THE JOURNAL OF CHRISTOPHE AUBIN: 
A REPORT ON THE LEVANT TRADE IN 1812

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INTRODUCTION

In 1968, a hardbacked notebook measuring 8" by 10" was purchased at a Chicago book sale. Its title, *Trade of Turkey*, is lettered in gold on a red patch on the leather spine. The notebook is in fair condition, its binding rather loose, its 244 pages in places foxed with damp. Except for an interval of blank pages (pp. 177-196 inclusive), the volume is filled with a handwritten account, drawn up in 1812, of the current state and future prospects of the Levant trade, to which is appended some observations on the feasibility of introducing British merchandise into Europe — then under Napoleon’s domination — from the Balkan territories of the Sultan of Turkey. The account has a vivid immediacy, and was evidently intended for use as a practical work of reference in the head office of a British merchant house with a special interest in the marketing of cotton textiles.

The handwriting in the notebook, which is faded but clear, is that of some copyist who had access to a series of private letters, written and signed by one C. Aubin, who wrote the originals from Smyrna (İzmir) in March, Bursa in April, Constantinople (İstanbul) in May, and Salonika in June, 1812. The copyist extracted the more critical passages from the letters, and wrote them sequentially into the notebook. Great importance was attached by the recipients to the information the letters contained and the completed notebook was checked for accuracy, presumably against the original letters; a pencilled *Certified Correct* appears near the end of the volume. It seems safe to suppose that the compilation from the letters was undertaken in Glasgow as the Aubin letters were addressed to “J. Finlay and Company” of that city.

Within the front cover of the notebook there is a bookplate which shows that a former owner was one Alexander S. Finlay. His name appears beneath the crest of the clan of Finlay, an arm brandishing a sword. The attached motto, *I'll Be Wary*, was more than usually apt, for
the condition of the Levant trade which Aubin investigated for the J. Finlay Company was, until just before his journey to the East, unstable and obscure.

The three names at our disposal — of C. Aubin, the writer of the original letters; of the Glasgow addressees, J. Finlay and Company; and of the onetime owner of the notebook, Alexander S. Finlay — are sufficient to permit certain identification of all three, to establish the nature of their mutual relations, and to know the prior purpose as well as the material result of Aubin's Eastern journey.¹

By 1799, the Glasgow merchant house of J. Finlay and Company² was the largest supplier of British cottons to the markets of Germany. Drawing supplies of cotton yarn or “twist” through its own agency in Manchester, it diffused them throughout Germany, and as far east and south as Petersburgh and Vienna, through other agents in Frankfurt-am-Main and Düsseldorf. Like many Glasgow companies of substance, the house of Finlay was originally active in the West India rum and sugar trades, and may also have had an earlier interest in the importation of American tobacco. Like many, but by no means all of the companies of the city, it also had proprietors with enough foresight to diversify their commercial activities before the American war for independence terminated abruptly the golden age of the Glasgow tobacco trade. By the opening of the nineteenth century, the Finlay company had bought up textile mills in Ayrshire and the environs of Glasgow and was exporting fabric as well as yarn.

The Finlay mills employed between two and three thousand workers by 1812. Furthermore, the company established partnerships with American merchants in New Orleans, Charleston, and New York, through whom raw cotton was imported to Clydeside, while finished goods were funneled into the Caribbean colonies of Spain through yet another agency based in Nassau in the Bahamas. The French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars obviously threatened the security of such far-flung trading operations. So, in 1812, did the decision of the United

¹ I would like to record my gratitude to Professor Richard J. Storr, of York University, Canada, who very generously placed the volume, Trade of Turkey, at my disposal for editing and publishing.

² There is a privately printed history of this company, entitled James Finlay & Company, Manufacturers and East India Merchants, 1750-1850, published in Glasgow in 1951. The author is not named. The general statement in the text above is condensed from this work.

States to suspend all trade with Britain, in protest against Britain’s harsh scrutiny of neutral shipping trading with Napoleon’s Europe.

By 1812, James Finlay, founder of the company, was long since dead, but his son, Kirkman Finlay, who was mainly responsible for the sharply-rising fortunes of the family business, was at the height of his powers, influence, and reputation. Besides directing the company’s activities, Kirkman Finlay was Lord Provost of Glasgow, a member of parliament for the city (he was chosen to represent the Royal Burgh by an oligarchic “electorate” of 32 voters), and chairman of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce. Extremely prosperous, he was also a true apostle of the ideas expounded by Adam Smith in his seminal book, The Wealth of Nations (1776), and was perhaps the most articulate advocate of free-trade principles in Scotland. Correspondingly, he was a major opponent of monopolistic trading corporations like the East India Company and the Levant Company, and in 1813 he was delegated to present in London the protest of Glasgow against the renewal of the East India Company’s charter. Such charters, his petition claimed, “appropriated to the benefit of a few, advantages which were [sc., should be] the property of all” and were all the more objectionable since “trade conducted under a monopoly never can prove beneficial to a Country in the degree the same trade would if left open to the exertion of individual enterprise”.³ Parliament listened attentively to such pleas and in 1813 the East India Company’s monopoly of the India trade was revoked; its monopoly of the China trade was, for the present, left intact. Kirkman Finlay chartered the first Glasgow vessel to trade directly to India under the newly-won freedom. It will occasion no surprise that such a man would, in the course of time, propose that Glasgow should raise a monument to James Watt, or that, in the course of his onslaught on the East India Company, his eye should also have fallen on the monopolized Levant trade.

Finlay was, therefore, a rich merchant, a politician, and an influential voice in matters of commercial theory and practice when, in 1812, he asked Christophe Aubin⁴ to tour the Levant on his behalf. Ordinarily, Aubin would have been in Düsseldorf, where his family acted as agents for Finlay cottons, but Napoleon’s supremacy over the continent after

³ James Finlay & Company, p. 9.

⁴ A portrait of Aubin is to be found opposite p. 16 of James Finlay & Company; the same work says, incorrectly, that Aubin was German (p. 15). He and his brother, Jean Matthieu Aubin, resided in Düsseldorf but were actually French.
1806 ruptured all the normal arrangements by which the Finlays and the Aubins conducted their business. It has been estimated, for instance, that communications between the Glasgow head-office and as many as 700 continental correspondents were virtually suspended at this time.\(^3\)

From an improvised base in Heligoland, and others in Gibraltar and Malta, the company persisted, and persisted with reasonable success, in attempts to beat the Berlin and Milan decrees, those exclusionist laws by which the emperor of the French hoped to deny British manufacturers access to their continental markets. But the illicit trade through the Baltic and Malta was a risky one; if the profits it promised were high, so were the chances of confiscation of merchandise.

In 1810, Finlay told a House of Commons committee that a "great proportion" of the six or seven hundred British ships which sailed into the Baltic that year had been seized by the enemy. Perhaps, too, he had recently read William Eton's famous book on Turkey,\(^4\) with its exhortation to British merchants to explore the promise of the Levant, for in late 1811 Finlay decided to send Christophe Aubin, now in exile in England, to the eastern Mediterranean with a triple purpose. Aubin was to report on the commercial potential of a region which lay between the area over which Napoleon enforced his decrees; he was to supply further evidence of the baneful influence of monopoly trading from the example of the Levant Company's activities; lastly, he was to report on the utility of any new routes by which British merchandise might be injected into Napoleonic Europe through the Ottoman Balkans.

It was fairly inevitable that any analysis of the Levant trade should begin in Smyrna. Many contemporaries thought it might as well end there, too. The main scale\(^5\) of the Levant Company was located in Constantinople, a city of 700,000 inhabitants, but, as a centre of European trade, the Ottoman capital was a disappointment. The

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\(^1\)W. Eton, A Survey of the Turkish Empire, London, 1809, p. 462, wrote, "Were the trade laid entirely open, it is probable that James Finlay & Company, p. 18. English manufacturers would send people called riders to Turkey to seek for commissions." Part IV of A Survey has the spirited title, The Necessity of Abolishing the Levant Company. The Levant Company congratulated one of its merchants for writing a rebuttal of Eton's arguments; see Levant Company to Consul Werry, 18th March 1800, S.P. 105/333.

\(^2\)Scale, Ital. scala, lit. "a ladder; a quay or landing place"; by further elasticisation, "a harbour or port". Thus C. Macfarlane, Constantinople in 1828, London, 1829, p. 32, writes that "Smyrna, as is sufficiently well-known, has been for several centuries the most important scale, or place of trade, in the Levant". The Turks borrowed the word also: iskele, "a landing-stage".

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\(^3\)Ibid., p. 18.


\(^5\)T. Macgill, Travels in Turkey, Italy and Russia during the years 1803 to 1806, London, 1808, p. 86; on p. 97, Macgill also claims that the city had a casino "not excelled in Europe".

\(^6\)J. MacGregor, Commercial Statistics, i-v, London, 1844-1850; see volume i for the Ottoman Empire.

\(^7\)MacGregor, op. cit., put the population at 130,000; C.B. Elliot, Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia and Turkey, London, 1838, ii, p. 35, put it at 120,000-150,000, and offers the proportions supplied in the text above. For much more conservative figures, see Walsh, op. cit., ii, p. 199.
held a legal monopoly of all direct trade between Britain and the Ottoman Levant. There were a few American families, too, relatively new arrivals, engaged in the opium trade to the Far East. It was these different European communities which gave Smyrna its polyglot reputation. “Only Italian, French, English and Dutch are spoken there”, Tournefort had written in 1700. “There one sees Capucin friars, Jesuits and Franciscans. The Provençal tongue is heard above all others”. In 1812, the situation was much the same, though the balance of language had tipped away from Provençal, as there was, thanks to the war, no longer a single active French merchant house in the city, while Greek was in the ascendant because of the great influx of “new Argonauts”, as Korais called the men of the Aegean and Ionian islands who were operating over 1,000 vessels in the Levant carrying trade by 1800.

As any account of his actual journey which Aubin may have written is omitted from the *Trade of Turkey* notebook, one is left to imagine his arrival by sea, after sailing up the beautiful gulf of Smyrna, at the famous waterfront, the *Rue des Francs*, where “the street are straighter, better paved, and the houses better built than in other towns...It may be considered one of the wealthiest store-houses in the world”. Virtually nothing remains today of the Smyrna of 1812. The destruction of the city by fire in 1922 saw to that. But the city of 1812, portrayed in old prints or the drawings of Galibert, was a crumbling, Oriental Carcassonne when viewed from the land-side, and a busy maritime emporium when seen from the bay. In spite of a thousand years of sieges, earthquakes (the most recent in 1788), fires, and civil commotions (Cephalonians and Croatians caused extensive damage in inter-communal riots in 1797), much of the ancient street plan of John Vetatzos Dukas, emperor of Nicea (1222-1255), remained visible. Above the harbour, the fort of St. Peter, raised by the Knights of Malta centuries before, was intact and would remain so until 1870. The enduring Ottoman presence was most characteristically represented in 20 large mosques and 46 smaller ones, several of them raised on Christian foundations. To see most of these architectural sights, the visitor had to walk the interior, less salubrious streets of the town where the Muslim population predominated. Few visitors bothered.

Aubin’s enquiries must have taken him from the Rue des Francs to the arcaded European han nearby, which the Ottoman authorities locked at sundown, and just possibly to the three great Muslim hans as well, the Dervişoğlu, the Karaosmanzade and the Madama. His letters suggest that he listened most to the Levant Company consul, Francis Werry, who held office from 1794 until the Levant Company’s end in 1825, and who was called by Lord Elgin “the only honest Englishman” in Turkey. Aubin also had some discussions with American merchants — Perkins, Woodams and Offley, Charles Rhind — whose experience as new-comers was of special interest, as well as with long-time residents, mainly of Dutch or British descent. In all his enquiries, he kept a sharp eye open for a possible local agent for the Finlay Company, in case the Glasgow office decided to throw itself whole-heartedly into the Levant trade. There is negligible evidence that Aubin learned much directly from Jewish interlocutors, although Jews had a legal monopoly of all money transactions in the city. He therefore chose to acquire his knowledge from persons who, it is more than likely, wished to discourage his interest in the Levant.

An omission from the *Trade of Turkey* more important than any physical description of Smyrna concerns the Ottoman administration of this, the greatest port in the Sultan’s empire, which was actually ruled with a fairly light, if occasionally capricious, hand. Smyrna was only a *liva*, a subdivision of a huge province or *paşalık*, which was traditionally commanded by the *Kapudan Paşa* or Grand Admiral of the Fleet. As the *paşalık* embraced all the sea-areas and adjoining coasts of the Aegean, the *Kapudan Paşa* ruled it from Gelibolu, inside the Strait of the Dardanelles, where part of the imperial fleet ordinarily lay, and Smyrna was administered on the *Kapudan Paşa*’s behalf by a *paşa* of

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13 A. Coray, *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce*, Paris, 1803, p. 29; a superb study of the growth of Greek shipping and commerce is G.B. Leot’s contribution to S.A. Papadopoulos, *The Greek Merchant Marine*, Athens, 1972, which considers the flow of Greeks from the poorer islands into Smyrna and the investment of Smyrna money in the small boat-building yards of the island (pp. 31 et seq.).

14 Tournefort, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 496.

15 A Galibert etching of Smyrna will be found in M. Önder, *Şehirden şehire*, Istanbul, 1972, p. 96.

16 Elgin to Foreign Office, 11th July 1800, *Foreign Office* series 78/vol. 29.

two tails.18 Because of its Muslim majority, the city garrison was of modest size, and d'Ohsson says it consisted in his time of only 2,000 Janissaries. The garrison was unable to always check inter-communal strife in the city or prevent the looting of business premises after fires and earthquakes. On some occasions, the people of Smyrna were also unable to control the garrison but, in general, familiarity with a European presence bred tolerance rather than contempt, and the infidels had far less to complain of than their fellows in the capital city.

The pagos of Smyrna had two main duties where Europeans were concerned: to ensure that they behaved properly, and that they paid the appropriate customs charges on the goods they imported and exported. In times of great tension, as when Anglo-Turkish relations were suspended in 1807, and Admiral Duckworth forced the Dardanelles and threatened to bombard Constantinople, the British found their merchandise temporarily locked up, whereas in the capital the Levant Company men saw their property auctioned off. But in quieter times official Turkish exactions were modest enough. In the words of that indefatigable commercial encyclopaedist, MacGregor, "a modest duty of three per cent ad valorem on goods, and a small anchorage fee [it was 300 aspers per vessel in 1812] on ships, formed the only tax or restriction imposed on importations and navigation by Turkey from the days of Soliman the Magnificent to the year 1838".19 If anything, it was the exactions of the Levant Company which ought to have concerned Aubin more. The Company was empowered by reason of its monopoly to levy a "consulage" fee on every cargo brought out to the East by "interlopers", that is, by British intruders who had failed to take out membership as chartered "Turkey Merchants". As Aubin shows, the company merchants, who were usually nothing other than factors, or commission agents, might push up the price of an imported item by as much as 12% before it reached the open market in Smyrna. Opponents of free-trade, the company factors often came near to pricing British goods out of the market.20

20 Wood, op. cit., pp. 139-140; *British Museum, Additional Manuscripts*, 38394, W. Fawkes's Memorandum on the Turkey Trade, 19th October 1790; see also Eton's furious attack, op. cit., pp. 489 et seq., on the Levant Company; he charged that the Company was imposing 7% on all Turkish goods exported to England, 2% on British goods sent to foreigners resident in Turkey, and even 1% on British goods landed from non-British vessels and consigned to non-British receivers.

Indeed, despite their grumbles, the Europeans in Smyrna were gratified that the Ottoman authorities frequently taxed their own merchants and manufacturers more heavily than they taxed foreigners, thus discouraging native industries by putting them at a disadvantage in their attempts to compete with foreign imports in Levant markets. Volney and many another visitor to the East commented on this circumstance in astonishment. The rise of an Ottoman entrepreneurial class was thus inhibited, so that Armenians, Jews, Greeks, and, to a lesser degree, Europeans came nearest of any to providing the Empire with a rudimentary, capitalist apparatus. Ottoman officialdom, like Spanish officialdom in the sixteenth century, persisted meanwhile with the disastrous view that a simple accumulation of bullion from taxation and revenues was more desirable as state policy than the investment of state monies, or the active encouragement of trade and business enterprise through tax-incentives. The insouciance of this barren financial practice was not fully appreciated before the end of the Crimean War, by which time European objections made it doubly difficult to introduce a more protective and productive fiscal regime.21

In the interim, two critical generations of indigenous manufacturers and craftsmen — notably of textiles, but in the shipbuilding and metal trades also — were economically annihilated, partly through the kind of governmental naivété already mentioned, but perhaps as much because of the unchanging modes of production and marketing maintained by conservative craft-guilds. A loosening of guild control by the provision of more ready state money for the individual craftsman and the small capitalism could only have had a wholesome effect. When Aubin was in Smyrna, local textiles were still often qualitatively superior to the European imports, and it was no doubt difficult for a local Muslim merchant either to believe that the immemorial ways would soon prove insufficient, or that the loyalty of the local consumer to the local products could collapse. Setting his European time-piece in the alla turca fashion, that is, to the hour of twelve at

21 Ö. C. Sarç, "Tanzimat ve sanayimiz", and Y.K. Tengirsenk, "Tanzimat devrinde Osmani devletinin haricî ticaret siyaseti", both in *Tanzimat*, Istanbul, 1940. Sarç sees the collapse of the Ottoman textile hand-loom manufactories beginning in 1825 with a rash of bankruptcies, followed by a great inflow of British goods; he does not explore sufficiently the connection between the two developments, although it was the inflow, beginning earlier than Sarç realizes, which caused the bankruptcies. Issawi, op cit., provides an English translation (pp. 423-440) of some of the critical passages in Sarç. See also H.N. Göze, *Modernization and Tradition in the Ottoman Empire, 1790-1922*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (American University, 1964), pp. 51 et seq.
sunset, and so living by a totally different time-schedule from his infidel neighbours, the Turk exaggerated the invulnerability of his world. The Europeans would, nevertheless, dispossess the Eastern manufacturers, terminating hand-loom operations in Bursa and Aleppo as conclusively as in Macclesfield and Nottingham. Those dispossessed would drift to the Turkish countryside rather than the towns, leaving a serious gap in the occupational structure of the Ottoman Empire and thus prolonging indefinitely the overpowering hegemony of Europe. In Aubin’s narrative, several examples are provided of European manufacturers copying one another’s marketing ideas and production techniques.

As the reader will discover presently, Christophe Aubin was greatly depressed by his first experiences in the Levant. Instead of finding a business world much resembling to one from which he came, hardly anything was familiar, and he experienced what a later generation would call “culture shock”. Confidently bearing samples of Glasgow cottons and sure of Finlay’s ability to compete successfully in any market, he was aghast, after all he had heard about Smyrna, to find that the Levant Company merchants there were dabblers in “a mere shopkeeper’s business”. There was hardly enough commercial activity “to attract the attention of a merchant”. Turkey, he quickly decided, was a land where there was too little justice, but too much of everything else — fires, plagues, wars, rebellions, and worthless coinage. One expects Aubin to turn round instantly and return to Britain; he deplores the money wasted in coming to the Levant. But he persisted, having come so far, collected his information, wrote it up, and sent it home. On the other hand, he never changed his mind about the inadvisability of getting into the trade of the eastern Mediterranean. This is all the more strange as his own information delineated a state of affairs considerably more attractive than “a mere shopkeeper’s business”. Aubin had diligence, but not perspective.

Perhaps the sheer difficulty of understanding what went on before his eyes over-taxed Aubin’s patience in the heat of an Eastern summer. Consider, for instance, the chaos of weights and measures. In

Gibraltar and Malta, he would have encountered such units of weight as the rotolo, the oke, and the kintar. He would also have met the pik as a unit of linear measure. In Smyrna, however, such terms had quite different values, and this was just another fact of life for a merchant who must expect to receive or disburse Venetian sequins, Dutch ducats, Spanish doubloons, and Maria Teresa talers all in the course of a day’s transactions. What such circumstances implied was that a merchant’s expertise was essentially local. Whenever he moved on to residence in another port or city, his earlier experience became largely irrelevant. Once more, he was a beginner.

To illustrate briefly, Aubin mentions that in Smyrna the local rotolo was worth “about 1½ lb English”, or 567 grams. But goods arriving from, say, Cairo, would be quantified on a bill-of-lading according to the Egyptian ratl (rotolo being the Levantine corruption of the Arabic word), which was worth only 449 grams, almost exactly one pound’s weight. Goods from Iraq — and Aubin mentions gall-nuts from Mosul — were measured either by the “big” ratl of 500 grams or the “little” ratl of 406 grams. The “big” ratl was, however, anything but the biggest, there being a Syrian ratl which fluctuated between 2,564 and 3,255 grams and a Constantinople ratl of 2,600. The reader who has survived this far will have noticed that the Constantinople ratl was therefore four times heavier than the rotolo Aubin first met in Smyrna. To compound confusion, units of weight fluctuated in value according to the commodity being weighed, as well as from place to place. A chequee of opium weighed about 2 lbs in Smyrna, but a chequee of wool weighed over 5 lbs.

It becomes at once apparent that gratifying profit or serious loss could be a function of a merchant’s expertise in understanding, and manipulating if he were dishonest, a terminology lacking standardized meanings. The purchaser putting down hard cash for so many rotolo of merchandise, while ignoring the qualifying adjective of place, would soon be out of business. Conversely, the man who made a career for himself as a broker between the regional sub-systems of weights and measures might easily do better than the actual vendors and purchasers of commodities. Realizing this, and seemingly depressed by it, too, Aubin provided his Glasgow principals with the truest equivalents he could establish for the weights and measures of Smyrna, but it goes almost without saying that these equivalents would often be disputed by someone, even in Smyrna itself. Oriental haggling has always fascinated outsiders as a peculiarly protracted and unnecessarily exhausting form
of theater; Aubin's experience suggests that the parties to any long transaction may be simply groping towards a clarification of the language of weights and measures.

