from points on the railways to places of economic or commercial importance. The longest lead from Ahmedli, on the Smyrna—Kassaba railway, to Demirji, and from Aidin to Giova.

Vilayet of Kastamuni.—Considering its size, there are few good roads in this province. The main road from the Bosphorus to Angora crosses its south-west corner, and there is a metalled road from Gerede to Adabazar and Ismid. Nearly all the other first-class roads run inland from the coast. Kastamuni, the most important centre of communications, is connected by metalled roads with the coast towns of Amasra and Ineboli, and by fairly good ones with Tashkeupri, to the east, and Kiangri, in the extreme south of the vilayet. From Sinope a first-class road runs southward to Boyabad. From Duraghan, in the south-

east of the province, there is a metalled road to Kavza, in the vilayet of Sivas, which is connected by first-class roads with Chorum (Angora), Amasia (Sivas), and Samsun (Trebizond).

Vilayet of Angora.—Though not in general well supplied with means of communication, the vilayet of Angora is traversed from end to end by the road from the Bosphorus to Armenia, which is metalled almost the whole of the way. From a point near Mutesellin, from Kirshehir and from Kaisari, branch roads run to Yuzgat, an important centre of communications in the north-east of the province. Several roads radiate from Kaisari, and from a point on the Bosphorus—Armenia highway, a few kilometres west of the town, a most important cross-road runs southward, joining the other great trunk route, from the Marmara to Syria, a little north of the Cilician Gates.

Vilayet of Konia.—This vilayet is crossed by the main road from the Marmara to Syria, but otherwise is badly provided with roads. From Adalia there is a road, metalled for most of its course, which leads to Buldur, and another running parallel with the coast to Teurush. From Konia a second-class road runs north-east to Avanos, passing through Nevshehir, whence there is a passable road to Kirshehir in the vilayet of Angora; but, at any rate till quite recently, this was the only road fit for wheeled traffic in the centre of the province, while the north has nothing but rough tracks. The road from Kaisari to Cilicia, mentioned above, runs for some distance near the eastern boundary of the province.

Vilayet of Adana.—The principal roads of this province are the two branches of the one from the Marmara region. This road forks at Karaman, in the vilayet of Konia, whence one branch leads to Adana, *via* the Tauric Eregli and the Cilician Gates, while the other runs to Selefke, near the coast, which is on the one hand connected with Akliman by a metalled road, and on the other with Adana by a road which runs near the coast through Mersina, and thence

proceeds to Adana through Tarsus. The former route from Karaman to Adana is the shorter, but the latter has the better surface. From Adana a metalled road runs southward to Karatash, and the trunk road is continued, through Missis, Burnaz Khan, and Payas, to Alexandretta, which lies just beyond the frontier of the province. The roads leading north-eastward into Armenia are indifferent.

In 1910 a French group formed a company, called the Société Générale d'Entreprise des Routes de l'Empire Ottoman, for the construction of roads in various parts of the Turkish Empire. It was calculated that their projects would involve the construction of about 5,500 kilometres of roads, over 2,000 of which were to be in Anatolia, and that the cost would be about £2,000,000, which, it was hoped, would be covered by a Turkish Government loan. It was soon found, however, that both the extent and the cost of the work had been greatly underestimated, and although some 300 kilometres of the roads were made, no final agreement with the Government regarding the terms of the concession had been reached when the European war began. The project was part of a large scheme which included the construction of railways in the Marmara region and in Armenia (see below, pp. 55-56).

(b) *Rivers*

There are numerous rivers and streams in Anatolia, but few are used for transport, and none could be made navigable for craft of any size except at heavy expense. Most of them have a rapid current, and dwindle to small streams in summer, while in winter they are dangerous torrents. Both for the country and for the investor it will be far more advantageous to employ capital on railway construction than on the development of water communications.

Of the rivers flowing into the Black Sea, the most important are the Kizil Irmak and the Sakaria. The former, though its upper reaches are in the vilayet of

Trebizond, flows for the greater part of its course within the boundaries of Anatolia, as defined in this book. It is of great volume, but very swift, and most costly works would be necessary in order to make it navigable. The Sakaria, which flows into the sea in the sanjak of Ismid, is used by small craft for 110 kilometres from its mouth. Schemes for canalizing the river have been the subject of negotiations between the Turkish Government and foreign companies, but no concessions have been granted. Numerous rivers in the vilayet of Kastamuni are used for floating timber, but none are suitable for larger vessels than the small native boats which carry local traffic.

In the Marmara basin the river of most economic value and promise is the Susigirli Chai, which enters the sea about 50 kilometres east of Panderma. For some distance it is navigable for steam launches, and for a time there was a regular service between the mines at Mikhalij (Mukalich) and the mouth. This, however, was discontinued before 1890.

Many of the rivers and streams flowing into the Mediterranean are used for floating timber, but the only ones which could be profitably developed as waterways are the Sihun and Jihun in the vilayet of Adana. Of these the Sihun has long been used for the transport of goods between Adana and Mersina, but the small craft engaged in this traffic have greatly diminished in number since the construction of the Mersina, Tarsus, and Adana railway. No use is at present made of the Jihun. There seems, however, no reason why both rivers should not be controlled or canalized, and rendered navigable, at least in their lower reaches, for small steamers.

(c) *Railways*

(i) *Existing Railways.*

The systems of the following railways lie wholly or partially in Anatolia: the Anatolian Railway (Société du Chemin de fer Ottoman d'Anatolie), the Baghdad Railway (Société Impériale Ottomane du Chemin de

fer de Bagdad), the Mersina, Tarsus, and Adana Railway, the Smyrna—Aidin (Ottoman) Railway, the Smyrna—Kassaba Railway (Chemin de fer Smyrne—Cassaba et Prolongement), and the Mudania—Brusa Railway. Each of these concerns is now a Turkish Société Anonyme, but in reality they are all under foreign control, the first three being virtually German undertakings, while British interests predominate in the Smyrna—Aidin railway and French in the remaining two. The terms of the concessions under which the lines are owned and worked vary considerably; but in March 1914, at the instance of the Turkish War Office, the Turkish Government decided to place all the railways on the same footing as regards their use for military purposes. Meetings of representatives of the companies were held, at which a German staff officer was present, and after discussion a scheme, based partly on the French and partly on the German system of mobilisation, was adopted. Questions of compensation and remuneration, however, were left over for negotiation between the several companies and the Ministry of Public Works. The main object of the scheme adopted was the concentration of troops and material on Constantinople, Panderma, and the Dardanelles.

The Anatolian Railway.—This company has its terminus at Haidar Pasha, near the entrance of the Bosphorus, from which a line to Angora was completed in 1892. The original intention was to extend the line from Angora eastward, and eventually to Baghdad. This plan was, however, abandoned, and the company built a line from Eskishehir to Konia, which is now the starting-point of the Baghdad Railway. There is a branch from Hamidie (on the Haidar Pasha—Eskishehir section) to Adabazar, and in 1912 the company began an extension of this to Bolu. Since the beginning of the war a line from Angora to Yuzgat has been partly (perhaps completely) constructed. It is said to be of narrow gauge

and to be for Government account. Its principal object was, no doubt, to facilitate the military operations in Armenia. The relations of the Anatolian company to this line have not yet been ascertained. For further particulars of the Anatolian Railway, see *Turkey in Europe* (No. 16 of this series), where its finance, relations to the Turkish Government, and economic value are treated at length.

The Baghdad Railway.—The Baghdad railway starts at Konia, and runs through Eregli, the Taurus Mountains, and Adana, whence, crossing the Cilician plain, it goes eastward as far as the Amanus range (Giaur Dagh). According to the latest information (1918) the section through these mountains is not yet completed, only a narrow-gauge track having been laid. On the farther side of the range, however, the normal gauge is resumed, and the line runs southwards to the neighbourhood of Rajun, where it enters the vilayet of Aleppo. There is a branch from Kale Keui, near Osmanie, to Alexandretta.

The concession for the construction of the line was granted to the Anatolian Railway Company in 1889,¹ but the rights were transferred to a company styled the Société Impériale Ottomane du Chemin de fer de Bagdad, which, though nominally distinct from the Anatolian company, was under the same control, namely, that of the Deutsche Bank and its group. The term of the concession was 99 years. The share capital of the company was 15,000,000 francs (£600,000), of which the Anatolian Railway Company was bound to subscribe and hold 10 per cent., while the Turkish Government had the right to subscribe a like amount. The whole of the capital has been issued, and half is paid up. The railway was to be constructed in sections of approximately 200 kilometres in length, and it was intended that the whole line with its branches should be completed within eight years from the date of the convention. The track was to be single, but land

¹ See *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series, pp. 66, &c.

sufficient for a double line was to be acquired in the first instance, and the company is under an obligation to build a second line at its own expense as soon as the gross receipts reach 30,000 francs (£1,200) per kilometre per annum. An important clause in the concession gives the company the right of working all mines which it may discover within 20 miles of the axis of its line.

The Turkish Government guaranteed to the company an annual sum of 11,000 francs (£440) per kilometre constructed and opened for traffic, and a further annual sum for working expenses of 4,500 francs (£180) per kilometre. It was arranged that this kilometric guarantee of 11,000 francs should be capitalized, and that the Turkish Government should give the company State bonds bearing interest at 4 per cent., redeemable during the period of the concession. As the Government also undertook to provide a sinking fund at the rate of 0·0875 per cent., it was therefore bound to hand to the company bonds of a nominal value of 269,110 francs (£10,764) for each kilometre constructed and opened for traffic. The minimum issue price of the bonds, it was agreed, should be $81\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The convention contains a very indefinite provision to the effect that, as soon as the financial situation permits, the company shall issue bonds of its own to replace the bonds that have been issued to them by the Imperial Government.

The receipts of the line are apportioned between the Turkish Government and the company as follows:—

- (1) The first 4,500 francs per kilometre goes to the company in relief of the Government's obligation to cover the working expenses up to this amount.
- (2) The surplus above 4,500 francs per kilometre, up to 10,000 francs per kilometre, goes to the Turkish Government.
- (3) Of any excess over 10,000 francs per kilometre the Government gets 60 per cent. and the company 40 per cent.

From the point of view of the concessionaires the bargain was a good one, provided that the bonds of the Turkish Government could be realised at a fair price. The bonds necessary to secure the kilometric guarantee on a section have hitherto been issued before work has been begun, so that the company has not been under the necessity of finding any money itself so long as it could succeed in placing the Turkish bonds upon the European market, and the liberal terms of the convention have given it an ample margin for doing this.

How far the arrangement was sound finance from the Turkish point of view is a matter of opinion. The amount of the bonds issued by the Turkish Government to cover the kilometric guarantee on the first section, from Konia to Bulgurlu, was 54,000,000 francs (£2,160,000) and for the next four sections the amount was 227,000,000 francs (£9,080,000), the interest on the whole being over 11,000,000 francs (£440,000) a year.

It is argued that the kilometric guarantee granted to the Anatolian railway was higher, and nevertheless that line has proved a source of profit to the Turkish Government. If agriculture develops quickly in the districts to be tapped by the Baghdad railway, the burden which the Turkish Government has undertaken may not prove insupportable, but the large amount of bonds issuable in respect of the guarantee must of necessity prove a hindrance to financial operations for other purposes.

The company paid dividends up to 5 per cent. regularly down to 1912, and at the end of that year's working had a reserve of over 6,000,000 francs (£240,000). The war has naturally affected its position disastrously, and at the meeting of the company held in February 1918 the Chairman stated that the receipts for 1916 had been nearly 15,000,000 francs (£600,000) less than those for 1915, and was silent as to the result of the year 1917. He stated, however, that the contract with the construction company had been denounced, and that

the railway company was in urgent need of financial help.

In estimating the prospects of the Baghdad railway within the limits of Anatolia, a distinction must be made between the sections west of the Taurus Mountains and those beyond. From Konia to the mountains the line runs for the most part over an unproductive tableland. Here and there, it is true, it touches fertile tracts, but in general the country is naturally unsuited to agriculture. In the neighbourhood of Konia itself the Germans have sought to supply the deficiencies of nature by the construction of large irrigation works, but hitherto the surplus produce of the district has been sent to Constantinople by the Anatolian railway, and the Baghdad line seems to have benefited little by the improvements. It is true that before the war the traffic receipts of the section from Konia to Bulgurlu, though not large, were steadily increasing; but it seems probable that for many years this section will be mainly important as a link between the Anatolian railway and the regions beyond the Taurus.

East of the mountains very different conditions prevail, for the line runs through the Cilician plain, which already yields rich crops of cereals and cottons, and, with the spread of modern methods of tillage and irrigation, should in the near future become one of the most flourishing districts on the Mediterranean seaboard. The prosperity of this section of the railway seems assured, especially as it is already connected with the two most convenient ports, Mersina and Alexandretta.

The Smyrna—Aidin (Ottoman) Railway.—This is the oldest railway in Turkey, the original concession having been granted in 1856. In 1914 the length of the company's lines was 607 kilometres, and a branch from the main line to Buldur, some 13 kilometres long, was under construction.

The main line starts from Smyrna, where the company have extensive warehouses and sheds, and a very

fine pier for large steamers. The general direction of the line is at first southerly, but near Azizie it turns eastward, and passing through Aidin follows the valley of the Maeander (Mendere) to Serai Keui. The line next runs along the valley of the Lycus (Churuk Su) and through the important pass of Chardak to the Lake of Aji Tuz. It then turns to the north-east until it again reaches the Maeander, the valley of which it follows past Dineir, whence it runs through Kechiborlu to Egerdir, on the lake of the same name. There are branch lines from Smyrna to Buja, a suburb; from Kasimir to Sedi Keui; from Torbali to Baidir and Ödemish, a line which has a branch of its own from Chatal to Tire; from Balachik to Sokia; from Gonjeli to Denizli; from Sutlej to Chivril. The branch to Buldur, which was being built in 1914, starts from a point about midway between Dineir and Egerdir. The gauge of all these lines is normal, the track single.

The original concession was granted to a British group for the construction of a line from Smyrna to Aidin. From time to time various extensions have been authorised, and in July 1914, after protracted negotiations with the Government and in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the Germans and the Italians, the company was granted a new concession whereby it was empowered to construct 320 kilometres of new lines, and the navigation rights on lakes Egerdir and Beyshehir were conferred on it, in the case of Lake Beyshehir to be held jointly with the Baghdad Railway. The extensions contemplated were branches from Aidin to Mughla (95 kilometres) and from a point near Dineir to Sandukli (55 kilometres), the continuation of the Buldur branch to Kizil Kaya (some 90 kilometres), and a line from lake Egerdir to Lake Beyshehir (some 66 kilometres).

Under the concession of 1856 the Ottoman Government undertook to pay interest at 6 per cent. on the original capital. It failed, however, to fulfil this obligation, and in 1888 it was agreed that in

future the company should have no financial guarantee whatever from the Government. At the same time the term of its concession was extended, and conditions were laid down on which, when the concession expired, the Government might buy out the company. This agreement, and subsequent modifications of it, were, however, cancelled by the new convention made in 1914. The various concessions of the company were consolidated and their term was fixed at the year 1999. The right of purchase by the Government was waived, and the company became a Turkish Société Anonyme. Before this time the company was Anglo-Turkish. The share capital has always been firmly controlled by British owners. In 1914 the capital was £1,294,340 in £20 shares, fully paid up, and £3,369,478 in debentures of 4 to 5 per cent. The company has in reserve £505,600 of share capital, authorised but not issued, and unissued debenture stocks to the value of £201,056.

The railway has been of enormous benefit to Smyrna and the district through which it runs. Smyrna is one of the few ports in Turkey where the value of the exports exceeds that of the imports, a condition of affairs largely due to the Smyrna—Aidin railway. The most important goods brought by the railway for export are dried fruits (especially figs), cereals, valonia, olives, minerals, and a certain amount of cotton from the Aidin—Nazli district. Besides increasing the export trade of Smyrna, the railway has given an immense stimulus to the domestic commerce of the interior. Ten years ago it was officially stated that the tithes (taxes on produce) from the districts near its lines had on an average doubled thirteen times over since the creation of the company. A number of factories have been erected and new industries created along its route, and there has been a notable increase of the Christian population owing to the peace and security prevailing in adjacent districts. The railway has made the most of its opportunities, and of late years

was regarded by the Ministry of Public Works as the best managed line in the Turkish Empire.

Apart from the extensions which, as mentioned above, were sanctioned just before the war, the company is not likely to have much opportunity for enlarging its sphere. The Smyrna—Kassaba railway shuts it off from any considerable expansion to the north; to the east it is already trenching on the zone of the Baghdad Railway; and the Italian concessions on the Mediterranean coast preclude much development in that direction. The new lines authorised should, however, be of great value to the company and to the districts they will serve, especially the lines to the south, which will run through rich but undeveloped country, where the inhabitants were eagerly awaiting the advent of the railway.

The Smyrna—Kassaba Railway (Chemin de fer Smyrne—Cassaba et Prolongement).—The main line runs from Smyrna to Afium Karahissar, on the Anatolian railway, a distance of 421 kilometres, passing through Magnesia (Manisa), Kassaba, Alashehir, and Ushak. The branch lines are from Smyrna to Burnabat (5 kilometres), and from Magnesia to Panderma (282 kilometres).

The original concession was granted to a British company in 1863 for a line from Smyrna to Kassaba. In 1872 a further concession authorised the extension of the line to Alashehir, and in 1888 a third sanctioned the construction of a branch from Magnesia to Soma. In 1893 the Government, exercising the right of purchase which it had retained, bought out the British company for a sum of 35,850,000 francs (£1,434,000), and granted a concession for its lines to a Franco-Belgian syndicate which was at the same time authorised to extend the main line from Alashehir to Afium Karahissar. The extension of the Soma branch to Panderma was sanctioned by a concession of June 1910, which also authorised the construction at Panderma of modern harbour works; the line was opened for traffic in 1912.

The existing company has three separate financial arrangements with the Turkish Government. As regards the lines built when the railway changed hands, it has a right to half the gross receipts, the other half being set aside to meet the requirements of an issue of debentures, made in 1894, to cover the price paid by the Government to the old company. The annual sum required for this purpose is 2,310,000 francs (£92,400), the Government undertaking to make up this amount if half the company's profits fall short of it. The lines in question have been prosperous, and after 1909 it was not necessary for the Government to contribute anything.

On the extension from Alashehir to Afium Karahissar, the Government granted a guarantee of 18,881 francs (£755) per kilometre. This is the highest kilometric guarantee possessed by any railway in Turkey, and it has proved a heavy charge on the Government, an average of 3,300,000 francs (£132,000) a year having been paid to the company from 1908 to 1913. It has been suggested that the object of this extension was principally strategic; but however that may be, the line has not been profitable, and it is generally thought that the company, securely covered by its guarantee, has taken little trouble to increase the traffic of the line or to develop the resources of the region it serves.

