

**A STUDY IN COMMERCIAL LIFE AND PRACTICES IN ISTANBUL
AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY:
THE TEXTILE MARKET**

by

Lorans Tanatar - Baruh

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ABSTRACT

This sectorial based market study, analyzes the commercial life in Istanbul at the turn of our century. In other words, the thesis concentrates on merchants and workers dealing with international trade, market mechanisms, analysis of textile goods and consumption behavior.

This micro analysis which retraced the socio-economic life of Istanbul, is aiming to equip us better in order to situate the city in the international trade of the Empire.

YİRMİNCİ YÜZYILIN BAŞINDAKİ İSTANBUL'DA
TİCARİ HAYAT VE ADETLERİ: TEKSTİL SEKTÖRÜ

ÖZET

Sektörel bazda bir piyasa araştırması yapan bu tez, 1900'lerin başındaki ticari hayat ve âdetlerini ele almaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle, burjuvazisi ve işçisiyle ticaretle ilgilenen kesimi, piyasa mekanizmalarını, günün modası ışığında tüketim örüntüsünü ve çok geniş bir yelpazeye dağılan tekstil ürünlerinin detaylı bir incelemesini sunmaktadır.

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FOREWORD

Foreign trade in the late nineteenth century Ottoman Empire has always constituted a favoured topic of investigation for economic historians interested in late Ottoman History. These studies are mostly based on different statistical sources and were conducted on a macro level. Nevertheless, the analysis of local societies and economies may help us to better understand the general trade of the Empire. Such a methodology will also prevent the historian from erroneous generalizations. Thus, this thesis aiming to retrace the socio-economic life of the Istanbul population, will be a micro analysis of the Istanbul market in the early 1900's. But, the trade of the city being too broad, we have limited ourselves to the main import articles of the time, textile goods.

For this study, our main source was the monthly bulletin of the French Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul. In each of its issues, the bulletin offered to its readers special monthly articles which constituted the core of the second chapter. These reports informed French merchants about the production or commerce of a particular commodity meanwhile specifying areas of potential development of Franco-Ottoman trade. Thus, though they could be sometimes one-sided, these articles, providing us with detailed information, were excellent market studies for those interested in the commerce of the Empire.

A publication of another Chamber of Commerce, that of Istanbul, had also helped us to broaden our analysis. This weekly journal which appeared in French and Ottoman, gave to its readers information on world and market conditions, investment opportunities, government efforts to promote commerce and agriculture as well as existing deficiencies in need of correction. Briefly, the articles of the journal were used mostly as a complementary source to the precedent one.

L'Indicateur Ottoman, the almanac of trade and industry, which later changed its name as Annuaire Oriental, was also another source essential to our study. It enabled us not only to trace the background of certain firms, but more importantly, to conduct the ethnic and topographic analysis of our last chapter.

In addition to these, the magazines of the time, such as Kadinlar Dünyasi, Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete, Resimli Kitab... have supplied us with advertisements as well as with some articles on our subject.

Before discussing the outline of the following chapters, I would like to talk briefly, about the problems faced during the research. First of all, as stated earlier, the reports published in the Revue Commerciale du Levant reflected the view of a French commercial agent, namely Ernest Giraud, praising France's products and searching to increase their imports to the Empire. Since most of the time, similar information from other sources were lacking,

our study could also reflect, even if it was mitigated, in some parts this one-sidedness.

Secondly, the lack of precision of monetary units have caused a confusion. Several prices which will be revealed in following pages had to be clarified. Thus, the unit base of the Ottoman monetary system was the Lira which was equal to 100 gold piasters. The gold piasters, on the other hand, were used in the wholesale market for all financial and commercial transactions as a currency account, whereas silver piasters constituted the monetary unit of the retail trade as well as of the wages.¹

The textile terminology which was quite foreign to an economic history student was another difficulty to mention. This problem has been partially solved by explaining in footnotes the details of different articles, processes... to which the text was referring. For this purpose, a glossary, at the end, could be another point of reference.

As a last point, the bias prevalent in our sample gathered from the Annuaire Oriental, will be mentioned. In order to be able to follow the development of the firms, the data was inevitably repetitive. Firms continuing to do business for several years appeared more than one time.

¹ Ernest Giraud, "La hausse du médjidié", RCL, 281, (August 1910), p.302. While the distinction between gold and silver piasters was made in the original text, it was also noted in our study, otherwise the above specifications hold true.

Even in a year, several branches of a firm also made the sample repetitive. But, by thinking of the data as different shops established in Istanbul and not as different firms, this latter bias could be somewhat reduced.

After a brief presentation of these problems, we can proceed with our chapteral design. The thesis analyzes the topic in three different chapters. After having set the political and economic framework of the day in the light of different theoretical approaches in the introduction, the study proceeds with the first chapter which is a general look at the commercial context of Istanbul at the turn of the century. Then comes the second chapter where the textile trade of the city, its exports, imports and production are analyzed for each particular textile good. As for the last chapter, it details the mechanisms of trade giving us information about price, selling conditions and competition in the Istanbul market. Then, setting the consumption behavior in the light of the fashion of the day, the chapter concludes with an ethnic and topographic study of the textile market of the city.

INTRODUCTION: ISTANBUL, AN INTERNATIONAL PORT

IN THE PERIPHERY

The outstanding characteristic of economic developments during the nineteenth century had been the emergence of a world economy. Starting from a European base, the capitalist world economy had expanded its frontiers. This was a result of the industrial and transport revolutions,¹ the mass migrations from countryside to the town, the outflow of a large amount of European capital and the establishment of an international network of trade and finance.

The new products of the early years of the nineteenth century were aimed at a mass market. The economies of the industrialized countries depended upon a high output to reduce the unit cost of their manufacturing. But what is the use of manufacturing without selling? Thus, the great power of the merchants was acquired in this period. They were the ones who brought the raw material

1 Until the mid 1880's the sailing ship remained the main mover of bulk cargoes. But the balance tipped in favour of steam ships after the late 1880's. *Wealth & Poverty, An Economic History of the 20th Century*, ed. by Sidney Pollara, (London: Harrap Books Ltd., 1990), p.48.

from less developed world to the industrialists² and who sold the final product.

The Ottoman Empire which entered into close economic and diplomatic relations with Europe because of its proximity to the West was also "incorporated" -to use Wallerstein and Kasaba's terminology- into the world economy.³ The world-system perspective formulated by them studies how trade and market structure of the Ottoman Empire were transformed with the expansion of European trade after the sixteenth century. Clearly, it seeks to explain the historical development of the Ottoman Empire in the context of a "singular transformation" process, that of European world-capitalist system.⁴ So, the main focus was not the Ottoman system itself but the world economy and all economic

2 Generally, Western control was present in each step of this transfer. "Foreign mortgage companies financed the new farms and plantations, their products were processed and stored in Western warehousing and silo companies, their domestic transshipment was undertaken by foreign-controlled ports, financed by foreign merchant houses, banks and insurance companies and their international movement took place in foreign-owned ships". Ibid., p.44.

3 The process termed "incorporation" describes the transformation of Ottoman structures after they came in contact with world economic forces. For more details on the subject see Immanuel Wallerstein and Reşat Kasaba, "Incorporation into the World Economy: Change in the Structure of the Ottoman Empire, 1750-1839", *Economie et Société dans l'Empire Ottoman (Fin du XVIIIe - Début du XXe siècle)*, ed. by Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont, (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1983), pp.335-354.

4 Huri İslamoglu-İnan, "'Oriental Despotism' in world-system perspective", *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. by Huri İslamoglu-İnan, (Cambridge, Paris: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.2.

activities were considered to fall under the influence of the Western market, that is to say, production and consumption were determined according to the needs and demands of the West. However, it must be noted that the timing of this integration varies from one specific region to another. Nor is it possible to describe a single mode of peripherilization.⁵ Therefore, this model fails to explain the specific local histories and can not count for diverse development patterns in the periphery.⁶ Our field of study, Istanbul, for instance, as will be stated later, had its particular history which differed from economic histories of many other regions of the Empire.

Islamoglu and Keyder, on the other hand, had stressed the importance of internal factors and had constructed their argument on the role of "merchant capital and internal trade."⁷ According to them there was a great gap between the new economic orientation of the Empire and the traditional state. This clash between the legal and political requirements of merchant capital and the existing institutions transformed the Ottoman Empire. Sunar, unlike Islamoglu and Keyder, had not attributed the incorporation of the Empire to a class dynamic. His model which was more

⁵ Huri Islamoglu and Çağlar Keyder, "Agenda for Ottoman History", *The Ottoman Empire...*, pp.60-61.

⁶ Huri Islamoglu-Inan, "'Oriental Despotism'...", p.12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p.9.

recent and more explanatory than Wallerstein's one, "had focused on the dynamics of state structure and had stressed the vertical integration of social-economic units into that structure, whereby power and status and not economic class describe the system of social stratification."⁸ In this respect, the transformation of the state was best understood as the outcome of both internal and external forces. Thus, the world economy was the determinant factor while the Ottoman state still played the dominant role. In Sunar's words, "the international environment constituted the matrix within which the Ottoman state could act. The calculations of the State had to be made within the parameters of this matrix."⁹ No matter which specific model could be valid for the Empire, in general and Istanbul, in particular, the Empire undertook important transformations which embarked it upon the road of modernization during the nineteenth century. Okyar in his article had divided this period of modernization into two sub-periods: firstly, "1800-1880" characterized by the continuation of traditional attitudes and secondly, "1880-1914" during which signs of changes in economic motivation at both governmental and private levels came to the surface.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid. See also İlkay Sunar, "State and Economy in the Ottoman Empire", *The Ottoman Empire...*, pp.63-87.

⁹ İlkey Sunar, art. cit., p.84.

¹⁰ Osman Okyar, "A New Look at the Problem of Economic Growth in the Ottoman Empire (1800-1914)", *Journal of European Economic History*, 16, 1, Spring 1987, p.10.

This research will be on the later period "1880-1914", when the modernization will gain strength under the long autocratic rule of Abdülhamid and under the constitutional monarchy introduced in 1908 by the Committee for Union and Progress. Nevertheless, the years 1800-1880 witnessed important political and economic events which had long-lasting repercussions for the period studied.

The Tanzimat Edict signed in 1839 and the Imperial Rescript of 1856 made an official policy of reformation according to a European model . The political strategy of Tanzimat was simple: to promote a secular universalist policy designed to strengthen central authority. With the Tanzimat Edict and the Imperial Rescript issued in much more explicit terms, the relationship between the Sultan and its subjects was defined and codified for the first time. In other words, the taxpaying subjects of the Sultan gradually acquired the status of citizenship. Concepts of equality, liberty and human rights entered the Ottoman political discourse. However, these terms "were not geared toward the masses; they accommodated instead the international commercial bourgeoisie then settling in the Empire."¹¹ Another event to mention is the Anglo-Turkish Commercial Treaty of 1838 which was a logical development in the

¹¹ Zeynep Celik, *The Remaking of Istanbul, Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1986), p.32.

continual expansion of foreign privileges.¹² The treaty increased the customs duties on imported commodities from 3% to 5% and required the removal of internal obstacles to trade. The internal obstacles mentioned were the institution of "yed-i vahit under which the buying and selling of a commodity or a group of commodities was farmed out to an individual giving him exclusive monopoly powers; the tezkiye system under which permits were required to transport commodities between administrative units;¹³ and the internal customs duties levied on commodities crossing administrative borders".¹⁴ In other words, it granted British tradesmen the same rights as native tradesmen by allowing the British to purchase goods everywhere in the Empire. Briefly, the treaty of 1838 provided great opportunities and freedom to British merchants who acquired also the right to conduct not only wholesale but also retail

¹² See Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of the Middle East 1800-1914*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp.39,40 for the articles of the treaty.