Touring the warehouses of Smyrna, which he noted with approval to be the only fireproof buildings in the entire city, Aubin saw the commodities of the Turkey trade stacked in bale, box, seroon,24 and barrel. Many of the items he examined have gone from a world which has found synthetic or other substitutes for them, with nothing to mark their passing beyond an intriguing and somewhat archaic etymology to remind us of an age which once marketed “gallnuts, wax, scammony, rhubarb, aloes, totty, galbanum, gum adragant, gum ammoniac, semen contra, incense, zedoary, and carpets both luxurious and ordinary”. The list is Tournefort's, but a century later Aubin found the identical items in the warehouses of Smyrna.

Aubin was not greatly interested in what the Levant could produce and export. His main concern was to establish the capacity of markets like Smyrna to absorb imports from Britain. A textiles merchant could not, however, overlook entirely the raw materials which the Levant could provide for the fabric and clothing manufactories of Britain, and there are references in his narrative to raw cotton, raw silk, mohair, and hareskins; to important dyestuffs such as the safflower of Egypt, the barilla of Alaşehir, the madder of Gördes and the gall-nuts of Kayseri. Less important in his eyes were the herbs and plants still required by the European Pharmacopoeia of the time, including Egyptian senna, scammony, and Anatolian opium.

Similarly, when he came to consider the items Britain might sell in the Levant, Aubin quickly disposed of those wares which had traditionally enjoyed a modest if steady sale, simply noting that these included cutlery, watches, tin-plate for guttering, weapons, furniture, glass, lead-shot, Carolina indigo for house-paint as well as cloth-dye, cochineal to supplement Turkey's own supply of "Aly-zary" [alizarin] and Turkey red. These were best left to the existing suppliers, who were often well-known to the Turks—Wedgewood for dinner-services, Daniel of Falmouth for tin, Kershaw of Halifax for shalloons, Prior and Barbour for time-pieces "of silver with tortoise-shell cases, having the figures of the Dial in Turkish". Of much greater importance was the receptivity of the Turkish customer to British "colonial" produce and cotton goods, and Aubin was diligent in recording details of Turkish preferences in colors and fabrics, and the current level of sales. In one major respect, however, he failed his employers quite badly; while supplying them with information about the state of trade in 1812, he made no useful comparisons with the past nor predictions about the future. The omission diminished the value of his reports substantially.

Should Aubin's superiors stay with more familiar fields of endeavor? Was there any real advantage in paying the £20 cost of membership in the Levant Company? If the Levant held little promise, Kirkman Finlay would have little reason either to join the Company or attack its monopoly in the name of free-trade. But if Aubin could show that the Levant market had a far greater capacity than the Levant Company knew how to exploit, then Finlay could be expected to take up the cause of the "interlopers", who were, after all, effectively free-trading already. If he did so, then the Levant Company would be again in trouble, as so often in the past. John Galt, Finlay's agent in Gibraltar, felt that trade prospects had brightened considerably since 1806, and even more after 1809, when England and Turkey patched up a brief period of nominal war between them in the Treaty of the Dardanelles. "Since the peace", Galt wrote, "the value of British cottons sold in Smyrna alone has probably amounted to little less than £180,000. Before the war, this had been but a very trifling branch of the trade".25 On the other hand, Galt's information, like anything else Galt ever said or wrote, has to be kept in perspective, since the Levant was, even under these improved conditions, only taking about 1% of Britain's foreign trade, whereas the Baltic, in spite of the Napoleonic decrees, was managing to take about 20%. In fact, Britain had more trade with the Isle of Man and Jersey than with Turkey in some war-time years.26 Perhaps Aubin deliberately chose to let the Glasgow office do all the predicting, the more so as the war with France was still in progress. Yet the change for the better which Galt described, however insignificant in the overall pattern of Britain's foreign trade, was real enough, and the Levant Company was to enjoy a remarkable revival of prosperity for the last dozen years of its existence. It is, of course, possible that Levant Company men in the East played down the promising turn of events in their conversations

24Padded crates for protecting perishable goods.

26Papadopoulos, op. cit., p. 32, estimates that the Turkey trade represented no more than 0.36% of Britain's exports and 0.51% of her imports at this time. For the comparison with the Isle of Man and Channel Islands, see D. McPherson, Annals of Commerce, London, 1805, iv, pp. 491 et seq.; and Macgill, op. cit., p. 67.
with Aubin. It is also possible that they genuinely could not believe their reviving luck.

For many of the war years, their situation had been poor. Between 1793 and 1800, British ships in the Levant got fewer as French ascendency grew. Twenty British vessels reached Smyrna in 1790, 15 in 1793, and 4 in 1795, a very bad year in which the Company lost 30 chartered vessels to privateers. William Eton said the trade “dwindled into a state of insignificance”, Sir Sidney Smith, that it was “at its last effort”. In 1797, 5 ships arrived from England; in 1798 there was one; in 1799, none.27 Worse was to follow: Lord Elgin. As the new ambassador to Turkey, appointed by his chiefs in London to revive the Levant trade if he could, Elgin disliked the half-orientalized merchants, averring that they were in reality “Turkish merchants trading to Britain”. Their “attempts to introduce our Cottons are so feeble as to betray a want of Capital or Enterprise”. Furthermore, their general behavior was very prejudicial to British diplomacy, and Elgin believed there was a simple solution to his problems even if not to theirs.

Elgin proposed28 that the British ambassadors to Turkey, who ordinarily lived in a Company residence and received their salaries from the Levant Company’s head office in Bishopsgate Street, London, should henceforth receive their instructions and salaries only from the Foreign Office. The Levant Company should appoint a consul-general to superintend their commercial interests, and the ambassadors should concentrate on diplomacy. There is some piquancy in the circumstance that these proposals were made to a foreign secretary, Lord Grenville, who was also a governor of the Levant Company. Furthermore, Elgin’s ideas were accepted, to the anger and consternation of the merchants in the East, who now felt themselves quite abandoned by the British government. Spencer Smith, the Company’s chief agent who ran the embassy and actually held the post of minister to Turkey before Elgin’s arrival, led the resistance, withholding the archives, and the services of a dragoman, until Elgin grimly demanded both. The merchants received noisy encouragement from Spencer Smith’s brother, the arrogant Sir Sidney, the hero of al-Arish. Elgin would have gone further and taken over the consulates throughout the Levant, believing that these posts were “given away...without any adequate consideration of how important they are...to our commercial and political [my emphasis] interests”. The Foreign Office did not choose to correspond with the consuls before 1820, nor take them over before the liquidation of the Company itself in 1825, but from 1804 the British ambassador was a normal career diplomat; the first consul-general under the new dispensation was Isaac Morier of Izmir, a gifted father with remarkable sons.

Elgin’s successor, Charles Arbuthnot, brought Levant Company fortunes to their lowest condition. So, at least, the Company merchants believed. In 1807, Arbuthnot lost his nerve and fled from Constantinople, in the belief that the Turks were about to imprison him on the advice of his French rival, Horace Sebastiani. For the first time in two centuries, the British embassy on the Bosphorus closed, and as a result of Arbuthnot’s “unaccountable Hegira”, as Morier called it, the Smyrna and Constantinople merchants became refugees in Malta. They are to be forgiven for thinking their sun had finally set, but it had not. Their greatest days of prosperity were not only coming; they had actually begun.29

The Malta exile taught the Turkey merchants that William Eton, who had written so furiously at their expense, was absolutely right when he declared that they could not “prove that any particular loss would accrue to them if they lost their monopoly”.30 They lacked the means to make their monopoly profitable. Far better if they candidly and gratefully became entrepreneurs for the people they had always scorned as “interlopers”. At least “interlopers” had cash. Sir Alexander Bell, the governor of Malta, encouraged them to abandon their Turkish domicile forever and to turn his island empire into the emporium of the Levant. He suggested that the Greeks should become the Company’s shippers and offered to appoint a Greek as consul “for the Greek navigation of the Levant seas”. The governor’s proposal was too novel for men who saw Turkey as home, and who began to drift back to the Levant from Malta without waiting for the formal restoration of peace in 1809.

It is commonly explained that the Levant Company was saved by the inflow of Lancashire cottons. This is nearly true. The upturn in sales began in 1801, when £1,000 worth of British cottons was sold in the eastern Mediterranean, a figure which rose to £93,000 by 1806, after

30 Eton, op. cit., p. 473.
which Arbuthnot ruined the brightening prospect.  But the real cause of returning prosperity was the reappearance of the Royal Navy in the Levant after 1809 and the resulting reduction in piracy. The Smyrna merchants had expected relief from piracy to follow the Battle of the Nile in 1798, but extensive commitments in the west Mediterranean basin hindered the provision of convoy escorts east of Sicily for another decade. Elgin noticed the unwillingness of naval chiefs to do much for the protection of a monopolized commerce in the Levant. During their Malta exile, the merchants were told by the naval authorities there that any resumption of commerce with Turkey while hostilities were still in progress would be dealt with severely as trading with the enemy. Robert Adair, sent out to make peace with the Turks in 1809, was told by Lord Collingwood that the navy would not underpin his diplomatic enterprise with a show of force. Nevertheless, by 1810, the situation did change, and Clarke was on a merchant ship which was challenged six times in five days in Levant waters. When Byron's friend, Hobhouse, called at Smyrna, also in 1810, the port was choked with merchant ships, but they were vessels under the French flag, too afraid of the British warships waiting offshore for them to put to sea. Ships direct from Britain meanwhile rose in number; 6 in 1805, 18 in 1814, 23 in 1815, and 50 by 1820. Smyrna was not alone in this experience. In 1812, Salonnica was visited by the first British ship to be seen in 9 years. The consulate re-opened in Aleppo in 1810; it had been shut for a dozen years. In 1817, the consul in Alexandria reported “the first British vessel which has arrived direct from England for these twenty years past”. In 1822, twenty ships with British goods touched at Beirut; “previously there had not been as many for twenty years”. Membership in the Levant Company began to rise; 51 new members in 1811, and 105 in 1818. It is fairly clear that the French challenge in the Levant receded sharply from 1809 onward.

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31 For the growth of the Lancashire cotton industry and the magnitude of its export trade, see T. Ellison, Cotton Trade of Great Britain, London, 1886; on p. 54, he gives the total value of Britain's cotton exports as £1,662,309.00 in 1795, £5,854,057 in 1800, and £18,951,994.00 by 1810. For exports to Turkey in particular, see articles on “Constantinople” and “Cotton” in J.R. McCulloch, Dictionary of Commerce, London, 1835; the cotton values in the text above are drawn from P.R.O. Customs, 17.

32 Adair to Canning, 8, 9, 13, 16 July 1808, F.O. 78/60.

33 Wood, op. cit., Appendix III. British Shipping cleared outwards and inwards; Clarke, op. cit., ii, p. 214; Hobhouse, op. cit., ii, p. 43.

34 Consul Charnaud to Levant Company, Sept.[n.d.] 1812, S.P. 105/133; Consul Salt to Foreign Office, 18 April 1817, F.O., 78/89.

35 New members of the Levant Company are listed, year by year, in S.P., 105/333.

36 Cotton values are from P.R.O., Customs 8/1-5. Report from the Select Committee ... to improve and maintain the Foreign Trade of Great Britain in Parliamentary Papers, 1820 [300].

37 Papadopoulos, op. cit., p. 42.

Thus, in 1812, when Aubin was cataloguing Smyrna’s trade, several important developments were jostling one another. The Levant Company was being saved almost in spite of itself. At the same time, the growing attractiveness of the Levant trade revealed the Company as an anachronistic obstacle to free trade. The first people to discover this were the Greek seafarers, who mopped up the carrying opportunities which the Levant Company — without a marine of its own — could only watch passing to them. Thomas Thornton, a well-known author-merchant, admitted to Elgin that British ships were always too expensive to be used as “caravanners”, and that only Greek ships could afford to solicit cargoes from port to port. In the process, Greeks discovered a sense of identity and power, and were in some dismay with the coming of the British free-traders after 1809 in growing numbers. Their war for independence in 1821 has some connections with the anxieties of a diminished commerce. Yet another development — and it is the most important in the light of Aubin’s purposes — was the influx of British cottons, which would have effects far inland from the ports of Anatolia and Syria. It is not enough to attribute these effects simply to the available volume of machine-made cottons. Aubin’s account shows that local, man-made textiles remained superior in quality and competitive in price for a long time. The first preference for imported cottons was for the products of India, still hand-woven at that time. The loyalty of the local consumer in the Levant was only won over by Europe, finally and seemingly irretrievably, when places like
Clydeside and Lancashire could produce as good a commodity, designed to suit local tastes, at a cheaper price than the weavers of Bursa or Aleppo could manage. From that moment, the looms of the East began to run to a halt.  

As one would expect, Aubin's most detailed observations are on the state of the textile trade, and his account is of especial interest because of its timing. On the one hand, the great inundation of the East by British yarn and textiles is just beginning, so that he can say, "It is only since about ten years that English twist is known in Turkey". He recognizes that the local customers, perhaps encouraged by serious inflationary experiences, "have now changed their minds [about European textiles] and buy what is cheapest". On the other hand, the corresponding recession in hand-loom operations in the East had also begun, and one wonders if Aubin fully understood the implication of his own remark that Bursa was "a large but deserted town". It had just over 1,000 looms, but "there is but one European establishment", and the depopulation of Bursa had already advanced far. As a market, the town was wide open to anyone prepared for its risks. Already, fabrics from India had been cut in price to stay competitive with the European goods which were driving Bursa looms out of business.

Fundamentally against the idea of Finlay's joining the Levant Company, Aubin was meticulous in gathering the details upon which a judgement could be taken in Glasgow. When he writes of "twist", or yarn, he recommends the thread-gauges which will sell best and describes how yarn must be packaged first in 10 lb bundles, then into 600 lb bales. He explains the prejudice against "water" twist, which Turkish weavers found more subject to breakage than "mule" twist, and he throws in such details as that Turks often dye British yarn and send it on to Russia. Regarding made-up fabrics, he analyzes local tastes in color, weight, and texture; seersucker only if it is yellow; calico only in certain patterns; "the Chambéry pattern No. 37 would not do on any account". Where the local fabrics still outsell or outclass the British product, he says so; no Yorkshire twill should be sent out when that of "Scio" is so excellent; no shalloons from Halifax without a clear re-

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38 Eton, op. cit., p. 484, offered the encouraging advice that: "Manchester stuffs would find a great vent in all parts of Turkey. The Manufactories of Aleppo and Damascus are almost ruined, and if the Manchester people were to imitate the Turkish patterns of their stuffs, they could certainly afford [to produce] them cheaper. Imitations of the Surat and Bengal goods of silk and cotton, which are enormously dear [my emphasis] also find a ready sale in Turkey... in general the epithet English is synonymous with excellent."

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modities which came by ship from abroad. The export trade was in the agricultural produce of a fertile and relatively flat immediate hinterland, cotton funnelling into Salonika from Drama and Serrai, tobacco coming from Albania and Western Macedonia, timber through Kavalla from Thasos, and cereals from widely across the plains of Thessaly and Thrace. The trade in cereals was very impressive, thanks to the constant demands of the Duke of Wellington’s armies in Spain. In 1809, Salonika exported a million kikloths (63 lbs per kiklot) of wheat, a half-million of barley, and 100,000 of maize, this last so little used in Europe, whence the Turks first got it, that it was now commonly called “Turkish” corn. A trade in cereals amounting to 40,000 tons a year was naturally attractive to Ottoman provincial authorities and the Bey of Salonika cut himself in on it by exercising a monopoly over the trade in maize. The trade in tobacco was also a profitable one, and another monopolist, Muhammad Ali of Egypt, bought in one year 35,000 bales of 110 okés (i.e., 275 lbs) each.

Aubin’s chief interest, of course, was in what might be sent through the Balkans and by what routes, much less in what could be exported from there. Nevertheless, the growth of Salonika was worth reporting because it assured his Glasgow principals that here was a concentration of ships, money, merchants, “wagons of Wallachia”, and pack-animals by the thousand, well able to manage the forwarding trade by land.

Aubin described four main routes currently being used between the Thracian shore and markets to the north. Of these four, three began at Salonika and the fourth at Adrianople. This last was eliminated by Aubin because it wandered to the Danube at “Ruschuk” and so into a classic region of Turco-Russian military conflict; it was also too circuitous a route if the ultimate destination of goods was Vienna, and relied too heavily on being able to use the Danube in exactly that sector where the great river was dangerous (Widdin – Orsova). Even if the river was not used and a route across it to Hermannstadt in Transylvania was employed instead, the journey remained too uncertain and long. Of the three routes which began in Salonika — and all of them are today followed by railways — he acknowledged that the westernmost (up the Vardar river to present-day Skopje, Kraljevo, and Sarajevo, to Slavonski-Brod on the Sava) was “the principal channel of the Levant Trade with European States”. But he did not like it, and his preference was for the middle route of the three (Serrai – Sofia – Niš – Orsova) over both the westernmost and easternmost (Sofia – Widdin – Orsova – Temesvar) routes.

There is much in Aubin’s discussion of the routes for social and economic historians to ponder. The size of convoys, whether of wagons or pack-animals, could be very great, and freight charges on wagon-convoys were, as one would expect, the cheapest. On the other hand, wagons were limited to valley-routes whereas the pack-animals could proceed more directly over the mountains. The main matter for surmise in the case of animal convoys of great length is the organization of dumps of animal fodder in a karst landscape; animals, therefore, must often have carried their own fodder and so enlarged the convoy even more, like sherpas on mountaineering expeditions.

Aubin says, “I would be inclined to continue the beaten Track”, meaning he would stick to the slower, safer wagon-routes and not attach much importance to speed of delivery. Delays meant correspondingly less when the normal time for a Salonika – Vienna transit was about 50 days, and the mountain routes had two special disadvantages, high charges and bandits. When an article had multiplied three times in price by the time it reached its destination, safe arrival was more important than swift arrival.

The westernmost route, carrying most of “the Levant Trade with European States” must have been a remarkable sight indeed, with pack-animal convoys miles long, and a rudimentary but effective system of harijs and fodder-dumps along the way. Not surprisingly, Aubin refers to “very extravagant Tolls”, which could be dismissed as mere extortion except for the need of ready cash to finance “road” repairs, animal feed, guides, and the like. There were, in 1812, 20,000 animals on the westernmost route alone, most of them engaged in a journey lasting several weeks. At borders, whether of paxaliks or states, there were quarantines to be performed (seven days if there was no plague in the region, 40 if there was), tolls and duties to be collected. One sees why Aubin went into detail about the careful packaging of his precious Glasgow yarn, mumified in round bales as pack-animals “often tumble down precipices”.

An economic sub-system to the transit trade was banditry, a fact of life, a way of redistributing income, and, for many now respectable merchants and carriers whose own economic origins were in rural banditry, the only form of capital accumulation open to them as young men. The reader of Aubin’s account will recognize that banditry had gradations of legitimacy, ranging from the man with an inlaid pistol asserting his control over a ravine, to the Ottoman paşa arbitrarily taxing merchandise passing through his area of jurisdiction and with no in-
tention of sending the takings to the imperial Treasury.

For Aubin's principals, the story of the Balkan banditry was one more discouragement to add to many others. Their existing enterprise proved that the Finlay company was unafraid of risks, but we can speculate on what disposed them against the idea of joining the Levant trade. Mainly, one feels, Aubin distilled their main worry in one sentence; "It will employ a capital with more risk than the profit attached to it". Then there was the awkward fact that the Levant Company seemed to offer no commodities which the Finlay company thought worth importing, for where once raw cotton might have attracted its attention, Britain was, by 1812, drawing over 80% of this material from the Americas.

Consequently, payment for Finlay exports to the Levant would be in the dubious moneys circulating there, and as credit terms seemed to be excessively long, there was much justice in Aubin's warning that "it would require a very clever active manager" to handle the situation. Then there was no one in sight beyond the redoubtable Mr. Lee to preside over Finlay's affairs, and he was presently removed from the Smyrna scene by being appointed British consul to Adrianople. Thus, the Glasgow firm decided against joining the Levant Company, and so its name is not to be found in the list of 800 members when that company was finally dissolved in 1825.40

Other firms did indeed join the Turkey trade, and they included large merchant houses in Bristol, Manchester, Newcastle, and Glasgow. Furthermore, this was a time in which Levant merchants began to settle in British cities to act as textile entrepreneurs. As everyone predicted, the Levant textile industry collapsed. By the mid-century, Ubecini could say that Baghdad’s 40,000 looms of 30 years before had run down to a mere 7% of their earlier output. At Tarnovo, the 2,000 active looms of 1820 ran down to 200 by 1850. The 600 muslin looms in Constantinople in 1812 numbered only 40 by 1831. Nor is there any question but that the great inundation of British cotton was responsible for the disaster. In 1825, Britain sent 13,674,000 yards of cotton stuffs and 446,442 lbs. of twist to Turkey; by 1832 these figures were up respectively to 24,565,000 and 1,735,760. Nevertheless, Aubin’s principals effectively found it wiser to wait for the rifts to widen in Napoleon’s continental system and to send goods experimentally through Malta, the occupation of which by the British had much to do with the decline of Smyrna’s

41 Wood, op. cit., p. 195; Levant Company Register of Members, S.P., 105/333; Ubeicini, op. cit., pp. 339 et seq.; McCulloch, op. cit., p. 385. Later in his work, on p. 444, McCulloch notes the rise in the population of Glasgow from 43,000 souls in 1780 to 84,000 in 1801 and to 203,000 in 1831; Galt, op. cit., p. 374, recognized the critical value of Malta and in general very optimistic about the prospects of the Levant trade, listing (pp. 433-435) the goods which were landed at Smyrna from 117 ships in the period from March 1809 to August 1810.