In payment of the construction of the Soma—Panderma extension, the Government handed over to the company 4 per cent. Ottoman Government bonds to a total value of 38,916,000 francs (£1,556,640), or 204,821 (£8,193) per kilometre. The Government is responsible for the interest and sinking fund, and the issue is redeemable in 82 years.

The company's share capital is 16,000,000 francs (£640,000) divided into 32,000 shares of £20 each. There have been two issues of debentures. The first, which was to cover the price paid to the old company, was of the nominal value of 56,560,000 francs (£2,262,400), bearing interest at 4 per cent. and redeemable in 99 years. The second, of 70,000,000

francs (£2,800,000), at 4 per cent., redeemable in 95 years, was made in 1895 to cover the cost of the line from Alashehir to Afium Karahissar. The interest and sinking fund are secured by the kilometric guarantee.

The lines constructed by the original company have been of the greatest service to the regions of Magnesia, Kassaba, Alashehir, and Soma, and share with the Smyrna—Aidin railway the credit for the remarkable expansion of the export trade of Smyrna. They have greatly stimulated the production of fruits, especially raisins and olives, and in the last years before the war the population near the lines, which was largely Greek, enjoyed unprecedented prosperity.

The new line from Soma to the Sea of Marmara has opened up regions rich in agricultural and other resources. Parts of the country towards Panderma are inhabited by Bosnians and other Mussulman refugees from the western provinces of European Turkey, and these are industrious and skilful agriculturists. The returns of the first year's working of the line far exceeded all expectations. The line is of much strategic importance, and proved of great value to the Turks during the defence of the Dardanelles.

Although up to the present the line from Alashehir to Afium Karahissar has not been commercially successful, it should become one of the most profitable in Asia Minor, for it skirts a rich region south of the Olympus range which is wholly lacking in railways and good roads. It is in this quarter alone that any considerable expansion of the company's activities is possible. Various branches giving access to this region could be constructed, not only from the Alashehir—Afium Karahissar section, but also from the main line further west and from the Panderma branch. Lines from Ushak to Gediz and from Salikli to Geurdiz, Demirji and Simav, would open up a district which is both fertile and famous for its carpet manufacture. Balikhissar, on the Panderma line, would be a good starting-point not only for a branch running east into undeveloped country, but also for one going west to the

mining district of Balia. From Susigirli a little further north, a line might be built to Kirmasli and up the valley of the Adranos Chai.

The Mersina, Tarsus and Adana Railway.—The concession for this railway was granted in 1883, and in 1886 it began working. Its total length is only 67 kilometres. It was originally in the hands of a Turkish company, constituted in 1885, and under British and French control. The company intended to build extensions in the Cilician Plain and towards the Black Sea, but its attempts to obtain further concessions were strongly opposed by the Germans and proved abortive.

The railway had no guarantee of any kind from the Government, and though it helped to develop the country through which it ran, and increased the trade of the port of Mersina, it was not commercially successful. The original capital consisted of £165,000 in shares of £20 each, fully paid up, and £185,000 in 6 per cent. debentures. In 1892 a further issue of debentures, amounting to £44,850, was made in order to pay the interest on the old debentures. In 1899, as the condition of the company was still bad, an extensive financial readjustment took place, the interest on the debentures being reduced from 6 to 4 per cent. and preference shares being created to compensate the holders. When the changes were completed there remained £209,500 in debentures, but those actually issued amounted to only £193,540. The preference shares, of £2 each, represented a capital of £23,154.

Subsequently the railway slowly made profits, but in 1906 it came under the control of the Deutsche Bank, which, after buying through third parties as many shares as were on the market, bought out the interests of the French element in the company, and obtained a voting majority. A number of the shares and debentures in English hands were afterwards secured by the bank, which ultimately obtained about five-sixths of the share capital. The object of the Bank was to secure an outlet to the sea for the Baghdad railway, as the construction of the branch to Alexandretta was not yet

contemplated. In fact, by an arrangement between the two companies (which, of course, represent virtually the same interests) the Baghdad railway runs over the track of the Mersina, Tarsus and Adana company from Yenije to Adana, a distance of 14 kilometres.

The prosperity of the Mersina, Tarsus and Adana Railway depends on the amount of traffic which passes through the port of Mersina. Its prospects are therefore not very bright, for it is probable that Mersina will suffer increasingly from the competition of Ayas and Alexandretta.

The Mudania—Brusa Railway.—This line is of narrow gauge and only 41 kilometres long. Mudania is a small open port on the Sea of Marmara, near the entrance to the Gulf of Geumlek. Brusa, the administrative capital of the vilayet of that name, has a population of about 120,000 inhabitants, mostly Turkish. The railway is controlled by a Franco-Belgian group, to whom a concession for 99 years was granted in 1891. The company has no Government guarantee, as the line had been partly built by the Government before 1890, though never worked. The share capital, originally 500,000 francs (£20,000), has been raised to 3,825,000 francs (£153,000) by the conversion into shares of debentures which the company had issued. The railway has paid its way, but is of no great importance, though it would be easy to make extensions and branches which would vastly increase its value. Very fertile and productive regions would be opened up by continuing the line to Ainegeul, with a branch to Yenishehir, or by building a line from Brusa westward to Lake Apollonia and Mikhalij. Hitherto, all proposals for expansion have been foiled by German opposition.

(ii) *Projected Railways.*

Chanak to Smyrna.—A narrow-gauge line from Chanak (Kale Sultanie) on the Dardanelles to Smyrna was to have been begun in 1914 by a French group

called the Omnium Enterprise Company of Paris. It was to run through Eren Keui, the plain of Troy, Ezine, Aivajik, Edremid, and Pergamum (Bergama), whence there was to be a branch to Dikeli. From Ezine a line was to be built, *via* Bairamich, Khan Bazar Kari, and Bigha, to Karabigha on the Sea of Marmara, and from Bigha a branch was to run to Panderma and Brusa. The company was granted certain rights of forestry on Mount Ida (Kaz Dagh), and a general concession of all mines within twenty kilometres of the axis of its line.

The railway was to be built for the account of the Government. Its purpose, in fact, was mainly strategic, its immediate construction being strongly urged by the German Staff at Constantinople, in view of the loss of Turkish islands off the west coast of Asia Minor. The projected lines, however, would also have opened up a very rich tract of country, which possesses mines, forests, and fertile agricultural lands capable of producing a great variety of crops and fruit.

Italian Railways.—Negotiations in 1913-14 between the Turkish and Italian Governments resulted in the grant of important railway concessions on and near the Mediterranean coast. The claims of the Italians came into sharp conflict with those of the Smyrna—Aidin railway, which was then seeking authority to build extensions towards the south, and it is generally considered that the compromise reached will prove very detrimental to the British company.

The railways for which the Italians received concessions fall into two groups—one based on Makri, the other on Adalia. From Makri a line was to run in a north-westerly direction to Mughla, where it would meet a projected branch of the Smyrna—Aidin railway. A second line was to run from Makri eastward until it reached the valley of the Xanthus river (Eshen Chai), where it was to fork, one branch running up the valley for some 20 kilometres, and the other down it for 35 or 40.

Adalia was to be the terminus of two lines. The first was to run to Kizil Kaya, which was also to be the terminus of a projected branch of the Smyrna—Aidin Railway. From Kizil Kaya there was to be a short branch to Fughla, 25 kilometres to the north-west, and a more important one following a south-westerly direction to Kaz Chiftlik, a distance of some 85 kilometres. The second line, starting from Adalia, was to run near the coast to Alaya, and from a point about 130 kilometres from Adalia a branch to Ak Seki, 50 kilometres to the north-east, was to be built. The total length of these Italian lines would be about 690 kilometres.

The commercial prospects of the lines from Makri seem doubtful. The country through which they would run is undeveloped, and it is improbable that the line to Mughla would divert much traffic from Smyrna to Makri. The harbour of Makri, however, which is one of the finest in the eastern Mediterranean (*cf.* below, p. 67), may have a commercial future before it. Lignite, chrome, and manganese, which have been worked to some extent, are found in the neighbourhood of Makri, and the finest forests in the province of Aidin are not far distant. Moreover, figs and vines of excellent quality grow well in these parts; while from the Xanthus district an increasing amount of traffic in agricultural and mineral products might be expected. Some time, however, would probably elapse before the projected lines yielded satisfactory returns.

On the other hand, the lines from Adalia would be of immediate economic value, the regions they would serve being extremely fertile. In the neighbourhood of Ak Seki and Alaya there are extensive forests, containing excellent timber; and there are known to be mineral deposits in these regions, certain coal-beds near Ak Seki being especially promising.

Zunguldak to Bolu.—The Deutsche Bank and its syndicate, which were recently in possession of the principal mines in the Heraclea coal region, were (1918) building a railway from Zunguldak to Bolu,

where it would connect with the Anatolian Railway. This line would afford a means of rapid communication between the Heraclea district and Constantinople, but in view of the proximity of the mines to the sea it seems doubtful whether it would carry much of their output.

(iii) *General Remarks.*

When the projects mentioned above have been realised, Anatolia will be provided with the main lines of an adequate railway system. Capital will still be needed, however, for the construction of branches to districts of particular economic importance.

Railway enterprise in Anatolia is so intimately connected with the system of kilometric guarantees that it may be convenient to consider the effects of that system as a whole. In general, it may be said that the guarantees have been a success. Except on the Smyrna—Kassaba Railway's extension, the sums which the Government has been called upon to pay have almost consistently decreased. The following table shows the amounts paid by the Government under these guarantees from 1908 to 1913:—

Year.	Anatolian Railway.		Baghdad Railway.	Smyrna—Kassaba Railway.
	Haidar Pasha—Angora.	Eskishehir—Konia.	Konia—Bulgurlu.	Alashehir—Afium Karahissar.
	£	£	£	£
1908	116,800	119,700	23,170	146,200
1909	102,000	119,700	20,300	153,000
1910	22,300	96,400	15,250	130,000
1911	Nil	41,900	9,500	115,000
1912	"	Nil	Nil	123,000
1913	"	11,500	16,600	127,000

It must be remembered that the Government, when not called upon for any part of the guarantee, shares

in excess profits. It is to be noted, however, that in 1912 the receipts of the Baghdad and Anatolian railways were swollen by military traffic occasioned by the Balkan wars, though in the following year they probably suffered through the consequent dislocation of trade. Since the European War began, the Government has derived very large sums from the excess profits of the Anatolian Railway; but as the traffic on this line has been mainly military, no great significance can be attached to this.

(2) EXTERNAL

(a) *Ports and Shipping*

Considering the length of its coast-line, Anatolia is very badly provided with ports. For this the supineness of the Turkish Government is, of course, partly to blame, but there is a singular lack of good natural harbours, especially in the Black Sea.

(i) *Black Sea Ports*.—The principal Black Sea ports which come within the scope of this volume are Sinope, Ineboli, and the ports of the Heraclea coal district.

Sinope has a population of 8,000, mostly Greeks. The roadstead, which offers good anchorage, even in winter, is the safest between the Bosphorus and Batum. Vessels anchor in from 5 to 10 fathoms, and are quite sheltered from westerly and north-easterly gales.

The principal exports are wheat, seeds, tobacco, timber, and skins; the imports are colonial produce, coal, and hardware.

The port used to be visited at frequent intervals by ships of the Messageries Maritimes, the Austrian Lloyd Company, the Deutsche Levante Linie, and several Greek lines. Vessels of the Ellerman and Moss Lines also called occasionally.

Ineboli has a population of about 9,000, mostly Turks. The roadstead is open, but has some protection from a reef, and there is good anchorage in 3 to 4 fathoms.

Wool, mohair, skins, hemp, and cereals are exported; the imports are chiefly manufactured goods.

The ports of the Heraclea coal basin are *Zunguldak*, *Koslu Bay*, and *Heraclea*.

The port of *Zunguldak* belongs, under a concession, to the Heraclea Coal Company, though it is also used by other mining enterprises. In the northern part of *Zunguldak Bay* there is an artificial harbour, protected by a breakwater, alongside of which there are berths for two steamers in 25 ft. to 27 ft. of water. There are two coal cranes and a transporter which can load a vessel at the rate of 200 tons an hour. Vessels can also be loaded on the opposite side of the harbour, where there is a pier with a steam crane, the depth alongside being 25 ft. Near the harbour the Heraclea Coal Co. has its warehouses, screening plant, and the terminus of its light railway. Vessels requiring moderate quantities of bunker coal can load from lighters in the bay outside the breakwater.

At *Koslu Bay*, two miles south-west of *Zunguldak*, coal is shipped from a small pier into lighters, which are then towed to *Zunguldak*.

Heraclea or *Eregli*, twenty miles south-west of *Zunguldak*, has only an open anchorage, loading or bunkering being carried out through lighters.

(ii) *Marmara Ports*.—Excluding *Haidar Pasha*, which falls outside the scope of this volume, these are *Ismid*, *Geumlek*, *Mudania*, *Panderma*, and *Chanak*, the last being on the *Dardanelles*.

Ismid, the ancient *Nicomedia*, has about 13,000 inhabitants. Situated at the head of a long gulf, it is protected in all weathers. There are certain works of the Turkish Admiralty at the port, and in 1913, after negotiations between the Government and the *Armstrong and Vickers* group, a company was formed with the object, among others, of constructing at *Ismid* a large floating dock and building and repairing yards. [For particulars of this project see *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series.]

The port has little trade, the exports of the adjacent country being mostly shipped from Haidar Pasha.

Geumlek, a town of 5,000 inhabitants, though also in a sheltered position on the shores of a gulf, is of small account, and its naval yard is no longer used. If, however, communication with the lake of Isnik were improved and the region drained, the port would recover much of its former prosperity.

Mudania, with a population of 5,000, is an entirely open port, but as the terminus of the railway to Brusa it has latterly increased in importance. The railway company has a pier with 22 ft. of water alongside; but loading has generally to be done from lighters, though this method is impossible in bad weather. The exports, which nearly all go to Constantinople, are various, silk being the most valuable. For shipping the port is mainly dependent on the local services to and from Constantinople.

Panderma is now a large town, having developed very rapidly since 1912, when the railway from Soma was opened. The Smyrna—Kassaba Railway Company, which was granted a concession for the construction of a port, has built quays close to its terminus, and has improved the old breakwater, which gives protection from the north-west wind, the only one that is troublesome. Ships of moderate size can come alongside the railway quays; there is also good anchorage off the town in about 11 fathoms. The railway company is known to have contemplated the construction of repairing shops and a small gridiron or slipway for steamers up to 600 tons, but these works were not completed when Turkey entered the war.

The exports consist mostly of agricultural products of various kinds, but of late years increasing quantities of boracite have been shipped at the port. The imports are cotton and woollen goods, coffee, sugar, and hardware.

During 1913, apart from the local services between Panderma and Constantinople, 32 steamers called at the port. Of these, 18 were British and 4 German.

There is little doubt that Panderma has a prosperous future before it, especially if the projected railway connecting it with Bigha and Brusa is built (see p. 56). Hitherto the surplus products of the southern littoral of the Sea of Marmara have almost always been sent to Constantinople and forwarded to foreign parts from there, but the development of the port of Panderma will enable them to be exported direct.

Chanak (Kale Sultanie), a town of 22,000 inhabitants, is situated on the Narrows of the Dardanelles. It is the *pratique* station for all vessels passing through the straits; few, however, receive or discharge cargo at the port, which offers no adequate accommodation or facilities. In the last years before the war its export trade somewhat increased, the principal goods handled being grain, valonia, wine, skins, and pottery. The construction of the projected railway to Ezine and Smyrna (see p. 55) would doubtless bring more trade to the town, but its importance will probably always be strategic rather than commercial.

(iii) *Mediterranean Ports*.—The chief of these are Aivali, Dikeli, Smyrna, Marmarice, Makri, Adalia, Alaya, and Mersina. Ayas may rank with them in the future if its harbour is improved.

Aivali, which has a population of 60,000, is situated on the eastern shore of Aivali Bay, at the southern entrance of the gulf of Edremid. It provides few facilities for shipping, and vessels have to lie off the town, where, however, there is good and well-sheltered anchorage.

The exports consisted principally of oil, soap, hides, and flour. The districts of Aivali and Edremid yield the best edible oil produced in Asia Minor, and large quantities used to be bought by French and Italian merchants. The town of Aivali has several olive-oil mills and a few soap factories and tan-yards.

The oil industry has suffered of late years through the maltreatment of the Christian population, many of whom have been deported or enrolled in labour bat-

talions, while others have fled to the Greek islands. Recent information shows that, alarmed at the decline in the production of oil, the Turkish authorities have brought back some 4,500 Greek families to Aivali to carry on the industry, which at the time was apparently under German control. These repatriated Greeks, while receiving wages, are not allowed to live in their own homes, but are kept under official surveillance.

During 1911, 802 steamers, with a total tonnage of 133,356 tons, entered and cleared at Aivali. They were mostly small coasting vessels belonging to Smyrna.

Dikeli, which lies in a bay opposite the island of Mitylene, is a small port, from which the products of the rich districts behind the town and around Pergamum (Bergama) are shipped, mainly to the Greek islands or Smyrna.

Smyrna is situated at the head of the gulf of the same name. Before the European war it had a population of about 300,000, of whom some 140,000 were Christians, mostly Greek subjects of Turkey. The influence of the Greek element is very great; the Turkish inhabitants can generally speak Greek, while many of the Greeks do not know Turkish—a state of affairs unparalleled anywhere else in the Turkish Empire, except on one or two islands. After Constantinople, Smyrna is the most important city and port in the Ottoman dominions.

The water front is protected by a quay several miles in length. At the south end of the bay, parallel to the quay, is a concrete embankment, a mile and a quarter long and 60 ft. wide. The area between this and the quay is called the Inner Harbour. It is 40 acres in extent, and can be entered at both ends of the embankment. Its average depth is 34 ft., and there are 15 ft. to 18 ft. of water alongside the shore quay. Vessels making only a short call generally anchor outside the embankment or opposite the town, and load or unload by means of lighters.

Warehouse accommodation is not equal to the demands made upon it. The Quay Company, a French concern, had certain warehouses under control of the Customs, but their efforts to increase the number of these encountered the disapproval of the Ottoman Government—a particularly foolish attitude, since the Government was entitled to 50 per cent. of the company's net profits. The deficiencies on the quay were partly made up by the Smyrna—Aidin railway, which erected big warehouses and a pier close to its terminus at the north end of the town, and as a branch custom-house was established on the pier, goods brought down by rail could be shipped without passing over the quay at all. This aroused opposition on the part of the Quay Company and the local authorities, and as the Central Government naturally listened sympathetically to their protests, the railway company was much hampered in its attempts to make further improvements. Up to the entry of Turkey into the war no satisfactory settlement had been arranged.