¹³ So, "the central government could be certain that agricultural produce of a region would not be diverted to other areas even if there was a high price difference between these places. All available evidence indicates that transport permits were used for the purpose of controlling the movement of exportable commodities and not imports". Orhan Kurmuş, "The 1838 Treaty of Commerce Re-examined", *Economie et Société*..., p.414.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.412-413.

trade in the Empire.¹⁵ Soon, similar agreements supporting the laissez faire economic policies of the day, were signed with other European countries. Thus, the Ottoman market was opened to the competition of cheap European manufactures¹⁶ and the out-break of the Crimean War in 1853 reinforced their invasion initiated by the commercial treaties.¹⁷ The non-Muslim merchants who lived very unpretentiously up to the war, were influenced by the life styles of the English and French. The result was an increasing demand for

¹⁵ Mübahat Kütükoglu, "The Ottoman-British Commercial Treaty of 1838", *Four Centuries of Turco-British Relations, Studies in Diplomatic, Economic and Cultural Affairs*, ed. by William Hale, Ali İhsan Bağış, (Walking, Beverley: The Eothen Press: 1984), pp.58-59.

¹⁶ The free trade policy of the Tanzimat should be carefully analyzed. British and minority capital had much to gain from free trade policy, but also had the Ottoman State. The Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of free trade commerce signed in 1838, was from the viewpoint of the State, to serve a twofold purpose. First, it would result in increasing taxation for the State by imposition of duties on imports 5%, exports 12% and transit trade 3%. It is true that British and later European merchants would have free access to purchases and sales everywhere in the Empire by the removal of monopolies, but the removal of monopolies was not much of a loss: they had been reduced to a few items anyway and the State had more to gain from the new duties than it did by farming out these monopolies. The second gain the Ottomans expected from 1838 Treaty was more immediate and political in essence: the breakdown of trade monopolies in Egypte, much more consolidated and widespread there than the Empire would help undermine Mehmet Ali both fiscally and politically. İlkay Sunar, art. cit., p.81.

¹⁷ While the volume of Ottoman trade with Europe was not stagnant during the eighteenth century, a substantial jump is observed in the rate of expansion of trade volumes in the aftermath of the industrial revolution, particularly after the Napoleonic Wars in 1820's. This expansion of trade was further facilitated by signing separate Free Trade Treaties with each European power.

European goods. On the other hand, the alliance with the West helped to remove the fear felt by Muslims towards Europe and its culture. Well-to-do Turks from across the Golden Horn were increasingly attracted by the European goods displayed in the shops of the Grand'rue de Péra. Through the influence of the local middle class who looked particularly to Europe, together with the change in the pattern of consumption, a new large city, port similar to Western ones was developed.

Istanbul, the major importing port of the Empire gave us the best example of these transformations. In this respect, can it be considered as the micro-model of the Empire? "Like the Ottoman state as a whole, it received a flood of new immigrants; and it too fell under the growing influence of capitalism and the liberal political thought of Europe, even beginning to adopt European architectural styles and patterns of urban organization under the impact of these outside influences. The process was all the more rapid and complete because Istanbul was particularly sensitive to outside stimuli."¹⁸ With reference to economic changes, however, Quataert had stressed quite the opposite. In his words, "Istanbul is the attractive trap from which Ottoman economic history must escape.(...) In many respects,(...) Istanbul is not the norm but its opposite.

¹⁸ Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914, Demographic and Social Characteristics*, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p.86.

Because it was the capital, it had become a huge city and had many special requirements that make its economic history unique".¹⁹ Thus, even if the city undertook similar changes, it was unique in some other aspects.

With an estimated population of more than one million,²⁰ Istanbul, at the gate of Europe, was a crossing point for different races, languages... These people had to be fed, clothed... Since the city did not have sufficient capacity to produce these necessities, the majority was procured from abroad. As Fesch had pointed out "There is no big industry, the minarets are seen instead of the shafts of

¹⁹ Donald Quataert, *Home, Factory and Workshop in the Ottoman Middle East, 1800-1914*, (in print), p.110.

²⁰ Paul Fesch, *Constantinople aux derniers jours d'Abdulhamid*, (Paris: Marcel Rivière, n.d.), p.514. Different numbers were stated in various works. For the year 1913, Vedat Eldem had found two distinct statistics: 787,000 for the population of the European part and Çatalca, and 1,160,000 for the whole city. Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı İmparatorlugunun İktisadi Sartlari Hakkinda bir Tetkik*, (n.p.: Türkiye İs Bankasi Yayinlari, 1970), pp.58,61. On the other hand, Zafer Toprak had stated, according to the Municipality's Statistical Review, that the population amount to 855,515. Zafer Toprak, "La population d'Istanbul dans les premières années de la République", *Travaux et Recherches en Turquie*, Collection Turcica II, (n.p.: ed. Peeters, 1982), p.64.

According to the statistical results of the 1914 census, the population of the city approached one million. Stanford Shaw had reported a total of 909,978. Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the Nineteenth Century", *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 32, (1979), p.407. The number given by Zafer Toprak was not far from it: 977,262 inhabitants. *Supra.*, p.65.

the factories."²¹ In short, "Istanbul is a large market, a bazaar and above all a port of transit."²²

In fact, the socio-economic life of Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century was not very different from that of other large cities in Asia, Africa and South America: an intermediary between the industrial countries of the West and its countryside.

21 Paul Fesch, *op. cit.*, p.515.

22 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 1: COMMERCIAL LIFE IN ISTANBUL

Istanbul, as a port city was a place of diffusion of Western culture. Bringing Western goods into the Empire had inevitably communicated some Western business concepts and practices. This meeting of the "technical order" introduced by the West with the "moral order" of the traditional culture is illustrated in the first part of this chapter. In this context, while the first section was mostly comprising the life of the bourgeois class, the second was dealing with the traditional workers of the international ports who showed resistance to the new practices.

1.1. Trade Districts in Istanbul

Shipping and wholesale trade dominated the harbor areas around the Golden Horn¹: Galata and Stamboul².

Galata was the modern business district of Istanbul. The post offices of the foreigners, the principal

¹ Haydarpasa, on the Asiatic side of the capital, was a point of redistribution to Anatolia. Administered by the Germans, the quay successfully drew some categories of goods which otherwise had to be discharged in Galata and Stamboul. The mohair, for example, which was a transit article, waited its embarkation in Haydarpasa. Jacques Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme français dans l'empire ottoman*, (Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1977), p.387.

² In our work, the word Stamboul designated the old city, that is the southern part of the Golden Horn.

financial establishment were aligned through the large street called Voyvoda Caddesi. The commercial importance of the district was reinforced with the increase in trade of the 1880's. The foreign, Greek and to a lesser extent, Armenian and Jewish merchants who worked there had gained great economic power.³ Nevertheless, the vast majority of the merchants still remained in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie or lower.⁴ The situation of the Greeks, however, was better. "At this time, Britain was advocating extensive commercial liberalization (the Commercial Treaty

3 Their influence grew along with the European economic and political power in the Middle East and with the concurrent efforts of the Ottoman government to reshape society on the Western side. It began to decline -either immediately before, or just after the First World War- when the society began to produce Muslims capable of carrying out these middle class functions and when growing nationalism demanded the replacement of foreigners or members of minority groups by Turks. Roderic H. Davison, "The Millets as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire", *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (New York, London: Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc., 1982), p.262. More and more the intellectuals of the Empire followed a national economic policy starting from 1908 and reaching its strenght during the First World War. According to an intellectual of the time, Ziya Gökalp, "the economy for very long years had a cosmopolitan aspect. The Cosmopolitanism, however, could not be an economic doctrine. The Manchester School supported so much in the country was not cosmopolitanism, but simply the national economic doctrine of industrialized England which did not see any disadvantage to follow a liberal economy". Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, (Ankara: Yurt Yayinlari, 1982), p.25. For a similar statement see also Doğan Avcioğlu, *Türkiye'nin Düzeni, Dün-Bugün-Yarın*, I, (Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi 1990), pp.100-101.

4 Charles Issawi, "The transformation of the Economic Position of the Millets in the Nineteenth Century", *Christians and Jews...*, p.262.

of 1838 was an important attempt) and this country looked upon the Greeks as the group best qualified strategically and personally to help establish the British commercial hegemony."⁵ Thus, the Greek merchants rose as business leaders of the time.

The merchants of Galata as they became rich and influential identified themselves with French culture. Ernest Giraud,⁶ in his monthly articles "La rue" where he had described everyday life in the city gave us lots of examples of the spoiled French spoken generally by the Greeks. The Greek culture dominated the life of Galata and a big part of Péra. The restaurants, the feasts, the amusements, the language... in these districts were examples of the Westernized Greek culture and traditions. To have a quick view on it, I chose a conversation among many others which Ernest Giraud and his friend Marius heard in a Greek restaurant.

" Tu sais que j'avais recommandé Georges comme surveillant à M.Siluri. Pour mon hatir il l'a pris dans son magasin. Georges n'a rien surveillé. M.Siluri a mangé le casik et moi je suis tombé petit devant ce dernier. Ainsi quand

5 Kemal H. Karpat, op. cit., p.98.

6 He was the chairman of the French Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul for 25 years, between 1887 and 1922. For more information see RCL, (August 23 - October 22, 1922), pp.74, 89.

je rencontrerai Georges, je lui laverai la tête
come si deve."7.

Marius needed a translation and Ernest Giraud who had stayed for a long time in the city tried to oblige him.

" Hatir is an Arabian word. It means memory. Here, it takes on the significance of a favour. In the market, people use it very often especially by the customers who always asked a discount or an extension of their credits for their hatir.

Manger le casik means to endure a loss. And, it is used all the time by the people.

Tomber petit devant quelqu'un is to be in a bad condition in front of someone.

And, the last expression come si deve is an Italian expression meaning the scolding will be harsh when Georges will appear."8

Always trying to identify themselves with European culture, great wholesalers and bankers established themselves in the neighborhood halfway up the hill of Péra, where most of the embassies were located. Having worked

7 Ernest Giraud, "La rue", RCL, (1903, Second Semester), p.734.

8 Ibid., p.735.

during the day in their Galata, they returned up walking up to their home. Bertrand Bareilles had also stressed this point as he wrote "Every morning, half of the population goes to Galata. If you ask the wife of a Levantin what is the business of her husband, nine out of ten women will reply you "He goes to Galata"."⁹ And, they -bankers, merchants, and shopkeepers and their families and their relatives- formed the new economic elite "constantly striving to rise ever higher in status by becoming involved in new commercial ventures and by adopting the language of their European diplomatic patrons".¹⁰

Péra developed together with Galata in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the modern European section of Istanbul. This point is disputable with its "ill-built houses, endlessly winding back alleys, hordes of scavenger dogs feeding on garbage and the choking summer dust of unpaved streets annually converted by winter rains into impassable quagmires."¹¹ These also were the repeated complaints of Ernest Giraud in his article "La rue". Its modernity was superficial, just a coat to satisfy the urgent requirements of an emerging European and native bourgeoisie.

9 Bertrand Bareilles, *Constantinople, ses cités franques et levantines* (Péra, Galata, banlieue), (Paris: ed. Bossard, 1918), p.82.

10 Kemal H. Karpat, *op. cit.*, p.99.

11 Steven T. Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency, Urban Reform in Istanbul*, (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 1980), p.9.

İlber Ortaylı had also stressed this point by saying that Péra was a bad example of the Europeans living in the Eastern Mediterranean. According to him, the district was "a Westernized East or an Easternized West"¹² just as other cities in China, Japan or Russia. Though these last judgments could be a little too harsh, one must not imagine the life in the end of nineteenth century Péra without problems.

The "modern" life in Péra attracted the large trade houses and they started to establish their headquarters in the district. The retail trade constituting the business of the quarter, new modern shops and department stores were opened every day.

An important number of merchants, however, still continued their business in Istanbul: in the bedesten,¹³ in its extension the Great Bazaar or other commercial centers around like Tavuk Pazari, Mahmud Pasa, Mercan. They

12 İlber Ortaylı, *Istanbul'dan Sayfalar*, (Istanbul: Hil Yayinlari, 1987), p.98.