Trade of Smyrna

Copy of Mr. C. Aubin’s Letter from Smyrna dated 27th March 1812.

I enclose you a statement of what information I could collect about the trade of this place. It embraces every thing which I thought could contribute to give you an idea of this country as far as relates to its commerce — a country where there is no justice — where there is not a sufficient capital to carry on even their local business — where credits are without end — where fires are frequent and when they happen lay almost whole towns in ashes — where the plague is not uncommon and may destroy all those to whom you have trusted — where rebellion may be looked for — where a war rages which threatens its destruction — where the current coins are intrinsically scarcely a fourth of their nominal value, with the likelihood of a farther degradation — and finally a country which is separated by such a great distance from Great Britain is I think little fit to attract the attention of a merchant, particularly when that country does not offer proportionate advantages. I look upon the trade in manufactures and other articles (coffee, twist and a few others excepted) as a mere shopkeeper’s business. As long as goods which are not of the first necessity are scarce, any prices may be obtained; if they are plentiful they can scarcely be sold at any price; at all times such business is long-winded, and would employ a large capital, with considerable risk but without yielding an adequate interest. Coffee and twist do not even promise any advantage; taking the highest and lowest price of the former article and deducting 1/3 from its value for charges, which is computed to be no more than sufficient, you will see that it is better to sell it at home than sending your property to such a distance. 100 Okes of the best Coffee sell at £ 300, of Ordinary £ 230, deduct 1/3 for charges......... 100........ £ 76 7/3
remains......... 200........ £ 153 1/3
at 22 [£, per £]. £ 9.1.10 7 0.0.0
taking 40 Okes p. Cwt makes for the best £ 3.1.2 for Ordinarly £ 2.16.

Twist leaves as little advantage, if it even sells at ................................................................. 12 £
deduct 1/3 for charges which you can now ascertain............................................. 4
(those charges are too high I think) remains 8 £
at 22 p9 7/3 ............................................. 7/3
taking 36 Okes ‘er’ 100 lb. English, 1 lb. produces 2/7-1/2 10.

Thus I am certainly of opinion that our attention should not be directed to this quarter, particularly at a time when at home you can employ your money so much better. If you find it advisable to make occasional adventures to Turkey, I would recommend you to do it only when prices with you are very low, and in those articles which in my statement I have described as current and salable for cash or on short credits. Twist is the only article which might form a constant

1 Numerals in the right margin are placed after the line in which a new page begins in the original manuscript; as the cezura of the original manuscript and this printed edition do not exactly coincide, it is purely chance if a new page in the original and in the printed edition begin with the identical word.
2 I.e., to whom one has committed merchandise.
3 The Russo-Turkish war, begun in late 1806, resulted in desultory warfare and a Russian occupation of most of the Danubian Principalities by 1808. By late 1810 Russia held the main Danube crossings. Peace negotiations began in 1809, collapsed and resumed in 1811. As Franco-Russian relations worsened steadily after 1808, the Turkish bargaining position got stronger, Russia’s weaker. Originally hoping to keep both Principalities, Russian demands fell, at first to Moldavia only, finally to only a part of Moldavia, namely Bessarabia, north of the Pruth. By the treaty of Bucharest, signed 28 May 1812, the bulk of the Principalities returned into Ottoman possession. Russia kept Bessarabia. The main Turkish negotiator was disgraced by the Sultan, and his two interpreters executed. The Trade of Turkey was therefore written — in its original form — during the months in which the negotiation with Russia reached fruition in the Treaty.

4 Twist, i.e., cotton yarn, then sold as “mule” twist or “water” twist, according to the process by which the natural fibers were spun into a continuous thread or yarn. Water twist was usually used for the warp rather than the weft of a fabric, being stronger than other yarns.
5 Oke, see Appendix I, Weights and Measures.
6 P, i.e., piastres; for Ottoman and other currencies, see, note 19.
7 £ £ 9.1.0, i.e., 9 English pounds, 1 shilling and 10 pence.
8 Cwt, i.e., one English hundredweight of 112 lbs.
9 At 22 p. . . . 7/3, i.e., at an exchange rate of 22 piastres to the pound sterling, giving 7 shillings 3 pence.
10 I.e., 2 shillings 7/3 pence.
branch; it may be supposed that the present dullness and low prices will not continue long, but from the speculative mind of British Merchants we cannot expect very high prices. If you think proper to keep a stock here, and share in that trade, I would recommend you to send 3 or 4 assortments of 10 Bales pointed out to you to Malta; these might either be sold there, or be forwarded to this by degrees, and when sales are effected you might send more, but if you can get good prices at home I would have you to take them; at present I do not think it advisable to cause anything to be forwarded from Malta, as the market is overstocked, and as I know that considerable parcels are on the road hither from England. The prices of the various articles which I have quoted to you are those of the day; they will enable you to make your calculation how each article would turn out, at the same time you must take into account that by the time the goods can arrive they may be very different. In Turkey they never take into consideration either the prices current in those countries from whence they must draw their supplies, political circumstances, or the state of exchange, every thing depends on the scarcity or the abundance of goods.

In export articles I see none which would answer our purpose, but dye stuffs, and these at the present rates would not pay, besides this is not the season for making purchases. If you reflect on any articles, your order will be in time to be executed when the next crop comes in.

Smyrna is the principal place of commerce in Turkey, almost all the business of the country concentrates here, under these circumstances it may naturally be supposed that a respectable establishment here would do very well, but to form one here a local knowledge would be required, which a stranger cannot be supposed to possess. I could not manage it, as by not being a British Subject I could not be a Member of the Levant Company. I make this observation in consequence of some hints of Mr. Struthers11 tending to that purpose.

11 S. Struthers, a British merchant in Malta, of Struthers, Kennedy and Company, founded in 1809 by Kirkman Finlay, from which to supply south Germany with Glasgow cottons, via Salonika. See James Finlay and Company, chap. iii.

It was my wish to have formed some connections for our Malta and London Establishments in the Commission line. Amongst the Francs12 we could only do business with the English and these have mostly all their connections. The Greeks and Jews are people with whom I would have nothing to do on any account from the infamous character they bear. The Turks and Armenians do not do much business to any distance. To form connections with any of them you require to open your purse immediately and that does not answer.

Thus I give up the idea of rendering my voyage of that use which I first expected from it — the only advantage which we will derive from it, is to know the real state of the trade of this country, etc., etc.

Comerce of Smyrna in March 1812

The Money of the Country consists of Piastres Paras and Aspers.13 1 Piaster has 40 Paras and 1 Para has 3 Aspers. The different nations however keep their books in Piasters and various subdivisions of Piasters — the English subdivide the Piasters into 80th parts — the French into 100th parts, and the people of the country into 120th parts. Bills of Exchange are often drawn upon Smyrna in foreign coins, particularly in Spanish Dollars or Tallari, which are paid in the moneys stipulated in the Bills; if Bills of Exchange are drawn in foreign moneys not to be had in the place, without fixing any exchange which however seldom happens, the exchange of the day is established to make the payment. From Egypt they draw always in Venetian Sequins or in Spanish Dollars. The current coins of the country are as follows.

12 Francs, more commonly Franks, were European nationals resident in the Ottoman possessions. Christian subjects were often collectively called, Greeks; thus a Bulgarian, and not a true Greek only, might be so designated.

13 Asper, sometimes asper, from the Greek word for “white”; the Turks actually called the asper the ağaçe, meaning “little white coin”. It became almost worthless during this period.
Silver Coins

Piastres of 40 Paras, which are the Piast, of the G.S.\textsuperscript{14} Piasters of 2½ P which pass in Smyrna for ab[ou]t 10 p. Ct. more than in Constantinople\textsuperscript{15} of these sorts there are ¼ and ½ of proportionate value.

**Gold Coins**

Stampol 7¼ P worth in Smyrna abt. 10 p. Ct. more Funduc 10

There are also ¼ and ½ of these coins. Egyptian Sequins are worth 7¼ P in Smyrna and are as current as the G.S.\textsuperscript{16} Coins.

Foreign Coins current in Smyrna. Spanish and Imperial Dollars are worth in Smyrna 6 P 15.\textsuperscript{17} These two sorts of Dollars pass in Smyrna for the same money yet the Spanish Dollars are preferred as they are worth more in Europe. Ducats of Holland \ldots, worth in Smyrna 13¼ P do. Imperial and Hungarian\ldots, 13

Venetian Sequins \ldots, 13¼ Spanish Doubloons are known in Turkey, but they are not current in commercial transactions; they are considered as Merchandise and are worth the value of 15 à 16 [Spanish] Dollars. In paying Bills the Spanish Dollar is calculated at 6¼ P whilst in common life it passes for 6½ P. It is the same with Gold Coins — that difference is in general about 2 p. Ct. The payment for goods sold is generally made in light monies which cannot be refused without protracting the payment for a long time. The Levant Company allowed formerly to the Merchants to charge for the loss occasioned thereby 4 p. mil.\textsuperscript{18} They have since been allowed to charge 1½ p. Ct. on account of the augmentation of light money. Some of the other Europeans charge 1 p. Ct. for that loss; it sometimes amounts in reality to 2 p. Ct. this loss goes under the name of Shroffage.

The nominal value of Coins in Turkey has augmented in a surprising proportion, yet have those coins in a very material manner lost of their intrinsic value; this is owing to the Porte, in moments of distress, having called in the current money to coin it anew and issuing it again the\textsuperscript{10} in a debased state, yet at an advanced rate. The effect of this impolitic measure is felt in the depression of the value of their nominal money and the augmentation of the price of goods and the exchange on foreign parts. In the year 1803 the Spanish Dollar was worth 3½ P, in 1807 its value was augmented at 4¼ P and now it passes for 6½ à 6¾ P. The Piaster of 5P\textsuperscript{19} is equal in weight with the Spanish Dollar, and is intended to represent the same kind of money — its intrinsic value however is perhaps not one fourth of that of a Spanish Dollar. The Porte having no Silver Mines, buys up the Spanish Dollars which serve them to make up their own Coins, with a plentiful addition of tin and zinc. It is owing to these continual degradations of the Piasters that in lending money on Interest, the sum agreed for is advanced in foreign coins, and the obligation is given to return the same sorts of money — coin for coin, adding thereto the stipulated interest. This practice exists only since 1803 when the system of debasing the current coins was begun.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{14}G.S., \textit{i.e.}, Grand Signior, meaning the Sultan; in 1812 Sultan Mahmut II.
\textsuperscript{15}\textit{i.e.}, have 10% greater purchasing power in Smyrna.
\textsuperscript{16}See note 14.
\textsuperscript{17}\textit{i.e.}, worth 6 and 15 piastres respectively.
\textsuperscript{18}\textit{i.e.}, 4 per thousand.

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{i.e.}, the five-piastre piece, introduced first in 1810 by Mahmut II.
\textsuperscript{20}Aubin means that the debasement of Sultan Selim's coinage began in 1803. Debasement was an ancient Ottoman practice, and the results can be followed in several histories of the imperial coinage which specify the declining precious metal content of the coins described. See, for example, R. Koçer, Osmanlı Altıncılıarı, Istanbul, 1967; N. Pére, Osmanlılar'da madeni paralar, Istanbul, 1968; S. Lane-Poole, The coins of the Turks in the British Museum, London, 1833; these are fundamentally descriptions of the coinage, not explanations of the devaluation process implicit in them. Broadly, it can be said that Ottoman silver coinage devalued with the influx of American silver, notably after 1600; that gold held up better; that it was ordinary Ottoman practice to allow the circulation of European coin as legal tender; and that Ottoman subjects came to prefer certain European currencies for their stability and higher precious metal content. So did the Ottoman authorities.

The asper or okçe first appears in 1327, the para about 1620, the kurus (known to Europeans as the piastre) in about 1688; these are all silver coins. Gold coins begin with the şerif at the end of the 15th century, the fundük following in about 1710. The decline of silver in relation to gold is visible in the exchange rates; there were 40 akçe to one şerif in 1500, but 360 to the şerif by 1700.
happened that betwixt the time of lending and returning the money, the difference of the nominal value thereof amounted to near 50 p. Ct. which however is only an imaginary profit. The Interest on money lent is as follows.

The Turks from 15 à 20 p. Cent.

Exchange of Smyrna

Constantinople 8 à 10 p. Ct. Agio. 21
Amsterdam p./. Ct. 89 à 90 paras.
Augsbourg p./. Ct. 105 paras — This exchange has been substituted for that on Vienna.
Leghorn p. Pezza d’Ottro reale 220 Paras.
Genoa p. Lire Secori Banco, so many Paras — there is at present no exchange established.

Marseilles p. Piaster 20 Sols
London p. £ St. 22½
Malta p. Scudi 101 Paras.

Bills from any part of Turkey on another are drawn at 11¼ St. 22 — Those from Turkey on Christendom at 31½ St but of late some of the English houses have drawn at 45 and 60½ St.

Weights and Measures 23

There are various denominations of Weights in Turkey, 17 which bear always a reference to a certain number of drams.

By Aubin’s time, inflation was spiraling in the Levant, and Ottoman coinage — Aubin’s “light money” — was being repudiated when possible by Turkish as well as European traders. Sultan Mahmut II (1807-1839) reissued gold coins 35 times and silver ones 37 times. Aubin says the £ sterling purchased 22 piastres in 1812. By 1829, it would purchase 104. Paper money only appeared in 1840, after Mahmut II died. An interesting, brief account written shortly before Aubin’s visit to the Levant, will be found in F. Beaujour, A View of the Commerce of Greece, from 1787 to 1797. (London, 1800), pp. 366-372. Brief but helpful accounts are to be found in Ch. Issawi, Economic History of the Middle East, Chicago, 1966, Appendix II; H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, i. 2, pp. 49-59.

21 Agio: Italian: “ease, convenience”; the charge made for converting one currency into another, whether paper into coin, or a less valuable currency into one more valuable.

22 i.e., at 11 days’ sight.

23 See Appendix I, Weights and Measures.

Properly speaking all goods are weighed by the Rotolo, which are afterwards reduced into the various sorts by which goods are sold — there is also a difference in the Weight by a Steel Yard and by a Balance, the latter leaving a disadvantage to the Seller of 3 p. Ct. 24 Certain goods are only sold by the Balance, such as Cochineal. 25 Cloves and Nutmegs.

1 Rotolo has 180 drams and is equal to abt 1½ lb. English
1 Oke [has] 400 “ “ 2½ lb. “
1 Kintal of 45 Okes [has] 18,000 “ 125 à 126 “
1 “ 44 [Okes has] 17,600 “ 123
100 Okes have 40,000 “ “ 280 “
The Kintal of 44 Okes is only a Weight of convention.

1 lb. English requires abt. 144 drams
100 [lb.] “ “ 36 Okes [actually, 33 okes]
112 [lb.] “ “ 40 “
The ton “ “ 800 “
The Taffee of 610 drams by which Brussa Silk is sold is 4½ lb. English (it seldom yields more than 4 lb.) the other Turkish Silk is sold by the Oke.
The Chequee of Opium of 250 drams is 1¼ lb. Eng.
The Cheeques of Goat’s Wool of 800 drams is 5½ lb. English.
The Medical is 1½ drams — this is the Weight of Oil of Roses, of Pears, & Gold.
The Killot by which Rice is sold is 10 Okes Weight.
The Killot of Grain is in various parts of the country of different sizes, — that of Smyrna weighs from 31 to 33 Okes according to the quality of the Corn — in making sendings of Grain to foreign parts the Constantinople Killot is used which weighs from 22 à 23 Okes — 8½ of these Killots are about the Malta Salin, which is about equal to an English

24 The “balance” was usually used for lower denominations of weight, and involved the use of standardized weights in one pan of the scale; the “steel yard” involved the movement of a heavy weight along a graduated arm, and was used for weighing large items, such as sacks of grain, bales of cloth, animal carcasses, etc.

25 Cochineal: mainly from Mexico, sometimes Algeria, in 1812: one pound weight required 70,000 bodies of a small wingless insect which, when dessicated and pulvresed, provided a highly valued red dye. Cochineal provided the dye for British army tunics.
Quarter. The Pike is 27 inches or 3/4 yd.
The Enderé is used by the Shopkeepers — 106¼ Endz are 100 Pikes.

Advances on Bottomry 26

The Greeks have a number of vessels, particularly in Ipsera, Hydra and Specie,27 which are owned by the Captains. They engage a crew, who in lieu of wages have a certainty in the freight and in the profit of the cargo, as those people have not money enough to buy their cargoes they get advances from the Greek Merchants of Smyrna and Constantinople, at a stipulated premium both capital and Interest being payable on the safe return of the vessel. If the vessel is lost those who have made the advances receive nothing. If the voyage has been unfortunate, the sailors are first paid their share of the freight and the money lenders receive the rest. These vessels are well manned, a vessel of 300 tons carries about 50 men. One of 400 tons from 60 à 70; others in proportion to their size.28 The premiums current for

26 Bottomry, a contract whereby a ship's captain or owner borrows money at a stipulated interest to enable him to complete a voyage, pledging his ship as security.

27 I.e., Psara, Ydra and Specia. See Appendix II, Place-Names, for locations and modern identifications of places mentioned in the text.

28 Highly informative data on the scale of Greek maritime enterprise in this epoch has been assembled by G.B. Leon, "The Greek Merchant Marine", in S.A. Papadopoulos, The Greek Merchant Marine (Athens, 1972). Leon shows (pp. 41 et seq.) that the best years were just past in 1812, but that profits of 80% on the sums invested were still occasionally to be made on joint shipping ventures, up to the outbreak of the Greek revolt in 1821. The archives of Ydra, which are very complete, show that the vessels of the island alone carried about a million and a half kilos of foodstuffs to different destinations in 1812. According to the island tax-registers, aggregate profits of the local merchants in 1812 stood at 4,689,495 piastres. The best year, 1816, would show profits of 7,749,510 piastres. In 1812, Ydra had 82 merchant vessels, of which 35 were each over 300 tons displacement; the number doubled by 1821. The most famous estimate of the overall size and naval potential of Greek shipping is Pouqueville's, whose oft-quoted figures describe a force of 615 ships, totalling 153,580 tons, equipped with 5,878 cannon, and manned by 37,526 sailors; see F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, Voyage de la Grèce, Paris, 1826, vi. pp. 294-297. Also, G.D. Krizes, Istoria tes Nesou Hydras, Patras, 1960; C. Maniatopoulos, To Nafrikon Dikaion tes Hydras, 1757-1821, Athens, 1939; K. Nikodemos, Ypomnema tes Nesou Petron, Athens 1862.

29 These figures are on the high side, compared with other contemporary estimates, but they were actual by about 1817 or 1818. As with Pouqueville, later research suggests that the contemporary writers exaggerated tonnage, but as often underestimated the actual number of vessels owned by the respective islands. See Leon, op. cit., p. 43.

30 This was not so suicidal a practice as it might at first seem, provided it was restricted to the Aegean, the Ionian Sea, and the Adriatic. There was abundant navigational information on the Levant seas, chiefly the work of the French and the British, but few Greek mariners were trained to use the maps of d'Anville, Barbier du Bocage, Choisel-Gouffier, Michelot, Arrowsmith, or the charts of The English Pilot. Greek sailors still often used portolan maps of considerable vintage. On this subject, see A. Avrameas, "The Cartography of the Coastlands", in S.A. Papadopoulos, op. cit., to which is appended an excellent bibliography. The advances made in Levant cartography are visible in a comparison of, say, Michelot et Bremond. Recueil de plusieurs Plans des Ports et Rades de la mer Mediterranée, Marseille, 1730; le sieur d'Anville's Les Cotes de la Grèce et de l'Archipel (Paris, 1756); The English Pilot, iii. (London, 1771).

31 Mocha, i.e., Arabian coffee, sometimes, "coffee arabica". Until 1700, the coffee of Yemen was the only kind available in the world. But in 1696, coffee was first planted in Java, after which it was soon taken to other places, to St. Domingo in 1715, Brazil in 1727, Jamaica in 1730, Cuba in 1748, Venezuela in 1784, and Mexico in 1790. Thus the
produce sell on one or two months credit, but when articles are scarce and by sacrificing a few p. Ct. in the price, Cash down may be obtained to a small amount, say £ 50 à 100/m. Manufactures excepting Cloths, if in small parcels and the articles are in demand, may be sold partly for Cash and partly on 1 à 2 months credit. If the market is plentifully supplied and there is a demand the credit is extended to 4 à 6 months, but if goods are plenty and there is no demand, the credit is from 8 à 12 months. In general sales are made payable in three instalments, and in what has been said above of the terms of credit, it must be understood for the final settling of the account. If you will force sales and obtain cash, it is necessary to make a sacrifice of 20 à 25 p. Ct. and even then sales cannot be effected to any great discount. The buyers of Cotton manufactures are not so solid as the Cloth dealers yet there is not much risk with them, if sales are made with judgement. In general it may be observed that the trading capital of Turkey is very small, which forces the Shopkeepers to buy on credit and carry on their commerce with the capital of the Europeans — until they have effected thus sales, they cannot pay you, which often causes very long-winded business. Colonial produce may easily be bartered for the produce of the country except Fruits, Opium, Silk and Copper, which are always bought with cash in hand, unless they are very dull, when they may be bartered. Manufacturers are rather more difficult to barter, and never for the whole amount. Supposing you wish to barter the value of £1000 of Manufactures, you must have from £2000 à 2500 of goods the produce of the country, and pay the balance in cash. Tho' the Merchants of Turkey buy almost every thing on credit, yet in selling their produce, they always insist on Cash, or if credit is given to the Europeans, it is short and payment must be made on the ap-

pointed day. The buyers of Cloths tho' very solid are very bad paymasters — the nominal credit at which cloth is sold is from 2 à 4 months but the payment is generally made from 8 à 12 Months and sometimes 2 years.