The facilities for repairing ships or machinery are fairly good. There is a slip provided with power capable of lifting 500 tons, but no dock of any kind.

In time of peace there is always great activity in the port. The following table shows the numbers of the vessels entering and clearing from Smyrna in the years 1908-1912 :—

Year.	Steamers.	Sailing Vessels.	Total Tonnage.
1908	2,933	4,347	2,819,960
1909	3,018	3,202	2,890,317
1910	2,661	4,004	2,477,733
1911	2,441	2,899	2,405,216
1912	2,448	2,587	2,254,037

It must be remembered that in September 1911 war broke out between Turkey and Italy, and that conse-

quently no Italian ships entered the port for the remainder of that year, or during 1912. Turkish shipping, too, was interfered with by the blockade of the Dardanelles and other enterprises of the Italian fleet. Moreover, in October 1912 Greece went to war with Turkey, and trade at Smyrna was further restricted.

In 1912 the number of British steamers entering the port was 363, representing a tonnage of 653,000. Of these, however, 168, with a tonnage of 333,000, were bound to or from Egypt, nearly all being vessels of the Khedivial Mail Steamship Co.

The export trade of Smyrna was larger than that of any other Turkish port, the value of the exports exceeding that of the imports. The figures for the years 1910-12 were as follow :—

Year.	Exports.	Imports.
	£	£
1910	4,444,000	4,061,000
1911	4,400,000	4,137,000
1912	4,000,000	3,788,000

The principal exports were dried fruits, grain, valonia, opium, olive oil, tobacco, liquorice root, wool, raw cotton, skins, and emery. The imports included a great variety of manufactured goods, coal, petroleum, leather, sugar, coffee, and rice. Fuller particulars and statistics of the foreign trade of Smyrna are given below (see pp. 107-108).

Smyrna is the terminus of the Smyrna—Aidin and Smyrna—Kassaba Railways, and the trade of the districts served by their lines passes almost entirely through it. In the past, moreover, many of the goods sent down by the railways had to be prepared and packed for export at Smyrna; this was notably the case with figs, which were handled in very large quantities. Of late, however, owing to the inadequacy of the accommodation and labour at Smyrna, it became

more usual for producers and merchants in the interior to despatch their goods ready for shipment, and the efforts of the Smyrna authorities, merchants, and Quay Company failed to check this practice, whereby the town suffered a serious loss. Besides serving as a port for the hinterland, Smyrna is a receiving and distributing centre for many of the islands off the coast, and for widely separated districts of the Mediterranean littoral of Anatolia. Goods from places as far away as Aivali and Adalia, whatever their ultimate destination, were generally shipped first to Smyrna.

The prosperity of the port rests on stable foundations, and is likely to increase as the rich country behind it is further exploited and provided with additional railways. The development of Marmarice and Makri and the construction by the Italians of railways in their neighbourhood might perhaps divert a little trade from Smyrna, but no serious harm is to be apprehended from that quarter. What Smyrna principally needs is the provision of adequate warehouse accommodation.

Smyrna used to be well served by steamship lines. Among British undertakings, the Wilson, Ellerman, and Cunard Lines, and the Khedivial Mail Steamship Co., touched regularly at the port, as did all the important continental lines plying in the eastern Mediterranean, such as the Deutsche Levante Linie, the Austrian Lloyd, the Messageries Maritimes, the Società Marittima Italiana, and the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company. Smyrna was, of course, also visited by the vessels of numerous local companies, both Greek and Turkish, which operate among the islands and along the coast.

Up to the outbreak of the war Smyrna possessed no wireless apparatus, but its telegraphic communications were otherwise excellent.

Marmarice, lying in a well-sheltered bay at the southwest corner of Asia Minor, has an excellent natural harbour, which, however, is little used, the town being extremely unhealthy. Extensive drainage works will

have to be undertaken before the place can become commercially important.

Makri is in similar case. The port is situated at the south-east extremity of the Gulf of Makri, with complete shelter, and has the finest natural harbour in Asia Minor. The country round is rich and fertile. A certain amount of chromium, wood, and charcoal used to be exported, but the town, which is bounded on the landward side by a marsh, is so unhealthy that it is inhabited only in winter. If the Italians push forward their railway projects in this region (see above, p. 57), and take measures to improve the sanitary conditions, Makri will no doubt soon attain the importance to which its harbour entitles it.

Adalia, in the gulf of the same name, has a population of 30,000. The harbour is too small for any but small craft, and the anchorage off the town, in 15 to 20 fathoms, though good in summer, is unsafe in winter.

The exports of Adalia were wheat and flour, sesame and other seeds, live-stock, timber, and charcoal. The timber and charcoal were mostly sent to Egypt, the trade being mainly in Italian hands. Other goods went principally to Smyrna and the Greek islands, the latter taking large quantities of flour. Adalia had seven hydraulic flour mills, and most of the wheat brought down to the port was milled before shipment. The imports consisted chiefly of manufactured goods, mostly from the United Kingdom and the United States. The future of Adalia depends mainly on the success of the Italian schemes for exploiting the neighbouring districts (see above, p. 57).

Mersina has an open roadstead. Vessels anchor about a mile off shore in six fathoms with a stiff mud bottom. The anchorage, though exposed to winds between the quarters of south-west and east-south-east, is safe for ships in any weather, but lighters are apt to break adrift in winter gales. There are five piers. The most easterly, belonging to the Mersina, Tarsus, and Adana Railway, is 460 ft. long and 20 ft. to 35 ft. broad; the water is 10 ft. in depth at the end, shoaling

towards the shore; there are two lines of rail and two travelling steam cranes. The Customs pier is the principal landing-place; it is 240 ft. long and 20 ft. to 40 ft. wide; the depth of water at the end is 8 ft. On the pier is a light tram-line, and there are two small cranes. The other piers are small and unprovided with facilities for unloading or shipping goods.

In 1909, 645 steamers, of 797,433 tons in all, entered the port. Before the war the principal exports were cotton, cotton-seed and cake, cereals, sesame, and livestock. The cotton went mainly to Italy, Spain, and Germany; the grain to other parts of Turkey; the animals to Egypt. The imports were miscellaneous, coal being one of the most important.

Several shipping lines touched regularly at Mersina, the chief being the Messageries Maritimes, the Austrian Lloyd, the Società Marittima Italiana, the Società Italiana di Servizi Marittimi, the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Co., and the Khedivial Mail Steamship Co. Vessels of the Prince Line, the Asia Minor Steamship Co., and the Deutsche Levante Linie also called frequently at the port. Mersina had no wireless installation or submarine cable before the war.

Mersina has direct railway communication with the rich Cilician Plain, but its situation does not lend itself to the construction of an adequate harbour, and its importance is not likely to increase much in future. When Cilicia is properly developed most of its trade will probably pass through Ayas or Alexandretta.

The town of *Ayas*, in the vilayet of Adana, is situated at the north-east corner of Ayas Bay, a large inlet on the north-west coast of the Gulf of Alexandretta. Off the north coast of the bay, to the south-west of the town, there is safe anchorage in 4 to 10 fathoms, with good holding in stiff mud and complete shelter except from east and south-east winds, which seldom blow for any length of time. East of the town is a small harbour, protected by two ancient and massive moles. It is fast filling with sand, but still affords sufficient accommoda-

tion for small coasting vessels. The town itself is poverty-stricken and most unhealthy.

For some time the Baghdad Railway Company contemplated the construction of a modern port at Ayas, which was to be connected by rail with Adana; but when the Company acquired control over the Mersina, Tarsus, and Adana Railway, the project was shelved. Subsequently it was decided to build a branch to Alexandretta, and the Haidar Pasha Port Company, which is dominated by the same interests as the Baghdad Railway Company, obtained a concession for constructing a large new port at that town. In consequence the scheme for developing Ayas was definitely abandoned. Ayas Bay, however, offers so many attractions to shipping that it would probably compete successfully with Alexandretta if facilities for handling cargo were provided. Indeed, if current expectations regarding the economic future of the adjacent regions should be realised, both ports would soon become very prosperous.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

(a) *Supply*

The supply of labour in Anatolia is scanty. This is partly due to the sparseness of the population, on which the military system and the frequent wars, especially those of the Hejaz and the Yemen, have been a severe drain. Another cause is the fact that the land is mostly in the hands of peasant-farmers, who live on their own produce, and have neither the time to work for others nor the means to hire others to work for them. Consequently, hired labour is little used in agriculture. At harvest-time, however, nomad gypsies and Kurds from the mountains offer their services as reapers, often contracting to cut all the crops of a village. In south and west Anatolia, moreover, where a great variety of agricultural products

is raised, the Christian peasants, who are industrious and intelligent, are willing to work as hired labourers on tasks requiring special experience and skill, such as the tending of the tobacco plant and the poppy, or of olive yards, vineyards, and fig gardens. They receive high pay, and as soon as the season for their particular work is over, they return home to cultivate their own lands. This system prevails especially in the vilayet of Aidin, where in 1912 men skilled in the care of the tobacco plant were paid as much as 6s. a day—an enormous wage for Turkey, and only obtainable, it must be added, under exceptional conditions.

It has always been a difficult matter in Anatolia to secure labour for the construction and working of railways. As a rule, the companies are bound by the terms of their concessions to employ native labour, if possible from the districts through which their lines run, for any work not requiring technical knowledge. Even for the roughest tasks, however, it has generally been found necessary to obtain labour from a distance; and most of the navvies employed on the railways come from the coastal regions of the Black Sea, many of them being Kurds. These men are hired in gangs, each under a headman, who is responsible for the maintenance of his gang at full strength—a necessary precaution, as the Turk is apt, after earning a few pounds, to throw up his job and go home, regardless of threats or remonstrances. Any work calling for the slightest degree of skill, such as masonry, is almost always performed by foreigners or native Christians, and on most railways all engine-drivers, stokers, mechanics, and clerks belong to one or other of these classes. Nevertheless, the prevalent opinion that the Turk is by nature incapable of becoming a skilled workman is not justified, for the Smyrna-Aidin Railway employed in their large workshops 400 Turks, whom they had engaged as boys and carefully trained, and who were not only intelligent, but also industrious and conscientious, whereas Christian workmen, though clever, are commonly unreliable and dishonest. It is

also to be noted that, after the Revolution, a Railway Engineers' Battalion was added to the army, and the recruits were sent to work on the railways, where they showed excellent promise.

The shortage of labour has affected the mining industry even more than the railways. Mining work is, in general, too severe and strenuous for the Turk, who, furthermore, has a rooted objection to leaving his native place and settling down elsewhere. Mine-owners have in consequence to rely almost entirely on Christian labour, especially for work underground.

In the towns the skilled artisans are mostly independent craftsmen, working for their own account. Any workmen they may employ are, with rare exceptions, Christians, and Christians generally do all the better-paid work in the few factories that exist. The labouring class is almost wholly unskilled, consisting largely of Turks who have come from the country to earn a little money for some special purpose—such as the purchase of exemption from military service—and who hire themselves out for the roughest kind of manual work, or as porters, doorkeepers, boatmen, and such like.

It is very unusual for women to work in factories, though at Brusa some are employed in the silk-spinning mills.¹ The domestic textile industries, however, some of which are important, are carried on mainly by women and girls, who work either for their own account or for merchants who provide them with materials. Women also commonly assist the men of their family in agricultural work of all kinds.

The Turkish Government has made little effort to regulate the supply or the conditions of labour. Apart from certain ineffectual stipulations in concessions to foreigners regarding the employment of native labour, its only important measure has been the passing in 1910 of a law forbidding strikes in establishments or institutions of public utility, and providing, in the case of

¹ See below, p. 75.

disputes, for mediation by the Ministry of Public Works, and, if this fails, for the holding of a conference, under the presidency of a delegate of the Ministry, between representatives of the contending parties.

(b) *Emigration and Immigration*

During the reign of Abdul Hamid, emigration from Turkey was most severely restricted; and the majority of those who left Turkish territory did so contrary to law. There was virtually no emigration on the part of Mussulmans, but a good many Christians managed to leave the country. Many thousand Armenians fled from Turkey to the Christian States in the Balkans, Russia, or the United States. These refugees were generally men, their families being left behind. After the Revolution some of them returned to Turkey; others sent for their families to join them in their new homes. Besides the Armenians, many Greeks, though from different motives, succeeded in emigrating. They were mostly young men from the seaboard, who found it fairly easy to get across to the islands or Greece, whence they generally went to the United States. A large number, however, after making some money, came home, and it is probable that the majority intended to do so. In 1906 and the following years there was a considerable emigration of Jews from or through Smyrna, mostly to South America.

The Revolution led to the return of a few Armenians; but, on the whole, it stimulated emigration among the Christians, especially the Greeks of western Anatolia. The main cause of this was the new law establishing what was called equality, whereby the Christians were for the first time made liable for military service. In 1910, 8,000 young men, the pick of the peasant class, left the district of Smyrna for America.

Since the Balkan Wars there has been a considerable decline in the Christian population along the

western seaboard of Anatolia. Thousands fled to escape the maltreatment to which they were subjected by the Turks at the instigation of the German Military Mission at Constantinople, who wished to make the region a military zone, and regarded the Christians as friends of the enemy. Forcible deportations were also carried out, this policy being in full vigour at the outbreak of the European War. The regions opposite Chio and Mitylene were treated with special severity.

While emigrants from Anatolia are almost all Christians, immigrants are almost all Mussulmans. These come from the European provinces which have been lost to Turkey since the war with Russia in 1877. This movement has gone on steadily, stimulated by religious propaganda and by official promises of grants of land and immunity from taxes and military service. All the lost provinces and islands have contributed a quota. Entire villages have often emigrated, taking with them their cattle and agricultural implements. The newcomers have settled most thickly along the Marmara littoral and near the line of the Anatolian Railway; while many of those who arrived after the Balkan Wars were planted by the Government in the country behind Smyrna. Though the authorities have often failed to keep their promises, many of the immigrants have been able to buy land, and have proved themselves a valuable element in the country, as they are industrious and their methods of cultivation are much more advanced than those usually followed in Anatolia.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

In treating of the agricultural products of Anatolia, it is well to deal with the provinces separately, as the nature and quality of the crops and live-stock depend on the past history of each region, the character of the population, and the adequacy of communications, not

to mention climate and soil—factors which vary greatly in such a large and mountainous tract of country with so long a coast-line. It may broadly be said that agriculture flourishes most in regions near the railways and where the Christian element in the population is numerous. The railways enable the cultivator to find a market for surplus produce, and have largely removed the danger of famine, which formerly might arise after any year of bad weather. The Christians are, as a rule, far more industrious and intelligent than the Mussulman Turks, and alone possess the skill requisite for the successful cultivation of tobacco, poppies, and olives. Where they are numerous, a greater variety of produce is raised, and such districts are thus less dependent for their prosperity on particular meteorological conditions.

To avoid unnecessary repetition, it may be stated here that in the more fertile parts of Anatolia the raising of live-stock is of small economic importance. The peasants breed domestic animals—horses, asses, oxen, buffaloes—for their own use; but it is only in the high country of central Anatolia that stock-breeding attains the dignity of an industry. The Angora goat and the camel are the most valuable animals produced.

Sanjak of Ismid.—With a healthy climate, good railway communication with the capital, and a population consisting largely of Christians and Mussulman refugees from Europe, the province has of late increased rapidly in prosperity. About one-third of its area is under cultivation, the remainder being mostly covered with forests. Cereals, especially maize, and seeds are grown in large quantities. The province is particularly suited to fruit, which finds a ready market at Constantinople. Sericulture has been successfully introduced of recent years, being practised principally by Greeks and Armenians. Among other products of importance are tobacco, opium, honey, and wax; and poultry and eggs are sent in great numbers from Adabazar to Constantinople.

Vilayet of Brusa and Sanjak of Bigha.—The sanjak of Bigha may be treated along with the vilayet of Brusa, as the conditions of the two provinces are similar.

Although the communications stand in need of development, this region is one of the most prosperous in Anatolia. The parts near the sea are particularly fertile. The eastern and south-eastern parts lie on the central plateau of Asia Minor, Eskishehir being 2,600 ft., and Afium Karahissar 3,000 ft. above sea-level; but even here the soil is excellent for cereals. In the north and west the population is largely Christian, while in the highlands there are many Turkish immigrants from Europe. The most fertile tracts are along the Marmara coast; but much of this country is almost uninhabitable, as it is marshy and fever-stricken, especially between Brusa and Panderma.

In the north and west, wheat, barley, maize, beans, and seeds of all kinds are produced in increasing quantities. Opium, tobacco, and cotton are successfully grown, and a considerable amount of valonia is produced. Rice is also cultivated, especially round the lake of Isnik, but the peasants regard it with disfavour, as it requires marshy and therefore malarious ground. Olives and all manner of fruit grow well, their cultivation extending far into the interior; the district of Balikhissar produces some of the finest fruit grown in Turkey. The most valuable product, however, is silk. Schools of sericulture have been established at various centres by the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt; and whereas, some 30 years ago, Pasteurised silkworm-seed had to be obtained from France, the peasants now export seed thither and elsewhere. The centre of the silk industry is the city of Brusa, where a certain amount of silk thread is spun.

The high tableland in the east produces good grain-crops, and is specially celebrated for its barley, which is exported on a large scale, principally to England for the malting industry.

Vilayet of Aidin.—This is unquestionably the richest

province of Anatolia. Its communications, internal and external, are good; its inhabitants, among whom the number of Christians is exceptionally large, are hard-working and intelligent; its soil is fertile, and the railway companies have done their best to develop its resources and to introduce new methods of cultivation.

The vilayet raises a remarkable variety of agricultural products. Cereals of all kinds flourish; cotton is grown in various districts, especially at Aidin and Nazli; opium is produced in large quantities; the valonia oak is carefully tended; and, notwithstanding the irksome regulations of the Tobacco Monopoly, the cultivation of tobacco has of late years greatly increased. The province is justly renowned for its fruit, many kinds of which are plentiful. Fig gardens and vineyards abound, and are cultivated with great skill and success by the peasants. The quantity of figs carried by the Smyrna—Aidin Railway increased fivefold in the twenty years before the war. The vines cultivated are mainly those which produce raisins, several kinds of which are exported in great quantities. Another important product is liquorice, which grows wild and is particularly abundant along the Maeander River and its tributaries. The root, either dried or in the form of a paste, was largely exported to the United Kingdom and the United States. In 1913 it was stated by the British Consular authorities that the revenue of the province had risen from £1,000,000 to £2,000,000 in the space of 10 years; and though the increase was partly due to better methods of collecting the taxes, it was principally the result of the growing prosperity of agriculture.