13 The bedesten, bedestan or bazzazistan as called in Arab provinces, Eastern Anatolia and Iran, designs a market place for textile dealers (baz, bazzas). Halil Inalcik, "The Hub of the City: The Bedestan of Istanbul", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, I, 1 (Winter 1979-1980), p.2. It was the central building of the commercial part of the town. Being an international institution, it existed only in the most important cities. Besides other economic functions, it was, "above all, the headquarters for the merchant guild trading in precious textiles". *Ibid.*, p.3. Later, a second bedesten was built for the cotton cloth (kirba, a lining cloth woven in cotton or linen) merchants which was replaced by a larger structure where silks (sandal, a cloth with stripe patterns succesively woven in silk and cotton) were sold. *Ibid.*, pp.4,5.

constructed their business in the central side of the city, the meeting place of roads leading in from the city gates and the roads leading up from the commercial quays of the harbor. The main road leading from here to Tahtakale, the harbor area of the Golden Horn, was Uzun Çarsi the busiest commercial district of the city. Other slopes between this harbor area and the bedesten were also covered with commercial establishments.

The hans situated especially in the main commercial arteries, Mahmud Pasa and Uzun Çarsi were important for wholesalers.¹⁴ They were places of trading with the yolcus.¹⁵ They were also used as warehouses of specific articles. For example, Bodrum Han was used as a redistribution center of cotton and linen cloth imported into Istanbul.¹⁶ Hence most of the names of the hans were derived from their transactions; like İplikçi Han (Han of Thread Dealers) or Kusakçı Han (Han of Belt Makers).

14 On the other side of the Golden Horn, in Galata, there were only four hans up to the nineteenth century; namely, Saksi Hanı, Serpus Hanı, Yelkenciler Hanı, and Kursunlu Hanı. Ceyhan Güran, *Türk Hanlarının Gelişimi ve İstanbul Hanları Mimarisi*, (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları), pp.29,48.

15 As will be later explained the yolcus were the merchants coming to Istanbul from different provinces and returning back after after getting his supplies. These merchants usually visited the capital every six months.
16 Halil İnalcık, "Istanbul", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, (1978), p.228. Also, Aylis Togay, *Structuration du quartier des hans à Istanbul*, personal survey for the end of studies, p.595.

Most of these buildings, however, were not warehouses. They contained depots together with the merchants' offices where daily transactions were conducted; the most important ones being Valide Han, Kürkçü Han and Büyük Yeni Han.

When crossing the bridge, the shops of Stamboul also presented a big contrast with those on Péra. The commercial life of Stamboul centered in the Great Bazaar and its surroundings was conducted in the same spirit as in the past. The imposing store, the ornate façade, the splendid display in the shop window... these were the features of a Western way of life. In the East, "it was the custom, particularly with the cloth dealers, to hang fabrics from iron hooks in the upper wing of (the) shutter."¹⁷ Silks, muslins, satins and taffetas of a myriad colors would shine and glisten in the light entering thorough the windows behind, cast all the colors of the rainbow on the street beneath and bathe the passers-by in the light of a fairy tale world."¹⁸ As was expressed in a very poetic way, the commercial wealth was reckoned not by the magnificence of the buildings, but by the wealth and variety of the goods offered for sale. And, merchants, especially the Muslims,

¹⁷ "A reason for the lack of the modern style shop and the arrangement of goods on open shelves in an open stall may well have been to avoid the necessity for women to enter a closed place by allowing all transactions to be carried out quite openly in public." Çelik Gülersoy, *Story of the Grand Bazaar*, (Istanbul: Istanbul Kitaplığı, 1990), p.22.

¹⁸ Ibid.

made no effort to promote their merchandise. The reason for this attitude could be, according to Ernest Giraud, a little bit of laziness and a lot of religion. "The Muslim man who has a strong belief in God says to himself why work hard to attract the consumers. If God wishes, I will sell my goods. I must not try to change his unalterable decisions".¹⁹

Here, as well as in the following descriptions, one must not forget that the events were reported by a foreigner who mostly was not in close contacts with the Muslim merchants. Moreover, apathy, fatalism, dislike of change... according to the Westernists, were the attributes of the Oriental mentality inculcated, primarily, by men who claimed to be the guardians of religion. Thus, the folkloric and preconceived aspects of the descriptions must always be taken into account when reading the diaries of foreign travellers.

As Gasparin had pointed out " the European merchant is a positivist and materialist. He may well be a man of great worth, but he rarely represents an ideal, or any sort of exalted aim. Here, on the other hand, the merchant is a poem in himself. Look at this tradesman in his cachemere gown. His belt and dagger shine under his long sleeved robe and the majestic turban on his shaved head enhances the grave dignity of his countenance."²⁰

19 Ernest Giraud, "La rue", RCL, (1906, second semester), p.674.

20 Çelik Gülersoy, op. cit., p.63.

The Muslim merchants, who offered a very different field of observation from the non-Muslims, never called passers-by into their shops. They were not even very inviting in their attitudes. "If things go well, they murmur Masallah! (Praised be God!); if they go ill, Olsun! (So must it be!)"²¹ The same author had given us a distinct picture for the non-Muslim merchants.

"It is amusing to go into shops of the Frank merchants where there are things to suit all purses. You have scarcely entered before you are surrounded by a circle of people sprung from you can not tell where. It is not possible to deal with one person alone. What with shopkeepers, and their partners, middlemen, and all the hangers on of each, there are always half a dozen. If you escape one, you are sure to fall into the claws of the other; and there is no help for you; and it is incredible the artfulness, the patience, the obstinacy, the diabolical astuteness which they display in making you buy what they please. They begin by asking an absurd price; you offer one third; they drop their arms in sign of profound discouragement, or strike their foreheads with a gesture of despair and make no reply; or else they

²¹ Edmondo de Amicis, *Constantinople*, trans. by Caroline Tilton, 4th ed., (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1878), p.83.

burst into a torrent of passionate words intended to touch your heart. You are a cruel man, you want to make them shut up their shop, you want to reduce them to misery, you have no pity on their children, they cannot understand what they have done to be treated in such a manner.(...) While you are examining the stuff, they are exchanging signs, winks and whispers. If you know Greek, they speak Turkish; if you know that, they speak Armenian; if you understand Armenian, they speak Spanish; but in one way or another they are certain to get the better of you. If you are hard to convince, they flatter you; tell you that you speak their language admirably, that you have the air of a perfect gentleman, and that they never can forget your handsome face; they talk of your country, where they have been; because they have been everywhere.(...) To what people do these belong? No one knows. By dint of talking in every language they have lost their primitive accent; by dint of acting comedy all day long, they have changed their physiological features of their race; they are of any country they please for the moment, they follow any trade they choose, usurers, merchants, interpreters, guide."²²

22 Ibid., pp.80-83.

This figure of the guide-interpreters, another product of Westernization, which was a very unattractive one, had been described in details in the accounts of de Souhesmes.²³ Here, also, one must not forget that the intermediary man could not have a pleasant portrait.

"The Jews who lie and wait for the customers intercept their ways and do not leave them alone. You must have a great deal of patience not to roughly treat these people who impose you their services. They want to guide you to their merchant friends, there they intervene in your discussion, give their advice both to the merchant and the buyer, and do their best for everybody so they may come to an agreement. Obviously, there is an accord between these people and the merchant who certainly, gives him a commission for everything that was sold."²⁴

This manner of serving created a big contrast with the shops of Péra. Different articles written in the Revue Commerciale du Levant complained of the detestable way of conduct of salesmen. According to Ernest Giraud, every time

²³ He published his book only after having left Istanbul. G. des Godins de Souhesmes was the publisher of a French magazine, Revue Française which did not last for a long time. G. des Godins de Souhesmes, Au pays des Osmanlis, (Paris: Victor-Havard ed., 1894), pp.IV,176.

²⁴ Ibid., p.87.

they saw a new customer they thought "a new one who will bother us".²⁵ Ernest Giraud also told us about some facts that he witnessed. "In one of the fabric shops, I saw a middle class woman who asked for a piece of fabric. The owner replied to her "This is not for you." meaning that the article was too expensive for the customer."²⁶ To this way of conduct there was an exception, however, when the salesman knows you he tries to do his best.

If we return to the bazaar of the end of the nineteenth century, we see that as the value judgements and tastes of the people changed its glamour and vivacity decreased. It started to contain less genuine products of Ottoman craftsmanship and skill and "the prosaic stuffs of France and England, of dull colors"²⁷ invaded the market. As early as 1852, Théophile Gautier described this invasion.

"The cloth sellers display land coloured English cloths having selvages adorned gaudily with gold and copper in order to satisfy the oriental taste. You can notice the dull perfectionism of the mechanics and the falseness of the natural tones of Great Britain. I recognize that I grit my teeth in front of such

²⁵ Ernest Giraud, "Vendeurs", RCL, (June 1908), p.1024.

²⁶ Ernest Giraud, "La rue", RCL, (1900, first semester), p.490.

²⁷ Edmondo de Amicis, op. cit., p.78.

disaccord. I send to the devil the industry, the trade and the civilization which produce such hostile reds, loud blues and insolent yellows and which disturb the Orient for their own benefit."²⁸

In the days following the proclamation of the constitution, the bazaar had become a half abandoned market for inferior quality goods. The mother of Refik Halid, the famous novelist, would come here every year a few days before seker bayrami, but not to do any shopping for herself or for her children. Her shopping was confined to presents for the boatman, the servants, the cook, the coachman.²⁹

The smart shops, the Bon Marchés, as they were known at the time, had moved to the Grand'rue de Péra or to Galata. That was the time of big shops.³⁰

As it can be derived from above, the European culture first came to Istanbul in the form of merchandises sold freely and the port, customs were places where this international link was set with European economies. To know

28 Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople, Istanbul en 1852*, ann. by Jacques Huré, (Istanbul: ed. Isis, 1990), p.126.

29 Refik Halit Karay, "Kapalıçarşının Romani", *Türkiye Turing Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, 40, (April 1945), p.28.

³⁰ Nevertheless, in the beginning of the twentieth century, still small shops dominated the market. Furthermore, the term "big" could be relative. Ahmed Midhat, for instance, who saw the Bon Marché when visiting Paris had compared to the Istanbul branch which assortments were according to him equivalent to what a pedlar sold. Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Midhat Efendi*, (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1991), p.77.

about them and its workers (lightermen, porters) could help our understanding of the socio-economic conditions of the day in which the merchants undertook their business.

1.2. The Ports of Istanbul

In November 1890, the Ottoman Government granted a group of investors, primarily French, a concession to erect and operate modern port facilities in Istanbul. This concession given to Marius Michel³¹ for eighty five years "stipulated that quays and docks would be constructed to accommodate large vessels on both sides of the Golden Horn, on the Galata side from Tophane to Azap Kapisi and on the Stamboul side from Sirkeci to Unkapani. The company called Société Anonyme Ottomane des Quais, Docks et Entrepôts de Constantinople was given total rights in the zone between the two proposed quays to supervise transport on the quays, establish a steam ferry service within the zone, construct a tramway on the quays and build warehouses and depots. The company immediately began its construction on the Galata side and opened these quays to navigation between 1894 and

31 He had acquired before, in 1857, the concession of the administration of the lighthouses. An important shareholder of the quay company M. Michel was granted the title of Pasha, after his election to the head of the administration of the Quay Company. Zihni Bilge, *Istanbul Rihtimlerinin Tarihçesi*, 2nd ed., (Istanbul: Denizcilik Bankası Basımevi, 1955), pp.1,5.