Turkish Justice

According to the Turkish law, no Contract can take place, and therefore no penalties are admitted for breaking an agreement. The public Weight fixes properly a sale. Should you even have paid money to the Seller before the goods are weighed, he may change his mind, break the bargain and return you your money. In general the law in Turkey favours the highest bidder, he who offers most to the Judge is always in the right; — if a debt is contracted the debtor gives a kind of obligation which he signs and seals in presence of two Turkish Witnesses; — if the debtor chuses to deny the debt, these Witnesses are called to Court to give their testimony, if they don't chuse to support your cause, which sometimes happens by their being bribed by your adversaries, you may whistle for your money. In law suits in Turkey there is no pleading or writing, and the decision is quickly obtained. He who brings the action simply states his case, the defendant replies, upon which the judgement which has however been previously settled in favour of him who has promised most money, is pronounced. The gain of the cause pays the expenses, which in commercial transactions amount to from 10 à 15 p. Ct. for subjects of the country, and to from 3 à 5 p. Ct. for Europeans; — the price is fixed according to the circumstances of the case. In civil disputes about grounds, possessions, heritage etc., the expenses often amount to 50 p. Ct. If you are not satisfied with the judgement of the Molla or judge you may make a sort of an

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32 A reference to the general inadmissibility of Christian evidence in an Ottoman court. As an Ottoman subject could not be summoned to a European consular court, and as there were no mixed courts as yet, the European plaintiff could only appeal to an Ottoman magistracy which was totally free, and indeed logically constrained, to minimize the worth of his evidence. In practice, the Ottoman official might well decide in favour of the European, and against the Muslim defendant, particularly if the European could persuade Muslim witnesses to support his plea. The Capitulations were of small help in such instances.
appeal to Constantinople, where on paying well for it, you may obtain a firman, which orders the Molla to render you justice according to the law; but to enjoy the effects of this high command you must pay the Molla to procure you that justice. The Turks and other people not Franks keep no regular books, you must therefore entirely rely on their honesty in trusting them. If a Turk and a European or Frank have any dispute, the case is decided by the Molla, the European being represented in the court by a dragoman of his nation. But if two Europeans or Franks have any difference which is to be decided, it is done by their respective consuls, from whose judgement there is an appeal to the Ministers residing in Constantinople. It is owing to the glorious uncertainty of the Turkish laws that Europeans seldom pursue in justice their dilatory debtors, which is the cause that so little attention is paid to the terms of payment fixed in the sales.

General Observations about the Commerce of Smyrna

The Turkish Shops or Bazars, are miserable wooden huts, which are continually exposed to the risk of being consumed by the flames; if that calamity really befalls them, the Turks take the misfortune as philosophers; believing it to be sent by God, they are satisfied if they have anything left them, should it even be only life. When they make any sending by sea they never insure, they make a tacit agreement with God, according to which they pay a certain sum of money to the poor if the vessel arrives, and if it is lost they console themselves with the idea that it was their predestination to lose their property. Thus they will never have any dispute with the Underwriters. The Europeans, who live in a separate part of the town called Franc Street have all fireproof warehouses. The commerce of Turkey is most lively in winter say from September to June, as their caravans do not travel from the month of May or June to the end of August owing to the great heats which then exist. The commerce with the interior is entirely carried on by means of these

35 Ferman, "imperial command, order".
36 Dragoman, the European corruption of terciiman (Turk.) "a translator or interpreter".

caravans of camels. In the month of September the Turks begin to bring their produce to the Seaport towns from whence they take in return such goods as they stand in need of. In years when the plague rages, business suffers very much, as then all the Europeans and rich Greek people shut themselves up in their houses. This malady shews itself first in January and February by a few deaths, in the month of April it is at its full force and continues so till June; in August all danger is over, and it is then when people resume their usual occupations. During the time of the plague, the Jews manage all business, these, the Turks and Armenians take no precaution whatever in time of the plague. The Turks would consider it a sin to attempt to escape an evil

37 Plague, meaning bubonic plague, the causes and transmission of which were still largely unknown in the Levant. Aubin gives the months for Smyrna. Istanbul usually had its worst plague in June and July, and the European diplomatic corps moved out of the city to Bosphorus villages until the cooler weather came. The last plague in England was the devastating visitation of 1666, and as plague became less known in Europe, the Levant Company liked to argue that its control of the Eastern trade, and its regulation of the number of ships trading directly between Britain and the Ottoman Empire, reduced the risk of plague ever reaching Britain again. The Turks did not take precautions against the plague, and Thornton (Present State of Turkey, London, 1809, ii, pp. 208 et seq.) says they called it milharek, blessed or auspicious. One source (British Museum, Stowe MSS. 220, f. 28) says the Turks of Constantinople did not bother to order public prayers until the casualties rose beyond a thousand deaths a day. By contrast, Greeks and others called it thanatiko, the deadly, and surrendered themselves in panic once they became convinced they had contracted the disease, even when they had no symptoms whatsoever. This, at least, is Thornton's view, who does not deny the reality of the plague, and describes the "cures" as including wild garlic, indigo, opium, strong liquors, a vegetable diet, and the wearing of oil-saturated shirts: "broth is pernicious and bleeding is almost always fatal". Another popular "cure" was lemnia, sometimes called sigillata, which was earth from the island of Lemnos, mixed into a paste, and smeared on the body or eaten. Deaths in high summer could reach 50 to 60 a day in a large Ottoman city. R. Walsh, A Residence at Constantinople, London 1836, i, p. 64, says 20,000 people died of it in the period 1810-1812 in Malta; that in 1822 a ship's boy of the sloop, Asia, died in the island lazaretto, but his infected clothes were sent out to be washed, starting an epidemic which reached 7296 Maltese, of whom 1051 died. W. Eton, A Survey of the Turkish Empire, London, 1799, pp. 497 et seq., found the case for more systematic quarantines, fumigation of cargoes, etc., too important a matter to be left in Levant Company hands, and argued that the British government should abolish the Company, initiate free trade with the Levant, and create in Malta the elements of a really efficient quarantine system which would protect Britain from any recurrence of plague. Any person who fled a lazaretto while under suspicion of being a plague carrier should, Eton claimed, be put to death. The matter came before parliament in Report on the Validity of the Doctrine of Conigion in the Plague, Parliamentary Papers, 1819 (449).
sent by God. Out of 100 who are attacked by the dreadful malady about 75 die.

The Levant Company allows all the Smyrna Merchants belonging to that Company to charge 2 p. Ct. on the weight of goods exported to England. Thus if a house here buys 100 Kintals of goods for an English house, they charge 102 Kintals in their Invoice; if the goods are bought for any other part of the world this charge is not made. The same company allows the British Merchants to charge 3 p. Cent Commission and 1/2 p. Cent warehouse rent on Imports and Exports, except on Figs, which bear a double commission, owing to the great trouble they give and their little value. They are also allowed half the Commission on the remittances they make, without guaranteeing the Bills, for which 1 p. Cent more is charged, but most of the houses don't choose to guarantee their remittances. The warehouse room is fixed at 1/2 p. Cent, and the house and Street Brokerage on Imports is 2 p. Cent whilst on exportations it is 1½ p. Cent, the other charges are real, — all the expenses together may be calculated to amount to 10 à 12 ad valorem and on fruits from 13 à 15 p. Cent.  

Articles of Exportation

Cotton. The Crop of Cotton is gathered in the months of September and October. In a good year, the produce in the neighbourhood of Smyrna may amount to 120 à 130/m. Bales of about 2½ Kintals. In a middling year the crop is not more than 80 à 90/m. Bales, and in a bad year, it may amount to 50 à 60/m. Bales. It may be computed that about 1/3 of the crop is consumed in the country and that the rest is exported to Europe: — these cottons are packed in hairsacks. The finest quality is that called Soubougea and is now worth 120 P [per] Kintal of 44 Okes. This is the only cotton which is exported in a raw state i. e., not beaten, the shells and seeds are only separated from it; — in general it goes to Germany, Switzerland [sic] and France. The other cottons which are exported in a beaten or cleaned state are the Kirkgate worth now 107P, the Aguissard at 100P, the Cassaba 98P, the Kinik 95P, the Bainerd 90 à 95P. These Cottons are sometimes exported without being beaten, they are then called “façon Soubougea”. These Cottons take their names from towns, in the neighbourhood of which they grow. Each sort has 4 qualities. The 1st and 2d of which however are only exported; the difference in price from 1st to 2d may be about 10 p. Ct. — the 3d and 4th sorts are used in the Country for stuffing cushions, beds etc. When England used to draw cottons from Smyrna, they attached themselves in preference to Kirkagatch, Kinik and Cassaba Cottons always beaten, under present circumstances this article would leave a heavy loss on sending it to England. The Cottons of Smyrna are of short staple, and have no strength, otherways they are pleasing to the eye. The best season for buying Cotton is December, January and February when that article is mostly brought to market; after April there remains scarcely anything in first hands. In order to get the first quality of Cotton, purchases should be made in the Country. This is done by Factors, on whom reliance may be placed. The money must previously be sent into the Country; a fortnight after the order is given the goods may arrive in Smyrna. There are every Saturday caravans of camels which arrive from all those places. There is no risk in sending the money to, or the Cotton from the Country, though no receipts or bills of lading are given. It sometimes happens that Speculators send Cottons to Smyrna for sale, but not often. Cotton is often bartered against goods and occasionally against bills from buyers of Import Articles at an extraordinary discount, the Cotton seller then takes all the risk of those debts upon him.

Cotton Yarn is spun by the hand in the country. Of this article there may be annually exported from 150 à 200/m Okes; it comes from the country in hairsacks of 50 à 55 Okes; each

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34 On the powers of the Levant Company, and its ability to impose financial penalties on British merchants and sea-captains who were engaging in the direct Britain-Turkey trade without being members of the Company, see A.C. Wood, History of the Levant Company (Oxford, 1935), pp. 205-225. For an attack on the monopoly, see W. Eton, op. cit., pp. 472 et seq.

35 For locations of these cotton areas, see Appendix II.
sack contains 4 à 5 different qualities or numbers which from top to bottom make a difference of about 100 p. Cent. There are 6 Sorts spun which are distinguished by a certain number of Fs; the coarsest is marked 1F, and the finest 6Fs, — it sells from 4 à 6½ P p. Oke. Formerly the English used to export assortments from 3 à 6 Fs 1 and 2 Fs being too low for them. This Yarn arrives from the interior in the gray state and is dyed red in Smyrna and then exported to Russia, it used formerly to be sent in greatest quantities to France and Germany, but is now prohibited there. The dying costs from 3½ à 3½ P p. Oke. Each sack contains about an equal quantity of each of the 4 à 5 sorts of yarn of which it is composed. Some sacks contain coarser and some finer assortments.

Mohair Yarn comes only from Angora. It is made of the wool of a particular kind of white goats, and is spun by the hand; formerly this was a great article for England, Holland and France, and 1500 à 2000 Bales of 100 à 110 Okes used to be exported in a year; it is now almost entirely consumed in Angora, in the manufacture of shalloons. The finest quality which used to be sent to England is now worth 11 à 12 P p. Oke; the middling quality used to be sent to Holland and Germany, and is now worth 7 à 8 and the inferior quality which used to go to France, sells now at 5 à 5½ P p. Oke. This is a very dangerous article which spoils by keeping; if it remains 2 à 3 years on hand, the dust and worms cut it all to pieces and render it useless.

Goats Wool. Black Goats Wool is of different qualities, that fit for the English market is the best, and is worth now 16 P p. Chequee of 2 Okes; that for the French market is worth 11P, and that for Holland is at 12P. Red Goats Wool is worth 8½ P and the Gray 6½ P. These two qualities are exported to Italy. The refuse of the Red and Black Goats Wool is put up in bundles or balls, and is worth 8 P; it used to be sent to France and Holland. The exportation of all those sorts of Goats Wool may in a year amount to 115 à 120/m Chequees.

Sheeps Wool. The Sheep are shorn in the month of May, but the wool is not washed, which causes a great loss of weight. The French used to buy large quantities of this Wool for the Languedoc Cloth manufactures, but since the interruption of the navigation with the French ports, there is scarcely any things exported. The English have made several essays in this article, but the quality is not good enough for them. The finer sort is worth 37 à 38 P p. Kintal; in washing it, it loses about 40 p. Ct. in weight, the second quality is worth 32 P and loses about 50 p. Ct. in weight, when washed. Formerly 20 à 25/m Kintals and more may have been exported p. annum; now that Wool is all consumed in the Manufacture of common Stuffs made in the Country.

Carpets are manufactured in Uschac, 18 days journey from Smyrna by camels. This article is consumed in great quantities in Turkey and is also exported to Europe, mostly to England and Holland. It is worth from 4½ à 4¼ P p. square pike, the different sizes made are from 20 à 130 square pikes. Besides these, the Turks make a great quantity of small carpets on which they pray; — these are not exported. The exportation depends on the demand, it may amount to 50 à 60/m pikes in a year.

Silk of Brussa. This silk as all others, is ready for market in August. The Brussa Silk is the best of any which is made in Turkey and is now worth 100 P p. taffee of 610 drams, it is always bought for ready money. It is put in linen bales of 40 à 42 taffees each. Brussa, Aleppo, Damascus and Constantinople consume a great deal of it in their manufactures; a great quantity is also exported to Russia and England. All Turkey produces silk, particularly near the sea coast. This silk is worth from 15 à 20 p. Ct. less than that of Brussa. Some goods are made in Turkey for which only inferior silk

40 Shalloon; the name is a corruption of Chalons, the French textile town; shalloon was a very fine wool fabric, used for linings, made from the silkiy hair of the "Angora" goat; the best of this mohair came from herds in Afyon, Eskişehir, Beypazar, as well as Ankara; mohair was also used in Europe for wigs, velours, lace, hats; "Angora" goats were introduced into South Africa in 1836, and into the United States in 1849. The English shalloon center was Halifax.

41 Usak, home of the so-called "Holbein" carpets, whose bold, stylized arabesque patterns are visible in that painter's work, such as his "The Ambassadors".
is used. There is also a great deal of silk employed in the manufacture of sewing silk which is worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ paras p. dram; these are of all kinds of lively colours. Besides Brussa, the Morea and Syria produce most silk in an abundant year. Brussa may produce 3,500 to 4,000 Bales. The quantity of other Turkish Silks is scarcely calculable.

**Skins**

Goat Skins. Those which are produced in Turkia Propria are used in the tanneries of the country; those which are exported come from Candia, the Morea and other parts of the Archipelago. They are salted and are worth from 2 a 3 P. p. Skin, according to their size. The annual exportation from Smyrna may amount to from 20 to 30/m. Skins.

Hare Skins were a great article for Italy and France, and of late for America, they are not sent to England. They come from the interior of Anatolly and Romilly — The good quality must be of the winter shooting, they must be large and long-haired skins, and 100 skins should weigh nine Okes. They are now worth 70 to 72 P. p. 100 Skins. The annual exportation may amount to 500 to 700/m. Skins, 1,000 Skins are packed in a bale pressed by a screw.

Sole Leather is made of the skins and [sc. of] Buffalo and is exported in considerable quantities to Italy. The Bull hides are worth 85 to 90 P. p. Kintal and the Buffalo 120 P. Great quantities of these hides come from Egypt and Rommilly to Smyrna where they are tanned. No Leather should be sent to Turkey as it comes too dear, besides those that buy the article are the greatest scrubs in Turkey.

Morocco Leather they make for home consumption of Goats Skins, and large quantities might be exported if there was a demand; the colours they make are yellow, red, black and blue. They are worth from 4 to 6 P. p. hide.

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42 *Turkia Propria*, sc. Anatolia.
43 *Hare-skins*, used in the manufacture of men's hats in Europe.
44 *Buffalo skins*, mainly from the lower Euphrates, came by the Baghdad caravans to Aleppo and Smyrna.
45 Madder roots are grown in the neighbourhood of the town of Ghiordes; it is sent to Smyrna by Camels from a distance of 6 to 8 days journey. It is in July when they take the Roots out of the ground; it remains from 3 to 6 years in the earth; the longer it is left in the ground the better are the roots. They increase in size so as to yield to the planter an interest of about 10 p. Cent p. annum. The best season for making purchases is from August to October, when there is no rain; if they are brought in the rainy season, they increase in weight and don't stand the voyage so well. These roots are sent in Bales of $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ Kintals. The tare for earth and small stones should not exceed 2 Okes p. bale; when they have the appearance of having more, they are cribbled and the difference is deducted from the Seller. The exportation depends on the price which is given for it; if it is low the planters leave the roots in the earth; if it is high they send it to market; on an average the exportation may amount to 7 to 8000 Bales; but if the article is high and in demand, it may be pushed to 10/m bales. There is much of this article consumed in Smyrna in the dye works. — The present price is 10 to 42 P. which is very high.

46 *Galls*. The environs of Smyrna produce from 1000 to 1500 Kintals, of which about half may be black, 1/4 green and 1/4 white; the crop is taken in September and October. The greatest quantity of these Galls is consumed in the manufactories of the country. Those which are exported from Smyrna are the Mussul Galls which come by way of Aleppo and Caesa; the annual exportation from Smyrna may amount to 2 to 3000 Kintals. The present prices are for blue 170 P., black 150 P., gray 120 P., and white 100 P. These prices are higher than ever they have been known before, as the crop has failed, they may be considered 20 to 30 p. Ct. above the common rate.

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45 *Madder root*, root of *rubia tinctorum*, a plant native to the Mediterranean; its critical component is alizarin; according to the proportions used, madder, and indigo were mixed to produce Turkey red, pink, purple, orange, and black. Britain imported madder to the value of £41,977 in 1800, and to the value of £322,164 in 1810, according to the *Customs Records, Public Record Office, London*.
46 *Gall nut*; not a nut at all, but an excrecence caused by the action of insect on the oak, *quercus infectoria*, used to make ink, in tanning, dyeing, and pharmacy.
Yellow Berries\textsuperscript{47} of Rommilly or Rutschuck used to be sent in considerable quantities to England, but the Fustic\textsuperscript{48} has in a great measure replaced the article. — It is worth from 25 à 30 Paras p. Oke. This is a spontaneous article of the mountains. Since the war betwixt Turkey and Russia, it cannot be gathered, so that there is now none of it at market. There is a sort of yellow Berries which comes from Caesa, called Persian, which is worth 4½ à 4¾ P. p. Oke; it arrives in Smyrna in the month of October — it is most wanted for Holland and Germany. The exportation of Yellow Berries may amount yearly to 40 à 50/m. Okes.

Valonea.\textsuperscript{49} Smyrna and its neighbourhood may export of this article in a year 20 à 25 Cargoes of 200 à 300 tons. It is the fruit of a large wild tree, of which are also many near Froja, it is gathered in the month of August. The first quality which is the first fruit of the tree is small without the Acorns, and may be loaded in December and January; but the 2d and 3d qualities with the acorns cannot be loaded before May, until which time they could not be dry enough and consequently heat in the voyage. The Valonea should be white, dry and heavy; the best quality is now worth 7 P. p. Kintal, the second is at 5½ à 6 P., and the third at 4 P. This is a very bulky article, which is put into the vessel, and pressed with a marble ruler 4 or 5 feet in length. A vessel of the size of 300 tons would carry of the first quality 225 à 250 tons, and of the other sorts 200 à 225 tons.

Safflower\textsuperscript{50} come from Egypt. This is the flower of a plant which gives a fine pink colour; the best quality comes from Upper

\textsuperscript{47} Yellow berries; sometimes Persian berries, French berries; green berries of the shrub, \textit{Rhamnus infectiorius}, widespread throughout south Europe, and Iran; picked before turning red, the berries were pulverized, then mordanted with tin to produce vivid orange and yellow woolens or beige cottons.

\textsuperscript{48} Fustic: Arabic \textit{fustaq}; "fustic wood", as it was usually called, a mulberry, \textit{Morus lineatoria}, from the Caribbean islands and Nicaragua. Wood chips, mordanted with alum (see note 51), produced a rich gold or tan on woolens, yellow on cottons.

\textsuperscript{49} Valonea: the acorns and acorn-cups of the oaks, \textit{Quercus aegilops} and \textit{Quercus valonea}; used for tanning; it was so heavy that it was commonly used as ballast in vessels returning light to Britain.

\textsuperscript{50} Safflower; like the word itself, safflower came originally from Babylon, from a thistle, \textit{Carihamus Tinctorius}; used in ancient Egypt to dye mummy cloths; in Aubin's time, it came chiefly from Egypt, providing a fugitive yellow dye for silks and cosmetics; the seeds provided an oil to light house lamps.

Egypt, it usually arrives in Smyrna in August and September and comes in bales of 4 à 5 Kintals. This article to be good, must be of a fine lively colour, of a soft feel, and clean. It sells at 65 à 70 P. p. Kintal. This flower must be used whilst it is fresh; — if it is a year old, it loses 1/3 of its value, the 2d year it is not worth half the money, and the 3d year it is worth nothing at all. The annual exportation may amount to 4 à 5000 Kintals, it goes mostly to Russia, Germany and England.

Allum is the produce of a mountain in Anatolia,\textsuperscript{31} at a distance of 10 à 12 days journey by camels. It is a monopoly sold by the G.S.\textsuperscript{32} It is sold in Smyrna by the Monopolists, and sent abroad; the exportation may amount to 4 à 5000 Kintals p. annum. The best quality is worth 30 à 35 P. and the inferior 12 à 15 P. p. Kintal.