Vilayet of Kastamuni.—This vilayet, mountainous in most parts, with poor communications, and a population almost entirely Mussulman, is the most backward in Anatolia. Much of the soil is fertile, but the peasants are generally content with raising the bare necessaries of life. There is a little export of agricultural produce from the coastal regions; but the products of the interior are nearly all consumed locally.

Wheat, barley, maize, chickpeas, gallnuts, and valonia are produced; and also, though only on a small scale, cotton and opium. Fruit grows well, but little commercial profit is derived from it. In the south and east the silkworm is bred, but this industry is not important. Among the animal products are wool, mohair, and skins.

Vilayet of Angora.—This province consists for the most part of a tableland more than 3,000 ft. above the sea. The great majority of the inhabitants are Mussulman Turks; the Christians are mostly Armenians. The soil is generally fertile, but the comparative coldness of the climate precludes the raising of many products that do well in the western provinces. The rainfall, which varies much from year to year, is of particular importance in this vilayet, which in general suffers from a lack of rivers and streams. The most prosperous regions are those traversed by the railway from Eskishehir to Angora and Kaisari.

Wheat is the principal crop. Barley comes next, the quality grown in the districts near the railway being particularly good. Oats, rye, millet, and various kinds of seeds are also cultivated. In the less elevated parts, rice, cotton, tobacco, and poppies are occasionally grown. The province produces good fruit, especially apples and pears.

The wide extent of uncultivated country lends itself to the rearing of cattle, sheep, and goats, especially the so-called Angora goat, which produces mohair. The mohair and wool of the vilayet are almost entirely sent to Constantinople, whence they are exported to foreign markets. Since the railway to Angora was built, the domestic manufacture of mohair and woollen stuffs has greatly declined. There is a large trade in dried or jerked meat. Camels, donkeys, and mules are bred in considerable numbers.

Vilayet of Konia.—This province, like Angora, lies on the central tableland of Asia Minor, except in the south, where the land slopes sharply down to the Mediterranean. Less than 10 per cent. of the popula-

tion are Christians; most of these live in the department of Adalia on the seaboard. Though the total length of the railways in the vilayet is considerable, means of communication are, on the whole, bad. In the west, north, and east, the soil and climate are much as in Angora; the south is more fertile and much warmer; in the centre there are a number of salt lakes, and the country round these is dry and barren. Agriculture generally is very backward, and, the population being sparse, much cultivable land is untilled. The greatest prosperity is seen in the south and near the line of the Anatolian and Baghdad Railways, where a large extent of new land has recently been brought under cultivation.

In the greater part of the province little is grown save cereals and seeds; but in the regions of Isparta, Buldur, and Adalia, cotton, opium, tobacco, valonia, olives, raisins, and other fruits are produced. In the north and east the peasants breed cattle, mohair goats, and sheep.

Vilayet of Adana.—This province falls into two well-defined areas. The western part is mountainous, rising abruptly from the sea to the Taurus mountains; the eastern part lies largely in the Cilician Plain, which is very fertile, though most unhealthy. Christians, principally Armenians, formed the most numerous element of the population before the war, but in all probability few are now left. Communications are more satisfactory than in most parts of Anatolia.

In the western half of the province, agriculture is not very remunerative, and the forests are the most valuable asset of this region. The Cilician Plain, on the other hand, yields a great variety of agricultural products, including wheat, barley, oats, rice, seeds, opium, sugar-cane, and cotton. The cultivation of cotton, for which the climate and soil are most suitable, increased rapidly in the decade before the war, and in 1912 the vilayet produced 110,000 bales of cotton and 35,000 tons of cotton-seed.

(b) *Methods of Cultivation*

In general, the methods of cultivation followed in Anatolia are most antiquated. The time-honoured wooden plough, little altered since the days of the Hittites, is commonly used; threshing is usually done by dragging over the corn a heavy sledge studded with flints; manure, though used in gardens and vineyards, and for certain plants, such as the poppy, which require special care, is rarely employed in the cultivation of grain crops. The peasant, in fact, seldom produces more than will satisfy the needs of himself and his family. Certain distinctions must, however, be drawn between various classes of the population and various districts. As a general rule, the Christian peasants are more skilful and intelligent, and readier to welcome modern improvements, than the native Turks; and in the western vilayets, they possess valuable traditional lore and show wonderful ability in gardening and the raising of particular products, such as grapes, olives, opium, and tobacco. The *Muhajirs*, or Mussulman immigrants from European Turkey, are likewise comparatively advanced in agricultural knowledge and methods, and their villages and fields can be distinguished at a glance from those of the native Turk by their orderly and prosperous appearance. Nevertheless, it is only in a few districts particularly exposed to foreign influences that really modern methods and implements have been adopted. Scientific cultivation, as might be expected, flourishes most in the regions traversed by railways, where the possibility of disposing of his surplus produce stimulates the peasant to increase his output. In such districts a light modern plough has found favour, and threshing, winnowing, and screening machines are beginning to be used.

The vilayet of Aidin, in agricultural methods as in other respects, is the most advanced. The railways have done their best to encourage the sale of agricultural machinery; and the Smyrna—Aidin

Company allows its stationmasters to keep a supply of fittings and duplicate parts for certain standard machines, which, in the total absence of skilled mechanics, would otherwise never be repaired when out of order. The same company has also made experiments in the growing of new crops, and has given instruction and distributed seed to peasants who wish to cultivate them.

The Anatolian Railway has done good work of the same kind. In the sanjak of Ismid it has experimented in new crops, and established three tree-nurseries. In the vilayet of Konia it has successfully introduced modern agricultural machinery, which is being increasingly used.

For some years prior to 1914, the neighbourhood of Adalia was importing a good deal of agricultural machinery from the United States. Modern methods and apparatus were also rapidly winning favour in the vilayet of Adana, where British steam-ploughs and threshing machines and American reapers were widely used, and certain farmers had begun to sow cotton by machinery.

Anatolia abounds in the remains of extensive irrigation works, dating from Roman or Byzantine times. With the advent of the Turks these fell into disuse, the result being the creation of large fever-breeding marshes. A few years ago there was virtually no irrigation in Anatolia, except for gardens near the towns, where rights to water are commonly sold along with land. When, however, the economic penetration of Anatolia by foreigners began, the need for scientific irrigation was soon realised. Several important projects have been considered, but only one, the Konia Irrigation Scheme, has so far taken practical effect. This was initiated by the Anatolian Railway Company, though the territory chiefly affected falls within the sphere of the Baghdad Railway. The capital was found by the Deutsche Bank. The undertaking was nominally carried out for the Turkish Government, but hitherto it has

remained in the hands of the Germans. The object of the scheme is to irrigate the unproductive plain south-east of Konia. The water for this purpose is derived from Lake Beyshehir and Lake Soghla or Kara Viran, and is brought down by canals and the River Charshembe, the flow of which has been artificially regulated. The distribution of the water in the Konia plain is controlled by an elaborate network of canals and dykes. Although the system is not yet complete, the main works were opened in 1914. They are stated to have been most successful; in 1915, 150,000 acres were brought under cultivation, and a report of the Turkish Ministry of Works, dated April 1917, states that in the region affected by the scheme the peasants' crops of wheat and oats have increased fivefold, even though antiquated methods of tillage are employed, while crops cultivated according to scientific methods under Government supervision have yielded fifteen times more than those previously raised on the same land.

Another project which has been much discussed, and which is said to have been revived lately at the instance of the Turkish Government, is the draining and irrigation of the marshes and lands round the Lake of Abullion (Apollonia). The district is naturally very fertile, but is now swampy and malarious. A similar scheme under consideration affects the region of the Lake of Isnik (Nicea), and the opening up of communications between the lake and Geumlek. All this region is also fertile and most unhealthy. It might be possible to make some use of the remains of the irrigation works and canals which existed here in the days of the Byzantine Empire.

In 1911-12 the firm of Sir John Jackson, Ltd., acting for the National Bank of Turkey, completed surveys with a view to controlling the Maeander and irrigating its valley. No works, however, were begun, though the scheme is of great importance. The valley is very fertile, but the devious course of the river is constantly changing, with disastrous results to

agriculture. It was computed that the accomplishment of the project would have brought a million acres of land under cultivation.

During the war the Germans initiated an ambitious scheme for draining and irrigating a large tract of the vilayet of Adana. It appears that the main purpose of the project was to drain the marshy country between the lower reaches of the Sihun and the Jihun, and then to water the area systematically from these rivers. Work was to be started in the autumn of 1917, but it is not known whether any substantial progress has been made.

(c) *Forestry*

It is only within the last half-century that the Turkish Government has made any effort to preserve from indiscriminate devastation the valuable forests which cover the mountain slopes in all parts of the Empire. The present administration of the forests is based on a law promulgated in 1870, though subsequently modified at various times. This measure places all forests, whether on State, communal, or private property, under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture, Mines, and Forestry; provides for the appointment of a staff of inspectors and keepers to supervise the felling of trees; specifies the conditions on which timber may be taken by Government Departments; fixes the taxes payable by private individuals who are granted permits to cut wood; and ordains severe penalties for unauthorised depredations. It is an admirable law, but, like most Turkish laws, has made very little difference. This is partly due to the slackness, ignorance, and venality of Turkish officials, and partly to the lack of communications, which renders impossible the effective supervision of many of the forests. There is still much unauthorised and wasteful felling of timber and stripping of bark; great damage is frequently caused by fires, which are not seldom started by incendiaries; tracts of woodland fall

into decay from sheer neglect; and there is scarcely a district where any serious attempt has been made to replace losses by planting young trees.

Notwithstanding the havoc that has been wrought, the forests of Anatolia are still of vast extent and great potential value. Every Anatolian province has large stretches of woodland, and in reviewing the country's forest resources it is convenient to take each separately.

Sanjak of Ismid.—The forests of this region have suffered very serious devastation, but considerable areas remain under timber in the districts of Kandra, Adabazar, and Geive. From the last-named district much walnut wood is exported to Constantinople. There are also forests near Ismid; the wood here is used chiefly for making charcoal.

Vilayet of Brusa.—This province has numerous beautiful forests, their total area being estimated at 23,000 square kilometres. Many of them, however, are neglected and almost unknown. The district of Ainegeul is the richest in timber, while near Gediz there is a large forest consisting exclusively of oak. The principal trees found are pine, fir, oak, elm, chestnut, beech, and hornbeam.

Sanjak of Bigha.—There are about 2,000 square kilometres of forest in the province. The forest of Eshelek, which covers 510 square kilometres, has been systematically exploited under the direction of the School of Forestry near Constantinople. Its principal product is oak, which has been exported in considerable quantities. Elsewhere coniferous trees are the most abundant, and there used to be some export of timber from the celebrated pine-woods of the Kaz Dagh region. Beeches, limes, elms, and plane-trees are numerous, and there are extensive and valuable plantations of valonia oaks. In normal times, large quantities of gall-nuts are exported. Better use has been made of the forests in this province than in most parts of Anatolia, but except around Eshelek there has been no serious attempt to apply modern methods.

Vilayet of Aidin.—There are about 6,000 square kilometres of forest in this province. The most thickly wooded areas are in the west and south-west, the neighbourhood of Makri being specially rich in excellent timber. The oak and the pine are the principal trees; near Makri cedars also flourish. In this district private undertakings have of late begun to exploit the forests, but the work is generally directed by natives who know nothing of scientific forestry. A few hydraulic sawmills, with vertical saws, have been erected, and in the town of Makri there is a small steam sawmill; but many of the trees felled are still sawed on the spot by hand. In the district of Davas there is also some exploitation of the forests, the timber being floated down the Ak Chai to the railway. Elsewhere in the province, however, the forests are subjected to the usual haphazard treatment.

Vilayet of Kastamuni.—About a third of the province consists of forest. The district of Bolu is especially rich in timber, all the mountains being well covered, particularly the Ala Dagh on the southern boundary of the province. The forests in this district, and also around Kastamuni and Sinope, have been to some extent exploited by the State. The principal trees are oak, beech, chestnut, elm, lime, and black pine. Considerable numbers of whorls, made of walnut wood, are exported.

Vilayet of Angora.—In this vilayet there are only four forests of note: those of Yaban-Abad in the district of Angora, Akdagh Maden and Sungurlu in the district of Yuzgat, and Chichek Dagh in the district of Kirshehir. They furnish the local peasants with firewood and charcoal. The most plentiful tree is the oak.

Vilayet of Konia.—This province has many rich forests; but they have been little exploited except in the region of Adalia. Here there are about 900,000 acres of forest, mostly covered with pine and larch.

Vilayet of Adana.—The mountainous regions in the west of this province contain fine forests of oak and

pine. They have been very wastefully used, but remain of great extent and value.

(d) *Land Tenure*

The conditions under which land is held in Anatolia differ in no material respect from those prevailing in other parts of Turkey. The subject is treated at length in *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series.

(3) FISHERIES

It is illegal to catch or sell fish, or even to possess fishing apparatus, without a licence; and, in addition to the cost of the various licences, a tax has to be paid on the price of all fish sold. It is perhaps largely due to these restrictions that little systematic fishing is carried on; and although the Marmara, the Dardanelles, and the Mediterranean abound in excellent fish of many kinds, there are, except near Constantinople, no fisheries of more than local importance. Most of the rivers and lakes of the interior also contain good fish; but only in the vilayet of Brusa and the sanjak of Adalia are they caught in any number. There is everywhere a good deal of poaching by the peasants for their own needs.

(4) MINERALS

(a) *Natural Resources*

The chief provisions of the Turkish mining law are given in *Turkey in Europe*.

Though the mineral resources of Anatolia have been very imperfectly investigated, enough information exists to show that they are both varied and valuable. Few mineral deposits, however, are worked, and the number of concessions granted for exploiting minerals gives an exaggerated impression of the extent of the mining industry, as many persons and companies have obtained concessions with the object of selling them to

others and therefore limit themselves to the minimum of work required by the law. Several causes have contributed to discourage mining—the badness of communications, the lack of coal in proximity to the chief mineral deposits, the heavy dues exacted by the Government, and the difficulty of securing labour.

The principal minerals known to exist in Anatolia are coal and lignite, lead, chromium, boracite (pandermite), emery, and meerschäum.

Coal.—By far the most important coalfield is that of Heraclea. The coal in this region was first mined successfully by a French company, the Société française d'Héraclée, which in 1896 obtained a concession for the construction and administration of a port at Zunguldak, the working of a number of mines, and the building of a light railway. The concession was to expire in 1846. For some time the company made no profit, but in the last few years before the war it did better. In 1912 it sold 513,900 tons of coal, at an average price of 16s., f.o.b. at Zunguldak. Of this, 217,000 tons were supplied to ships' bunkers at the port, and 186,000 tons were shipped to Constantinople. Before the war there were several other companies working in the same area, but their total output was considerably less than that of the Société d'Héraclée.

Shortly before the war several of the mines of this region were bought by a Belgian syndicate, and others by a German company under the control of the Deutsche Bank and Hugo Stinnes, the coal magnate. In 1916 this company took over the mines of the Belgian group. It has since undertaken the construction of a railway from the coalfield to Bolu.

When war broke out between France and Turkey, the Turkish Government assumed control of the mines and other works of the Société d'Héraclée; and it afterwards bought up the harbour of Zunguldak. It also endeavoured to bring all the mines of the region under a single new company, which was being formed in 1917 by a group of German financiers, headed as usual by the Deutsche Bank.

There are small deposits of coal in other parts of Anatolia. Near Manjilik, in the north-west of the vilayet of Brusa, there are small workings, and prospecting in this area is being continued. Coal has also been found near Lapsaki on the Dardanelles, but these deposits have not yet been exploited. In the vilayet of Aidin coal is mined near Soma for the use of factories in that neighbourhood and at Pergamum. At Sokia and Nazli, in the Maeander Valley, there are workings which supply local needs; and at Makri a mine produces coal of good quality. It is reported that coal has been discovered near Konia, and is being worked by the local authorities.

Lignite.—Deposits of lignite are found in several parts. The so-called Panderma Lignite Mines, which lie between Kirmasli and Mikhalij in the vilayet of Brusa, formerly produced little, but during the latter part of the war sent more than 300 tons monthly to Constantinople. The lignite, however, is of poor quality, and has to be mixed with better lignite or coal before being used. The most important lignite mines in Anatolia are at Manjilik, in the same province, and belong to the celebrated Balia-Karaïdin Company, further particulars of which will be found below. From 1908 to 1912 the mines produced on an average 29,000 tons a year. In the vilayet of Aidin several deposits are worked. Near Soma mines have been opened during the war, and according to report produce very large quantities of very bad lignite, some of which, however, mixed with German coal, is burned by the locomotives on the Soma-Panderma Railway, while some is sent to Smyrna. At Sokia workings which were fairly successful before the war have, it seems, greatly increased their output. Here, too, the lignite is poor, but it is bought in Smyrna by the railways, the gasworks, and factories. Another deposit, near Nazli, has also been worked very vigorously since 1914, mainly by an American company. The produce, though said to be deplorably bad, commands a market in Smyrna. In contrast to the mines just mentioned, a

deposit of lignite recently found near Angora is said to be of good quality.

Lead.—Lead ore, usually containing silver and sometimes gold, occurs in many places, frequently in association with zinc. By far the most important mines are those of Karaïdin and Koja Gümüş, near Balia-Maden, in the north-west of the vilayet of Brusa, which belong to the Société Anonyme Ottomane de Balia-Karaïdin, already mentioned as working lignite in the same neighbourhood. This company, which was established with French capital, took over the mines from the Société de Laurium, of Athens, in 1892, and has become the most prosperous mining enterprise in Anatolia. In the years 1910-1913, the dividend paid on its share capital averaged 23 per cent. per annum. During the same period the mines produced yearly on an average 12,900 tons of argentiferous "rough" lead, smelted on the spot, and 5,800 tons of blende, containing 41 per cent. of zinc. The mines are worked on the most scientific principles and with modern plant, and the company has built a Décauville railway from the lignite mines at Manjilik to Balia and Palamutlik, whence there is a good road to the small port of Akchai, which is used for the shipment of such of the company's products as are destined for overseas. It is stated that after the outbreak of the European War the mines were for a time shut down, but later, it appears, the company was given large contracts for lead by the Ottoman Government.

There are also very valuable deposits of auriferous and argentiferous lead in the Bulgar Dagh mountains, in the extreme south-east of the vilayet of Konia. The most famous mine in this district is that of Bulgar Maden, which has been exploited since 1825. It belongs to the State, and, perhaps on that account, has not been very vigorously worked, although the ore can be easily and cheaply reached by means of horizontal galleries. The ore contains 44.2 per cent. of lead, and 1,665 grammes of silver and 7 of gold to the ton; but owing to the primitive methods of smelting employed

a large proportion of the lead and silver is lost. The gold is separated from the silver at Constantinople, and of late years has surpassed in value the other products of the mine. There can be no doubt, however, that, with energetic and enlightened methods of working, the mine's yield of lead and silver would be very large. A German report on mining in Anatolia indicates that at Berektli Maden, some 60 kilometres north-east of Bulgar Maden, argentiferous lead has been worked with great success during the war. No particulars, however, are given.