1895. On the Stamboul side, the company opened the quays between Sirkeci and Galata Bridge in 1899."³²

The technological improvement in sea transportation and the increasing trade at the end of the nineteenth century rendered the existing facilities of the port inadequate. The steamships preferred more and more for their greater speed and reliability were considerably larger than the old ones.³³ As a result, many steamships coming to Istanbul were forced to moor, fore-and-aft to a buoy placed near the mouth of the Golden Horn, several hundred yards from shore.³⁴ The inefficient method prolonged handling time and increased shipping costs. Only smaller

32 Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire 1881-1914: Reactions to European Economic Penetration*, (New York and London: New York University Press, 1983), pp.96,97. See also E. Pech, *Manuel des sociétés anonymes fonctionnant en Turquie*, 3rd ed., (Paris: 1906), p.155.

33 Steam navigation came to Turkish waters in 1828, but, the first navigation company which inaugurated a service to Istanbul in 1833 was the Russian Odessa Company. Around 1840, it was estimated that steam did the work of about five sailing ships for equal tonnage. "Steam Navigation in the 1830's and 1840's -the Austrian Lloyd", Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p.164.

34 In fact, the difficulties of an unorganised port began to cause problems during the days of the Crimean War. The dischargement of soldiers and the necessary materials was realised with great difficulty. After the war, the demands of Europe for the amelioration of the port were multiplied.

steam vessels could come directly alongside the inadequate piers and docks inside the protected area.³⁵

The loading and discharging of the ships, as well as the land transport of the merchandise were ensured by the boatmen and porters of the city. They monopolized these fields and, as will be stated later, they created important problems to the quay company.

The merchandise that was discharged had to be brought to the customs house. This transportation took place with great difficulty due to the limited place and lack of adequate cranes. The containers and bales were discharged from boats to lighters with the help of the porters. When needed, a steam winch installed on one of the lighters came near the boat to unload the merchandise.³⁶

These workers usually came from the farthest provinces of Anatolia. The porters who were Turks and Kurds before 1826 were replaced by the Porte by Armenians. Most porters, in the capital, had been Armenians from the region of lake Van. However, in the end of the nineteenth century, with the increasing European penetration, this ethnic group had acquired great wealth. Accordingly, their nationalist demands increased. Therefore, the opinion of the government and the people had turned against the Armenians. And, with

35 Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration*, p.96.

36 Renate Schiele, Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, 19. *Yüzyılda İstanbul Hayatı*, (İstanbul: Alman Arkeoloji Enstitüsü, 1988), p.77.

a bloody operation, the Armenian porters were replaced again by the Kurds. This time their dominance was definite.³⁷

Also, some of them were natives of Bitlis and Harput, the same general area from which the Armenian porters had come from.³⁸

Bertrand Bareilles who had given us a description of the porters had noted that these people were the most colorful people of the city. "(The porter) is short powerful, thick set, he has a tanned neck and breast, a wide back to carry the heavy loads, a receding forehead with a sharp skull newly shaved. On his huge leather pad stuffed with straw called pack-saddle, he carries the most unbelievable loads."³⁹

Istanbul was founded on the hills. The slopes that the inhabitants had to travel on rendered the use of porters indispensable to transportation, wagons being used only for long distances.

Ernest Giraud in an article called "Hamals" noticed that there are various categories of porters: those of the district, the porters working in warehouses, on the

37 For the details of this policy of the State, see Donald Quataert, "Osmanlı Toplumunda İşgücü Politikası ve Siyaset: Hamallar ve Bab-i Ali, 1826-1896", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 35, (September 1986), pp.170-175.

38 Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration ...*, p.99.

39 Bertrand Bareilles, *op.cit.*, p.99.

boats and at the customs houses.⁴⁰ Each had defined areas of responsibility.

The porters of the district called also tulumbacis -the volunteer firemen- had the monopoly of the transportations in the district. Even the poor had not the right to carry their own trunk. These porters, however, since they were not involved in the commercial life they did not constitute our principal interest.

The porters of the han, according to Giraud were an impediment for the development of a liberal economy.⁴¹ For example the porters of a han did not have the right to transport the merchandise of another han. Istanbul, being a center of redistribution was an attractive city for the small merchants of the interior provinces. These merchants called yolcus -travellers- bought from Istanbul various articles in small quantities. During their journey, these people were dispersed according to their origin, in different hans situated generally in Marputçular. The merchant who bought several articles put them together in a container. The bureaucratic formalities were administrated by a commissionaire dealing with transit trade: the customs formalities , the going on board, the payment of the freight up to the destination. But, the transportation of these containers was done by the porters of the han and a price

40 Ernest Giraud, "Hamals", RCL, 244, (July 1907), p.53.

41 Ibid., p.55.

from 20 to 25 piasters was charged for each container. Evidently, this excessive cost added to the others turned away these yolcus from Istanbul. They preferred to look for (other places like Izmir where the costs were not so high.

The monopoly of the porters who worked at the customs houses also were another matter of complaint.⁴² Only these porters had the right to carry the merchandises that were cleared from the customs. Their semi-official prices, though they were lower than other porters, were still excessive to the merchants. For example, one who wanted to transport his container with a wagon had to pay to the porters who put them on the equivalent of the transport price of the nearest region. In addition to this, these "brutal, clumsy, careless"⁴³ porters damaged the merchandise that they carried. On the other hand, the porters also suffered from the regulations of the monopoly. The stewards shamelessly exploited these men and used their positions for personal enrichment.⁴⁴

The hamals who came to Istanbul to earn their living had a very modest life in the city. They took their meals on the street corners and slept on the counters of the

42 "Les Hamals de la Douane", JCCC, 1271, (15 May 1909), p.153.

43 Ernest Giraud, "Hamals", RCL, 244, (July 1907), p.55.

44 Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration ...*, p.101.

shops in the port, wrapped in a blanket. They never consumed alcohol, their only beverage being coffee and tea. They sent their money to their families in the villages, rarely visited them, and left their wife pregnant after each visit. When, the porters became too old to work and returned to their villages, they sold their place to their followers. It is even said that to be a porter at the customs, the applicant had to pay up to 80 liras.⁴⁵

The boatmen in Istanbul also were of Anatolian origin, but often of different backgrounds. One source said that "most of the boat owners who ferried people across the Golden Horn, (...), were Jews."⁴⁶ The vast majority of the other boatmen were from the Greek and Laz communities on the Black Sea coast, though there were some Kurds, Turks and Armenians.⁴⁷

"In Istanbul, four kinds of boats served to transport passengers and goods. Caiques (kayik) were small slender craft that were mainly used to carry passengers. Lighters (mauna) with a 30 to 50 tons capacity were used to transfer cargo from ships anchored in the harbor to the

45 Ernest Giraud, "Hamals", RCL, 244, (July 1907), p.58. In 1906, a craftman was earning from 9 to 18 piasters per day. Alan Duben, Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.36. For daily wages see also Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.36.

46 Yitzhak Rofeh, "The Benevolent Society of the Boat-Owners in Constantinople" in Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.71.

47 Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration ...*, p.99.

docks. In 1912, there were about four hundred lighters in the port of Istanbul. They were owned by only four people who limited their number and who rented them to the boatmen. Sandals were similar in size to the caique passenger boat but rowed. They were used to transfer cargo from ship to shore. Salapuryas (small lighters) were storage ships, each averaging 10 tons in capacity."⁴⁸

The boatmen belonged to their guilds and the stewards (kethüda)⁴⁹ were their legal representatives just as for the porters. Being among the most organized and powerful guilds in the capital and supported by the government, they dictated their wishes to the quay company. Several articles show that the government was reluctant to take strict measures. This attitude was often considered by Europeans as an act of goodwill towards the workers.⁵⁰ The boatman in order to acquire his right, that is to be accepted to the guild, had to pay within 2,000 francs for the lighter and 4,000 francs⁵¹ as the charge of the boatman.

48 Ibid., p.101.

49 Each guild had a leader (kethüda) who acted as a mediator between the guild members and the State but who functioned most of the time as the agent of the Government rather than as a spokesman of the guild. Immanuel Wallerstein and Reşat Kasaba, art. cit., p.33.

50 See Ernest Giraud, "Mahonniers", RCL, 259, (October 1908), p.490; and, "Les Mahonnes", RCL, 286 (January 1911), p.101.

51 The exchange rate approximately being 0.21 francs for a silver piaster, 2,000 FF and 4,000 FF equalled, respectively, 9,523.81 krs and 19,047.62 krs.

Thus, it became very difficult for the government to take back the privileges of a man who sold his field, his cattle in the village and who acquired debts.⁵²

Some navigation companies, the Austrian Lloyd and the Russian in 1895 and later the Italian and the English had obtained the right to transport their goods by their own means, but the number of their lighters was insufficient. For instance, a company that had six lighters needed sixty others. The guild, willing to have all the power, asked for the entrance of these lighters owned by the navigation companies in their corporation. Their request not being accepted, the boatmen boycotted these companies. Cramped with their commercial transactions -their own lighters were not sufficient even for 1% of their transactions- the companies came to an agreement with the guilds and some lighters were entered in their corporation.⁵³ Other events also enraged the commercial authorities; a ship owner ordered two lighters, they were immediately confiscated by the boatmen's guild. Another ship owner ordered ten lighters to be manufactured in Zonguldak. The producer was so violently threatened by the boatmen that he retreated from his agreement.⁵⁴

52 Ernest Giraud, "Les Mahonnes", RCL, 286 (January 1911), p.101-102.

53 Ernest Giraud, "Grèves des Mahonniers", RCL, 263, (February 1909), p.218.

54 Ernest Giraud, "La Plaie du Port de Constantinople", RCL, 294, (September 1911), p.402.

To these events other problems were also added. The insufficient numbers of lighters was one of the disagreement points. The guild did not want to construct new ones not to be obliged to share their dues. In addition to this, the lighters were in a very bad condition, they took in water. Their capacity was usually insufficient. The boatmen did not take care of the merchandise, did not generally stow it as they had to.

Furthermore, a high price was demanded each time threatening the commerce of the port by a strike. The tariff, in 1908, was 50 piasters per day for a lighter and 25 piasters for a salapurya. These were special prices for the navigation companies. Others had to pay 10 piasters more for a lighter and 5 piasters more for a salapurya. To these, the expenses of coverage and of a night watchman, a total of 25 piasters, must be added. Towards the end of 1908, the boatmen demanded an increase of 40 piasters per day (from 50 to 90).⁵⁵ A provisional price of 60 piasters was effective in the beginning of 1909.⁵⁶ The next year the charge was increased to 70 piasters for the lighters while the price for the salapuryas remained the same.⁵⁷

55 Ernest Giraud, "Mahonniers", RCL, 259, (October 1908), pp.489-490.

56 Ernest Giraud, "Grèves des Mahonniers", RCL, 263, (February 1909), p.217.

57 "Règlements et Tarif de Prix", RCL, (May 1910), p.566.

Besides these problems, military provisioning was another impediment to commercial transactions. The merchandise that was transferred took up for a long time two hundred fifty or three hundred lighters.⁵⁸ The following remarks written by Giraud will describe vividly "the competition for a lighter that is on the point of discharging the merchandise. The merchants wait for a lighter, the agents of navigation companies ask for it and the soldiers end by taking possession of the lighter."⁵⁹

Another objection stated, this time by the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople, was that the sailing lighters, those with oars or others were an important threat to the traffic of the harbor. The lighters made incalculable damages to the boats of Şirket-i Hayriye of the Golden Horn or others sailing in the harbor.⁶⁰

In short, the common wish of European merchants together with the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul was the liberalization of the ship to port transports.⁶¹ The port

58 Ernest Giraud, "Mahonnes", RCL, 281, (August 1910), p.308.

59 Ernest Giraud, " Les Mahonnes", RCL, 284, (November 1910), p.664.

60 Z.Y., "La Préfecture de la Ville et les Mahones", JCCC, 1475, (12 April 1913), pp.226-227.

61 Z.Y., "La Question des Mahones et des Mahoniers", JCCC, 1411, (20 January 1912), p.17; "La Préfecture de la Ville et les Mahones", JCCC, 1475,, (12 April 1913), p.226; Ernest Giraud, " Les Mahonnes", RCL, 284, (November 1910), p.665; "Mahonnes", RCL, 281, (August 1910), p.309; "Les Mahonnes", RCL, 286 (January 1911), p.103.

workers enjoyed an illegal monopoly and the government had to protect the merchants as much as the workers.