Barilla is produced near Allagar, formerly Philadelphia, it is made of an herb,\textsuperscript{33} which is burned on grate irons, by which it is reduced into a kind of stone. In Turkey it is only used in dying. Besides the consumption of the country there may remain a surplus for exportation of 2000 à 3000 Kintals, but there is no demand. Some of it has been sent to England which scarcely paid charges; it is now worth 19 à 20 P. p. Kintal.

Gum Arabic\textsuperscript{34} comes from Egypt unpicked, in that state it is worth 110 P. p. Kintal. It is cleaned in Smyrna, and sells in that state at 130 P. for exportation; it is put in boxes of 2½ à 3 Kintals; the white gums in pieces as large as a walnut is [sic] the best quality. There is another sort of gum Arabic, which is yellow and which is called Gum Gitta\textsuperscript{35} — this quality never goes to England, but mostly to Germany and Russia. It is worth cleaned 70 à 75 P. p. Kintal. Of the best

\textsuperscript{31} Probably Pamuk-Kale ("cotton-wool castle"), a spectacular outcropping of crystalline rock. 150 miles S.E. of Smyrna, near the town of Denizli.

\textsuperscript{32} I.e., "the Grand Signior", meaning the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

\textsuperscript{33} Barilla, a plant of the mountains, \textit{salbola soda}, found also in Sicily and the Caucasus; when burned, it produced an alkali used in soap, glass manufacture, medicine.

\textsuperscript{34} Gum Arabic, sometimes found as Gum Kordofan, Gum Sudan; almost entirely drawn from an Egyptian acacia; used in mucilage manufacture, and book-binding.

\textsuperscript{35} Gum Gitta, a substitute for gum arabic.
sort of Gum Arabic about 1000 to 1500 Kintals and of the
Gum Gitta about 2000 Kintals may annually be exported.
Gum Mastic is the produce of the island of Scio, it is collected
in the month of May, and is produced by the tears of a small
tree. This branch of commerce is a Monopoly. It is worth
550 P. p. barrel of 70 Okes. The produce may amount to 300
to 350 barrels in a year. In Turkey this Gum is used by
chewing it.
Gum Dragant is produced in the neighbourhood of Smyrna,
and the crop is collected in the month of October. It is made
of a wild plant which is torn out of the ground, the root is
cut off, which causes a milky substance to run from the
plant, which when dried is the Gum. It must be white and
clean. The produce p. annum may amount to 15 to 20/ m.
Okes, and is now worth 9 P. p. Okes which is very high.
Gum Myrrh comes from Egypt, must be of a lively yellow
colour. Of the 1st Quality the exportation may amount to
5 to 6/ m. Okes, and of the 2nd quality, to 10/ m. Okes — the
former is worth 10 P. Oke, the latter 6 to 7 P. Oke.
Scammony is produced in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, it is
made of a wild plant from which in the month of May flows
a milky substance, which is collected and dried and put up
in cakes; these are exposed to the air till the month of
August, when it becomes a bottlegreen. It is often falsi-
fied, and mixed with dust. To examine the quality, the cake
is broken. If the colour is like that of a green bottle, and
shining, and by wetting and rubbing it, it produces a milky
substance of a grayish colour, the quality is good. If it has
these qualities, it sells at 55 P. p. Oke; the produce thereof
may be 6 to 700 Okes. The 2d Sort is worth 20 to 30 P.,
and about 1000 Okes may be produced of it.
Gum Armoniac [sic] is produced in Persia, about 12 to 15 m.
Okes may be exported to Europe. It is worth 7 P. p. Oke;
the good quality must be white and the inside must be like
an almond.
Senna comes from Egypt. This is a small leaf; the best is
green and not broken in bits, clean of earth without the stems;
and the large leaves called folicolo, which are not so good,
must not be mixed with it. This article is not used in Turkey,
and is all exported; it is worth 6 P. p. Oke for the 1st Quality.
As the leaves are more yellow it becomes of less strength
and value; 10 to 15 m. Okes may be exported in a year.
Opium is one of the most important articles of Turkey. It is
the juice of the Black Poppy. This plant is grown in Caris-
sar, Ujac and Jall, at a distance of about 10 days' journey
from Smyrna, it is sown in November and December. In
June this plant forms a ball which contains the seed. In-
cisions are made into these balls, from which a milky
substance flows, which is collected and made into cakes as
large as a biscuit and in balls as large as a fist. It is sent
in baskets of 85 to 90 Cheque in Smyrna. The end of
July. It is often falsified by mixing the juice of fruits with
it, for this reason it is examined by connoisseurs of the
article, who receive 1/2 p. Ct. for their inspection. If it is
found to be falsified it is returned; this happens very often.
It is now at 26 to 27 P. p. Cheque which is very high; when
the last crop began to come to market, it was sold at 4 P.
with the appearance of a farther decline. The Americans have caused this rise. This article in buying it in the end of July until November loses 6 à 12 p. Cent in weight; after December it scarcely loses anything more. The quality and strength is not deteriorated, though it is kept five or six years; it gets only harder. A good crop will yield 1000 à 1200 baskets; in a very good year it may even amount to 1500 Baskets. Of this quantity 100 à 150, or at the most 200 Baskets are used in the Turkish Empire. Some of the Turks take once or twice a day a quantity of Opium of the size of a pea, which they chew, but of all the Turks there are not 2 out of 100 who use this pernicious drug. The rest is exported by the English and the Americans, mostly for the Chinese and India trade.

Boxwood\(^64\) comes from the Black Sea, it is very little used in Turkey and is therefore exported. The good quality should be in pieces of 5 à 6 feet long, and 12 à 18 inches in circumference, without knots, and not split in straight pieces; it is worth 10\(\text{P}\) p. Kintal, and serves in general for dunnage\(^65\) of fruit and wine cargoes.

Emery Stones are produced in the Island of Nasia in the Archipelago, on the Coast of Syria, and near Rhodes; the best fishermen come from the Islands of Sini and Calimno near Rhodes. The best quality is of a whitish colour, fine, round and clean of a middle size; the fine quality is not used in Turkey, but is all exported, it is now worth 11 à 12\(\text{P}\) p. Oke. Common qualities and large pieces are a good deal used in Turkey, and are worth 5 à 6 \(\text{P}\) p. Oke. Of the fine sorts 20 à 25\(\text{m}\). Okes may be exported and as much of the common quality.

Fruits.

Smyrna Black Fruit.\(^67\) In the month of September they cut the raisins as they get ripe, and dry them in the sun, for which eight or ten days are sufficient. They begin to come to market in the month of September, but the bulk arrives in October and November, during that period, they are bought from the Country people at the fruit Bazaars; after that period you must either buy them second handed or go to the country, which is disadvantageous. The best quality is that which is produced in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, which keeps two or three years. The other qualities of Turkish Black fruit which are exported from Smyrna and the neighbouring ports when they are above a year old, dry up and lose their substance, so that nothing but the skins and the seeds remain, 25 à 30\(\text{m}\). Kintal may easily be exported of the former, and as much of the latter, which are principally used in the distilleries of an inferior sort of Brandy. The Black fruit is put in large barrels or casks which may weigh from 1 à 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) tons, they are stamped with the feet into the cask. The present price is 15 \(\text{P}\) p. Kint[al] for the first and 10 à 12 \(\text{P}\) for the second quality, which is very high.

\(^{64}\) Boxwood, because of its straight grain, was used in the manufacture of mathematical instruments, and in wood-engraving.

\(^{65}\) Dunnage; packaging, sometimes of boxwood, sometimes of stuffed bags of brushwood, to hold a cargo in place and protect against chafing or damp.

\(^{66}\) Beeswax; used commercially for church candles, tapers, and seals; Smyrna supplied Italy with large quantities of beeswax.

\(^{67}\) Smyrna black fruit, red fruit and sultana raisins; black fruit were plums; red fruit predominantly red plums with an admixture of grapes; sultanas were purely from grapes.
Red Fruit of Vurlach. It begins to come to market about the 15th September, and continues to arrive in great quantities in all October, November and December. The greatest push is made in September and October in order to be first at market. In a good year, the quantity may be from 40 à 50/m Kintals. It is now worth 28 P. p. Kintal, whilst in the beginning of the season it sold only for 17 à 18 P. The red fruit of Jesme resembles very much that of Vurlach, its colour is only a little darker, this sort is almost 1 P., lower than that of Vurlach; the produce thereof may amount to 50 à 60/m. Kintals. Besides the red fruit of Vurlach and Jesme, there is that of Kara Corno, which is larger, whiter and cleaner, and which is 5 à 6 P. dearer than that of Vurlach. It is mostly consumed in Turkey and a small quantity goes to Russia.

Sultana Raisins is a red fruit without stones, which grows in the neighbourhood of Kara Corno. 30 à 35/m. Okes may be produced. The price is now 50 Paras p. Oke. These are put up in drums of from 15 à 30 lb. English. The crop of raisins depends very much on the seasons of the year, and when there is an abundant crop, the raisins are in general smaller than in a middling crop. If at the time of the vintage there are rains, the colour is spoiled and the quality is not so good. Besides these chances the crop is sometimes entirely spoiled by a visit of grasshoppers which eat every thing they find. The Turks don't allow these animals to be destroyed.

Figs come from the interior; the country is called Nasaly, they are brought to Smyrna in bags of 2 à 2 ½ Kintals. The figs are allowed to dry on the tree from which they fall when they are ready. They arrive in the very beginning of September and continue to pour in in large quantities from that time to the middle of November, at which time the whole crop is arrived at market. The country people bring the fruit to the Bazars, where the merchants buy them. These put the goods into a warehouse, and collect all the beggars and rabble of Smyrna to pick the Figs, those which are in a proper state are packed up in boxes of 1/2 à 1 Kintal, and in drums of 10 à 50 lb. English. The refuse of the figs is used in distilleries, a good deal of it is also sent to Egypt, where the poor people buy it for their nourishment, at about a fourth of the value of sound figs. The price was this year from 15 à 25 P. p. Kintal unpicked. The annual exportation may be from 30 à 40/m. Kintals.

Wine. Smyrna Red Wine is made at 23 places at Smyrna called Taverns. End of August the raisins of which the Black fruit is made are cut; the grapes are crushed by the feet of men and allowed to foment, which is done in about 20 days; the Wine is then drawn off in barrels, and may be used in two months after that time. In general 20 à 25 p. Ct. of water, and even more are added to the Wine, notwithstanding which the Wine is strong enough. It is mostly dry Wine though some of it is sweet. In allowing this Wine to get 3 years old, it gets as strong as Port Wine. The refuse of the Wine is used for making Vinegar and Brandy. The Wine made in Smyrna may amount to 50 à 60/m. Venetian Barrels of 50 Okes each, about the half or two thirds are exported, the rest is consumed in the country. The price is 18 P. p. barrel or 16 paras p. Oke — 2½ Okes are about an English Gallon. The Smyrna Wine has the advantage over those of the Archipelago that it keeps well, whilst that easily sours.

Brandy. The best quality is made of the Black fruit; the 2d quality is that made of the refuse of Wine and of Figs. This Brandy is not famous; it is worth 32 paras p. Oke; but neither Brandies nor white Wines are exported from Smyrna.

Oil is not allowed to be exported from Smyrna on account of the Soap Manufactures there; the only places from whence Oil is exported are Mitelini, Aivali, Candia and the Morea; which may export from 25 à 30 Cargoes of 200 à 250 tons. It is now worth 56 à 60 P. p. Kintal.

Oil of Roses64 is made in Rommill in Lagora and Kizangik and comes generally from Adrianoople. It is sold by the Medical of 1 ½ drams. It is not much used in Turkey but is mostly sent to England. It is worth 4½ à 5 P. p. Medical — 30/m.

64 Oil of Roses; obtained from the pink damask rose, originally from Iran, and introduced into Europe by the Crusaders; in 1812, most came from the Tunja valley in Bulgaria, and from the vicinity of Edirne; it required 250 lbs. weight of petals to produce one ounce of "otto" or attar of roses, used in perfumes and liqueurs; rose-water was a by-product of the distillation; the Turks also made, and still make, rose-petal jam.
Medical may be exported in a year — it is put in glass bottles. It is a very nice article as it is often mixed with common Oil.

Rice comes mostly from Egypt and is of very great consumption in Turkey. It is sold for Cash by the Killot of 10 Okes, and is mostly used in winter. It is now worth 6½ P. Carolina Rice is well known, but it sells about 10 p. Ct. less than that from Egypt. The Turks have at every meal a dish of Rice called Pillaf, the Rice is boiled and burned butter poured over it.

Grains cannot be exported from Smyrna without a firman. Though this prohibition extends over all parts of Turkey, yet it may be exported from the smaller ports by bribing the Customhouse officers. The principal places for exports of Grain from Anatolia are Scala Nova and Sanderli, but that business is done through the medium of the Smyrna Merchants. The Gulph of Salonica, Caramania, Satalia and Syria export also Grains, but Egypt exports most of that commodity. Grain must always be purchased with Cash, and Spanish Dollars answer best for that purpose. In time of peace⁶⁹ the Black Sea furnishes immense quantities of Corn, but if a vessel from that quarter touches in a Turkish Port, the bakers of the country may stop the cargo and receive it at a price fixed by Government. This is the same case with Hemp and other Articles from the Black Sea. To obviate this arbitrary measure, the vessels remain on the outside of the Castels [sic] when the goods are sold and transshipped in European Vessels. Hemp. This is an article of which the exportation is prohibited, besides the quality is very inferior.

Articles of Importation

Coffee. West India Coffee has become an article of first necessity, and immense quantities are consumed. It sells for Cash or for short credit, and barters easily for the produce of the country. The small green bean is what is preferred, but in general any quality will sell in proportion to its val-

⁶⁹ Russo-Turkish hostilities severed the Black Sea wheat trade; peace was restored in May 1812.

ue, except Java Coffee and common Batavia; it is equally the same whether it is packed in hogsheads, barrels, or bags. Martinique Coffee is best in repute by which denomination all Coffees of a small green bean are sold. The reason of their preferring here, green coffee is, because to be so, it must be fresh, and in that state it has a bitterness which is much admired here and that it makes a strong and thick Coffee. Since two years only the W[est] I[ndian] Coffee has been used in Turkey in considerable quantities, owing to its cheapness and the scarcity and high price of Mocha Coffee; before that time some of the religious Turks considered drinking W. I. Coffee as great a sin as drinking Wine; they have now become more reasonable on that score, and since they have got the better of their prejudices, it may be expected that the consumption of the article will always be considerable. If however prices in England should get much higher than they are now, the consumption would decrease as the common people could not afford to indulge themselves in their favourite drink as much as they do at present. In this moment the continent draws a good deal of Coffee from this; it consists usually of the finer sorts. Independent of that demand which is at present very uncertain, it may be computed that Turkey consumes at present about 1½ à 2 millions of Okes. The continental demand will no doubt become very considerable if circumstances favour a continuation of that trade. In former times the quantity of Mocha Coffee which was sent into Turkey may have amounted to about 2 à 2½ Millions of Okes p. Annum. Mocha may produce from 4 à 6 Millions of Okes of Coffee a year. This commodity came by way of Egypt; until it arrived at market, the expenses were above 150 p. Ct. on Prime Cost. The present war with the Wahabees prevents this Article from arriving in Turkey; if even the communication should be reestablished the quantity which could arrive, would not be very great as the plantations have suffered during the war. The Mocha Coffee⁷⁰ used to be transported in packages of about 150 à
180 Okes which were carried by Camels into Turkey. Since the interruption of the communication with Mocha, the Americans have brought some of that Coffee by sea, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The length of the voyage causes a deterioration in the quality of the article. This Coffee is in consequence about 10 p. Ct. lower than that which comes by way of Egypt. The Mocha Coffee has a mild oily aromatic taste, the beans are remarkably small and of a brownish colour, neither yellow nor green. When it is toasted and pounded, it loses less in weight than W. I. Coffee; the former yields about 320 drams, whilst the latter yields only about 280 à 285 drams p. Oke. In the Mocha Coffee there is always a small quantity of the shell left; without that useless addition the Turks would not take it for real Mocha, but believe it to be W. I. Coffee. If W. I. Coffee is weighed immediately after its arrival in Turkey, the Cwt produce[s] about 40 à 41 Okes; but by remaining long on hand it loses in weight and the Cwt will then only yield about 38 à 39 Okes. In Constantinople all Coffee but that from Mocha were prohibited. Owing to the impossibility of procuring that sort, all other qualities are now allowed to be used. The great consumption of Coffee is in winter, but particularly in the Moon of Ramazan as the Turks reckon their year by 12 Moons, that moon falls at different times of the year. W. I. Coffee is now worth —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common St. Domingo</th>
<th>230 à 240 P</th>
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<tr>
<td>Middling W. I.</td>
<td>260 à 270 P</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fine Martinique</td>
<td>300</td>
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p. 100 Okes fresh Jamaica is much liked.

Of Mocha Coffee there is now none at market; the nominal price is 700 à 800 P, if any considerable quantity was to arrive it would not sell above 550 à 600 P. The tare of W. I. is 2 Rotolo p. bag, real tare\(^1\) for casks.

Sugars. The first white qualities are always preferable. Havannahs are most current, yet Martinique and Guadaloupe clayed sugars, if very dry and of a rich strong grain, sell also very well. In brown sugars the Havannahs are always preferred, the brown should bear a proportion to the white of about one fourth. The season of consumption falls mostly in Spring and Summer, the brown sugars are however principally consumed in Spring. They are used in sweetmeats made of fruits and flowers. These are entirely articles of luxury in Turkey which are mostly consumed in towns, particularly near the sea cost. In the interior, sugars are scarcely known, and they are replaced by honey. Brazil Sugars are not much liked as they have not a very strong grain, yet they sell also. Crushed sugars sell fast, but Muscovadoes are very difficult sale, and on long credits. The consumption for Smyrna may be annually from 5 à 600 tons.

White Havannahs are worth 95 à 100 P tare for boxes Brown " 65 à 70 " 14 p. Cent.
White Brazils " 80 à 85 " do. 18 p. Cent.
Clayed Sugars in Casks

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Fine White</th>
<th>95 à 100 P</th>
<th>tare for Casks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>80 à 85</td>
<td>10 p. Ct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>70 à 75</td>
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Crushed Sugars

| 100 " | 75 " |

Refined Sugars for the use of Turkey must be in loaves of 3 lb. — those for exportation for which there has of late been a brisk demand, must be Hambro loaves\(^2\) not exceeding 10 lb. — they must be very dry and firm — the whiteness is of less consequence. This article arrives often in a damaged state, it is then of very difficult sale. It should be put in casks of 7 à 8 Cwt. Tare for paper and string for all sizes of loaves is 4 p. Ct. for the casks real tare is allowed. The Turks use the loaves of 3 lb. for presents amongst themselves, otherwise the first Havannahs have an equal value of them. Turkey loaves are sold at 120 à 125 P. Hambro Loaves at 130 à 135 P. 1000 Barrels of 7 à 8 Cwt of Turkey loaves might be sold in a year in Smyrna. The Hambro Loaves depending on a foreign demand, it is uncertain

\(^1\) Real tare; i.e., weighing the container, full and empty, to ascertain the net weight of the commodity; the alternative was to estimate the container as a fraction of the gross weight, and to deduct a percentage of the gross value.

\(^2\) Hambro loaves; Hamburg was a leading sugar refining center, and its “loaves” were well known in the Levant.
to what extent the sale may be; but under existing circumstances it might be recommended to compose sendings for this quarter about 2/3 of Hambro and 1/3 of Turkey Loaves.

Cocoa is not used here, but chocolate might be sold to the extent of 300 à 400 Okes for the use of the Europeans. The Turks don’t use chocolate.

Pepper is used in winter in considerable quantities. That of the E[ast] I[ndia] Company is always 5 à 10 paras higher than any other quality imported by the Americans, because it is better packed and better cleaned, every bag weighs from 110 à 115 Okes and the tare is 7 Rotolos p. bag. The consumption may amount to about 700 à 800 bags, but the Americans generally furnish that article abundantly from Sumatra. Black Pepper is only used — the price is now 2 1/4 P. p. Oke for E.I.Cy. others are at 2 1/3 à 2 3/4 P. The consumption is greatest in winter and may amount to 20 à 30/m. Okes. The tare is real.

Cinnamon. Very fine Ceylon does not answer. The 2d Quality or Casia Ligna is current, it is worth 7 à 7 1/4 P. p. Oke. The consumption which is principally in winter may be from 15 à 20/m. Okes.

Cloves are a current article; small cloves are preferred, must be dry and hard, rather of a light colour, with the flower in the center of the Cloves. It is worth now 21 P. p. Oke. The consumption falls principally in winter, and may amount to 20 à 25/m. Okes. It may be sent in barrels or bags.

Nutmegs. They must be without the shell, fresh, small and round, in boxes of 70 à 80 Okes. They are worth 50 P. p. Oke; but are not very current, and must be sold on long credits. The consumption which also falls principally in winter may amount to about 3 à 4000 Okes.

Ginger must be white, fresh, and without dust, may be sent in bags or casks, is worth 45 à 50 P. p. Kintal, and the consumption which also is principally in winter may amount to 1000 à 1500 Kintals.

Cardamones are not current, are worth 2 1/2 P. p. Oke.

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Bark is of a trifling consumption, should be of the first quality, not pounded, sells 12 à 15 P. p. Oke. All Medicines as Talap, Salco Barilla etc. do not answer well in Turkey.

Tea. Hyson Tea sells in small quantities for the use of the Europeans and for that of the Turks when they are sick 50 à 60 boxes in a year are sufficient, worth 16 P. p. Oke.