Of the numerous other lead mines a few may be mentioned. At Karasu, in the sanjak of Ismid, the Société Minière Anonyme Ottomane de Karassou has since 1898 worked argentiferous lead and zinc. For some years prospects were satisfactory, especially as regards zinc, but the last few years before the war saw a great decline in the company's output.

Near the coast of the Dardanelles, some 16 kilometres south-west of Lapsaki, an English company was in 1914 conducting preparations for the opening of a lead mine. In the vilayet of Kastamuni there are abandoned workings of argentiferous lead at Kurei Nahas, south of Ineboli, which might be exploited successfully if improved means of transport were available; and in the vilayet of Angora there are at Akdagh Maden and Denek Maden, and in the Elma Dagh range, mines which are reputed to be rich in lead, but little work has been done in any of them for many years. During the war a very large number of concessions for the mining of argentiferous lead have been granted.

Chromium.—Chromite, the principal ore of chromium, is abundant in Anatolia, especially in the vilayets of Brusa and Aidin. In the former, the richest district is in the wild and remote country to the south of Mount Olympus. Though means of communication and transport are most primitive, several mines have been successfully worked in this region. The most celebrated are near Chardi, among them being the mine of Dagh Ardi, which until recent times produced

more chromium than any other in Anatolia. In 1908 prices in Europe fell, and since then there has been a marked decline in the production of the mines in the vilayet; in fact, one or two of the most famous seem to have been closed. The second great centre for the mining of chromite is the south-west corner of the vilayet of Aidin. A great many concessions have been granted here, but in most cases very little work has been done. The fall of prices in 1908, however, seems to have affected the mines in this region less than those in the vilayet of Brusa. In the last few years before the war one or two near Makri did particularly well.

It appears from a German report that since the beginning of the recent war chromite has been profitably worked at Denizli, which is on a branch of the Smyrna—Aidin Railway. It is also known to occur at several places in the vilayet of Adana—for example, near the coast south-west of Mersina, near Tarsus and the town of Adana, and close to the Baghdad Railway in the extreme south-east of the province. Some of the deposits have been worked, but, to judge from official statistics, with small success.

Chromium-mining in Anatolia has hitherto been handicapped by the fact that the mineral occurs most abundantly in districts that are particularly lacking in means of communication. If the Smyrna—Kassaba Railway Company builds branches northward of its main line, and if the schemes, mentioned above, for connecting Aidin and Makri by rail can be carried out, the expansion of the industry will be greatly facilitated, and it should become extremely prosperous. It is, in fact, possible that its position has improved during the war, for it is known that large quantities of chromite have been exported from Turkey to the Central Powers. The competition of New Caledonia, which has already done harm to Anatolia, will doubtless be felt severely, but the world's demand for chromium will probably soon become large enough to absorb the supply of both sources.

Emery.—The vilayet of Aidin is by far the most

important source of the world's supply of emery. The most productive area lies some 40 miles south-east of Smyrna, between Tire and Sokia, where a number of rich deposits are worked with great profit, especially those at Alajali, a few miles west of Tire, and Gümüş Dagħ, to the north of Sokia. There are also rich workings near Nazli, and further south, in the sanjak of Mughla.

Of the holders of concessions for emery by far the most influential is Ernest Abbott, an Englishman, who before the war was working several of the most lucrative deposits, including those of Alajali and Gümüş Dagħ. It is said that the industry has been injured by the invention of artificial abrasives, but this view is not borne out by the most recent statistics. The artificial products, in fact, are higher in price, and are used to supplement the natural supply. During the war a number of concessions for exploiting deposits of emery were granted.

Meerschaum.—Anatolia has almost a monopoly of the world's supply of meerschaum. Of late years the only deposits which have been worked are those near Eskishehir, which, however, yield very large quantities. They belong to the State.

Boracite (pandermite).—The mineral produced in Anatolia under the name of boracite is a hydrous borate of calcium, also and more correctly known as pandermite, a name suggested by the proximity of Panderma to the principal sources of the mineral. Pandermite is much used in the making of lenses and the manufacture of enamel. It is found almost exclusively near Susigirli, about 30 miles south of Panderma, on the Soma—Panderma Railway. The principal workings belong to an Anglo-American company, Borax Consolidated, Ltd. In the years 1908-12 the average annual production of raw pandermite was 11,500 tons. During the war, one or two concessions for mining pandermite in this region were granted.

Other minerals.—Many minerals besides those already mentioned are known to occur in Anatolia.

Few, however, have been systematically worked in recent times, and there is much difference of opinion, even among experts, as to the importance of many of the deposits that have been traced. In these circumstances, it seems advisable to limit comment to a few brief notes indicating where the more promising deposits have been found.

Antimony ore is mined at several places in the vilayet of Aidin, but only at Mesjidli was there any considerable production before the war. Several concessions have been granted for antimony mines in the districts of Ivrindi and Balikhissar, in the vilayet of Brusa, but up to the outbreak of the war the work done here was insignificant. Since 1914 the mineral has been vigorously worked at Chinlikaya, in the hilly country north of Nazli, in the vilayet of Aidin.

Mercury is one of the most promising of the less abundant minerals of Anatolia. It has for many years been profitably mined at Saib and Tepejik, in the sanjak of Smyrna and vilayet of Aidin; and, in the last few years before the war, a recently opened mine at Sisma, in the vilayet and sanjak of Konia, was doing fairly well. It is reported that during the war the Deutsch-Türkische Montangesellschaft bought or took on lease all Anatolian mercury mines that could be worked, and that it has opened a new one near Ödemish in the vilayet of Aidin. It is also stated that a particularly rich mine has been discovered near Ushak (Brusa vilayet).

Since 1914 nickel mines at Ak-Kaya, near the town of Kastamuni, have been worked by the State.

Iron and copper ores are found here and there, and a few concessions for working them have been granted, but before the war the output was negligible. It is stated that there is iron ore of good quality and easily accessible in the Beshparmak Mountains, near the mouth of the Maeander (Aidin vilayet).

Iron pyrites has been successfully worked at Malaj, in the vilayet of Adana, but is not of frequent occurrence.

Zinc has been treated above, under the heading of lead, with which it is commonly found.

Many concessions have been granted for working deposits of manganese, mostly in the western provinces, and it is thought that the output of this mineral may become very great. Hitherto, however, very little has been mined.

Near the railway from Smyrna to Kassaba there are deposits of sulphur, which, it is thought, could be worked very profitably. Sulphur has also been mined at Kechiborlu (Konia vilayet), on the Smyrna—Aidin Railway.

Salt, which is under the control of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, is produced and exported in large, though fluctuating, quantities. Rock-salt is mined at several places in the vilayets of Angora and Konia, but most of the Anatolian output of salt is derived from springs, lakes, marshes, or brine deposits, whence it is extracted by somewhat primitive methods. In the years immediately before the war the Anatolian vilayet with the largest production was Aidin, Konia coming second, and Angora third.

Various kinds of building and lithographic stone occur in Anatolia. Marble, of which many beautiful varieties are found, especially in the vilayet of Brusa, should become a source of much wealth to certain regions.

An Anatolian product of some note is fuller's earth, which is obtained in great quantities from the State-owned deposits at Michalijik, in the vilayet of Angora. It is also found in the vilayet of Brusa.

(b) *Output*

The following statistics of the output in 1910-11 of the principal minerals worked in Anatolia are based on Turkish official statistics, revised and amplified by a German expert. They are, nevertheless, only approximately correct, falling short in both complete-

ness and accuracy, but they are useful for comparison with corresponding figures for other parts of Turkey:—

Mineral.	Output in metric tons.	Value in £ sterling.
Coal	766,392	354,001
Lignite	41,226	14,385
Chromium	16,604	33,995
Emery	27,656	90,516
Meerschaum	115	61,306
Pandermite	11,352	75,636

(5) MANUFACTURES

Apart from carpet-making, there is no manufacturing industry on a large scale in Anatolia. Factories of any kind are few, the system being in several ways repugnant to the principles and prejudices of the population: the employment of women, for instance, is restricted by the Mohammedan rule that they must be veiled in the presence of men; and though at Brusa a certain number of Mussulman women and girls work in the silk-spinning mills, they have to be carefully segregated and kept under strict supervision. In 1911, with the object of encouraging the establishment of factories, a law was passed exempting them from taxes and customs duties on machinery and raw materials. Manufacturing enterprises with a capital of £2,000 and 25 workmen were to be regarded as factories for the purposes of the Act. Nevertheless, factory industry remains less important than domestic handicraft, despite the regrettable decline of the latter in the districts traversed by railways, where the peasants find that it pays best to export their raw materials and to buy the cheap foreign goods that are now brought within their reach.

Manufacturing industry flourishes most in the sanjak of Ismid and the vilayets of Brusa, Aidin, and Adana. In the following paragraphs the provinces of Anatolia are treated separately.

Sanjak of Ismid.—This region possesses several small but growing industries. The chief of these is the spinning and weaving of linen. There are a few factories where linen for native garments is made, but most of the thread and cloth produced is spun and woven by hand in the homes of the peasants. The linen cloth is coarse, but is in considerable demand in Turkey.

Near the town of Ismid there are two large Government factories which work exclusively for the Army and the Navy. One manufactures fezzes, the other a coarse cloth for uniforms.

Carpet-making and embroidery are carried on, especially by Christian women. At Hereke, on the Gulf of Ismid, there is a well-conducted State school of carpet-making. It is attended by many women and children, both Mussulman and Christian. Very beautiful carpets are made in its factory, but, its immediate objects being educational and not commercial, the output is not large.

Vilayet of Brusa.—The town of Brusa is the centre of the silk-producing industry. Most of the silk, however, is exported, whether in the form of cocoons or as thread, which is spun in primitive mills. There used to be much silk-weaving in the district, but, owing to disease among the silk-worms some forty years ago, this branch of the industry almost disappeared, and only recovered very imperfectly when the disease was eradicated and the production of silk again increased. At present, the manufacture of silk fabrics is mainly a domestic occupation. In connection with the silk manufacture, a cotton industry of some importance grew up. This passed uninjured through the crisis which affected the production of silk, and to-day there is in the district a considerable manufacture of towels, kimonos, and other goods, in most of which silk is

mixed with the cotton. The work is generally done on hand looms, and is often embellished with embroidery, in which the native women are most expert. In some villages a kind of velvet, known in Europe as "Utrecht velvet," is made. The upland regions of the vilayet manufacture a thick woollen cloth, or felt, which is used for saddlery, horse-blankets, overcoats, and door-hangings. Good tanned leather is also produced in various parts. In the south of the province carpet-making flourishes. This industry is centred at Smyrna, and is treated below under the vilayet of Aidin.

Kutahia, in the east of the province, produces a small quantity of glazed tiles and pottery. The industry has long been established in the district, and was formerly famous, but the secret of the old colouring and glaze has been lost, and the present products are generally of poor quality. The best are the tiles, which have bold classical patterns, and are used with good effect in the decoration of public buildings. There is also in the province a small manufacture of meerscham goods, mostly cigarette-holders.

Soap of good quality, made from inferior olive oil and the refuse of olives, is produced at Aivali and Edremid. The town of Brusa has several steam flour-mills.

Sanjak of Bigha.—Notwithstanding its favourable situation, there is little manufacturing industry in this province. Soap is manufactured in the south; there are a number of tanneries, for which the materials are plentiful; and Chanak still produces and exports a little pottery, though this industry has utterly fallen from its former prosperity and repute.

Vilayet of Aidin.—By far the most important manufacture in this province is that of carpets. The industry flourishes also in the south of the vilayet of Brusa and the west of the vilayet of Konia, but may properly be treated as a single whole with its centre at Smyrna.

The industry is an old one, the districts of Geurdiz, Kula, Ushak, and Isparta having long been renowned

for the fine rugs called Asia Minor carpets. Of late, however, it has developed rapidly under the stimulus afforded by the railways and other types of foreign enterprise. Much of its present prosperity is due to Englishmen. The carpets are nearly all hand-woven by women and girls who work in their homes, and who often possess much traditional lore in the art. It would be almost impossible to produce similar carpets elsewhere, except in parts of Persia, as the labour employed is not only highly skilled but very cheap, and the wool used is grown locally, and not being subjected to chemical treatment such as it would receive in European factories, retains certain natural oils which are essential to the peculiar excellence of the finished fabric.

In recent years the merchants of Smyrna have undertaken the supply of good thread to the peasants, and a number of modern spinning-mills have been established. At Smyrna, moreover, there are two factories for dyeing yarns; both are British enterprises, though the technical staff and the machinery are German. The merchants, too, have employed artists to design good patterns. The native workers have shown themselves very ready to make use of the advantages offered them and to adapt themselves to the requirements of the exporters. Over 60,000 work for the merchants of Smyrna alone. The remarkable expansion of the industry is illustrated by the statistics of the export of modern carpets from Smyrna: in 1901 the value was estimated at £284,000, in 1910 at £735,000.

Carpet-making has given rise to another industry, the spinning of Turkish-grown cotton, which is used as the backing or canvas of the carpets. Recently, however, this industry has developed independently, and much of the cotton is woven into towels and clothing, mostly, it is true, of a somewhat coarse texture. The chief centres of this manufacture are Magnesia, Aidin, and Nazli. A French company has a cotton-spinning mill at Smyrna; its output is partly consumed locally, partly exported to Bulgaria.

Though Smyrna is not an industrial centre according to European standards, its manufactures are more considerable than those of any other Turkish town. Apart from the enterprises mentioned above, it has an important manufacture of a very serviceable plain soap, made from the refuse of olives which have been pressed for oil, and from the inferior kinds of the oil itself. This industry flourishes to a smaller extent at Aidin.

At Smyrna, moreover, there is a cloth mill, under British control, which used to manufacture for the army; an ironworks, where tools, boilers, and machinery of various kinds are made; and a factory, owned by a British firm, for the extraction of tannin from the valonia acorn, 5,000 tons of its output being exported annually. An industry of some note is the manufacture of wooden boxes for figs and raisins; the cheap wood used comes principally from Austria and Rumania.

Vilayet of Kastamuni.—Little manufacture is carried on in this backward region. In the capital of the province and other towns a coarse cloth is made from wool and goats' hair; it is valued by the natives, who put it to various rough uses. In the west, coarse rugs are made, but are not in much demand. Sinope produces a little cotton cloth, and is celebrated for beautiful embroidery. At Sinope and Ineboli, and, in fact, all along the coast, there is a good deal of boat-building, sailing-vessels of several hundred tons burden being sometimes made. These are generally of primitive design but sound workmanship. They are mostly sold at Constantinople.

Vilayet of Angora.—Here also there is little manufacturing industry. The local weaving industry, once very extensive, has rapidly dwindled since the advent of railways made it profitable to the peasants to export their wool and mohair. At Sivrihissar a certain amount of knitted clothing is produced. Carpets are made in some parts, but the industry is not important.

Vilayet of Konia.—It is only in the west and south of this vilayet that any manufactures exist. The carpet-making industry of Isparta and its vicinity has already been mentioned. In the same region, especially at Buldur, there is an old-established manufacture of linen and cotton cloth, used by the natives for under-clothing; this industry has of late increased. In the south of the province there is a considerable production of woven mats, some of which used to be exported to Syria or Egypt. In the same part wooden agricultural implements, used by the peasants, are made, and at Adalia there is some manufacture of bricks and tiles and of copper vessels.

Vilayet of Adana.—Of late years important industries have been introduced into this province. In the town of Adana there are two factories for spinning and weaving cotton, with 10,000 and 5,000 spindles respectively, and 180 and 50 looms. At Adana there is also a pressing and baling mill for cotton, which belongs to the Deutsch-Levantinische Baumwollgesellschaft. Tarsus has two cotton-spinning mills, employing respectively 20,000 and 6,000 spindles; one of them is worked by electric power. Small ginning mills are fairly numerous, Adana alone having 21. There are in the province a number of factories producing sesame oil or cotton-seed oil; one of the chief sources of the latter, at Mersina, is owned by a British firm. At Mersina, bricks and tiles are also made.

The development of all industries in the vilayet has been seriously hindered by the repeated massacres of the Christian population.

(6) POWER

Before the war, electricity was used at Tarsus for street lighting and for working a cotton mill, but elsewhere in Anatolia it was practically unknown. As a general rule, the rivers and streams would be of little use in generating power, as they are swift torrents in winter and not much more than brooks in summer.

Some of the rivers in the north, however, have a more consistent flow, and might, perhaps, be utilised, though the initial expense would probably be great. At the town of Brusa there is sufficient water power to provide electricity for both lighting and the driving of machinery, and shortly before the war a German group was negotiating for a concession for the supply of electric light and power to the town. At Smyrna, the electrification of certain existing tramways and the construction of new ones were in contemplation.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) *Character of Trade*

In many parts of Anatolia there is virtually no commerce at all, the peasant producing all the food and clothing he needs, and often making his own crude implements. Even where opportunities of disposing of surplus products give a stimulus to his industry and ambitions, the consequent commerce is very simple. Whenever possible the peasant sells his goods in person at the market town of his district, so that with the money he gets he may at once buy what articles he wants. When, as is often the case, the nearest market town is a long way off, the peasants of a village generally organise an expedition after the harvest has been got in, and, often accompanied by their women, set out with a long train of carts and pack animals laden with grain, seeds, poultry, honey, skins, and the products of domestic manufacture. They bivouac at night, and on arrival at their destination camp in the market square. The more perishable goods are commonly sold by the women in the open market; their cloth and embroidery are sometimes disposed of in the same way, but more usually taken to the bazaar and bartered for yarns, Manchester goods, needles, and such-like. The grain and seeds are

sold by the men to local merchants, generally Greeks or Armenians, many of whom, especially in towns on or near a railway, are agents for houses at Smyrna or Constantinople. There are also Jewish merchants who buy skins, eggs, and poultry, which they re-sell locally, often hawking them round on days when there is no market; but this class is not numerous.

Autumn is the time when trade is most active, but country towns usually have two market days every week, when the peasants of the immediate neighbourhood come in to sell the produce appropriate to the season. The diversity of religions which prevails in most parts of Anatolia is a serious handicap on commerce—Friday being a holy day for Mohammedans, Saturday for Jews, and Sunday for Christians.