As clearly seen, the modernization of the quays which made possible for large ships to dock directly was not a solution for the merchants. The improvements eliminated the need to transfer cargo from ships in the harbor to lighters to be carried to the docks that seemed so burdensome and time consuming to merchants. If we look at it from the side of the workers we have to accept that this was their livelihood. Moreover, the new warehouses built in Galata and Stamboul after 1907 would remove the need for storage boats hence the jobs of the boatmen. The same was true for the porters. The tramways planned for the quays would provide merchants with a means of transporting cargo in bulk, but it would take away the porters' livelihood. Briefly, the concession given to the quay company sought to eliminate the rights of the guilds in the port areas. The workers felt this threat on their livelihood since they had seen almost fifty years earlier that the formation of Sirket-i Hayriye steamship company on the Bosphorus had driven large numbers of boatmen out of business.⁶²

In 1907, as a part of the deal to obtain a duty increase from 8% to 11% ad valorem, the government was obliged to agree on the improvement of the port of Istanbul.

62 Cengiz Orhonlu, "Osmanlı Türkleri Devrinde İstanbul'da Kayıkçılık ve Kayık İşletmeciliği", İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi, XVI, 21, (March 1966), p.130.

The signed agreements affected mostly the porters while the boatmen's guild was less threatened by the new regulations. The porters effectively lost their monopoly to the company that now possessed the ability to set the fees and regulate to some degree the porters' affairs. On the side of the boatmen, however, "until the outbreak of war (in 1914) most ships did not dock alongside the quays but loaded and unloaded in the roadstead".⁶³ It is obvious that the commerce of Istanbul was negatively affected. Though general tonnage of the ships continued to rise, the fees charged both by the guilds and the company, the redundant and inefficient practices, the cost of doing business in the city increased to a great extent.

Above, we saw that the goods discharged from a ship anchored off shore were transported to the quay by lighters. Once on the quay, the merchandise was stored in the depots of the customs before the customs inspection or in the warehouses of the quay company till their final destination was known. Of course, not all could be stored there. There were merchandise waiting in Salapuryas, lighters or simply, on the quay. This caused great damage

63 Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration*, p.118.

to the merchandise,⁶⁴ a problem that worried a lot the insurance companies. Their research on the area concluded the following points:⁶⁵ the goods were stolen during their storage in the lighters, they were affected by bad weather, even good weather was not convenient for some articles. Temperature variations also caused problems. To these the ravage of the dogs wandering in the port area also were added. The lack or the inadequate covering was another difficulty.

The goods that got the privilege of being stored in the customs sojourned free of charge for the first eight days. The following three weeks 10, 20, 30 paras per day per container were subsequently demanded.⁶⁶ These prices were the storage rent for the year 1909 for a container regardless of its size even if it was a small box the same charge was taken. Only, if the container weighed more than 113 kilos the storage rent doubled and for those higher than 227 kilos it tripled...

64 The merchandise stored also was not completely secured from the risk of damage. See for example the inundation of the customs of Stamboul after the heavy rains. The management found that it was due to the inadequate system of canalisation. The JCCC that communicated the event gave us a long list of the merchants who were subject to loss. "Les Dépôts de la Douane de Stamboul", JCCC, 1302, (18 December 1909), pp.401-402.

65 "Les Compagnies d'Assurances Transports et la Société des Quais, Docks et Entrepôts de Constantinople", JCCC, 1326, (4 June 1910).

66 Ernest Giraud, "Magasinage en Douane", RCL, 167, (February 1901), p.297.

The application of the tariff was a matter of complaints for the merchants. The customs of Galata considered the arrival of the ship and not the entering of the goods in the depots as the beginning of the storage. This worried a lot the people interested in the international trade since a ship took easily five days to discharge the merchandise and then the containers had to be separated; some stayed in the customs of Galata, others had to be transported to the other side, Stamboul, some would be redistributed; the separation took another three days. Finally, if the depots of the customs were available -often they were not- the merchandise entered the depots eight days after the arrival of the ship and the payment begun as soon as they were in the depots.⁶⁷ There was, however, a limit amount to the storage fee; the total must not be over half of its value in retail. This time the merchants reported that the authorities overvalued the merchandise.⁶⁸

We stated above, briefly, the overcrowding of the depots of the customs. The newly arrived merchandise had to wait for several days in the lighters and this increased, automatically, the cost of importing. To resolve the problem the storage rent was doubled: 20 paras per day per

67 This type of application ended in 1906 and the authorities started to consider the effective entrance of the merchandise to the depot as the entering date. Ernest Giraud, "Douanes Ottomanes", RCL, 227, (February 1906), p.134.

68 Ernest Giraud, "Difficultés Douanières", RCL, 185, (August 1902), p.295.

container for the second week, 1 piaster for the third week and 60 paras for the following weeks.⁶⁹

It was true that a part of the overcrowding was due to the merchants. Those who thought that the merchandise was likely to be redistributed preferred to leave it a few weeks in the depots of the customs: though it was not cheap it was more advantageous than dealing with the porters. The last tariff rate which was really a prohibitive one would in itself decrease the weeks of sojourn in the depot. However, the question could not be solved easily since these depots were also monopolized by the goods of the Ministry of War. The storage of the commodities of the state departments being free of charge, the new tariff would not affect them. Another explanation to this overcrowding could be the impossibility of taking the merchandise whenever the merchant came. The delay was attributed to various reasons. The most important was the working hours and days. The employees started to work, in winter, at 10 o'clock in the morning and they began serving the public half an hour later. Lunch break was from 12 to 13.30 and they began their preparation for their departure at 15.30. They worked longer in the summer.⁷⁰ But, the effect of the customs clearance took a long time and the

69 Ernest Giraud, "Questions Douanières", RCL, 293, (August 1911), p.259.

70 Ernest Giraud, "Douanes Ottomanes", RCL, 227, (February 1906), 227, p.133. For the same complaints see "Droits d'Ardié", JCCC, 861, p.209.

merchants could not pull their merchandise before several days. Although there were some attempts to increase the working hours (the employees had to be at work an hour after the sun was up and leave the office only an hour before the sunset, that is, in winter, they had to work from 7 am to 5 pm, and, in summer, from 5 am to 7 pm),⁷¹ the excessive hours could not be a solution. Those dealing with the clearance of the merchandise still witnessed that there was not any real improvement in the affairs.⁷² Thus, the increase of the tariff could just be a solution to a part of the problem, the other ones still remaining unsolved.

If we come now to the warehouses of the quay company we see that the first one was built only in 1905 on the quay of Galata.⁷³ The following one was built on the Stamboul side where the bulk of commercial transaction was taking place. Its inauguration was realized in 1909. The warehouse was constructed near the quay and just behind the new customs. It was a vaulted wide room and the floor was supported by columns. The building had a ground floor, two other levels and a magnificent terrace.⁷⁴ To these the new

71 Ernest Giraud, "Douanes Ottomanes", loc. cit.

72 Ibid., p.134

73 Ernest Giraud, "Entrepôt Douanier", RCL, 256, (July 1908), p.65; 270, (September 1909), p.341.

74 Ernest Giraud, "Entrepôt Douanier", RCL, 270, (September 1909), p.341.

warehouses were added as a compensation for the increase in customs duties from 8% to 11%.

The warehouses were not only places for the merchandise waiting temporarily in the port till its final destination was known but also an establishment where the merchandise could be unpacked, displayed and repacked, where the goods could also be categorized, selected or those damaged could be thrown away. Thus, the warehouses were also important for the transit trade of the city. Ernest Giraud pointed out that most of the goods entered into the warehouses were those which would be sent to the other ports of the Marmara and of the Black Sea.⁷⁵ Before, the commodities were transhipped immediately after their arrival in the port. After the opening of the warehouses, the goods waited the orders coming from the provinces. Its crucial advantage being the non-payment of any taxes, the merchandise was not subject to custom duties in Istanbul but in the destination port.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, there were some attempts to effect the customs clearance of the commodities stored in the warehouses upon their exit from the port.⁷⁷

The custom's shop, on the other hand, constituted a competition of the State over the merchants. Custom duties could also be paid in goods. Though a reduction of

75 Ernest Giraud, "Entrepôt Douanier", RCL, 256, (July 1908), p.66.

76 Ibid., p.67.

77 Ibid.

10% was granted for cash payments, merchants preferred to leave part of the imported commodities to the customs. This mode of charging the customs duties was a clear consequence of the high value estimation of the merchandise. The disagreement between the customs' officers lacking sufficient information and the merchants who wanted to underestimate the value was the principal cause for the admission of such a system. It was tried to be reformed by Sir Richard Crawford.⁷⁸ The merchants provided a declaration specifying the cost of the merchandise increased by the transport fee, discharging costs... shortly, by all the expenses. The obligatory invoice emanated from the owner of the factory and certified by himself was given as a voucher. Once the value was clearly set, the payment in goods was no longer accepted and the 10% reduction was abolished. But, when the customs' officer estimated that the amount of the invoice was below the usual amount and did not come to a compromise with the merchant, the customs' tax still could be paid in goods.

This method of payment caused problems on both sides. The customs had to conserve the merchandise and when the stock reached high amounts, the facilities of storage became a problem, and automatically increased the expenses: the selling costs, the damage of the merchandise especially important for those which could not be conserved for a long

⁷⁸ He was the adviser of the Indirect Taxes Administration.

time, the danger of fire... On the other hand, the merchants also were affected, since the goods left as duty payments were sold in the custom's shop creating a competition of the state against the small shopkeepers. It was true that the payment in goods constituted a way of fighting against the swindling. But, what about the dedicated customer of a firm who could acquire a reduction amount sometimes up to 75%?⁷⁹ Simply, he could not benefit from this advantage. It was assumed that he undervalued the merchandise and was forced to leave a part of it to its competitors who bought the commodity at low prices. This "injustice" could be somewhat mitigated by a bahsis given to the customs' officer dealing with his business.

What I tried to analyze above was the problems that the merchants especially dealing with the international trade faced in every transactions assuming that Istanbul was an important center for European imports.

Before, the city was the warehouse of the Levant. Lots of yolcus came from the Anatolia, Rumelia, Bulgaria, Romany even from Greece to purchase their provisions. These yolcus after selling the primary products delivered to them and buying different articles paid for cash, returned to their provinces to come again six months later. However, with time, the number of yolcus decreased. The German commercial travellers visited every city even the smallest

⁷⁹ "Le Magasin de Ventes de la Douane", JCCC, 785, (20 January 1900), p.18.

ones to take orders. Other ports, Dedeagaç, Izmit, Burgaz, Samsun... increased their facilities and the railways rendered the access to them very advantageous to the detriment of Istanbul. To these changes were added the difficulties and the expenses of the port of the city.

One of the friends of Giraud, Hacı Effendi, complained about the market:

"The merchandise transported to the depots had high cost of portorage in their entering and exiting. To this must be added the kantar parasi (weighing duties taken even if the merchandise was not weighed), other small expenses charged two times in the entry and exit like stamps and the total amount to an excessive sum. The advantage of the merchants of Rodosto, Inebolu, Bandırma, Mudanya and others who could easily reach these ports was to export directly from Europe the commodities that one time came to buy in my depot of Nalburcular street. It was cheaper for them though the transport freight was higher. (...) The excessive expenses of the market killed my commerce."⁸⁰

The market of Istanbul could no longer be such an important warehouse for the Empire. So, it became more and

⁸⁰ Ernest Giraud, "Frais de Place", RCL, 160, (July 1900), pp.199-120.

more a market of consumption. However, the city remained the greatest urban center of the Eastern Mediterranean until the end of the Empire. Its inhabitants, including the central bureaucracy and imperial court, drew on a high amount of the importation inside and outside for their food, sheltering and clothing.