Indigo. Bengal answers best, must be light, of large square lumps, and violet colour, in boxes not in hides, the good quality is worth 36 à 38 P. p. Oke. This is an article of necessity. The great consumption is in Spring and Summer, and may amount to 200 à 250 boxes of 2 à 2 1/2 Cwt. The inferior qualities of E[ast] I[ndia] Indigo are of difficult sale and on long credits. Spanish Indigo in Seroons, very fine, light and violet is also very necessary. It is worth 42 P. p. Oke and about 300 Seroons of 45 à 50 Okes may be consumed in a year. Sobres and Cortes are saleable but on long credits — they must be of the best sorts of their kinds. Carracca floras are worth 40 P. Of all these sorts about 200 Seroons may be sold in a year.

Cochineal. Silver sells but black is preferred, this article is of current sale. The Cochineal must be large and shining. It is sent in sacks of 70 à 80 Okes, and these sacks are put in barrels. It must be without dust and the silver should not be of a reddish colour. They often falsify this article, and by a preparation of wine they render the silver black. The consumption falls principally in Spring and Summer. Brussa, Damascus and Aleppo use most of it. 200 à 250 barrels may be used in a year. The black is worth 120 à 125 P. p. Oke and the silver 110 à 115 P. The Tare is real.

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Cardamon, cardamom, came chiefly from Malabar; used elsewhere as a flavor for curry, but by the Turks to add a bitter flavour to coffee.

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74 Bark; sc, Cinchona bark, from Colombia and the Caribbean islands; source of quinine for treatment of malaria; nearly all exhausted when, in 1865, one pound was taken to Java, from which amount Java became world supplier.

75 Talap, unidentified; Salco, salein, a quinine substitute, obtained from willow bark; barilla, see note 53.

76 Hyson tea; corruption of hei-ch’un (Chinese) meaning “bright spring”; a species of early-picked, green tea.

77 Indigo; a vat dye, chiefly from India, where 2 million acres were planted with indigo as late as 1897, although German synthetic dyes were replacing the vat dye in the late nineteenth century.

78 Seroons; hampers or crates for the transport of figs, almonds, indigo, etc.

79 Cochineal, see note 26 above.
Dye Woods. Pernambuco or Brazil is current. It is worth 150 P p. Kintal, must be the best quality. The price and consumption depends a good deal on those of Cochineal, as they use more of it if cochineal is dear — the annual consumption may amount to 5 à 600 Kintals. Camppeachy, Honduras and Jamaica Logwood are of easy sale — price from 20 à 22 P p. Kintal — should be in large straight pieces, the consumption may amount to 2500 à 3000 Kintals. St. Martha and Nicaragua Woods are very current, they are worth 50 P p. Kintal, and the annual consumption may amount to about 1000 Kintals. No other kinds of dye or other Woods are saleable, even at any price.

Copperas  came formerly from Trieste; but as that route is now shut up, it comes from England, which is however inferior to the Swedish. The English is worth 12 à 13 P p. Kintal, but it is sold on long credits — the consumption may be from 3 à 5000 Kintals p. annum.

Verdigris  comes from Montpelier — if the article is cheap 8 à 10/m. Okes may be consumed as it is now 22 à 25 P p. Oke the consumption is reduced to about 3/m Okes. It is sold on long credit.

Rocou  is the production of Cayenne — the Americans have recently introduced the article. It is a red colour which is mostly used in Damascus and Aleppo, it is worth 9 à 10 P p. Oke — 2 à 3/m. Okes are quite sufficient for a year's consumption.

Red Lead or Red Arsenic is of tolerable sale, is worth 60 à 65 P p. Kintal — the consumption may amount to about 1000 Kintals p. annum. It is used in dying red.

White Lead  or White Arsenic is an article of necessity, as they use it in all colours for painting — it is worth 80 P p. Kintal,
Tin in Bars is a cash article; — it is very current and necessary. It serves principally to tin over the kitchen utensils, of the Turks, and to mix it in the moneys. The annual consumption is about 1000 Barrels of 4 Cwt. It is worth 238 P. Ookes. The manufacture of Daniel and of Danbury of Falmouth are best liked. This article is used all the year round, but principally at the approach of the Baram; when the Turks are in the habit of tinning over their kitchen utensils. The Peruvians and all other kinds of tin in Blocks sell also, but about 15 P. below the English Tin in Bars. This difference arises from loss in weight and expenses in melting and making Bars of it. If it is very cheap i.e. under 200 P, the consumption would exceed 1000 barrels. — The Falmouth Tin is always preferred.

Tin in Plates is an article of current sale, but on credit as the buyers are Jews — the yearly consumption may be about 100 à 1200 boxes of 225 Plates. — Should be of the size of No. 1 which is worth 95 P. No. 2 is 8 à 10 P. cheaper and not so saleable and No. 3 are not saleable at all. The boxes must have the mark C X R burnt on them.

Tutanag Spelter or Zink comes from England and is used in making money. It is worth 3 P. Oke and the annual consumption may amount to 50 à 60/m. Ookes. It sells when there is a demand for it from the mint.

Lead in Pigs is of current sale for balls and shot of which there is a manufactory in Smyrna. The annual consumption may be 1500 à 2000 Pigs — each piece of about 150 lbs. English. It is worth 55 P. Kintals. Since about 10 years Spanish Lead has been sent into Turkey, which is about of an equal quality with the English. The prejudice of the Turks goes against that Lead and renders it about 10 p. Ct. less value than the English.

**Assortment for Winter**

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**Assortment for Autumn**

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In all 100 Casks

None must be sent finer than No. 6. The mines of Tocat produce also Lead, but in small quantity, which is consumed in the neighbourhood of Tocat.

Quick Silver comes from Germany and sells on credit. It is now worth 12 P. Oke, and 12 à 15/m. Okes may be consumed of it p. annum.

Steel. German Steel is very necessary. It comes in boxes of 1½ à 2 Kintals — the fine quality is burnt on the boxes No. 0 — this sort is worth 92 P. No.1 is at 87 P. and No.2, 80 P. Kintal. No. 0 is most current. The tare allowed is on No. 0, 8 Rotolos p. Box — on No. 1 — 10 Rotos. and on No. 2 — 12 Rotos. The consumption is in winter to the extent of 4 à 5000 boxes. English Steel does not pay.

Iron. Russian Iron is a very necessary article in all Turkey. When the price was 13 à 15 P. the annual consumption was from 50 à 60/m. Kintals, but now that it sells at 20 à 22 P. the consumption is reduced to 30 à 35/m. Kintal. In general it sells for cash or on short credits. Swedish Iron is preferred to that of Russia and is worth 20 à 25 P. Ct. more but the annual consumption of it is only from 1500 à 2000 Kintals. In Rommill near Philippoli there are Mines of very good Iron, which has been proved to be equal to the Swedish Iron, but they produce very little on account of the

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64 Baram: i.e., the Bayram festivals, of which there are two, one terminating the Muslim month of fasting, Ramadan, the other 70 days after Ramadan.
67 Tutanag spelter; sometimes tutenaga, toothanegg, tutenague; from Sanskrit, tuttha copper sulphate, naga, Mahirata, tin or lead; spelter was a zinc alloy. Thus tutanag spelter was a white alloy usually of copper and zinc, with additions of iron, arsenic, or silver; used for silvering coins and ornament. "Tutty" was the Levantine term for zinc oxide ointment.
state of the Government. The same observations hold good with regard to the Silver and Gold Mines.

Iron Plates are worth 50 à 55 P. p. Kintal — they should be in pieces of a square yard — 1/3 to be 10 sheets p. Cwt — 1/3 of 15 sheets and 1/3 of 20 sheets. In a year 800 à 1000 Kintals may be sold.

Nails are consumed in very great quantities — those of Germany are very current at 50 à 52 P. p. Kintal. Russia has of late imitated the German Nails and surpassed them. These are worth 55 P. There are some Nails sent from England but they left a loss of from 30 à 50 p. Ct. The yearly consumption may be from 5 à 6000 Kintals, it falls mostly in Spring and Summer, but they are sold at 2, 4 and 6 months' credit.

Cutlery, such as arms, knives and forks, Penknives etc. particularly those which the Turks use don't answer.

Earthen Ware. Wedgodwood Plates of the usual size and also desert Plates would sell in small quantities. The Plates should be 1/3 soup Plates and 2/3 Common Plates. They are worth 3 P. p. dozen. Other sorts of Earthen ware don't answer.

Watches. English Watches are easily sold in Turkey. Those of Geo. Prior of London are preferred, those of Benjm. Barbor come next and then those of Geo. Charles. They are made of two sizes — they are of Silver with tortoise shell cases, having the figures of the Dial in Turkish.\(^{38}\) They sell from 130 à 160 P. p. piece and in a year there may be 90 à 100 dozen disposed of. In Geneva they have imitated the silver watches of Prior but they don't sell near so well. These Swiss Watches are worth from 60 à 120 P.; but they make besides some Gold Watches which sell from 200 à 350 P. p. piece. Geneva may sell about 150 doz. both Silver and Gold watches in a year.

Cotton Yarn of G.B. It is only since about ten years that English twist is known in Turkey. Before that time they used India yarn which is now entirely given up. These Yarns were assorted of all numbers. The Turks separated those numbers which were too fine for them, and sent them for sale to Europe. The consumption of British Yarn increases every year as it becomes better known and as the Manufactures are augmented. It may be calculated that it was usually from 400 à 500/m. lb. English. If it was not for the high price of Silk, at the present low rates of twist the consumption might easily be pushed to 6 à 800/m. lb English. If peace was established and that provisions become cheaper, the consumption it is thought would be augmented to near a million of pounds. In Smyrna the manufacturers know very well the difference betwixt Mule and Water twist,\(^{39}\) but they will not pay for it. They make scarcely any difference in price, 1/2 P. at most. In proof of this it may be quoted that the following sale was made in our day.

Water twist 1600 Okes No. 30 à 40 à 12 P. Oke
1/3 cash, 1/3 in 1 Month and 1/3 in 2 Mos.


Sometimes cash may be obtained for Twist but in general it is sold on a credit of from 1 à 4 months; but as the buyers are good, the payment follows on the appointed days or nearly so. As they don't pay water twist in proportion to its value it cannot be recommended to send any of it, at any rate not more than 1/4 should be sent in proportion to the quantity of Mule twist. It should be assorted for Smyrna from 30 à 40s. The following assortment is recommended for Mule twist.

No. 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52 and 54.

Of each number of Bale, all equal size. The Bales most convenient should be of 300 lb. but they must not exceed 600 lb. The Bundles should be in preference of 10 lb. but in default thereof of 5 lb. Bundles will do. The Numbers are most current in the Manufactures of Smyrna, nothing under 30s, and nothing above 60s should be sent. It is recommended to have always such assortments of 10 Bales, each Bale containing only one number and to mark each assortment differently and numbered from 1 à 10. The Yarn is not

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\(^{38}\) Eton, op. cit., p. 321. Actually, Prior's nearest rival was the British maker, Markham.

\(^{39}\) See note 4 above.
The influence of this degradation upon the exchange would be immediately felt in all other countries but this — here, the exchanges seem only to be affected by a scarcity or abundance of Bills or Money yet in the end the Exchanges must be regulated according to the intrinsic value of the money. — During my stay in Constantinople Government sent round some of their Emissaries to the counting houses of the Rajas (Turkish Subjects but not Mussulmen); they were forced to open their Chests, when all foreign and old Turkish Coins were seized their Value according to the Tarif was assigned them upon the Mint where they were paid in Debased Money which caused them great loss. Some Doubloons were taken up at 65 p. which in Commerce are worth 80p!

The Exchanges of Constantinople are fixed on the same principles as those of Smyrna only that the rates vary from 10 à 15 p. Ct being about the difference of the nominal Value of Money betwixt those two places. Constantinople changes besides with Odessa, Moscow and Petersburgh, the price is fixed at so many copeces p. Piastre, the Bills are usually drawn at 21 days sight.

135 See Appendix 1.
136 See note 68 above.
137 Bonifex, musk, glandular secretion of male deer and buffalo; used in perfume manufacture and medicine.
138 Archium, Tur. arım, see Appendix 1.
139 Endaze, Persian endaze, see Appendix 1.
W. I. Coffee in Sacs — 1 Oke is allowed for every sac.
Bourbon Coffee — 2½ Okes on each Package.
Mocha Coffee neat Tare is taken in the same way as that of W. I. Coffee in Casks.
for Paper and Strings.
Indigo either real Tare or that of the Invoice is allowed, besides 1 p. Ct. is deducted for Dust in all kinds of Indigo. Cochineal, 1 Oke p. Bag. If it is of the usual size; if it is smaller the Tare is fixed by agreement.
Pepper in large Bales — 9 Okes each, & 5½ p. 100 Okes; in small Bales in proportion to this basis in bags 1 à 1½ Oke each.
Tin in Barrs, the Barrel is sold at the fixed weight of 360 Rotolos.
Ginger, real Tare of the packages, and 2 Okes p. Kintal for Dust.
Spices & Drugs, neat Tare and further 1 Oke p. Case if Cinnamon; for Breakage 50 Drams p. Head of Camphor for Paper.
Stone Ware 2 p. Ct. on the Value for Breakage.

Duties on Importation and Exportation

3 p. Ct on all Goods, either inward or outward on the value fixed by the Tariff or by Estimation; besides in W. I. Coffee 3 Paras p. Oke for Bedaat on importation and 6 Paras p. Oke on Exportation.
Mocha Coffee pays 5 paras p. Oke for Bedaat on Importation; the Exportation of this Article is Prohibited.

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135 Hare Skins pay 1 Para. p. Skin for Bedaat.
136 When a new article arrives in Turkey, the value of which is not fixed in the Tarif, the Merchants and Customhouse fix by mutual accord an Estimation of it on which the Duties are to be paid ever afterwards.
137 All Articles in Turkey bought in one Port or Echelle and resold in another by Europeans, are subject to pay the Duty of Rayas, and the Mezzatteric, which amounts to 1/3 of the usual duties; the French are the only Nation which does not pay, the other Ministers have consented to it, but not that of France. The business of Constantinople is done by Corporations, who alone have the privilege of buying and selling certain Articles, but on paying a certain p. Centage to the Brokers of those Corporations, Sales may be made to Individuals not members of those associations without running any risk.
138 These Corporations are called Iennythcharis and are composed within themselves of three Divisions: the first and principle class is called Missirtcharis, which deals exclusively in Sugars, Mocha Coffee, Spices and Drugs — the second Division is called Ichemirdgy which has the privilege of purchasing Sugar for the purpose of making dry Sweet meats — the third and last Division is called Akideg, which is only allowed to make liquid Sweatmeats. If sales are made by these Corporations they are concluded with their Chiefs called Kiaia. In any purchases made by the first class of Iennythcharis the 2d & 3d class have a right to take a fixed share, but they are usually very bad paymasters; the credit is fixed at 2.3

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141 See note 31 above.
142 Neat tare, sc., net weight established by weighing container full and empty.
143 See note 77 above.
144 See note 25 above.
145 Bedaat: Arabic bidat, "innovation", meaning here a tax on certain commodities over and above the sum collected by the tax farmer, and payable directly to the Imperial Treasury; see Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., 1 2, p. 34.
146 Mizon, see note 123 above.
147 Duty of Rayas, Sc., sums specified in Capitulations; for samples of Capitulatory treaties, see J. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, Princeton, 1956.
148 Mezzatteric, Turk. mesett, an auction or place of auction; perhaps a Levantine corruption of Turk. mezaitmeh, a bargain.
149 For corporations and guilds, see H. Inalcik, The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, London, 1973, pp. 150-162.
150 Iennythcharis: Turk. yeni carpi, lit., "new markets".
151 Missirtcharis: Turk. Misir carpi, lit., "Egyptian market", and usually meaning a market for spices and other goods from the further East.
152 Ichemirdgy: Turk. sekerci, "confectioner".
153 Akideg: Turk. akidegi, "a seller of sweet drinks or syrups".
154 Kiaia: Turk. kdhya, warden of a trade guild.
months but some of the buyers pay only in a year or a year
and a half. Tho’ the Purchases are made by the Chiefs
of the Corporation, yet the Seller has only recourse to the
individuals composing those Corporations pro rata of the
quantity each receives, but if a Debtor is remiss in making
his payments, the Seller may have recourse to the Kiaiya,
who will see him paid, the threatening of such a step is
generally attended with good consequences. The individuals
of those corporations, tho’ some may be slow in fulfilling
their engagements, are in general reckoned solid. The
business in other Articles not in the right of the Ienny-
tcharsis is also carried on by corporations who have their
Chiefs, but they cannot prevent other individuals from
buying privately any of those Articles except Ivory which
must be sold to the corporation of those who use it. The
sale of wrought Iron is also the exclusive privilege of the
Iron Mongers. Those Corporations have the effect of ban-
nishing almost all Speculation from Constantinople, and
thus keeping each Article at a fixed price; this is the more
the case as the local consumption goes on in a regular
manner without much variation and as all the Shopkeepers
purchase their goods on equal terms. The only advantage
which arises from this extraordinary measure is that every
one is perfectly master of his business and that by being
prevented from Speculation, the Buyers become more solid.

Credits on Sales are nearly on the same footing as in Smyrna,
if Goods are scarce and of the first quality of their kind,
they may be sold for Cash or on short credits but these
are prolonged as goods become more abundant or the
Demand slackens this is relative to Colonial Produce, Cloth
and etc. Cotton yarn and Muslins always sell easiest unless
the stock at Market is very considerable. Selling for Cash
however means that part is paid immediately and the rest
in 10 à 20 Days in that case a sufficient quantity of goods
is frequently left in the Magazines of the Seller until all
the money be paid. On Muslins there is always a Discount
of 15 p. Ct. unless otherways agreed upon, that Article is
exclusively bought by the Armenians, who at present have
amongst them 114 Shops, they all combine together to
buy a certain quantity of goods and divide it amongst them-
selves. The principal part of the Commerce of Constanti-
 nopole consists certainly in the local consumption of the
place, but they have also a considerable foreign trade. They
furnish the Turkish Ports in the Black Sea with many
articles and in time of Peace also the Russian Empire.
Their commerce with Walachia and Moldavia and the
Morea is of some Importance, to Syria as far as Bagdat,
and to Egypt they do something, but in those places the
Smyrnaites have great advantages over the Constantinop-
olitans. Their Commerce with the Barbarese Nations\textsuperscript{135}
is but very trifling. Constantinople draws a good many
India Cotton Goods from Bagdat but for some time fine
India Goods have not been received from that Quarter and
consequently they are now wanting. About 25 years ago
considerable quantities of India Goods were received by
way of Suez, which were brought there by English Traders,
but the E[fest] I[ndia] Company has since succeeded to
destroy that Counterband Trade.\textsuperscript{136}

Constantinople besides its Trade in Goods does a very
great deal in Banking Business: almost all negotiations
in the Turkish Empire are made upon Constantinople.
\textsuperscript{137} In Syria, Aleppo, Bagdat, Cypress, Smyrna, Rommilly,
Macedonia, the Morea etc. etc. etc., Bills on Constantin-
opole find an easy negociation; it is only in Candia (Canica)
and a few Isles of the Archipellago that bills on Constan-
tinople are thought inferior to those upon Smyrna. The
reason for Bills on Constantinople being so much pre-
ferred must principally be sought in the Circumstance that
all the revenue of the Turkish Empire has to be remitted
to the Capital. The greatest want to Money is felt in Con-
stantinople at the time when the Cotton & the dry fruits
are purchased for Exportation which is in Autumn & in the
months of March & April, the periods in which all the
Revenues of the State are farmed out; the Sarrafs\textsuperscript{137} collect
then all the Money they can to furnish those Musselman,
who wish to buy places for the year; at those two Epochs the Exchanges are always declining, whilst in Summer and Winter they usually get up again. But under present circumstances when such large sums are required at Salonica for the transport of goods into the Continent, it may be foreseen that the Exchanges will continue to remain in a depressed state. It is next to impossible to form any Calculation even by approximation of the extent of the various Branches of European Commerce in Constantinople as there are no references kept of what is going in or out. The Custom House officers having purchased that Branch of Revenue for the year are [so] desirous to keep their income a secret, that if they have made a good bargain, they may not be raised the following year. The Brokers of the Corporation keep no other Register but what is relative to their Brokerage. Nor do the public Weighers act in a different manner, under those circumstances and the immense extent of the town, all Endeavours to draw up a Statement on the Subject are absolutely rendered abortive. Thus I must content myself with pointing out the Articles which from what I could learn are likely to answer our purpose. In Colonial Produce none appear to be recommendable but Coffee and Sugar; besides those Twist and Cotton Manufactories merit our attention. The situation of Smyrna is much better calculated for the exportation of Turkish Produce than Constantinople, it is for this reason that the latter place has scarcely any trade at all; particularly for England except in time of peace in Russian Produce at present there are none of those Commodities at market. The Exportation of the following articles is at all times prohibited, tho' they are often smuggled through the Dardanelles. They consist in Grains and Vegetables of all Descriptions, Rice, Buter, Tallow, Candles, Oil & Mocha Coffee, in time of War, Iron, Lead, Sailcloths, Cordage & Hemp are also not permitted to be exported but of late Permissions have occasionally been given for the Exportation of those Articles on paying a certain

143

Duty thereon. According to the Turkish Laws, all vessels touching in Turkish Ports whether destined for such a Port or for another Quarter may be detained. Their cargoes are then valued at the option of the Government and the Goods delivered to the Corporation to whom it belongs. This Right has been put into Practise with several Vessel laden with Grain coming from Odessa; during my stay in Constantinople, the owners got less for their Grain than it cost them in Russia. This renders a Trade from the Black Sea very precarious; however before the present War broke out, it was granted to transport goods from one European Vessel coming from a Russian Port in the Black Sea to another such vessel bound to the Mediterranean. Vessels from Europe destined for a Russian Port in the Black Sea must have besides Turkish clearances, a pass from the Russian Ministers residing in Constantinople.