While Turkish merchants are few, there are many wealthy Turkish landowners in the interior who sell their crops regularly to the same buyers in Smyrna or Constantinople, for whom they often act as agents. They are usually very honest and straightforward in business. They frequently buy up the surplus produce of whole villages, which in this case is delivered at their farms and forwarded by them to the big firms at the great seaports.

Certain products of special value, such as opium, olive oil, cotton, and various kinds of seeds, are sometimes bought direct from the peasants by traders who travel from village to village, acting for their own account or for exporting firms. They often make advances to the peasants on their prospective crops, and a good deal of undesirable usury is practised under this guise. The Mussulmans, who are generally stupid and honest, expose themselves readily to sharp practice; the Christians are not only shrewder and more suspicious, but as a rule will deal only with co-religionists.

The goods purchased by the peasants are manufactured articles of various kinds, principally cotton fabrics and hardware, but of course the nature and extent of the demand varies much from district to district. The shopkeepers and small merchants of the in-

terior obtain their supplies from importers at Smyrna or Constantinople, buying in winter or early spring, either on sample or from stock, the quantity purchased depending on the prospects of the harvest. It is essential to the up-country retailer that his order shall be executed before the harvest is over, or he loses the custom of the big parties of peasants who come from a distance in the autumn. A careful study of his customers' tastes and prejudices is also more necessary than might be supposed in a country where wants are so simple. Among the peasant women, for instance, there are continually changing fashions in the colours and patterns of cotton goods, and the men have obstinate preferences for certain makes of agricultural implements. It is consequently important that the foreign manufacturer should supply exactly what is wanted.

(b) *Towns, Markets, Fairs*

Brusa is the only town of importance. It contains 85-90,000 inhabitants, of whom two-thirds are Turks, the rest Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Its sulphur baths are much frequented, and it has considerable trade in silk, fruit, and wine.

The ports have been treated above, and the few other towns of note call for no special reference. They are mostly very small and ill-provided with modern amenities; such industries as they possess have been mentioned above; the general character of their trade has been sufficiently indicated in the last section, and any peculiar importance they may have in relation to foreign commerce will be pointed out below. Nothing need be added to what has been said about markets, and fairs properly so called are not known in Anatolia.

(c) *Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce*

There was a British Chamber of Commerce at Smyrna, but this appears to have been the only institution of the kind in Anatolia. Public exchanges are un-

known. Before the war, in short, systematic encouragement of industry and commerce was left almost entirely to the railway companies and other foreign undertakings.

For efforts to stimulate production and trade during the war, see p. 133 below.

(d) *Foreign Firms and Companies*

Foreign commercial houses are found only at Smyrna and a few other ports, and even in such places they are not numerous. Most of the foreign trade of Smyrna is carried on through native firms, which play a much more important and successful part here than in Constantinople. The native merchants and agents are generally Christians; they are clever and enterprising, but of late years many have been ruined through reckless speculation in prospective harvests and fruit crops. Of the European business houses the great majority are British, some of them having been in existence since the days of the old Levant Company. The most conspicuous firm is C. Whittall and Co., who do a large export business, and are renowned throughout Asia Minor. MacAndrews and Forbes, who control the liquorice trade, are also very influential. Of late years a number of business houses have been incorporated as British limited liability companies; these are not, however, always composed entirely of British elements. Among these concerns may be mentioned the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers Ltd. (capital £1,000,000), the Smyrna Fig Packers Ltd. (£250,000), the Ottoman Cloth Company (£80,000), the Ottoman Oil Company (£60,000), the Anglo-Anatolian Trading Company (£30,000), and the Anglo-Oriental Trading Company (£20,000).

For the foreign firms at Constantinople, through whom much of the trade of northern and central Anatolia is carried on, see *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series.

(e) *Methods of Economic Penetration*

The efforts of European capitalists to secure concessions for railways, public works, and mines have been sufficiently illustrated above. As for commercial penetration in the strict sense, the methods of Germany, which have been peculiarly successful, are described in *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series. What is there said, though German policy is the same throughout Turkey, applies in particular to Constantinople and its neighbourhood. Before the war Anatolia, for the most part an undeveloped country, had been influenced comparatively little by Germany's commercial aggression, and in the province of Aidin, which was economically the most advanced, British interests were paramount. Nevertheless, German trade was making headway in the districts served by the German railways, and even at Smyrna the competition of several continental countries was being felt by the old-established British houses. According to the British Consular Report for Smyrna for 1912, a local paper gave the following as the principal reasons for the growing success of Great Britain's rivals:—(1) Personal visits to Turkish markets and a thorough study of them on the spot by manufacturers; (2) the frequent supply of samples and regular despatch of travellers; (3) acceptance of the smallest orders; (4) the ungrudging replacement of unsatisfactory goods; (5) the grant of great facilities for payment; (6) co-operation between banks and shippers; (7) the quotation of inclusive (*c.i.f.*) prices; (8) combination of land and sea freights.

In 1911 it was reported by H.M. Consulate that the Hungarian Société de Commerce et de Banque had set up a showroom at Smyrna for samples of the products of firms for which it acts as agent, and in the same year a similar exhibition was established by the Rumanian Government. An attempt of the British Chamber of Commerce at Smyrna to organise a showroom for British goods met with insufficient support. In 1912 commercial missions from Spain and Russia

visited Smyrna to study the best openings for the trade of their respective countries. There appears to have been some danger that British traders would be content to rest on their reputation and would neglect to take measures to counter the progressive methods of their rivals.

(2) FOREIGN

It is impossible to give precise statistics of the foreign trade of Anatolia. Before the war it was nearly all conducted through three ports, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Mersina. Constantinople was the chief emporium for the north and centre, Smyrna for the west, and Mersina for certain parts of the south. It is safe to say that the goods exported and imported at Smyrna and Mersina were almost entirely of Anatolian origin or destination; but this was not the case at Constantinople, through which passed the exports and imports of many regions, both in the Turkish Empire and elsewhere. The real position of Anatolian trade was rendered yet more obscure by the method of grouping followed by the Customs authorities; thus, the returns for Mersina were not published separately, but formed part of a total to which Adalia and Alexandretta also contributed. Further, from 1911 to 1913 Turkey was at war, and the conditions of her trade were abnormal. It is consequently advisable to base all conclusions on the statistics for 1910-11, when the official Turkish returns were fortunately compiled according to the improved methods introduced after the reform of the Customs Administration in 1909. On the other hand, between then and 1914 Turkey lost much territory, including several islands which were treated as "dependencies of Smyrna," and for which separate figures were not quoted. In short, all that can be attempted is a rough estimate of the foreign trade of Anatolia eight years ago; while the value of the exports and imports of

particular regions can seldom be calculated at all, even those of coastal districts with ports of their own passing for the most part through Constantinople or Smyrna and figuring in the returns for these places.

(a) *Exports*

(i) *Quantities and Values.*—In considering statistics of Turkish exports, it must be remembered that tobacco, which is controlled by the Régie Ottomane des Tabacs, and certain other commodities controlled by the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt, are not included in the Custom House returns. In 1910-11 the value of the tobacco exported from Turkey was £2,842,000, and that of the articles controlled by the Council of the Public Debt £172,000. The sum of £3,014,000 should therefore be added to the total value of the exports as given in the Customs returns. For 1910-11 this was £20,072,000, distributed among the various districts as follows:—

	£	£
Constantinople—		
Stambul and Galata	1,993,000	
Haidar Pasha, Marmara and Dardanelles ports, and Zunguldak ...	2,316,000	
	<hr/>	4,309,000
Smyrna	4,444,000	
Dependencies of Smyrna (Aivali, Mitylene, etc.)	1,876,000	
	<hr/>	6,320,000
Alexandretta, Mersina, and Adalia ...	...	1,471,000
Trebizond and Dependencies (including Sinope and Ineboli) ... ..	...	1,654,000
Other districts (including the European provinces since lost) ... ..	...	6,318,000

It is possible to some extent to analyze the figures of certain customs districts with the help of statistics in British Consular Reports, which, for the year 1910, give separate returns for Adalia and Mersina. Their statistics for these places, which are derived from various sources, generally unofficial, are admittedly

only approximate; and in the case of Adalia they do not attempt a precise discrimination between exports destined for other parts of Turkey and those destined for foreign countries. On a rough estimate, however, the value of the goods shipped direct from Adalia to foreign countries may be put at £70,000. The exports from Mersina, nearly all of which came from the vilayet of Adana, were valued by H.M. Vice-Consul at £619,640.

A considerable proportion of the goods shipped from Constantinople proper, and most of those shipped from Haidar Pasha, must have come from Anatolia. It may therefore be estimated that the value of the export trade of Anatolia in 1910 was about £8,000,000, representing approximately 35 per cent. of the total export trade of the Turkish Empire, tobacco included.

The Custom House returns show that in 1910-11 the exports of Smyrna alone exceeded in value those of Constantinople and its dependencies. As they must have consisted almost exclusively of Anatolian products, and came moreover from widely separated localities, the following list of the most important gives a good impression of the character of the export trade of Anatolia as a whole, except that cereals would be more and fruit less prominent among the exports of the northern and central regions, which are mostly shipped from Constantinople:—

	£
Barley	243,000
Oats	23,684
Flour	79,574
Beans	80,000
Cotton	243,578
Cotton seed	53,816
Sesame seed	33,908
Tobacco	210,000
Opium	415,208
Poppy seed	52,871
Liquorice root and paste	150,626
Figs	591,263

Raisins—	£
Dried	982,765
Fresh, and fruit	62,300
Olive oil	74,166
Valonia	476,314
Valonia extract	23,706
Hides and skins	61,347
Eggs	33,502
Carpets	735,000
Emery	88,106 ¹

(ii) *Countries of Destination*.—The following table indicates the shares of the principal European countries in the export trade of Turkey during 1910-11. The figures are those of the Turkish Custom House returns:—

	£
United Kingdom	4,882,000
France	4,003,000
Austria-Hungary	1,994,000
Italy	1,344,000
Germany	1,190,000
Russia	828,000
Other countries	5,831,000
	<hr/>
	20,072,000

Corresponding statistics for other years are given in *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series, where they are compared with figures taken from the trade returns of the countries concerned. The exports to Germany were really larger than is indicated, a number of goods

¹ These figures are taken from a British Consular Report on the trade of Smyrna, where it is said that they are based on the returns of the Central Customs Administration of Turkey. The sums quoted, however, amount to considerably more than £4,444,000, which the Turkish Customs returns give as the value of the whole of Smyrna's exports for the year in question. The discrepancy is partly due to the fact that tobacco is included in the list; but even when allowance has been made for this, the total reaches £4,530,000, although many minor articles of export are ignored.

returned as going to Austria being destined ultimately for Germany.

Since 1909 the Turkish Customs authorities have not published particulars as to the destination or origin of the foreign trade of individual ports or even of the several customs districts. It is, therefore, impossible to say how much of each country's purchases from Turkey consisted of Anatolian products. An examination of various Consular Reports, however, shows that the goods shipped direct to the United Kingdom from ports which do not serve Anatolia accounted for only a small proportion of the British imports from Turkey. It is beyond question also that Smyrna had for many years been the chief centre of British commercial influence in the Ottoman Empire, and that in this region British trade had held its own well. It is certain, therefore, that Anatolia produced a very large proportion—probably more than half—of the Turkish goods taken by the United Kingdom.

Of the products despatched from the districts served by the Anatolian and Baghdad Railways, a considerable part was undoubtedly destined for Germany and Austria-Hungary. It should also be noted that Turkey's exports to the United States were large, the American official returns putting their value in 1910 at £2,817,000. The figure given by the Turkish Customs authorities is only £916,000, the causes of the discrepancy being that Turkey's exports to America consisted largely of tobacco, that many goods destined for the United States were shipped first to ports of other countries, and that carpets, which were sent to America in great quantities, were commonly valued when passing through the Turkish Customs at a much lower price than they commanded at their destination.

(b) Imports

(i) *Quantities and Values.*—The imports into Turkey in 1910-11 were of the value of £38,687,000, and

were distributed among the various Customs districts as follows :—

	£	£
Constantinople—		
Stambul and Galata	12,181,000	
Haidar Pasha, Marmara and Dardanelles ports, and Zunguldak ...	1,280,000	
		13,461,000
Smyrna	4,218,000	
Dependences of Smyrna (Aivali, Mitylene, etc.)	781,000	
		4,999,000
Alexandretta, Mersina, and Adalia ...	...	1,483,000
Trebizond and Dependencies (including Sinope and Ineboli) ... ..	...	2,382,000
Other districts (including the European provinces since lost) ... ..	...	16,362,000

Constantinople serves as a distributing centre for an enormous area, and it is impossible to estimate what proportion of its imports was destined for Anatolia, though it is certain that the figure would be considerable. Details of the import trade of Constantinople are given in *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series. British Consular Reports furnish separate figures for Adalia and Mersina. The value of Adalia's imports from abroad in 1910 may be estimated at about £136,000, while the Consular Report gives £611,890 as the value of the imports at Mersina. As in the case of exports, the statistics of Smyrna are the most illuminating. The following were the values of the principal imports in 1910-11:—

	£
Rice	94,300
Sugar	333,200
Coffee	138,000
Cotton :—	
Manufactures	857,000
Threads and yarns	226,000
Worsted yarns	12,600
Abbas and cloth	206,000
Other woollens	26,000

	£
Hides, undressed	141,276
Leather and dressed hides ...	58,100
Timber	101,790
Coal	53,100
Petroleum	109,860
Machinery and tools	100,000
Other iron goods	135,881
Copper	20,800
Glassware	40,625
China and earthenware	20,285
Dyes and colours	25,681

(ii) *Countries of Origin*.—The following list shows the principal sources of Turkey's imports and the value of their respective contributions in 1910-11, as estimated by the Turkish Custom House authorities:—

	£
United Kingdom	7,709,000
Austria-Hungary	6,957,000
France	3,572,000
Germany	3,542,000
Italy	3,316,000
Russia	2,543,000
Bulgaria	1,820,000
British India	1,760,000
Belgium	1,518,000
Egypt	1,058,000
United States	589,000

These statistics should be compared with Table X in *Turkey in Europe*, p. 126, which gives figures of Turkish imports in 1910 based on the trade returns of the countries of origin. Some of the more glaring discrepancies are explained by the fact that many goods are clandestinely admitted into Turkey without paying duty. The value of the imports from Germany and the United States was really much higher than that given above. Many goods shipped from Trieste and classed as Austrian were, as a matter of fact, German, and Turkey's imports of railway and

war material from Germany do not appear in the Custom House statistics. American goods destined for Turkey were generally sent through some port of western or central Europe, and it is therefore impossible to make a precise calculation of the value of Turkey's imports from the United States, though it is known to have been considerable.

There is no means of estimating accurately what part of each country's imports into Turkey was destined for Anatolia. British Consular Reports, however, often furnish statistics of British imports into individual ports, and the Constantinople report for 1910-11 fortunately gives a list, with both quantities and values, of British goods discharged at Constantinople during the year, the figures being supplied by the Customs. It is much to be regretted that no similar information is furnished in the Smyrna reports for the last few years before the war, especially in view of the importance of Smyrna to British commerce.

British goods imported at Constantinople in the year in question were of the value of £2,354,000, a figure which does not cover certain articles imported in trivial quantities. The principal items were as follows:—

	£
Cotton yarns	84,000
Cotton piece-goods	852,000
Cotton mulls, tulle, &c. ...	82,000
Army cloth and serges	264,000
Broadcloth <i>choka</i>	77,000
Other woollen textiles	17,000
Textiles of wool mixed with other materials	69,000
Hosiery, shirts, &c.	66,000
Coal and anthracite	143,000

As for Smyrna, a careful examination of the statistics of British imports into other parts of Turkey leads to the conclusion that the approximate value of the goods it received from the United Kingdom in 1910-11 was £1,300,000, or about 30 per cent. of

the total value of its import trade. That this figure is not far from the truth is borne out by statistics for the years 1906-8, which show that in these years British imports at Smyrna stood in almost exactly this proportion to its import trade as a whole. The principal goods imported from the United Kingdom were textiles and coal. In cotton goods, especially those of the better class, England held a commanding lead, though there was increasing competition from Italy, which was the chief supplier of flannelette, very little of this being obtained from Great Britain. The coarser kinds of woollen cloth—army cloth, or *abbas*, in particular—came principally from the United Kingdom, which also supplied most of the woollen underwear imported; but the finer dress cloths were supplied chiefly by France or Germany. The coal imported was mainly British, though for some years before the dislocation of Turkish commerce in 1911 continually increasing quantities were supplied by the Heraclea coalfield. The petroleum trade was in the hands of American and German-Rumanian companies. Belgium was the chief country supplying iron, Great Britain and Germany coming next.

Notwithstanding growing competition, the United Kingdom had held its ground well in the import trade of Smyrna. In northern and central Anatolia, on the other hand, the influence of the railways under German control was telling heavily in favour of the efforts of Germans and Austrians to get a secure hold on the trade of the country. It is significant that whereas at Smyrna Great Britain's share in the imports was about 30 per cent., at Constantinople it was only about 18 per cent.

(c) *Comparison of Exports and Imports*

Before the war, an established feature of Turkey's foreign trade was the striking excess of imports over exports. The causes of this, which have never been adequately explained, are discussed in Handbook

No. 16, p. 119. As regards this "adverse balance," Anatolia, so far as can be gathered, held a more favourable position than any other part of the Turkish Empire. At Smyrna, in particular, the exports regularly exceeded the imports in value. The latest figures available for comparison are the following:—

Year.	Exports.	Imports.
	£	£
1910	4,444,000	4,218,000
1911	4,400,000	4,137,000
1912	4,000,000	3,788,380

The balance in favour of the exports was even greater than these figures indicate. The value of the tobacco exported, which in 1910 was £210,000, should be added, and it is recognised that many exports were valued at much less than their market price. The British Consular Report for 1913 states that in each of the three preceding years the exports really exceeded the imports in value by at least £1,500,000.

The relation between Anatolian exports and imports passing through Constantinople cannot be calculated. It is significant, however, that in 1910-11 the exports of Haidar Pasha and the districts grouped with it were very much greater than the imports, and most of this trade was certainly Anatolian. Little can be gathered from the statistics for Adalia, as the foreign trade of that port passed largely through Smyrna; but it appears that at Mersina exports and imports nearly balanced. It looks, in fact, as if the exports of Anatolia as a whole were at least equal to the imports and perhaps in excess of them.

(d) *Customs and Tariffs*

Anatolian trade is, of course, subject to the same regulations as that of the Turkish Empire at large. See *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series, p. 128.