CHAPTER 2: TEXTILE TRADE OF THE CITY

This chapter will concentrate on one of the basic necessities of human beings, clothing, or more generally, Istanbul being our main field of study, it will focus on different steps of the textile sector. We saw that the city was merely a consumption center and a transit port, therefore, its importations will have the major emphasis in our work. Nevertheless, even if it was of lesser importance, its exportation and local production will also be revealed in the following pages. Before entering in the details of different specific items, a short glance to the development of European textile industry was given in order to better realize the dominance of the European continent at the end of the nineteenth century.

2.1.The Background of the European Textile Revolution

The Ottoman Empire was founded on the historical trade roads between the East and the West, namely the Silk and Spice Roads. This geographical position made of Anatolia a transit region for the pepper, the coffee of Yemen, Persian silk, Indian cotton.... On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire itself was not just an empty place to

cross or as Michel Morineau had stated was not a "vacuum".¹ The commodities from its own territories, the silk of Syria or of Anatolia, the mohair of Ankara, the cotton or the cotton thread of Sayda, Izmir or Salonika... were important for the trade of the Levant.

The Portuguese discovery of the sea route to India by the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 opened new horizons to the European economies. On the Mediterranean area, it diminished the revenue of the Ottoman Empire acquired from spices, especially pepper in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, the commerce of the Empire was still crucial for Europe, particularly after the conquest of Syria (1516) and Egypt (1517).

The silk important for the European economies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was increasingly demanded; later, the cotton and cotton cloth, bleached or printed, took its place. The Venetians had imported large quantities of Ottoman silk since the Middle Ages and had supplied northern Europe with this product. Furthermore, after the technological improvements² undertaken in the silk industry in the second half of the fifteenth century, the

¹ Michel Morineau, "Naissance d'une domination. Marchands européens, marchands et marchés du Levant aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 1976, p.147.

² For the details, see Murat Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: a Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650", *The Ottoman Empire... op. cit.*, pp.247-261.

Levant silk was used as a supplement to the raw material used by French and Italian industries.

The Italian merchants performed sometimes their payment in gold or silver, but most of the time they preferred to exchange the silk with woolen cloth.³ "At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Venetian industries provided the Near East with nearly all the wool cloth it needed..."⁴ The principal demand for these European cloths came from Istanbul and Edirne where the population of the palace and the high level people wore not only woolen cloths⁵ but other luxurious textiles such as Indian muslins⁶

³ In the Middle Age the fine woolen cloths of high quality were the principal export product to the East. The Eastern markets played an important role in the development of the woolen industries of Flandre, Lomb of the woolen in Spain and afterwards of London. Halil Inalcik, "Bursa. I. XV. Asir Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Ait Vesikalar", Belleten, XXIV, (1960), p.54.

⁴ Carlo M. Cipolla, "The Economic Decline of Italy", *The Economic Decline of the Empires*, ed. by Carlo M. Cipolla, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1970), p.203.

⁵ The luxurious and mediocre quality woolen cloth importation had an approximative share of 50% in the importations made from Europe. Mehmet Genç, "18. Yüzyilda Osmanli Sanayii", *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 2, (September 1991), p.109.

⁶ They were used for men's and women's headwear. Halil Inalcik, "When and how the British cotton goods invaded the Levant markets", *Ottoman Empire... op. cit.*, p.374. The muslin is a cotton fabric made in p.374. The degrees of fineness, and often printed, woven or embroidered in patterns, especially a cotton fabric in plain weave, used for sheets or for a variety of other purposes. The finer qualities are used for underwear. It may be bleached or left in the greige. *The Random House College Dictionary*, (1975), p.879 and Mary Evans and Ellen Beers McGowan, *A Guide to Textiles*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1947), p.36.

or chintz.⁷ The interesting designs and colors of chintz attracted the admiration, first of the Middle East countries and, later, of Europeans.⁸ As Inalcik stated the fine cotton cloths of India were offered as valuable presents among distinguished persons.⁹

Later, throughout most of the seventeenth century the bulk of the English and Dutch demand for raw silk was concentrated on the Levant; direct importation of silk in large quantities around the Cape of Good Hope had to wait until the 1670's and 1680's.¹⁰ Thus, the silk trade, firstly, centralized in Aleppo and then transferred to the north towards Izmir became the motor force of the English and Dutch economies whose dynamism overshadowed Venetian glory.¹¹ According to Braudel, if the silk was not turned

⁷ The chintz is a drapery, slip cover and upholstery fabric, usually of plain weave and fine cotton yarns. It is generally printed with small bright floral patterns. Originated from India, the word chint means in Hindu language "colored or variegated". M. Evans and E.B. McGowan, op. cit., p.32.

⁸ These fabrics were brought in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English where they flourished under the names pintados, chintz, calicoes, toiles peintes, perses, and indiennes. Ibid, p.33.

⁹ Halil Inalcik, "Osmanlı Pamuklu Pazarı, Hindistan ve İngiltere: Pazar Rekabetinde Emek Maliyetinin Rolü", Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Gelişme Dergisi, (1979-80 , special issue), p.19.

¹⁰ Murat Çizakça, "Price History..." art. cit., p.253.

¹¹ Raw silk constituted about three-quarters of the total volume of imports of the Levant Company. Alfred C. Wood, A History of the Levant Company, (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1964), p.103.

away from the Mediterranean, like spices, by the English or the Dutch, it was due in great part to its loading on caravans, totally under the control of the Ottoman State from its point of departure while the spices were directly shipped.¹²

Not only silk, but mohair yarn of Ankara was also a considerable product of exportation of the Empire for the industries of the West. Thus, Europeans had to come to the Orient either to satisfy their luxurious tastes or their economic needs. All the time, the West was dependent of the Orient, a fact particularly true of Mediterranean countries like France.¹³ The cotton of the Empire, for example, played an important role in the birth and development of the cotton industry in Europe. "The largest trade was done in cotton, and it was to the cotton wool imported from Cyprus and from Smyrna and Syria that the Lancashire cotton industry owed its foundation."¹⁴ As Katsumi Fukasawa had

¹² Fernand Braudel, "L'Empire Ottoman est-il une économie-monde?", *Mémorial Ömer Lütfü Barkan*, (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1980), p.44.

¹³ Mantoux rightly had stated that the development of the new industry in England was greatly due to its commerce with India. For France, this motor country was the Levant. P. Mantoux, *La révolution industrielle au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Soc. Nouv. de Librairie, 1905), p.175. Quoted from Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette & Cie., 1911), p.434.

¹⁴ Alfred C. Wood, *op. cit.*, p.74.

stated,¹⁵ the cotton of the Levant was faster than the one of the Antilles or the United States. The latter being demanded for bleached cloths, the Levantine quality was used in the manufacture of calicoes.¹⁶ In fact, the exportation of Western countries was a secondary operation, often subsidiary to their importation, particularly reinforced by the mercantile policies followed by the West. In order to balance the imports of cotton, silk and costly fabrics from the Orient, a corresponding export trade had developed. But, most of the time Europeans, even English merchants, who had taken strict measures to sell their cloths and to keep the bullion in the country, had to add money since their trade balance showed generally a deficit: they bought more

¹⁵ Katsumi Fukasawa, *Toilerie et Commerce du Levant d'Alep à Marseille*, (Paris: edition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), p.28.

¹⁶ The calico can be defined as a printed fabric of plain weave formerly much used for dresses. It was commonly found with dark ground and small white figures obtained by means of discharge printing. M. Evans and E.B. McGowan, *A Guide....*, p.32.

than they sold.¹⁷ For instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the demand for cotton grew whereas the quantity of imported cloth from England¹⁸ and Languedoc¹⁹

¹⁷ Michel Morineau, art. cit., p.154. See also the trade balance of different countries, p.175. It represents the trade of the city of Izmir in 1784 which shows us a surplus of 15,350,676 Livres Tournois. Similarly, the balance of trade between France and the Ottoman Empire which in 1740, shifted for the first time in favor of France could constitute another example for this argument. Edhem Eldem, "French Trade and Commercial Policy in the Levant in the Eighteenth Century", paper presented at the Skilliter Library Conference on the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century, (April 1992). The argument, however, became very doubtful for the second half of the century when the mercantilist policies were questioned and the shift to a more liberal economic conception was realized. The wealth of a country was no more calculated by the balance of trade but by the balance of payment in which capital movements were also taken into account. The high estimation of silver in the East meant profitable exchange rates for the West. Thus, when considering the silver exports of Europe in one hand, and the difficulties in transactions on the other, the Levant had to show a deficit in its balance of trade. But, statistical results shows us the contrary, a fact which could be explained by the misinterpretation of the data. A direct comparison of export and import figures which were subsequently f.o.b. and c.i.f. values of the goods may lead to a wrong result. Moreover, profits realized by the maritime caravane visiting for two years different Ottoman ports and then returning to its country, could not be calculated and included in the statistics. Charles Carrière and Marcel Courdurié, "Un sophisme économique. Marseille s'enrichit en achetant plus qu'elle ne vend (réflexions sur les mécanismes commerciaux levantins au XVIIIe siècle)", *Histoire, Economie et Société*, (1984), pp.7-51.

¹⁸ The "londons" cloths or the londrins, as called in Istanbul, together with the French ones were the most well known in the Levant.

¹⁹ The cloth of Languedoc manufactured in the South of France constituted the core of the French trade with Istanbul. Edhem Eldem, *Le commerce français d'Istanbul au XVIIIe siècle*, (Ph.D. thesis, Université de Provence-Aix-Marseille I, 1988), p.45.

decreased considerably.²⁰ Furthermore, Ottoman customers were very hard to please. Western merchants had to look after the quality of their cloth, the strength of the colors and the numerous tones of different colors.²¹ Thus, if we have to talk of a dependency in this epoch, it was more a dependency of the Western economies for the products of the Empire.²²

On the other hand, neither the woolen or silk cloth of Europe or the Indian fine muslins did affect the manufacture of the country up to the nineteenth century. A letter from Charles de Vergennes (8 May 1759), a French ambassador in Istanbul said that "all the Western cloths could dress only eight thousand people while the population of the Empire amounts to twenty or twenty five millions".²³ Even if it was exaggerated, there was still a potential for the indigenous products. Furthermore, the East continued to keep its technological superiority in the eighteenth century. Western countries had to refer to the East for the

²⁰ Michel Morineau, art. cit., p.148.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "(...) le besoin qu'a l'Europe des productions de la Turquie, semble l'en avoir presque rendue tributaire; (...) il en résulte en même temps que, quels que soient les avantages que l'Europe retire de ses échanges avec l'Empire Ottoman, la balance de son commerce est au profit de cet Empire". Louis de Chénier, *Révolutions de l'Empire Ottoman*, (Paris: Bailly, 1789), p.355. Quoted from Edhem Eldem, "French Trade and...", art. cit.