146

In sending Coffee to this Market it should be a very fine, of a small green Bean, that of Guadoulape and Martinique are preferred, but large Quantities at a time should not be sent. Raw Sugars should be white and dry of a rich Grain. Havannah will sell readily but Guadeloupe & Martinique clayed would answer equally well, but supplies should not come in too large quantities. Cotton yarn is used in Constantinople in the manufacture of a low kind of Jaconet which are mostly printed upon but some are sold Bleached, the opinions about the consumption of this Article are divided. Some put it to the extent of 50,000 Okes, whilst others be-

147

148 A reference to the practice of obtaining or renewing public appointments by purchase.

149 The right of "free and unimpeded navigation" of the Straits was granted to Russia for her merchant shipping by article 11 of the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. Similar access was given to British shipping in an Ottoman concession of October 1799, when the British reputation stood high because of Nelson's recent victory at the Nile. Aubin's reference to the trans-shipping of goods at Constantinople suggests that this device was most used by states which still lacked access to the Black Sea by formal treaty, and of course it was useful to Greek merchants and their ships since the Greeks were still Ottoman subjects at this time. Numerous Greek traders went to Odessa and obtained Russian citizenship there. It is no surprise that the patriotic secret society, the Hetairia Phlika, was born in Odessa. Normally, trans-shipping took place north of the "Castels", as Aubin calls them, of the Bosphorus (Rumeli Hisari, Anadolu Hisari) or outside those other "Castels" which guarded the strait of the Dardanelles.

150 Jaconet, see note 99.
business — I found his praises in every mouth, and some of those houses told me that however much they wish to enter into correspondence with us, they would not seek it at the expense of hurting Mr. Lee with whom they were convinced our property was perfectly safe & whose honor & honesty were well known. This testimony of the Character of a man is flattering in every Country, but here it is doubly so, for where interest is concerned and any thing can be said against a person it will certainly come out. Thus in consideration of all this I have resolved not to change our Agent, in the choice of whom we must principally look for activity cleverness and honesty, with which security must be united, all those qualities I believe are enjoyed by Mr. Lee. In other Houses we might perhaps have found a deficiency in either of those qualifications. Out door business and sales are all transacted by Brokers, each House having its own Broker. Mr. Lee has a man in that situation who knows the place exceedingly well and who is a very clever fellow from whom I have already gotten a good deal of information and shall get still more, an advantage which is of considerable weight.

Since I have become more intimate with Mr. Lee he has shown me a number of private letters from the very first Houses of Europe written in consequence of the failure of his brothers in London — these breathe all the highest confidence and respect for Mr. Lee. I had even an opportunity of seeing that these are not merely words, for those very houses continue their consignments as before. The Commissary General of Sicily does also a good deal of business with him in Govt. Bills and the [cargo of the] American ship which brought me here is half consigned to him.

If I have been fuller on this subject than may appear necessary to you, it is on account of my wish to prove to you that if I have confidence in Mr. Lee, it is not on slight foundations. I hope and doubt not that the event will justify that it is not misplaced.

169 The Commissary General in Sicily was responsible for purchasing foodstuffs and stores throughout the Mediterranean area for the armed forces based in that island.

With regard to van Lenep & Co. I can only tell you that they do not suit us in any respect, & that when once I have closed the present transaction I shall strike them out of the list of our friends.

Extract of a letter from Mr. C. Aubin to S. S[trer] & Co. dated Smyrna 12th Apil. 1812.

If Andre Chabeaud & Co. should open a correspondence with you, you may serve them with full confidence, they are very good and highly respectable.

At Brussa

Extract from his letter to J. F[enley] & Co. dated Constantinople 30th April 1812.

There is but one European Establishment in Brussa which is French; its firm is Auzet & Aries, they appear to me very good, honest, people but they are not rich.

At Constantinople

Extract from the same letter.

From what I have seen of the Franc Merchants they don't appear to me great men of business. Mr. Escalon seems to me one of best amongst them from all information I can get & what I have seen of him believe him an honest and well informed man, but on many points he has extravagant and speculative ideas, he is very munificent but he himself says and I believe it, that the business in Constantinople requires a man to be so. James Barbaud & Co. are the most respectable among the En-

170 The van Lenep family, of great antiquity, provided generations of Dutch Levant Company officials; see F.K. van Lenep, Oor Kondinboek van Lenep, Amsterdam, 1900.

171 Escalon, unidentified.

172 Not to be confused with the Levant Company family of Chassaud, widely dispersed throughout the Levant.
lish. I would wish to employ them if we had any direct business to this quarter continuing the Malta sendings to Escalon. Hubech & Timoni enjoy a better reputation here than abroad. The managers of the business are however not to my mind as merchants.

Extract from Mr. Aubin’s letter to J. F[linlay] & Co. dated Constantinople 10th May 1812.

The more I observe the Frank merchants of this Place the less do I think of them in general — Escalon excepted who improves much on acquaintance. They are mostly all the Bookkeepers, whilst their Greek, Armenian & Jew Brokers (a pretty set) transact the business. Hubech & Timoni won’t do for us I know them now better.

At Salonica

Extract from Mr. Aubin’s letter to J. F[linlay] & Co. dated Salonica 6th June 1812.

Wickerhauser is now out of our Employ. He has established himself here with a Mr. Overbeck, who does a good deal for the London Jew Houses. I hope they will do well. They are both worthy young men in whom I have confidence. I mention this in case enquiries should be made with you about them — their firm is Overbeck & Co.

Mr. Barxell whom you have formerly known under the name of Brons, is arrived here and has established a House here under the Firm of Barxell & Faadt in which my Brother B is interested.

Mr. Barxell is a very clever active young man who merits encouragement. I would have given him part of our business but Vianello serves us cheaper than anybody can and will serve us. As long as old Vianello lives (he is 93 years of age) and that we have some body here it would not be our advantage to change, but if he dies — I would certainly give our business to Barxell.

pp. 177-196 inclusive are blank in the original]

Observations on the Routes through Turkey to Germany by Mr. Aubin

Extract from his letter dated Malta 9th July 1812.

Your various observations and questions about the different routes are in a great measure answered by the Statement which is going along with this and to which I refer you.

The Plan proposed by Mr. Adamish may be well enough, if it succeeds, but surrounded as Naunta is by the French it certainly appears to me too uncertain. Mr. Adamish is no longer here & he could not give any idea of the Expences attending his plan. Some of the French must certainly be bribed if any of those were to be removed from their post and replaced by others not in the Interest of Adamish which must be expected. The goods would be much exposed — the most material objection which can be advanced against the Plan is, that you enter into a smuggling business, whilst the other Roads through Turkey are a regular and open Trade. I know not much of Adamish’s character — I have only learned that he is very speculative. Mr. Lavoratori his Son in Law who I believe is connected with him has met with some considerable losses, in consideration of all this I am certainly glad that S. S[truther] & Co. did not engage in anything with him.

Tho’ you will see that my opinion about Scuteri is not very favourable, yet am not sorry that S. S[truther] & Co. have made a trial of that Route, it will at any rate enable us to judge more decidedly of that Route. Mr. Reichard speaks of this way with much more confidence than any other body whom I have spoken on the subject to.

174 Hubech and Timoni; a partnership between the Danish diplomatic family of Hübsch and the Levantine family of Timoni. The latter family was dispossessed arbitrarily in 1798 of land in Pera which the Sultan of the day, Selim III, then gave to the British as a reward for Nelson’s victory at the Nile.

175 Wickerhauser, unidentified.

176 Naunta, a misreading by the Glasgow copyist of the Aubin letters; in the original, Aubin almost certainly wrote Narenta, meaning the estuary of the Neretva, which marked the boundary between Ottoman Herzegovina and Venetian Dalmatia.
What I have said in my statement of the various Roads through Turkey is of course subject to great alteration in consequence of the News having reached us that Peace is actually signed betwixt Turkey & Russia — I have maturely considered on the Business, I find that before we can form any opinion about what will now be best to be done, we must first wait to learn what the Terms of that Peace are — I doubt not but Moldavia and Walachia have been restituted to the Turks and that the Servians are included in the Treaty; if so, I think the direct road betwixt Salonica and Orsova is that which it will be best to follow, the Exactions which have of late been complained of must of course cease and every thing go on in a regular manner. If this be the case Salonica is about as near a road as Scutari & Durazzo. Before any thing can be undertaken with any propriety by way of Odessa, we must first know in what situation Russia is. I have already told you that our Friend the Secretary informed me that France & Austria have entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, if therefore France makes War on Russia it is natural to suppose that Austria would not admit of any communications with his Enemy. The Route by Odessa is extremely long and tedious on account of the prevailing northerly winds, which counterbalances the advantage of saving in Expences. This must at any rate be the case on valuable goods under those considerations I would be inclined to continue the beaten Track or such as may be found out through Turkey, particularly for yarn. Refined Sugars could at any rate not go to Russia. From what correspondence has passed betwixt Thomson and me I must conclude that on his hearing of Peace being made that he will dispatch Harcourt to Odessa to look into the state of the business and make arrangements for receiving our goods if that can be recommended. Nobody mentioned any thing about the Navigation of the Danube, whilst I was in Constantinople and I considered that River by far too rapid to admit of navigation upwards. I could learn nothing on the subject in Salonica. The opinion of seamen was that if it be practicable it must be exceedingly tedious.

Austria deprived of all her maritime possessions has endeavoured I understand to render the Danube navigable but there is a great track of that River which runs through Turkey. If Harcourt visits those regions it must be left to him to investigate what can be done. I shall in the meantime write to Constantinople to make enquiries on the subject. What a pity it is that Peace was not concluded two months sooner.

I was very sorry to see that you intended to make direct sendings to Salonica — if the vessels don't touch here to get clearances the Broke of 20 p. Ct may certainly be exacted. I however do not expect that the Levant Co. will be so foolish as to do it — when the goods are intended for Transit —

Copy of the Observations alluded to in foregoing abstract.

The observations which I made during my stay in the Levant on the subject of the commercial communications betwixt Great Britain and Germany by way of Turkey, led me to draw the following conclusions.

The Trade betwixt Great Britain and Turkey being open and free, it may be carried on without any fear as long as the two Governments remain in Amity together. The French influence cannot in the least interfere in such busi-

177 Peace was signed between Russia and the Ottoman Empire on 28 May, 1812 and, contrary to Aubin’s expectations, the part of Bessarabia to the north of the Pruth was not “restituted”.
178 Possibly the secretary of Sir Alexander Ball, governor of Malta, where the house of Finlay had an agent and a warehouse; less probably, Stratford Canning, recently Secretary of Embassy to Robert Adair at Istanbul, but British minister by the time Aubin was writing.
179 Thomson and Harcourt have not been identified; their names are not in the Levant Company list for 1812.
180 Any such charge by the Levant Company would be illegal, and the Company actually failed in an attempt to enforce its “decayed privilege” against the Salonica merchant house of Liebman. See H. Holland, Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, etc., London, 1819, ii, p. 56-60. The Liebman correspondence is in S.P., 105/123, 133; also, T. Hughes, Travels in Greece and Albania, London, 1830, i, p. 4.
181 Free, meaning “unhindered” and not “free of duties”.
ness whilst the goods are on the Turkish Ground. I there-fore conceive that all the precautions formerly adopted, such as false Clearance, Greek Marks, etc. are perfectly superfluous; it is equally unimportant by what Flags the goods arrive, and Greek Ships — on board of which there is always a risk of pilferage, need not be employed in preference. Thus what regards the Transport of the Goods to and in Turkey, the straighter you go to work the better it will be, as it will save many unnecessary expenses and create no suspicion in the minds of the Turks, who thereby would become only more greedy; all that is to be observed is that the Goods should be made up in proper Packages and of proper weight about which I shall speak hereafter.

I have said that as long as the Amity betwixt the two Countries subsists there is nothing to fear for the Goods whilst they are in Turkey. Supposing that that Amity should be interrupted by the Intrigues of the French, of which there is no immediate appearance — Confiscation of British Property would certainly follow; in that case the Turks would find nothing of ours; it would then be all Austrian property, for which purpose Wessily has my instructions. Thus as far as relates to the safety of the undertakings before they have passed the Austrian frontiers it appears to me that there is very little to fear. When they have reached that point they are certainly more or less exposed to risk, however from trustworthy information I know that Austria is as desirous as possible to continue to carry on this Trade. She will give every assistance in her power to protect it and in case she should be forced by France to take decisive measures against it she has given hints that she will give a sufficient time for the Merchants to take their precaution to save their Property, which at any rate stands but little chance of confiscation if it can be made out to belong to Austrian Subjects. From all this it appears that the most material risk we run is that we may be taken with many Goods in Turkey when on the Austrian frontiers, they will not allow them to pass; what measures may then be proper to be adopted must depend on circumstances. Smuggling the Goods over is subject to great inconvenience on account of the Quarantine Laws. If the case happens which we must expect will sooner or later take place (but not immediately as France is at present too much occupied with Russia) Furibo will be on the alert and do what may be necessary — no one is better qualified for a Mission of that kind than he is.

Having now stated to you my opinion as far as relates to the risk to which the Goods are exposed I shall proceed to make to you my observations about the various Roads practiced betwixt the Levant and the Austrian frontiers.

Since the disturbances under Barman Oglee, Pacha of Woddin goods were transported from Constantinople by way of Adrianope, Rutschuk, Buckarest and Hermonstadt in Transilvania, those from Smyrna were shipt for Rodosta in the Sea of Marmora, from whence they went to Adrianople following afterwards the same Route as the Goods from Constantinople, the carriage on that Road was then moderate enough — from Constantinople to Adrianople 7 days journey they paid 12 P. p. charge, from Adrianople to Rutschuk — 14 days journey 20 à 25 P. p. Charge, from Rutschuk to Bucharest and Hermonstadt, the goods were transported in Wagons of Walachia, the carriage to the latter place was about P. 24 à 28 P. 100 Okes. The distance betwixt Rutschuck and Hermonstadt is 15 days journey. This road is now not practicable on account of the War.

A much shorter and better way is that from Salonica by Woddin to Old Orsowa, which was followed after the death of Barman Ogleethe. The neighbourood of Salonica abounding in Caravan Horses, the carriage during the time when only Smyrna and Macedonia Cottons were transported

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182 Because it was consigned to Austrian recipients.
183 Wessily, Finlay’s agent at Brod.

104 A. CUNNINGHAM

CHRISTOPHE AUBIN

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184 Barman Oglee, probably a misreading by the Glasgow copyist of Pasvan Oglu, meaning Osman Pasvanoglu, the independent pasa of northern Bulgaria who maintained his power over a wide area from the citadel at Vidin; for extended studies of the man and his rule see, A. Borpe, La mission de l’adjutant-commandant Mériage à Vidin, Paris,1866; G. Iakichitch, “Notes sur Passvan-Oglu, 1758-1807”, La revue slave, Paris, 1906; M. Teofilova, Buntit na Pasvan-Oglu, Sofia, 1932.
by this way was very low, in the Summer season they paid to Woddin P 25 à 30 P p. Char[ge] nevertheless it has been known that the Greeks of Sires have been obliged to pay in the winter season 100 à 120 P p. Charge of Cotton. The distance from Salonica to Woddin is about 86 à 90 hours. The Caravans take 12 à 15 Days to make the journey. Until last year the goods used to be transported from Woddin upon the Danube to Orsowa, now the Caravans cross only [over?] the Danube near Woddin and proceed to the Lazeretto\textsuperscript{185} in Orsowa through Walachia; at present the Freight from Salonica to there is 86 P p. Charge of 120 Okes. The Road which these Caravans take to Woddin is from Salonica to Seres, Schuma, Dubuizza, the Plain of Sophia and Akshar. The Roads in Bulgaria are often infested with Robbers, but the Caravans have nothing to fear from them, it is very rare that they are attacked. Travellers in smaller numbers are more exposed to their depredations. Dubuizza a small town situated in a narrow pass formed by Mountains betwixt Macedonia and Bulgaria is governed by an Aga, he disregards the orders of the Porte and will not recognize the Firmans of the Grand Signor; he fixes according to his own fancy the duties on Goods which pass through his territories, which must be paid. According to the last accounts from that quarter he exacted P 6 à 10 P p. Charge according to the value of the articles.

The present Pasha of Woddin, Malla Aga\textsuperscript{186} appears to live in good harmony with his present neighbours the Russians & Servians. They agree together what duties the Caravans which pass through their territory are to pay and divide them amongst themselves. A rich caravan which left Salonica about 2 months ago for Old Orsowa and which has luckily arrived and passed Woddin has paid very extravagant Tolls. Indigo 40 P. Coffee and Sugar P 10. Coche-neal P. 185 p. Charge of 120 Okes. The Duty on English yarn may be calculated at about P. 65 p. Charge this ar-

ticle is valued at the Woddin custom house at P. 20 p. Oke neat and 3 p. Cent is paid on that value, to this must be added P. 1 to be paid in Basserian Bassi\textsuperscript{187} — P 2½ Agency and 2 P p. Charge for passing the Danube. Over and above these duties in Woddin, must be paid still 3 Dutch Ducats and 20 Paras p. Charge to the Russians, P 8 to the Servians, & P 10 to the Commandant of Turkish or New Orsowa — taking all these expenses together, including the Freight, the charge of Twist from Salonica to Orsowa is P 218½ [per charge of 120 Okes]. Besides this road is very uncertain, it is occasionally opened for a short time, but that depends entirely on political circumstances or the events of the War. When they shut it there is no alternative but either to let the Goods go back to try another road or let them remain in Woddin until the road to Orsowa is again opened.

From Old Orsowa the Goods go by Wagons via Pest to Vienna — I could not learn what carriage is paid at present for that journey, but it may be valued at about 1/3 above what is paid from Brodt to Vienna. At the same time it is but very seldom that Goods can be forwarded from Orsowa direct to Vienna, they must generally be addressed to Agents in Pest which causes delay and extra Expences. Moreover the Carriers have not the best reputation in these Countries, fine goods are particularly exposed to pillage.

The most difficult and longest road for the transport of goods is certainly that from Salonica via Bosnia to Brodt. Formerly very little used to be done by that way; it was only frequented by a few Bosnian Merchants who had some connections betwixt Salonica & Sires.

The first considerable transport of Cotton by Caravans to Brodt, was undertaken by some Greek Merch[an]ts of Seres in the Month of April 2 years ago. This trial having succeeded people have continued that Route with more confidence till it has become the principal channel of the

\textsuperscript{185} Lazeretto, usually lazaretto, a quarantine station.


\textsuperscript{187} Basserian Bassi, unidentified.
Levant Trade with the European States. The Pachas and Commanders desirous to secure so lucrative a business to their Country have endeavoured to improve the roads by avoiding steep and rugged mountains, by building kans and by establishing Guards in the most dangerous parts of the road. They have so far succeeded that this way is become tolerably secure and even passable in winter. The quantity of Goods which is going at present by this Route is immense yet though there are at least 20000 Horses employed on it, there is a likelihood of a scarcity of Horses, but by having always some Person of our own on the spot I doubt not we will succeed in getting off our Goods in small caravans. The security of this Road used often to be interrupted partly by Albanian Robbers, & partly by the neighbouring Servians near Lenibazar and Seniza; last year there were much fewer accidents, and this year there have been none yet, in the most dangerous parts of the road several caravans join usually together and being well armed they defend themselves against any attack that can be made on them; besides at certain distances there are karauls or continual guard houses. The greatest dangers exist betwixt Bouquo, Lenibazar, Seniza and Priepol — 4 or 5 days journey. The road from Serail to Brodt is perfectly secure. The time employed by the Caravans to go from Salonica to Brodt depends on the Seasons and on the activity of the Kirages, from Salonica to Bosnia Serail is usually 24 to 26 days journey from Serail to Brodt 8 days, in all 32 to 34 days, yet sometimes above 50 days are required. Turkish Kirages are the quickest and best, but they are in very small numbers. Amongst the Greeks the Bulgarians are to be preferred. It is often the case that the Caravans will only engage to carry the Goods to Bosnia Serail, but at other times they agree to go direct to Brodt; when

[188] Kan, sc., Turk. han, traveller’s hostelry.
[190] Kirages, sc., Turk. kirac, a renter; in this case, of pack animals.
[191] An illustration of the common habit of calling all and any of the Sultans Christian subjects, “Greeks”.

the latter is the case the Agency at Serail is saved and it is generally thought the Goods arrive sooner. Mr. Wissely however is of a different opinion; he says that the horses have too long a road to go not to induce the Kirages to go slowly so as to save their Beasts and not to kill them by fatigue, which by getting fresh horses at Bosnial [sic] Serail is not so much the case. The rates of carriage vary according to the abundance or scarcity of horses & goods and according to the Seasons. They vary from P 135 to 200 P p. Charge of 115 to 120 Okes, in Summer they are usually from 135 to 150. Besides the carriage there are other Expenses on the roads, which are exacted either by the Karauls or the Pashas through whose Country the Goods pass; these have been gradually augmented, they amount now from Salonica to Brodt to 24 P p. Charge whilst a year ago they were not more than 11½ P. These expenses on the road are now usually included in the carriage, except the duties at Serail; it is for this reason that the Freight from Salonica to Serail is now 160 P p. Charge.

When the goods are addressed to Serail, where there is always plenty of Bosnian Caravan Horses, which are only employed in transporting Goods from Serail to Brodt, they are always forwarded with great dispatch, as there exist no Warehouses where to put them. There are several Austrians who have established themselves there; the Agents whom we mean to employ are Fees & Co. a Branch of several Houses, amongst others Fries & Co. Vienna.

Every thing which arrives in Brodt must in ordinary times make a Quarantine of 7 days, but in times of the Plague 40 days, when that time is over, the Bales are removed and weighed, and ordered to Vienna, or any other Capital of the Austrian Provinces to pay Duties.