(D) FINANCE

(1) THE OTTOMAN PUBLIC DEBT

(a) *History up to 1914*

In September 1875, when the amount of the Public Debt placed outside the Turkish Empire amounted to about £T 190,750,000 (£173,500,000),¹ Turkey committed what in a private individual would have been an act of bankruptcy. She ordered the suspension from the following month of the payment of one-half of the interest and sinking fund on all her loans, excepting the Egyptian Tribute Loans, and the Loan of 1855, which was guaranteed by the British and French Governments.

The Six Contributions, 1879.—Various expedients were used to obtain money until after the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78), when the leading financial establishments in Turkey refused further advances unless those which they had previously made were secured. They suggested that six revenues (called the "Six Contributions"), paid to the Government, should be made over to a committee of local bankers, to be collected and administered by them. This condition was accepted in principle in November 1879. The Six Contributions were the revenues derived from tobacco, salt, wines and spirituous liquors, stamps, fisheries, and silk, subject to a reduction of one million sterling, but supplemented by the contributions payable to Turkey from Eastern Rumelia and Cyprus, and the tribute of Bulgaria.

The Porte and Abdul Hamid thereafter found that the borrowing of money from abroad without the consent of the local bankers was impossible, and further, it was desirable that old and new loans should be secured by a sound administration. Consequently, the original scheme required enlargement and amendment; it could not be left in the hands of local bankers. Accordingly, in October 1880, the Porte addressed the embassies of the various Powers concerned, suggesting

¹ £T1 = 100 piastres; £1 sterling = 110 piastres.

that the foreign bondholders should send delegates to Constantinople to discuss new arrangements. This invitation was accepted; the delegates came to an agreement with the Porte, and on December 20, 1881, the law known as the Decree of Muharrem was promulgated.

The Decree of Muharrem, 1881.—The issue of this decree was an event of high importance for Turkish finance. Under its terms there was called into existence, as from January 1, 1882, a Council for the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt. This Council, commonly known as the Public Debt, consists of seven persons. Six represent the British, Dutch, French, German, Austro-Hungarian, Italian, and Ottoman bondholders.¹ The seventh member, who is nominated by the Imperial Ottoman Bank to represent the privileged bondholders (the Galata bankers) is only entitled to sit until the extinction of the particular debt in which they are interested. The largest amount of foreign bonds being in British and French hands, it was decided that the office of president of the United Council of Foreign Bondholders (an office which is tenable for five years) should be held alternately by French and English subjects.

The principal liabilities as consolidated by the Decree of Muharrem stood at £T 125,250,958, consisting of:—

	£T
Priority Bonds (Galata bankers)	8,170,000
Loans, Series A, B, C, D ² ...	101,448,410
Lots Turcs ³	15,632,548
	<hr/>
Total ...	£T 125,250,958

¹ The same delegate represented the British and Dutch bondholders.

² These loans covered the period 1858-1873, and were to be amortized in a stated order.

³ These were of the nature of premium bonds, receiving no yearly interest, the drawings of which, however, were to be continued on a basis which gave to the holder 58 per cent. of the bonus and the interest due on each bond when it was drawn.

To provide the fixed annuity for the Priority Bonds and interest on the Series A, B, C, D, together with the corresponding sinking fund (viz., $\frac{1}{4}$ of the interest charge), it was necessary to find annually the following sums:—

	£T
Priority Bonds annuity	590,000
Series A, B, C, D—	
Interest	1,170,810
Sinking fund	292,702
	<hr/>
Total ...	£T 2,053,512

There were, however, further liabilities, belonging to a different category, taken over by the new authority. These amounted to £T 71,778,260, and were as follows:—

	£T
The Loans guaranteed by the Egyptian Tribute	17,200,260
The Russian War Indemnity ...	35,310,000
Indemnities to private persons ...	268,000
The Floating Debt	19,000,000

The revenues originally conceded to the Ottoman Debt for collection and administration under the Decree of Muharrem were the following:—

- (1) The monopolies of salt and tobacco.
- (2) The revenues derived from stamp duties, spirits, fisheries, and the silk tax.
- (3) The tribute of Eastern Rumelia.
- (4) The tribute of the principality of Bulgaria, to be replaced by an annual payment of £T 100,000 from the tobacco tax (*dime*) until the amount of the tribute should be fixed by the Powers.
- (5) The produce of the tax on pipe tobacco (*tumbeki*) up to the sum of £T 50,000.
- (6) Any surplus of the Cyprus revenues.

- (7) Any increase in the Customs duties resulting from the modification of the commercial treaties.
- (8) Any increase of the revenues resulting from new regulations affecting patents and licences (*temettu*).¹
- (9) Any sums which might be fixed as contributions due from Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro for the service of the Debt.

On certain revenues ceded to the Debt, the proceeds rose steadily from £T 983,000 in 1883 to £T 2,500,000 in 1913-14. The monopoly of tobacco was farmed out in 1883 to a society created for that purpose, the *Régie Co-intéressée des Tabacs de l'Empire*, from which a fixed yearly payment of £T 750,000 was obtained, as well as a fixed proportion of its profits. In 1907 the rate of the Customs duties was increased, with the consent of the Powers, from 8 to 11 per cent.; of the proceeds of these increases 25 per cent. was consigned to the service of the Debt. No funds were, in fact, obtained from the modification of the licence tax (*temettu*), but the amount payable in respect of pipe tobacco (*tumbeki*) has always been paid.

On the other hand, no contributions from Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro were ever assessed by the Powers. The claim on Bulgaria for tribute yielded nothing, and the tobacco dimes which were assigned in compensation did not regularly yield as much as £T 100,000 a year until 1908. The tribute from Eastern Rumelia, after various reductions (falling from £T 265,000 to £T 92,000) and temporary suspensions (1885-87 and 1896), was suspended altogether in 1908. Finally, the surplus of the Cyprus revenues, which was assessed at £T 114,680 per annum, was retained by the British Government for the service of the British share of the loan of 1855, which had been guaranteed by Great Britain and France.

¹ The *temettu* is a licence for carrying on an occupation or profession.

In compensation for the last-mentioned item, the Turkish Government has always provided £T 130,000 per annum by bills on the Customs, and to balance the other losses the debt eventually (in 1910) obtained from the Government all surplus revenues on the ceded dimes, over and above the amounts which it already had to collect and administer, up to £T 114,000.

The Decree Annex, 1903.—The second important date in the history of the Public Debt is that of the promulgation (1903) of the Decree Annex of Unification and Conversion, which was brought about in response to the insistent demand of the Debt Council for a reconstitution and simplification of the Debt. The main effects of the Decree were:—

- (1) First, to get rid of the prior lien, dating from 1881, of the Priority Loan (into which the original Priority Bonds and Series A had been converted in 1890); this was effected by the repayment of the holders either in cash at par or in new Unified Bonds (see below) at par with a cash bonus of 6 per cent.
- (2) The Decree aimed secondly at the creation of a new capital debt of £T 32,738,772, bearing interest at 4 per cent., and subject to amortisation at the rate of 0.45 per cent. per annum, in the place of the Series B, C, D, the bonds of which were to be exchanged for a new series of Unified Bonds at the respective rates of £70, £42, and £27 10s. per cent.
- (3) Thirdly, the Government was given the benefit of 75 per cent. of any surplus remaining after payment of an annuity of £T 2,157,375, which was assigned for the service of the Debt and allocated as follows:—

	£T
Interest at 4 per cent. on the original capital of the Unified Converted Debt (including Converted Priorities)	... 1,691,000

Ordinary Sinking Fund on the	£T
Unified Converted Debt ...	196,000
Fixed annuity for Lots Turcs ...	270,375
	<hr/>
Total ...	£T 2,157,375

Later Liabilities, 1908-1914.—In 1908, after the revolution, the Ottoman Government fell under the influence of the Young Turks. Unfortunately for Turkey, this era was heralded by the proclamation of the independence of Bulgaria (October 1908), the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary, and the proclamation of the union of Crete to Greece. The new rulers of Turkey, encouraged by the Germans, began in self-defence to reform their army and fleet. This forced them to incur heavy expenses in armaments.

Up to the time of the revolution there existed no real budget, and the first constitutional budget appeared in 1909-10.¹ This budget, and all further budgets until the entry of Turkey into the European War, showed a considerable deficit. The receipts of the Ministry of Finance for the four years 1909-10 to 1912-13 were, in round figures, as follows:—

	£T
1909-10	26,990,000
1910-11	28,340,000
1911-12	30,374,000
1912-13	29,500,000

The deficits were as follows:—

	£T
1909-10	5,447,221
1910-11	9,678,683
1911-12	8,463,205
1912-13	8,608,569

To meet these deficits the Turkish Government could only resort to further loans. On July 4, 1914, according to a statement made in the Turkish Chamber, these amounted to £T 51,963,432, which, together with

¹ The Turkish financial year begins on March 1st.

the floating debt of £T 18,303,615, gave a total of £T 70,267,047 of increased liabilities.

Of these loans the most important was that of £T 11,000,000 at 4 per cent. advanced in 1911 by a syndicate of 32 Austro-German establishments.¹ Part of this loan, £T 7,040,000, was issued at $86\frac{3}{4}$ on the Berlin and Vienna markets, but the expenses of flotation reduced the nett yield to 81 per cent. of the nominal capital. The second part, amounting to £T 3,960,000, was in suspense at the time of Turkey's entry into the European War.

The total funded debt of Turkey in March 1914, exclusive of the floating debt, the residue of the Russian War Indemnity, the charge in respect of kilometric railway guarantees (see below), and the Docks, Arsenals and Naval Constructions Company's guarantees loan,² amounted to £T 151,656,007. This total includes debts of two classes:—

(1) Loans under the Decree of Muharrem	£T 47,936,721
(2) Loans not under the Decree	
(i) Various Loans 1890 to 1914	85,738,180
(ii) Egyptian Tribute Loans	17,981,106

¹ It may be convenient to enumerate here the loans since 1881 in which the Deutsche Bank and its group are interested. These are as follows:—

	Capital outstanding March, 1914. £T
(1) 1888, Fisheries Converted, 1903	2,459,842
(2) 1894, Oriental Railways	1,573,990
(3) 1903, Bagdad Series I.	2,346,454
(4) 1905, Tedjihizat-Askerie	2,469,566
(5) 1908, Bagdad Series II.	4,718,120
(6) " " III.	5,226,650
(7) 1911, Loan	6,756,002
	25,550,624

(1), (3), (4), (5) and (6) are secured on revenues administered by the Council of the Debt.

² For particulars of this company see *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series, p. 78.

The amount of the floating debt was in 1914 £T 37,800,000, composed as follows:—

	£T
(1) Old Floating Debt	19,500,000
(2) New Floating Debt	18,300,000

Results of the Decrees.—Apart from the constitutional reforms effected by the Decrees, new sources of revenue (as distinct from the Customs surtax and the surplus on the dimes already mentioned) have been assigned to the Debt at various dates since the Decree of Muharrem. It is not surprising therefore that the yield of the revenues collected steadily increased from 1882 to 1903; still less so that the increase became much more rapid after 1903, when the Government, as has been seen, obtained a direct interest in the efficient service of the Debt. The average of the gross yearly receipts of the ceded revenues for the first three decades of the Council's administration amounted to £T 2,280,000, £T 2,600,000, and £T 3,800,000 respectively, while the cost of administration, in spite of manifold difficulties, did not exceed 8 per cent. of the gross receipts on the average of those periods. The gross receipts for the year 1903-4 were £T 2,971,984. In 1911-12 they amounted to £T 3,910,150, or, with the Customs surtax, £T 5,061,335. Whereas at the close of the reign of Abdul Aziz (1876) the service of the loans had absorbed £T 13,000,000 out of a total revenue of £T 25,000,000, in the last years of the reign of Abdul Hamid the service of the loans was absorbing just over £T 6,000,000,—or, with the amount of sums payable for the kilometric guarantees (see below), the Russian Indemnity, and interest on short loans, about £T 8,500,000—on a budget of £T 25,000,000.

Up to the year 1903, £T 222,398 represented the total value of debts redeemed. In 1912-13 the sum of £T 621,610 was devoted to redemption. During the period 1904-1913 no less a sum than £T 4,329,028 was applied for that purpose. Further amounts, moreover, were devoted to the liquidation of the Lots Turcs.

with the result that, whereas up to 1904-5 the nominal value of drawn bonds was only £T 41,663, this steadily increased until in 1913-14 £T 79,755 were drawn.

The Decree of Muharrem was originally concerned solely with the Ottoman Debt as it stood in 1881, and the functions of the Debt Council are confined, as far as the Decree goes, to the administration of the revenues assigned for the service of that debt. But the Council of the Debt figured as a contracting party in nearly every loan contract made between 1881 and 1914, by virtue of the stipulation recurring in such agreements that the revenues hypothecated by the Turkish Government for the service of the new loans should be collected and administered on behalf of the creditors by the Debt Council. By 1891 the Turkish revenues administered by the Council on behalf of the new creditors were equal to those required for the service of the Muharrem Debt, and the new obligations of the Porte were increasing even faster than the Muharrem Debt decreased by amortisation. In fact, the only loans with which the Council is not concerned are the few secured by charges on Customs duties or similar revenues collected by the Imperial Ottoman Bank.

As long ago as 1889, the Turkish Government, recognising the utility of the Public Debt Department for its own purposes, joined with certain railway companies, to which the Government had granted kilometric guarantees, in requesting the Debt to take over the administration of the revenues which had been allocated for their payment¹. In subsequent years the collection of other revenues was entrusted to the Debt; and probably if events had pursued a normal course, the Debt Department would have been made collectors of the whole of the revenues of the Ottoman Empire.

¹ For details of the kilometric guarantees, see above, pp. 46, 47, 52, 53, 58; see also *Turkey in Europe*, p. 67.

The work of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt is declared by French, British, and other writers to have been a success in every way. Every year has seen its efficiency increased, the bondholders satisfied and better order introduced into the administration, collection and application of the public funds.

(b) *Development of Ottoman Public Debt during the War*

During the War the Public Debt of Turkey has on the lowest estimate been almost trebled. Germany has necessarily had to shoulder the main burden of financing her ally.

Loan Operations with Germany.—The first German advance took the form of specie actually despatched to Constantinople. The second, in which Austria-Hungary shared, was also in specie, but it was stipulated that the gold should be deposited in the lending country for account of the Ottoman Public Debt, and the loan was only made liquid by the issue of £T currency notes payable in specie six months after the signing of peace. Thereafter until August 1917, apart from mark and kronen credits, the advances were made almost entirely in paper currency, *viz.*, German Treasury notes (*Reichskassenscheine*) which were held by the Debt as cover for further issues of £T currency notes. Germany was pledged to provide means to pay all these issues in specie over a period of 11 years from the signing of peace. This guarantee, however, was quite ineffective to maintain the value of the notes, which depreciated in Turkey with great rapidity until a £T note was worth less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a gold £T. A new device had to be found and the greater part of the August 1917 loan from Germany (£T 50,000,000 out of £T 56,500,000) was made in German Exchequer bills payable to bearer in £T at 3, 6 and 12 months. These were to serve as cover for another issue of notes redeemable by the eleventh year after the signing of peace, and might by agreement with the payee be themselves used to make

payments in Turkey, but they were also offered to the Turkish investors at 4 per cent., $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and 5 per cent. discount respectively, with the option of renewal on the same terms and the guarantee that they would be discounted by the Debt at any time. The amount sold was £T 17,000,000.

Finally in the spring of 1918 Germany refused to increase further the total sum of her liabilities in specie. The £T 36,500,000 required for the period March–August 1918 was therefore provided in the shape of £T 4,000,000 of marks for purchases in Germany and Austria-Hungary, £T 11,000,000 raised by Germany by the sale of marks for £T in Berlin, and an undertaking similarly to supply any part of the balance which the Turkish Government should fail to secure by an internal loan. The special feature of this internal loan was the obligation of payment of the interest in specie and the first half-year's interest in advance, the specie to be provided by Germany in return for a corresponding nominal amount of £T currency notes of any issue. Germany thus began at once to redeem her promise to provide for payment of the note-issues, and to some extent anticipated her promise by disregarding the different dates for payment of the different series. The internal loan was issued at par bearing 5 per cent. interest, but, purchased in the depreciated £T paper and paying interest in gold, it actually yielded a return equal to 20 per cent. in the first year and liable to fall only if and when the depreciation of the £T paper was corrected. The loan was also secured upon particular Turkish revenues. The total subscription from all sources was £T 17,977,000 leaving £T 3,523,000 to be lent by Germany.

Analysis of the War Debt.—Neither the items nor the total increase of the Public Debt during the war can be stated with certainty. The following account of the position in February 1918 is a combination of the figures given by Djavid Bey in the budget speeches of March 1917 and February 1918, as inter-

preted by the comments of the Constantinople correspondent of the *Oesterreichischer Volkswirt*:—

	£T
Pre-war funded debt	155,000,000
Advances by Central Powers:—	
Gold (Germany)	12,612,000
Gold (Austria)	2,167,000
Silver	2,600,000
German Treasury Notes	78,800,000
German Exchequer Bills	50,000,000
German advances in marks and £T	24,500,000
Austrian advances in kronen	12,500,000
Other debts (probably German)	30,576,000
Turkish military requisitions	19,245,000
Total ...	£T 388,000,000

On this table the following remarks must be made:—

The figure given by Djavid Bey for pre-war debt exceeds the official figures already quoted (p. 121) for the debt down to March 1914 (without the floating debt) by about £T 3,350,000, but it is not clear how the difference arises. The figures for loans in specie and Exchequer Bills are exact; the remaining figures of the table are approximations only; the total is the round total given by Djavid Bey. £T 5,000,000 of the total borrowed from Germany was re-lent to Germany as a currency loan.

It remains to consider the effect of the loan operations of the spring of 1918. It is not clear whether Djavid Bey included in his total of £T 388,000,000 the advances made by Germany in this connection. Assuming, as is probable, that he did not, the total debt in August 1918 would be approximately:—

	£T
Total to end of February, 1918 ...	388,000,000
	£T
German loan in marks	4,000,000
German loan in £T ...	11,000,000
Internal loan	17,980,000

	£T	£T
Balance due from Germany	3,520,000	
	<hr/>	36,500,000
Total, August 1918	... £T	424,500,000

To this total will have ultimately to be added a large sum in respect of arrears of interest due to Germany. The various loan agreements postpone actual payment of interest for eleven years after the signing of peace, but interest runs on each loan as and when the actual cash is provided, and is added to the capital debt. Thus, on the specie, mark, and £T loans it accrues from the date of the loans, and on the Treasury note and bill loans it accrues from the date on which the cash equivalent is supplied by Germany. In the eleventh year from the signing of peace, according to Djavid Bey, the annual interest on both categories of loans will be £T 11,000,000, and the arrears to be added to the capital debt, £T 51,000,000.