²³ Fernand Braudel, "L'Empire Ottoman... art. cit., p.43.

know-how, the last one being the fine red dye that is given to cotton in the Empire and known in Europe under the name of rouge du Levant or rouge d'Andrinople. The primary aim of the Europeans was to imitate Eastern products and to succeed as well as the East to capture the market of the Empire. The way of dyeing red was even subject to industrial spying. But, according to Beaujour, the West borrowed the art of dying cotton cloth only when "some Greek dyers came to settle, towards the middle of this century, at Montpellier and dyed cotton there, after the manner of their country. Their processes were soon copied by the French dyers and it is thus that the dying of the Levant has been communicated to our manufactures of Languedoc and Bearn and those of Rouen, Mayenne and Chollet."²⁴

Can we talk then of an overexportation of raw materials? If such a statement were true, a cessation or at least a significant decrease in the production should be observed. But, on the contrary, Peyssonnel had stated that "the silk cloth manufactured in Istanbul, Aleppo, Damascus, Bursa and Chios was sufficient for the consumption of the country. Further, the cotton cloths, the bours of Manisa were distributed to the interior provinces as well as

²⁴ Felix Beaujour, *A View of the Commerce of Greece*, formed after an annual average from 1787 to 1797, (London:1800), p.196. Quoted from *The Movement for Greek Independence 1770-1821*, A Collection of Documents, ed. and trans. by Richard Clogg, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1976), p.36.

exported to Europe just as the dimities²⁵ or escamittes²⁶ of the region and of Chios. Lastly, the woolen cloths exported in great quantities from the West were manufactured with the Spanish wool (sometimes mixed with English or German wools) and not with the wool exported from the Empire. Therefore, the argument could not be acceptable."²⁷

It could be deduced that the Ottoman Empire was not dominated by the West up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, it preserved the authority of an indispensable supplier. In other words, there was reciprocity in the benefits of both sides. A perspective of today's: the superiority of the West and the inferiority of the East was not so valid for the economy of this period. But, the terms of trade turned upside down in the 1800's when the mechanization in the production became dominant in Europe. So, what transformations did the West undergo?

The conventional date of the industrial revolution was set up in 1760 and the first successful spinning-

²⁵ Thin, cotton fabrics woven with a stripe or check of heavier yarn. *The Random House... op. cit.*, p.373. The dimities are frequently printed in small floral designs and used for lingerie, dresses and curtains. M. Evans and E.B. McGowan, *A Guide... op. cit.*, p.34.

²⁶ They are bleached cotton fabrics similar in qualities to the dimities. Made in Izmir and Sayda, they are used in the manufacture of the linings, shirts, tunics and drawers for the sailors and craftsmen. Katsumi Fukasawa, *op.cit.*, p.19.

²⁷ Michel Morineau, *art. cit.*, p.160.

machines, which were to transform the textile industry were produced in the following decade. However, the road leading to the industrialization was a long one with continuous change and growth. None of the inventions came to the industry in full perfection. There were innumerable adjustments and improvements before they came to work commercially.

The revolution was encountered first in the cotton manufacture. Why in cotton, one could say, while the wool industry was the main industry of the day? It was just because the cotton industry was new, hence free of traditional restrictions on the scale and character of production, that it was able to adopt new techniques. Still more important, cotton lent itself technologically to mechanization far more readily than wool. "It is a plant fibre, tough and relatively homogeneous in its characteristics, where wool is organic, fickle and subtly varied in its behavior."²⁸ In the early years of rudimentary machines, the resistance of cotton was a decisive advantage. Well into the nineteenth century, long after the techniques of mechanical engineering had much improved, there continued to be a substantial lag between

²⁸ David S. Landes, "Technological Change and Development in Western Europe, 1750-1914", *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, The Industrial Revolution and After: Incomes, Population and Technological Change (I)*, ed. by H.J. Habakkuk and M. Postan, VI, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.312.

the introduction of innovations into the cotton industry and their adaptation to wool.

On the other hand, the elasticity of supply of raw material was substantially greater; one can increase acreage sown far more rapidly than the number of sheep. Thus, cotton prices rose about half in the 1770's and 1780's under the pressure of demand from new spinning machines, while imports increased more than six fold.²⁹ Moreover, once the North American plantations entered the market prices fell while imports kept rising.

Another important point was that the market for cotton goods was more elastic than for wool. For centuries there had been a shift in the direction of lighter fabrics, even more crucial, the availability of a cheap, washable textile gave rise to new patterns of dress of an unforeseen potential. "No longer was it the wealthy alone who enjoy the comfort and hygiene of body linen, cotton made it possible for millions to wear drawers and chemises where before there had been nothing but the coarse, dirty outer-garments."³⁰ A new kind of work-clothing was born, comfortable to the skin and easy to clean and maintain, also, removable at low prices when it was worn or out of fashion. Even the rich, impressed with the color and elegance of cotton prints, learned to distinguish more and

²⁹ Ibid., p.313.

³⁰ Ibid.

more between the seasons and dress for summer in muslins and calicoes. At the same time, the bulk of the untapped markets in the preindustrial areas of the world lay in warmer climes or in temperate areas with hot summers. For England, which undertook first the path of the industrialization, cotton goods were the best exchange for the Ottoman Empire, the coasts of Africa and the American continent.

To sum up, the favorable conditions and the relatively quick mastery of different stages³¹ of cotton manufacturing made the sector the leader of the industrial revolution. The innovations undertaken thanks to the imagination and practical spirit of English manufacturers and merchants were realized in two different stages: spinning and weaving. The latter one improved towards 1750's and 1760's with Kay's fly-shuttle. But, the limited elasticity in the supply of yarn threatened to be a serious obstacle to the further expansion of the industry. Traditionally, one loom depending upon the yarn of five

³¹ The manufacture of almost any textile may be analyzed in four main steps: preparation, in which the raw material is sorted, cleaned and combed out so that the fibres lie alongside one another; spinning, in which the loose fibres are drawn and twisted to form the yarn; weaving, in which some yarn is lengthwise (the warp) and the other yarn (the weft) is run across over and under longitudinal lines to form a fabric; finally, finishing, which varies considerably with the nature of the cloth, but may comprise fulling or sizing (to give the cloth body), cleaning, shearing, dyeing, printing or bleaching. Ibid., p.310.

spinning wheels,³² Kay's fly-shuttle aggravated an already serious disequilibrium. The problem was solved by a family of spinning devices; carding machines by Paul and others, Hargreaves's Jenny (1765), Arkwright's water frame, Crompton's mule (1779) eliminated the disequilibrium between yarn and cloth production. To be sure, exactly the reverse disequilibrium appeared owing to the increase production of yarn, especially after the steam engine came into use. The tremendous increase of the supply of yarn that resulted from these inventions made improvements in weaving imperative. Cartwright's power loom in 1787 and other improvements put an end to this new disequilibrium.

The European continent industrialized late. It was primarily a response to the English challenge. The continent was confronted with the necessity of making a transition to factory production by adopting the technology developed in England. If they failed to do so, they stood to lose their domestic and foreign markets to English competition. Using their comparative advantage, the abundant and cheap labor power, France and Germany preferred to concentrate on labor intensive production, specially on finished goods where they had cost advantages over England. "The French and German merchant-manufacturers and

³² Peter Kriedte, "Proto-industrialization between industrialization and de-industrialization", *Industrialization before Industrialization*, ed. by P. Kriedte et. al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.137.

industrialists recognized early that they could assert themselves against English superiority only if they specialized in the secondary production process in which human skill rather than machines predominated."³³ France managed to stabilize her position in the world market by supplying products of superior quality. Germany imported yarn from England and processed it. Trading primarily with backward economies, she managed to fortify her position in the world market through the sale of finished products which were based on the combination of cheap labor and semi finished products imported from the center of the world economy. However, the conditions of commercial expansion had changed drastically in the last third of the nineteenth century. England no longer stood alone. "The fine cottons of Alsace and Switzerland had held their own with those of Lancashire from the early nineteenth century, while French "merinos" proved an admittedly inimitable rival of Yorkshire worsted. But, from 1870 on, there was a sharp increase in such competitive exports, particularly from the younger industrial nations, Germany, the United States even India and Japan."³⁴ The English merchants faced the same problems as Venetian craftsmen vis a vis of northern competition in

³³ Ibid., p.140.

³⁴ David S. Landes, art. cit., p.467.

the 1600's.³⁵ "(The Germans) produce a low priced and inferior article, wretchedly bad, upon which they unscrupulously impress the trade of the most celebrated Sheffield and English makers" complained the English in the nineteenth century, ironically parroting Venetian anger of two centuries before.³⁶

Coming to wool production, this main sector of the pre-industrial times had been mechanized far later for several reasons mentioned above. In France for example, the spinning and carding of wools began to be used only in 1848-1850 and the full mechanization of the sector was realized in 1860's. The raw material of the industry was exported in greater quantities from countries of the Southern hemisphere where the favorable conditions (dry climate and vast areas) existed. Argentine and Uruguay which imported great quantities of wool were later replaced by New-Zealand and Australia. Particularly, the fine Australian wool, the principal demand in the Wool Exchange of London, took the first place in the world.

³⁵ "The cloths called "londons" imitated the Venetian in color and sold at a much cheaper rate, thus undercutting the Italians and at the same time extending their own market by tempting a wider circle of customers. Wool was plentiful in England, transport was cheap and it was impossible for the Venetians to manufacture and market similar cloth at a competitive price". Alfred C. Wood, *op. cit.*, p.44.

³⁶ R.J.S. Hoffman, *Great Britain and the German Trade Rivalry, 1875-1914*, (New York: 1964), p.45. Quoted from Richard T. Rapp, "The Unmaking of the Mediterranean Trade Hegemony: International Trade Rivalry and the Commercial Revolution", *The Journal of Economic History*, XXXV, 3, (September 1975), p.519.

The silk industry, on the other hand, employing mainly women workers faced the severe competition of the Oriental silk, particularly after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Further, the disease, pébrine, which began in France and spread to other European countries as well as the East caused anxiety among producers. Despite these difficulties, Lyon remained the production center of the best quality silk fabrics. The most remarkable development in the industry was brought about in 1877 by Lord Masham, who succeeded in producing cheaply, utilizing a most useful silk yarn from waste silks (old cocoons, brushings from outside of the cocoons, throwing waste...).³⁷ On the other hand, Europe searched for new substitutes for silk. Artificial silk or rayon, made from cellulose, was developed in the first years of the twentieth century and involved in the production process very successfully.

The other two important branches of textile were in decline in the late nineteenth century. The large consumption of the cotton cloths preferred for their practical use and low prices, decreased the production of linen and hemp fabrics. In addition to this, mechanization was introduced into linen very slowly and followed far behind the mechanization of cotton cloth production. This was primarily due to the nature of the fibre. Yet, the linen industry survived only when they succeeded in the

³⁷ A.F. Barker, *Textiles*, (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1910), p.33.

mechanization of yarn production and specialized in quality products. This was the foundation of the relative success of production centers in northern Ireland, in Flanders, in Westphalia, in upper Lusatia, in Silesia and in northern and north-eastern Bohemia. Other productive regions, such as Western France, Hesse, the former country of Tecklenburg and the area around Osnabruck, failed to adjust and their industrial structures collapsed.³⁸

It must also be mentioned that although industrialization was realized in the continent the putting-out system was still used in the end of the nineteenth century, particularly for specialized products like laces of Normandia or the hosiery of Champagne. Nevertheless, overall, the capital-labor ratio increased. This mechanization led to an excess supply. Thus the crisis due to overproduction between the years 1815-1850 obliged the industrialized countries to look for new markets. The opening of the Ottoman market like the Chinese or Indian ones were realized in such a conjuncture.

The industrialization of the West changed the economic relations between the East and the West. Thanks to mechanical techniques, Europeans succeeded to decrease the labor cost below that of the Eastern one. This was followed by a sharp decrease in prices first in the cotton thread and then in cloth.

³⁸ Peter Kriedte, art. cit., p.152.

The English used their comparative advantage to penetrate the market of the Levant. Further, the quality of their cotton threads, was higher than the indigenous or the Indian one. The Ottoman producers began to use them in greater quantities. But, cloths weaved solely by English thread being more expensive (about one fifth),³⁹ they preferred to manufacture their cloths with a mixture of English and indigenous threads. On the other hand, the English cloths could not invade the Ottoman market in the early years of the industrialization; their products were still more expensive than the local ones.⁴⁰ David Urquhart had described to us the shift toward the English thread in the 1830's.⁴¹ The English merchants supplied the peasants with a strong cotton thread of regular size, briefly, superior to the indigenous thread and cheaper than it. The numbers of the spinners decreased tremendously; nevertheless, the weaving still was profitable. The cotton which was cheaper in the Empire than in Europe, like any other raw material, was exported to England and spun in Liverpool. Thereafter, it was brought in the Ottoman market and delivered to the weavers.