The goods are immediately loaded from the Lazarett, as not one of the Agents there has a Magazine. The carriage from Brodt direct to Vienna, the Goods to be delivered in 15 to 17 days was [10rins] 25 Vienna Current p. 100 lb. 224

[192] Karauls, may be a mishearing of Turk. Arnavut, “Albanian”.
[193] Lazaretto, see note 185.
Vienna Weight [of] about f. 3.33 p. Bale — annexed is a Calculation of the Expences of a Bale of Twist from Salonica to Vienna; they amount to £ 226½. — the florin Vienna currency is about equal to a Turkish Piaster.

Since about a year the Road of Scutari has been followed up with some animation, as much as I could learn about it there is no saving in the Expences when compared with those of Salonica, though the distance from Scutari to Brodt is only about 12 days journey. The reason therefore is that the Pasha of Scutari exacts very heavy duties, & that on account of the very steep and back Roads a horse's charge must not consist of more than 90 Oke. This road is a very dangerous one, it is very common that the Caravans must fight their way thro' the Robbers, particularly near Kulassia. Thus every Caravan should be strongly protected and have a Conductor. Therefore the road of Salonica tho' longer is in my opinion to be preferred. Dulcinia is the Sea Port where the Goods are landed, another consideration against this road is the proximity of the French.

Durazzo after the unfortunate expedition of Montel does not appear to have attracted the attention of the Speculators; on all that Coast the Inhabitants, as well high as low are a Sett of Thieves in whom no reliance can be placed; they will all cheat, rob, and murder you if it is their interest; in Salonica you follow a regular business where you have not half the risk as on those by roads.

There is still another road to be taken into consideration which was followed some ten years ago, when Servia was still under Turkish subjection, with all Goods of the Levant by Nissa, Hassan Pasha, Palanka, & Belgrad to Semlin & Vienna. Should Peace betwixt the Turks & Russians be reestablished and the Servians are included in it, which is to be expected, this Road is likely to become a principal object for the transportation of Goods destined for Austria; it is by far the shortest and best way, so much so that the goods might even be transported on Waggons.

194 I.e., the Scutari-Brod road.
195 A reference to the French garrison holding out in Corfu.
196 Montel, unidentified.

From Smyrna I told you that Mr. Wickerhauser was of opinion that the Bales might be covered with a hair cloth in Salonica; from what I have seen there I consider it much better that the goods should immediately arrive in a state so as to admit of their being forwarded without any farther Packing. The Packers in Salonica are Jews and a sad set, they are very lazy and steal where they can. The Bales should be of a weight of 58 à 60 Oke or about 156 lbs: 28 Bundles of Mule, and 14 Bundles of Water Twist with the Packing materials will about render that weight. The yarn should first be sewed up in a Packing Sheet, which must be marked and numbered, then should come a layer of straw, and another sheet of strong & close linen, the outside of which is to be smeared with Pitch & Tar, then well secured with Ropes, above which is to come the Haircloth, the Bale to be another time tied, but only crossways, and at the head of the Bale the mark and number is to be repeated, if besides that it could be sewed upon the Bale with white hair thread it would be better, but that may be done in Salonica. Goods thus packed should be sufficiently guaranteed from the wet, particularly in the Summertime. Special care should be taken that every Bale gets its proper mark and number, which on former sendings from Malta was not the case, and which caused great confusion at the Customhouse in Brodt, where they are exceedingly strict and troublesome. Square Packages are at all times easier taken by the Kirages than round ones, the latter often tumble down Precipices and roll away to a great distance; the Kirages have of late refused point blank to take Barrells.

The Seasons during which the Transport of Goods by Bosnia should take place, is from the beginning of April till the latter end of October, so that the last Transports might arrive in Brodt in November. During the Winter season Goods are much exposed to damage and are liable to be left in the middle of the road by the Kirages on account of the bad roads and the dearth of hay & corn, which has happened to us last Winter. It also often happens that the kars are full and that the last arrived must camp in the fields without any cover at all.
The Black Sea.

The Turks not allowing any vessels to pass the Canal of Constantinople to go into the Black Sea, renders for the present all endeavours to do anything by that way unnecessary, otherwise that route would certainly be most advantageous, yet it has a very great drawback, which is, that the North Winds prevail during all the Summer months, which with the Currents setting in from Black Sea to the Archipelago renders the navigation extremely tedious; it has been known that vessels have lain 6 months in Constantinople before they could get into the Black Sea. The communication between Odessa, Brodt & Vienna is regularly established. Austria seems to have in view the establishment of a Navigation upon the Danube. I could not learn much on the subject; there are parts of that River particularly near Orsowa which are impassable; the rapidity which the Danube is famous for, and traversing a Turkish Country must render the undertaking very precarious.

There is now no prospect of the Black Sea opening unless there be a Peace betwixt Turkey & Russia; when that takes place we must first see in what position Russia finds herself before we can conclude what advantage will accrue to us from the circumstance. Our expectations from that quarter would be rendered abortive if Austria was to be at War with Russia; there is little doubt but she will follow the example of France.

Charges at Salonica

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[Piastres]&quot; Paras</th>
<th>[Piastres]&quot; Paras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Porters to the Warehouse</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stowing in Do.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighing, 8 Paras 440 Okes</td>
<td>9 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customhouse Off. to attend the Goods</td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs on 54 Okes net à 9 Paras p. Oke</td>
<td>12&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teskeret of the Bedact, Certificate of the Payment of the Duties</td>
<td>1 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teskeret of the Customhouse</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brokerage to procure Kirages</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warehouse Room</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency on P 400 @ 1 p. Cent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consulate 1/4 p. Cent — on 250 P</td>
<td>25 = 20 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carriage from Salonica to Bosnia Serafl, the charges on the road included, @ 164 P [per] Charge</td>
<td>82&quot;</td>
<td>102&quot; 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

197 The "Canal of Constantinople", meaning the Bosphorus, was opened again to merchant shipping after the signing, on 28 May, of the Russo-Turkish peace by the Treaty of Bucharest.

198 Teskere of the Bedact; Turk., teskere, "license, certificate".
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Aspers/120</th>
<th>Florins</th>
<th>Weight of Va/200</th>
<th>Augsbh Cey/201</th>
<th>Vienna Wt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugars, fine refined</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>33½ p. 100 lb net</td>
<td>160 @ 165</td>
<td>p. 100 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white havana</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>90 @ 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscovado</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>25 p. gross</td>
<td>78 @ 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee West India</td>
<td>4 p. Oke</td>
<td>32&quot;30</td>
<td>32½ p. 100 gross</td>
<td>150 @ 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigo Violet fine</td>
<td>54 &quot;</td>
<td>32&quot;30</td>
<td>32½ p. 100 gross</td>
<td>9½ @ 10 ½</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepper</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5&quot;</td>
<td>5 p. lb. net</td>
<td>90 @ 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimento</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5&quot;</td>
<td>5 p. lb.</td>
<td>200 @ 215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochemele</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>&quot;45</td>
<td>45 p. lb. net</td>
<td>20 @ 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutmeg</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>&quot;45</td>
<td>45 p. lb. net</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinamon</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>7½ @</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassia Ligna</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>&quot;9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4½ @ 4¾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cottons of Salonica</td>
<td>120 p. 44 Okes</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>68 @ 72</td>
<td>p. 100 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>80 @ 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>90 @ 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maranham</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>170 @ 175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernams</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>220 @ 240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woods Pernumbuco Campeachy</td>
<td>1&quot;30</td>
<td>1&quot;30 p. 100 gr.</td>
<td>130 @</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoa Carracca Maranum</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>5&quot;</td>
<td>5&quot;</td>
<td>120 @ 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mule Twist</td>
<td>27 p. Oke</td>
<td>50 p. 100 net</td>
<td>No. 60, f 3½</td>
<td>Aug. p. lb</td>
<td>3½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Twist</td>
<td>27 &quot;</td>
<td>50 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>No. 28, f 3½/4</td>
<td>3½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note of the Duties in Salonica and in Austria with the last Prices from Vienna of the following Articles.

19th At 120 aspers per piastre; this was the Turkish ratio; the French worked on the basis of 100 per piastre; the English, 80.
20th Vienna weight.
21st Augsburg currency.
22nd A duty of 3½, florins per 100 lbs; net weight.
It is exceedingly difficult to raise the money for the payment of the charges on goods sent to Salonica, as these are of very great magnitude; it is necessary to devise the means of doing it on the most economical plan.

From the very great variations which always take place in Turkey on the exchange, no certain calculations can ever be made on such operations, however from the following statements it appears that the best way of procuring that money is by sending Spanish Dollars to Salonica — 1000 $ bought at Malta sent to Salonica cost at 31 Tares Sc. [Piastres, Paras] 2583 " 4

add thereto Freight, Insur. Comm. etc. 8% 206 " 8

(if sent by a ship of war would be much less) Sc 2790 "

These drawn on London @ 67 cost £ Stg 311 " 11

To procure P 6000 or 1000$ in Salonica by drawing upon Malta @ 86 Paras they would cost Sc 2790 " 8

By drawing for them Via Constantinople at par and from thence on London at 18 P the amount to pay in London would be exclusive of Commission in Constp. £ 333" 6" 8

By drawing Via Smyrna with a Discount of 12 P. Ct. and from thence at 100 Paras on Malta, the amount to pay exclusive of Commission at Smyrna would be Sc 2727 " 3"

By drawing on Smyrna at the same discount and from thence at 21 P on London the P 6000, would stand in London exclusive of Commission at Smyrna £ 324"14" 7

NB. I have taken the Smyrna Exchanges from my last Quotations; it is very likely that they are now different, but the greatest difficulty is that Bills on Smyrna find scarcely any buyers, particularly since the Plague is there.

To procure P 6000 in Salonica by drawing on Augsburg at 85 Paras — you would require Cy 2823" 32 if these could be remitted to London at f. 7½ they would represent

£ 376" 9" 4

This later case will show you how unprofitable it would be to buy London Bills in Turkey and draw in Reimbursement upon Augsburg, such as Mr. Thomson proposed to me. I shall further demonstrate it to you. The Exchange on London is now about f. 7½ Aug. p. 237 £ 1000, at that rate would cost in Vienna Aug. Cy 7500

In buying in Constp. £ 1000 at 18 [P per £] 18000

1 p. Ct. Commission 180

Cost of £ 1000 18180

To cover this amount by drawing on Augsburg at 80 Paras, the Dft. would be for Aug. Cy. 9090

In buying in Smyrna £ 1000 @ 21 P makes P 21000

1 p. Ct. Commission 210

21210

To cover this amount by drawing on Augsburg at 100 Paras the Drafts would amount to A[ugsburg] [lorins] 8484

But Mr. Thomson says that he has remitted @ 26/ V taking the Exchange at Hambro at 362 and on Augsburg at 250. The £ comes only to f. 7 3½ and therefore the £ 1000 would only cost in Vienna C[urren]cy 7058.20

Thus far written I have been induced from causes explained elsewhere, to determine on my immediate return to Malta, which I have since happily effected. But before my departure we had the melancholy News of the Plague raging with great fury in Smyrna, a circumstance which is the more to be lamented as the intercourse betwixt Smyrna &
Salonica is so very great that a communication of the Evil may take place, by which all business would be at a stand. I have agreed with Messrs. Wissely & Furibo that as long as all is well in Salonica to continue the Plans fixed upon, but if any accident happens that Mr. Wissely is to remain there and look after our property as far as it is in his power and that Furibo is immediately to set off for Scutari to make necessary arrangements for the reception of a sending which he himself would fetch at Malta. These are the only measures which I think can be adopted under present circumstances, as the Season is already far advanced it is hoped that the Plague will soon subside.

Calculation of the Charges on Yarn from Great Britain to Salonica.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Bale of yarn of 140 lb. measures 8 1/4 &amp; 8 1/2 feet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Say 8 1/2 feet @ 3/- [per foot]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 p. Cent Pr imaging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packing charges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, for a 140 [lb bale]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes 1 lb.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Price at Vienna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. Cy. f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at 7 1/2 Stg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net at Salonica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost in G.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/3 Expences to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salonica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Calculation of 233 Casks of double refined Sugar weighing 257 Cwt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cost p. Invoice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight to Malta      £ 1117 5&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Insurance to Malta on £1200 @ 8 p. Ct. 175" 7"
| Do. to Salonica and Charges at Malta say 10% 96" "
| Freight to Salonica               58" 5"
| £ 1566 17" |

**303 By taking them, etc., meaning that, by adding one third to the cost of the yarn, all freight and insurance costs would be covered.**
Charges from Salonica to Vienna — these [based] on a Bale of Yarn, amount as p. Statement p. Bale to £ 226"20

£ 1566"17 "

fm which deduct for difference 242
in the Duty in Salonica & Agency £ 12

For Difference of Duty
In Vienna P 19 31"

remains charges p. Cask £ 195"20
making on 233 Casks £ 4557"20
at 18 P [per £] £ 2530"12"9

[Thus the vendor's total costs are] £ 4097" 9"9

If these Sugars can be sold in Vienna at £ 160 Augs Cy [per Cask] and the produce be remitted at £ 7½ they will yield £ 4982"16"8

Calculation of 50 Bales of Pernambucco Cotton
Weighing net 7367 lbs @ 17 [pence p. lb] £ 521"16"7
Charges at Greenock 2/- p. Bale £ 5"
 £ 526"16"7

Insurance on £ 575., @ 8 G[uineas] p. Ct. £ 48" 6"
Policy 1"13"
 £ 576"15"7

Freight to Malta £ 62"19"4
10% Primage 6" 6" £ 69" 5"4

£ 646" 0"11

Freight to Salonica $157½ 45" "
Insurance & Charges fm Malta to Salonica 10% 64"12"

£ 755"12"11

Charges from Salonica to Vienna — supposing that there are no Duties to be paid at Vienna about which I am however not sure — the Expenses may be computed at £ 160 p. Bale making on 50 Bales £ 8000 at 18 P 444" 8"11

[Thus the vendor's total costs are] £ 1200" 1"10

If these Cottons were to be sold at Vienna at £ 220 Augs Cy p. 100 lb and that the Produce was to be remitted at £ 7½ they would yield £ 1751" 1" 2

From these calculations it is evident that yarn is the best 244 article to send. The Sugars in particular are of so little value in England that the charges fall exceedingly heavy on them; these must actually be advanced and be looked upon as Capital, thus the Profit is reduced to a very small p. Centage.
APPENDIX I: WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

As mentioned in the Introduction, there was no standardized system of weights and measures, nor even a common trading currency used throughout the Levant. Instead, there were regional subsystems, whose differences were camouflaged by a common terminology. Thus a Smyrna qantar (kintar, kintal, or quintal to Europeans) was the equivalent of 44 okes or 123 lbs. English, whereas a Constantinople qantar was 45 okes, or almost 126 lbs. English. The most startling variations are to be found in the regional values given the ratl (to Europeans, the rotolo); an Egyptian ratl was the equivalent of 449 grams, the Constantinople ratl was worth 2800 grams. Aubin also found that a unit of weight, for example the chequee, might vary according to the commodity being weighed. A chequee of opium weighed 250 drachms, but a chequee of wool was three times heavier. Ch. Issawi, (Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914, Chicago, 1966, Appendix I, Weights and Measures), comes as near as nineteenth century realities permit to a systematic yet brief description of the weights and measures in common use a century ago. The tenacious reader may like to compare against Issawi's details those which follow here in tabulated form. The table has been assembled by the present writer from the scattered evidence of Aubin's accounts. Whether or not Aubin heard, saw, and recorded accurately, his information is internally consistent and so probably reliable enough for the general situation in 1812 in Smyrna.

A. WEIGHTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 1/2 drams</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>144</th>
<th>180</th>
<th>250</th>
<th>402</th>
<th>610</th>
<th>800</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>112</th>
<th>123</th>
<th>125</th>
<th>1 ton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 1/6 ounce</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>1 1/4</td>
<td>2 3/4</td>
<td>4 1/4</td>
<td>5 1/2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 1/2 medical chequee*</td>
<td>1 rotolo (Arabic, ratl)</td>
<td>1 opium chequee</td>
<td>1 oke</td>
<td>1 Bursa taffe**</td>
<td>1 wool chequee</td>
<td>10 okes [or] 1 killot***</td>
<td>22 okes [or] 1 Constantinople killot****</td>
<td>33 okes</td>
<td>40 okes</td>
<td>44 okes [or] 1 Smyrna kintal (Arabic, qantar)</td>
<td>45 okes [or] 1 Constantinople kintal</td>
<td>800 okes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* for transactions in gold, pearls, oil of roses
** for transactions in silk thread or fabric
*** for transactions in silk thread or fabric
**** for transactions in grain

B. MEASURES:

The basic unit of linear measure in fabric and carpet transactions was the dira, which European merchants called the ell, or, more commonly, the pik or pike. Aubin encountered two pikes, the long pik of .77 yards (called the archim in Smyrna) and the short pik of .74 yards (called the endeze in Smyrna), and any pik was divided into fingerlengths. In the boat-building Greek islands a pik was an English yard exactly.
## APPENDIX II: PLACE- NAMES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name in Text</th>
<th>Modern Identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adrianople</td>
<td>Edirne, Turkish city, 130 km NW of Istanbul.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aguissard</td>
<td>Akhisar, Turkish town, 90 km NE of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aivali</td>
<td>Ayvalik, Turkish town, 130 km N of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allagaro</td>
<td>Alasehir, Turkish town, 120 km E of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatolli</td>
<td>Anatolia, i.e., Ottoman Turkey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ardaki</td>
<td>Erdek, small Turkish resort on Sea of Marmara, Asian shore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bainder</td>
<td>Bayindir, small Turkish town, SE of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia Serail</td>
<td>Sarajevo, major city of Bosnia, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bousco</td>
<td>Skopje, major city of Macedonia, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brodt</td>
<td>Brod, 200 km W of Belgrad, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brussa</td>
<td>Bursa, major Turkish city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesa</td>
<td>Kayseri, Turkish city, 350 km SE of Ankara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calimnos</td>
<td>Kalemnos, Greek island off SW Anatolia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candia/Canica</td>
<td>Crete.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caramania</td>
<td>SW coastal Anatolia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carissar</td>
<td>Afyon Karahisar, major Turkish city 500 km E of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassaba</td>
<td>Kasaba, 45 km E of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Cyprus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubuiza</td>
<td>Dobristo, 100 km S of Sofia, Bulgaria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulcinia</td>
<td>Ulcinj, SW Yugoslavia coastal town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durazzo</td>
<td>Durres, Albanian coastal town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Froja</td>
<td>Foça, coastal town, 50 km N of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghiordes</td>
<td>Gördes, 110 km NE of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermanstadt</td>
<td>Sibiu, large town in Transylvania, Romania.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydra</td>
<td>Ydra, Greek island, 90 km SW of Athens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipsara</td>
<td>Psara, Greek Island, 150 km NW of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenibazar</td>
<td>Novipazar, town, West Central Serbia, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jall</td>
<td>Cal, 40 km, WNW of Afyon Karahisar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesme</td>
<td>Çesme, coastal town, 80 km W of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kara Corno</td>
<td>Karaburun, peninsula, NW of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinik</td>
<td>Kınk, Turkish town, 90 km N of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkcagac/Kirkkacac</td>
<td>Kirkkacagac, Turkish town, 90 km NNW of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kizangik</td>
<td>Kazaniak, South Central Bulgarian town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulasia</td>
<td>Kolašin, small Montenegro town, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitelini</td>
<td>Lesbos, large island off Anatolia, 90 km N of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moutania</td>
<td>Mudanya, Turkish port 20 km N of Bursa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mussul</td>
<td>Mosul, Irak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasaly</td>
<td>Nazilli, Turkish town, 120 km SE of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasa</td>
<td>Naxos, Greek Aegean island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nissa</td>
<td>Niš, Serbian city, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orsova/Orsowa</td>
<td>Danubian town, at the Iron Gates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palanka</td>
<td>Smederevo Palanka, Serbian town, 80 km SE of Belgrade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philipopoli</td>
<td>Plovdiv, large Bulgarian town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priepol</td>
<td>Priepolje, small Montenegro town, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodosta</td>
<td>Tekirdag, large Turkish town, European shore of Sea of Marmara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rommilly</td>
<td>Rumelia, i.e., Ottoman Europe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruschuk/Rutshuk</td>
<td>Ruse, Danube town south of Bucharest, on Bulgarian bank.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanderli</td>
<td>Çanakli, 60 km N of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satalya</td>
<td>Antalya, large Turkish port, Southern Turkey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scala Nova</td>
<td>Kusadasi, small Turkish port, 90 km S of Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Martha</td>
<td>Santa Marta, Caribbean port, Colombia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scio</td>
<td>Chios, Greek island off Anatolian coast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scuteri/Scutori</td>
<td>Shkoder, large town, NW Albania.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semlin</td>
<td>Zemun, suburb of Belgrade, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seniza</td>
<td>Sjenica, Montenegro, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seralio</td>
<td>Sarajevo, major city of Bosnia, Yugoslavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sini</td>
<td>Symi, small Greek island, N of Rhodes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sires</td>
<td>Serrai, Greek town, 80 km NE of Thessaloniki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soubougea</td>
<td>Subas, near Izmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smyrna</td>
<td>Izmir, third largest city, and second port of Turkey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specie</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spetsai</td>
<td>Greek Island, 150 km SW of Athens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokat</td>
<td>N. Central Anatolia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uşak</td>
<td>Large town, 190 km E of İzmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urla</td>
<td>50 km W of İzmir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidin</td>
<td>Danubian city, 100 km SE of the Iron Gates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stara Zagora</td>
<td>Large town, South Central Bulgaria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zagora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>