The figures given here also ignore the pre-war floating debt of £T 37,800,000 (p. 122), and it is not certain whether they include all the liabilities incurred by Turkey for munitions supplied by the Central Powers, and some minor loans for constructional purposes. Further, in 1949, Russia will become entitled by way of war indemnity to an annuity of £T 350,000 for 34 years.

The total amount of £T notes issued by the Turkish Government down to February 1918 appears to be about £T 135,000,000. Germany is under obligation to provide specie for their payment over the following periods from the conclusion of peace, *viz.*, after 6 months, £T 6,500,000; after one year a further £T 19,000,000; by the end of 7 years, half the total issue; and by the end of 11 years, the whole issue. The notes of each series are forfeit to the Turkish Treasury if not presented within a fixed period from the first date for payment of the series.

(2) TURKISH WAR BUDGETS AND DEFICITS

In presenting the estimates for the year 1918-19, Djavid Bey stated that the expenditure of Turkey since the commencement of war had been as follows:—

				£T
1914-15	...	...	...	59,000,000
1915-16	...	...	...	53,000,000
1916-17	...	...	...	83,000,000
1917-18	...	...	...	112,000,000
Total				£T 307,000,000

In these figures is included military expenditure to the following amounts:—

				£T
1914-15	...	...	...	19,000,000
1915-16	...	...	...	17,000,000
1916-17	...	...	...	32,000,000
1917-18	...	...	...	56,000,000
Total				£T 124,000,000

The Budget estimates for the year 1916-17 were for a revenue of £T 23,000,000 and an expenditure of £T 39,700,000, leaving an estimated deficit of £T 16,700,000. The actual expenditure was £T 83,000,000, producing an actual deficit of £T 60,000,000. The Budget estimates for the year 1917-18 were for a revenue of £T 23,584,165, and an expenditure of £T 43,304,511, leaving an estimated deficit of about £T 20,000,000. The actual expenditure was £T 128,058,659, producing an actual deficit of more than £T 104,000,000. The Budget estimates for the year 1918-19 were as follows:—

- (1) Estimated revenue: £T 33,965,698 (Budget figures),¹ £T 37,016,694 (Commission figures).
- (2) Estimated Expenditure: £T 51,762,761 (Budget figures), £T 51,402,327 (Commission figures).

The estimated deficit is thus between £T 14,000,000

¹ The Budget figures are more likely to prove correct.

and £T 17,000,000, which, with estimated extraordinary expenses of £T 60,000,000, makes a total estimated deficit of at least £T 74,000,000.

The 1918-19 Budget is claimed by Djavid Bey to constitute a reform in three respects: first, in the collection of the taxes; secondly, by the increase of certain existing taxes; and thirdly, by the creation of new taxes.

(3) TAXATION

It is estimated that, when the Turkish public revenue stands at £T 25,000,000, at least 40 per cent. of this total arises from charges on agriculture, or, more strictly speaking, on the agricultural classes. It must further be remembered that the yield of the principal source of revenue, namely, the agricultural dime, represents for the most part an amount received by the Government from tax-farmers to whom the right of collection is sold. Nominally, the tax is 12½ per cent. on the gross produce of the peasants' crops; but the peasants have never escaped with a payment of less than 20 per cent. Again and again this system has been condemned as too heavy a charge on the peasant, and as leading to grave evils. Even where before the war the dime was collected by the State, the employees of the Government were guilty of very gross extortion and favouritism.

Out of a revenue of £T 25,000,000 the following contributions are burdens on the agricultural population:—

	£T
Dime (agricultural)	5,383,000
Taxes on cattle	1,655,000
Impôt foncier	2,435,000
Produce of Civil List lands. ...	620,000
Contribution of the Banque Agri- cole	770,000
Total ...	£T 10,863,000

Djavid Bey, in his speech on the 1918-19 Budget, announced that the Government had decided to collect

the dimes directly.¹ He stated that this method had already been applied in certain districts, and had given good results in increase of revenue, and that it was hoped to establish a basis which might lead to an eventual transformation of the dime into a direct land tax. Before the war the tax generally brought in between £T 5,000,000 and £T 6,000,000. Its figures in the new budget, under the new system, are estimated to bring in for the present year £T 8,500,000. In 1917-18 the dime had figured in the budget as expected to produce £T 4,100,000, and Djavid Bey stated that in consequence of the partial application of the new scheme, and owing to the enhanced value of the crops collected, the sum actually realised had been over £T 14,000,000. He further added that although in the present budget the dime figured at £T 8,500,000, it was expected to realise more than £T 12,000,000, even after the deduction of expenses of collection (which he estimated at 10 per cent.).

The taxes on cattle (*aghnan*) have been doubled, and their estimated yield is £2,500,000; in 1917-18 the estimate was £T 1,160,000. Before the war £T 1,660,000 was the estimated and £T 1,200,000 the actual yield.

The Impôt foncier has been increased by 50 per cent., and reorganised; it is now estimated to yield £T 2,100,000; in 1917-18 the estimate was £T 1,700,000. This revenue is mostly derived from a direct tax on real property in the cities, which up to the time of the war was very irregularly paid, and led to great abuses. The tax is supposed to be based on a State valuation, which in theory is revised every seven years. Before the war it amounted to about 8 per cent. on the assessed yearly rental. It has been increased twice since 1914.

¹ It is not known whether the dimes hitherto collected by the Council of the Debt are also to come under the new system of direct collection by the Government. It appears unlikely that the Debt would be subjected to such treatment, for a considerable portion of the dimes collected by the Debt is required for the kilometric guarantee of various German-controlled railways.

The dimes, the cattle tax, and the Impôt foncier together represent about 40 per cent. of the total estimated revenue. The following further taxes in the new budget call for special notice:—

(1) The Temettu tax (*droit de patente*), estimated in the budget of 1917-18 at £T 370,000, is now estimated at £T 750,000. This is owing to an increase of rate and the inclusion in taxation of all foreigners and all Sociétés Anonymes.

(2) The so-called tax of exoneration is new; it is a payment for military exemption, levied from those who are not called upon to serve under arms for various reasons. It is proposed later to apply the tax to all foreigners, and even on a higher scale.

(3) The exemption tax is an amount paid by persons called up for military service, who wish to avoid serving. The law as to this tax has been considerably modified since the beginning of the war. In pre-war time it was generally estimated to bring in £T 6,000,000.

(4) The tax on salt is tripled. The revenue under this head is thus raised from £T 500,000 to £T 1,500,000.

(5) The new Customs tax on exports is estimated to produce £T 2,400,000. Djavid Bey stated in his speech that in the previous year Germany had taken £T 12,000,000 of exports, and Austria £T 2,000,000. The estimate of £T 2,400,000 appears very high, as the export duties vary from 3 per cent. to 10 per cent., only one article, tobacco, being charged at 10 per cent. It is unlikely that Germany, under present circumstances, will increase her imports from Turkey, or that the excessive prices charged by the Turks for foodstuffs can be maintained.

Among other objects of new taxation are tobacco, cigarette paper, playing cards, and matches.

It is proposed to tax war profits, and also to take toll of coffee, tea and sugar by a consumption tax.

Taxation of alcohol is also under consideration. Finally, it would appear that the Government will refuse its consent to the renewal of the monopoly of tobacco in favour of the Régie.

(4) BANKING

Up to quite recent times, branches of large Turkish or foreign banks did not exist in Anatolia outside the chief seaports. In the interior there were only small local bankers, mostly Armenians, with a few Greeks. When, however, the Anatolian railway was built, and central Anatolia began to be actively exploited by foreigners, the Imperial Ottoman Bank appointed agents and correspondents at many inland towns. It met with little competition until 1906, when German banks were first established at Constantinople. The Deutsche Orient Bank at once extended its activities to Anatolia, opening branches and establishing agencies at a number of places, mostly on the Anatolian and Baghdad railways, an example followed with energy by the Wiener Bank-Verein. The Deutsche Bank, on the other hand, though transacting a certain amount of business through the German-controlled railway companies, did not appoint agents of its own outside Constantinople.

Besides the banks mentioned, the Banque d'Athènes had much influence in Anatolia, especially at the ports, where shipping and trade were largely in the hands of Greeks, who here as elsewhere showed a strong preference for dealing with Greek undertakings. In the inland towns, the bank, though it had numerous correspondents, was less important. The Banque de Salonique, in which Austrian interests were strong, had a branch at Smyrna.

The competition between the Imperial Ottoman Bank and its foreign rivals proved of great benefit to the Anatolian merchant. As long as its supremacy was unchallenged, the Imperial Ottoman Bank conducted its business on narrow and old-fashioned lines,

but when the German banks appeared, offering very attractive terms and ready to transact many kinds of business on behalf of their clients, it had to meet them on their own ground.

For further particulars regarding the banks mentioned, see *Turkey in Europe*, No. 16 of this series, pp. 134-136.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

Just before Turkey's entry into the European War the economic prospects of Anatolia seemed bright. Its losses in men during the Italian and Balkan Wars had been more than made up by the influx of refugees from Europe. The inhabitants generally had been aroused to the advantages to be gained from industry and enterprise. Many of the vexatious restrictions of the old regime on personal liberty had been removed. The means of communication were continually being improved and extended; modern methods of cultivation were finding ever-increasing favour; and numerous concessions had recently been granted for the exploitation of mines and the construction of works of public utility. The least promising feature was the character of the Government, with its violent nationalist ambitions, exemplified by the persecution of the Greeks along the western seaboard. It is, however, likely that but for the war this fanatical policy would soon have been abandoned, as its disastrous economic consequences must speedily have become apparent; indeed, as was mentioned above, they are now realised, and even in the stress and excitement of the war efforts have been made to retrieve the blunder.

What has been said in the preceding sections refers almost entirely to the situation of Anatolia before the war. In order to estimate the future possibilities of the country, however, it is necessary to take into account the course of events during the last five years.

In this period the prospect has, of course, changed completely. Foreign interests have been confiscated and often destroyed. The resources of the country have been placed at the disposal of the military authorities, who have seized the crops and live-stock at their discretion. The population has suffered enormous losses; the Mussulmans have mostly been drafted into the army, whose casualties have been very heavy; the Armenians have nearly all been massacred; and, of the other Christians, some have been slaughtered, some deported, some enrolled in labour battalions, some put to forced labour in the unhealthy plains of Adana, where many have perished, while those who escaped these fates have fled in large numbers to the Greek islands.

Simultaneously with these blows to Anatolian prosperity came a vastly increased demand from the Central Empires for Anatolian products of all kinds. The Young Turks at once resolved to turn this opportunity to account, but instead of fostering a natural export trade they passed a "New Law of Imports and Exports," creating Export Committees, Food Committees, and other similar bodies, whose ostensible purpose was to requisition all agricultural produce, part of which was sold to the natives and part to Turkey's allies, in each case at extortionate prices, these operations being performed under colour of protecting the peasants and preventing speculators from amassing unreasonable profits. The profits, as a matter of fact, have mostly gone into the pockets of members of the committees and their friends; and, when the scandal was debated in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, it was urged that the creation of Turkish capitalists, by whatever means, was to the economic advantage of the Empire. The Government, having imposed an *ad valorem* duty on all exports, had a strong motive for upholding a system which kept prices high. It is known that huge fortunes have lately been made, especially at Constantinople, where even Greeks and Armenians have shared in the plunder. Nevertheless, the exports to Germany and Austria increased rapidly; for the six months from

September 1, 1916, to February 28, 1917, those to Germany were valued at £2,253,000, and those to Austria at £686,000; whereas in his Budget speech on March 7, 1918, Djavid Bey, the Turkish Minister of Finance, stated that in 1917-18 the exports to Germany were worth £10,900,000, and those to Austria £1,800,000.

The Government, however, did not limit itself to the artificial raising of prices, but also took vigorous measures to stimulate production. At Smyrna, Brusa, and Eskishehir committees were formed to study the best means of improving agriculture. A German specialist was engaged to give advice as to the development of native industries, especially the production of silk, wool, and olive oil. Experts from Austria were commissioned to report on the forests, and a new forest law is said to have been under consideration. At Constantinople the Government established a new meteorological station, which was to telegraph its observations to all parts of the Empire. A hundred and fifty students were entered at the cost of the State at the agricultural college at Budapest; and sons of soldiers killed in the war were sent to Germany to learn how to make and work motor ploughs. Great efforts were made to extend the use of agricultural machinery, which is exempt from customs duty. The Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture ordered large numbers of agricultural machines in Germany and Austria, an example followed by the Banque Agricole and the Commission d'Alimentation. The sale of agricultural machinery from Germany has also been vigorously promoted by several companies, such as the Anatolian Railway Company, the Deutsch-Levantinische Baumwollgesellschaft, which is established at Adana, and deals in machines for use in cotton growing, and the Anatolische Industrie- und Handelgesellschaft, which operates at Adana, Konia, Smyrna, and Constantinople. It was hoped that the efforts of these agencies would be followed by a great increase in the area of cultivated land. Notwithstanding the artificial character of the present development of agriculture,

its results will probably be permanent and beneficial, for the demand for Anatolian products will remain very great after the war.

While the exports of Anatolia have increased, imports have naturally declined. From September 1, 1916, to February 28, 1917, the total imports of Turkey from Germany amounted to only £558,000 in value, and those from Austria to only £868,000; and these were, of course, practically the only foreign supplies obtainable. The shortage of manufactured goods has been particularly felt, as the native manufacturing industries have mostly fallen into decay. Feverish efforts have been made, both by the Government and by private undertakings, to establish new industries and to enlarge and revive old ones. It has already been mentioned that during the war mining concessions have been granted in great numbers. At Angora the old pottery industry has been revived, in the vilayet of Kastamuni the flax and hemp industry. There are several new companies, generally with their headquarters at Constantinople, for establishing factories for textiles. The production of sugar has been strenuously promoted, especially in the neighbourhood of Konia, which is becoming a centre of great economic activity. There, and also at Eski-shehir, concessions have been granted for the supply of electric light and power.

It is worthy of remark that, as the war went on, the views of German experts on the future of Anatolia seem generally to have become much less sanguine than they were when Turkey entered the struggle. Thus Dr. Mohr, of Berlin, fears that the export of foodstuffs from Anatolia can never be largely increased, though he is more optimistic regarding the prospects of mining, which, he says, would make immediate and marked progress but for the lack of communications and the vexatious restrictions of the mining law. Another authority, Gustav Herlt, on the other hand, holds that recent research has shown the mineral resources of Anatolia to be smaller than was supposed, and maintains that in every branch of industrial enterprise, agriculture in-

cluded, the shortage of labour and the indolence and conservatism of the natives will for long stand in the way of any substantial advance. Such pessimism was, of course, not universal among Germans who knew Anatolia, but that expression was given to it by writers of some repute at a time when the German hold on Turkey seemed quite firm should serve as a warning against extravagant estimates of the economic and commercial importance of the country.

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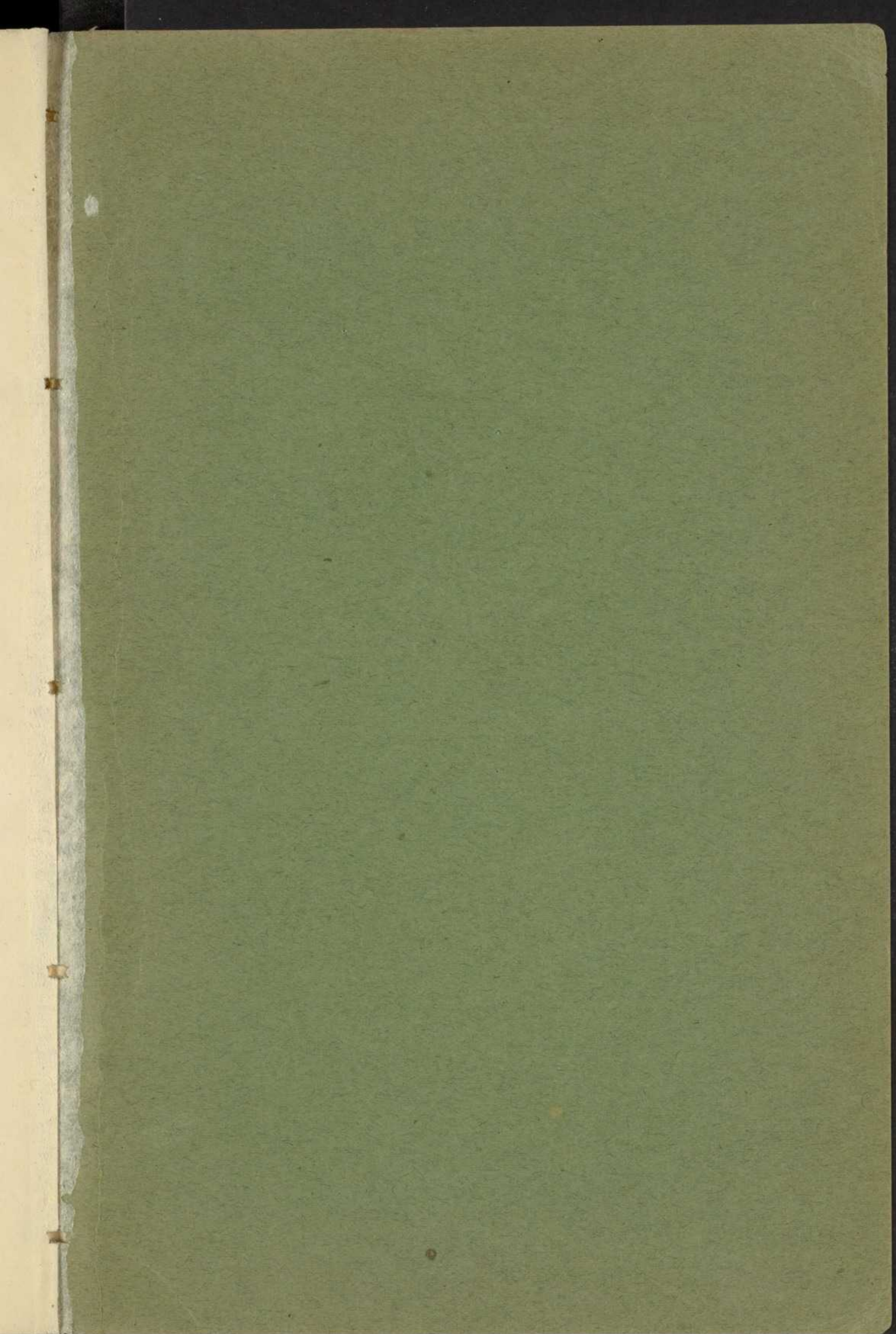
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MAPS

Anatolia is covered by four sheets (J. 35, Ismir; J. 36, Konia; K. 35, Istanbul; K. 36, Sinos) of the International Map (G.S.G.S., 2758) published by the War Office, on the scale of 1:1,000,000.



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