³⁹ Halil Inalcik, "Osmanli Pamuklu..." art. cit., p.47.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp.45-47.,

⁴¹ David Urquhart, *La Turquie, ses ressources, son organisation municipale, son commerce suivis de considérations sur l'état du commerce anglais dans le Levant*, II, (Paris: 1836), p.40. Quoted from Michel Morineau, art. cit., p.164.

Later comes the invasion of the cheap cotton cloths worn by lower classes, rural and urban Ottoman population. The new cotton goods, cheap, durable, bright in colours and light in weight had an immediate appeal to the inhabitants of the Empire. Clearly, England had captured this great market while France had been dominant in the woolen cloths, luxuries sold to the richer category. Later, Belgian and Saxon woollens were displacing French ones. An observer of this period, Ubicini, had written about the disastrous effect of the European economic penetration: "The numerous and varied manufactures, which formerly sufficed not only for consumption of the Empire, but which also stocked the markets of all parts of the Levant, and of several countries of Europe, no longer exist or have completely declined... At Scudari and Tirnova there were two thousand looms of muslin in operation in 1812, whereas there were only two hundred in 1841. Five years ago Salonica possessed from twenty-five to twenty-eight silk-looms; this number has been reduced to eighteen... In Anatolia, Diarbekir, and Broussa, which were formerly so renowned for their velvets, satins, and silk stuffs, do not now produce a tenth part of what they yielded from thirty to forty years ago."⁴²

But, the accounts written by western contemporaries must be used with caution, because too often

⁴² Ubicini, Letters, pp.339-340. Quoted from Charles Issawi, The Economic History of Turkey ... op. cit., p.300.

Europeans reasoned that the absence of mechanized factories meant the absence of Ottoman industry.⁴³ Other facts must also be mentioned when talking of the decline of the Ottoman textile manufacturing: the industrial centers and sectors most affected by foreign competition and capitulatory restrictions were those with widest contact with foreign markets; while domestics handicrafts deep inside the country⁴⁴ as well as goods with indigenous aesthetic value, still enjoying comparative advantage suffered relatively less.⁴⁵ "As late as 1911 there were 1,940 looms in Mardin. And domestic industries continued, e.g. in Konya in 1907 cottons were "very generally made in the houses and villages by women", using mainly English yarn.(...) Up to the First World War, handlooms continued to operate in large numbers: an estimated 10,000 in the western parts, notably, Manisa, Kadiköy, Denizli, Burdur, Bolvadin and Isparta and several thousands in the northeastern parts, e.g. Merzifon, Zile, Amasya, Karahisar, Erzincan and Arapkir."⁴⁶

⁴³ Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Handicrafts and Industry in the Age of European Industrial Hegemony, 1800-1914", *Review*, XI, 2, (Spring 1988), p.171.

⁴⁴ In the bazar of Sivas, for example, "European manufactures do not form the bulk of the stock of the traders because of high transport costs due to bad roads and insecurity". Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...* op. cit., p.298.

⁴⁵ Z.Y. Hershlag, *Introduction to Modern Economic History of the Middle East*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), p.73.

⁴⁶ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey ...* op. cit., p.299.

On the other hand, the imports created new jobs. The women, as will be stated later, made imported yarn into lace and the merchants exported the production to Europe. Another case was the production of kalemkâr, a thin cotton fabric used for the yasmak of Turkish women. The Armenian entrepreneurs procured the thin fabric and turned it to women working at home. "Those living along the Bosphorus created delicately painted works of art on the two sides of the cloth, while home industry women in the regions of Izmir, Trabzon, Tokat and Kayseri stamped on patterns with primitive woodblocks. In Western Anatolia alone, production of these painted and printed fabrics reached some 15 million marks, and "vast" quantities were exported to Iran."⁴⁷ The production of umbrellas in Istanbul presented a similar case. The necessary material was imported from Europe and assembled by men, as well as the women and children living in the city. After the assembly, the umbrellas were sent to buyers not only in Istanbul, but also "Salonika, Anatolia, Izmir and Beirut as well as Bulgaria and Cairo."⁴⁸

Thus, it was true that the European industrialization caused big damages to the Ottoman production and that the Empire became more dependent of the West. However, the Ottoman industry and handicrafts did not

⁴⁷ Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Handicrafts..." art. cit., p.174.

⁴⁸ Donald Quataert, Home, Factory..., p.117.

undertake a simple decline, it changed and adapted to the conditions of the day.

What was the place of the capital of the Empire in this dominance of the West? How did the city react to it? To talk about the textile consumption of the Istanbul's market, its local production, importations and also exportations (raw or finished) in the late nineteenth century will be the object of the following parts.

2.2.Exportations

Provisionist policies⁴⁹ of the State classified exportation, for a long period, a secondary activity which could be undertaken only after having satisfied the interior consumption. On the other hand, European imperialist countries had established their own colonies from where they insured the transfer of raw materials necessary for their industry. Nevertheless, with the dissolution of the traditional economic system in the nineteenth century and

⁴⁹ This policy could be summarized as providing the population with sufficient foodsticks at reasonable prices. In this, purpose the state encouraged the importation while discouraging exports. For further details see Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadi Görüşünün İlkeleri", pp.177-180.

using the advantage of its proximity to the European continent, export trade of the Empire increased.⁵⁰

In this context, Istanbul which was mainly an import port had also its own exportation.⁵¹ Generally, these goods were not the finished products of the city but raw materials transferred from the interior provinces or surroundings which used Istanbul as their outlet.⁵² The mohair of Central Anatolia, for instance, was stocked in Haydarpasa before being shipped to Europe. Similarly, the wool of the region and, even, a part of Adana cotton production was brought to the city. The last items which will be included in this part are laces crocheted and embroideries made by women and girls of the region.

Cotton

⁵⁰ Nevertheless, their share in the world export-import trade remained low -less than 1%. See for percentages of different years (1880-1913) Stefanos Yerasimos, *Az gelişmişlik Sürecinde Türkiye, Bizans'tan 1971'e*, 3rd ed., (Istanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980), p.513.

⁵¹ Among Turkish seaports, Istanbul ranked first in imports and second in exports in 1914. E.G. Mears, *Modern Turkey, A Politico-Economic Interpretation*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p.114.

⁵² "Some of the Turkish provinces, such as Brussa, Angora and Andrianople, send their goods to Constantinople for exportations; or, else although exporting them from a port in the province itself, such as Enos and Rodosto for Adrianople or Ismid for the province of Brussa, yet have their base of operations in Constantinople". "Turkey", *United Kingdom, Parliament, Accounts and Papers*, 69, (1866). Quoted from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey....*, p.114.

Cotton, as stated earlier, became the main input of textile industry of the early twentieth century. The importance of this raw material used in clothing was often compared to the importance of corn or rice in nourishment: "the indispensable basis, the most universal and democratic element"⁵³ since it was relatively more abundant and consequently the cheapest textile. Cotton was used almost in every textile item; it did not constitute only the weft of the moderate woolen or silky products but the percaline of a binding or was used in diverse forms in many other goods; for example in automobile tires. Thus, it constituted one of the leading products of international trade.

Cotton was also an important export good for the Ottoman Empire. The search of European manufacturers for alternate sources of cotton supply⁵⁴ during the American Civil War promoted the development of Middle Eastern cotton. Anatolia together with Egypt also witnessed a major expansion in its cotton yield. The foreign demand not only

⁵³ "Le congrès international cotonier", JCCC, 1226, (4 July 1908), p.214.

⁵⁴ It seems that the Lancashire cotton manufacturers paid little attention to the dangerously high ratio of supplies from United States mainly because they were more interested in developing new markets for their products than in trying to find alternative sources for the supply of their raw material. Thus, the objective of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association founded in 1857 was to deal with this problem and to find new sources. Orhan Kurmuş, "The Cotton Famine and Its Effects on the Ottoman Empire", Ottoman Empire..., p.161.

increased the output and export levels of Izmir, but helped to stimulate the rise of a new cotton growing region around Adana. With the draining of the delta, large amounts of land were opened to cultivation. Thus, "in 1862, the Çukurova plain produced perhaps 10,000 bales and in the following two years, annual average levels rose more than sixfold."⁵⁵ However, in the subsequent years, with the end of the American Civil War, the cotton production in the region stagnated until the early twentieth century. Again, a cotton crisis which culminated in 1903-1904, turned back the attention to the region. This time an active policy of the government reinforced with the improved transport means encouraged a steady rise in the level of production.

The Journal de la Chambre de Commerce de Constantinople which followed closely the international cotton market was the main supporter of this policy. In several issues,⁵⁶ it stressed the favorable climatic and soil conditions⁵⁷ in the Empire, particularly of the Adana

⁵⁵ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia 1876-1908*, (Ph.D. thesis, Los Angeles: University of California, 1973), p.43.

⁵⁶ "Le coton, le lin, le chanvre en Turquie", JCCC, 997, (13, February, 1904), p.49. "La production et le commerce du coton", JCCC, 1189, (19 October 1907), pp.485-486.

⁵⁷ Cotton plant requires a warm, moist climate, loamy soil and freedom from frost. M. Evans and E.B. McGowan, *A Guide....*, p.26.

region⁵⁸ which had the advantage of being very close to principal consumption markets when compared with European colonies. It was added that Ottoman farmers, taking advantage of the continuous increase of prices, had to turn towards cotton cultivation. Its development would also encourage the Ottoman cotton industry, which after satisfying the indigenous demand could export to countries on the borders.

On the other hand, the newly built Baghdad railway connected the region in one way to Mersin-Tarsus and in the other to Istanbul and rendered it independent from the market fluctuations of Izmir. The efforts of a German company, the Deutsche Levantinische Baumwolle Gesellschaft, founded in 1904 by the Baghdad Railway Company, also played a significant role in the encouragement of cotton growing. The company established its nexus of purchasing agents in the Adana area and probably directed its increasing amounts of cotton purchases to the new railhead for shipment to Haydarpasa, the common end point of Anatolian expeditions from where they were exported to Europe.⁵⁹ It was the main

⁵⁸ "Adana par ses immenses cours d'eaux, pénétrant dans les moindre coins et recoins de cette vaste fertile province, pourrait, à peu de frais être transformée en un champs de coton..." "La crisis du coton", JCCC, 1074, (5 August 1905), p.361.

⁵⁹ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Reform...*, p.292.

buyer, in other words, it formed an oligopsony with a few big Greek and Armenian firms.⁶⁰

In order to respond to the market demands, the firm undertook important investments. It imported machinery, American and Egyptian seeds which were distributed to cultivators, conducted irrigation projects in large scale farms... Clearly, the aim was to replace the low value yerli cotton with the "standardized"⁶¹ American one or by the long, strong, silky Egyptian quality.⁶²

The yerli cotton had a very short, coarse fiber of uneven length⁶³ and therefore was inferior to the middle quality Indian varieties.⁶⁴ "The low value of this cotton is shown by the fact that a large part is used as stuffing

⁶⁰ W. F. Brück, "Türkische Baumwollwirtschaft", Probleme der Weltwirtschaft, 29, Jena, 1919. Quoted from Charles Issawi, The Economic History of Turkey..., p.244.

⁶¹ "The native cotton which had an average length of 1.1 inches and a fibre diameter of 0.0008 inches could not be used efficiently in Lancashire mills which had been designed for fine American cotton". Orhan Kurmus, "The Cotton Famine...", p.413. A similar complain had been reported in the JCCC in 1907. The spinners in Lancashire but also in other countries refused to work with a lower quality than the American one. "Le Marché du Coton", JCCC, 1148, (5 January 1907).

⁶² A quality having 1.125 inches or more in length and sometimes called "staple cotton" is used in making very fine and strong yarns. F.L. Thomsen and R.J. Foote, Agricultural Prices, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p.483.

⁶³ The length of the fiber or "staple" determines the fineness and the strength of the yarn.

⁶⁴ It is classified as short cotton with a length of the fiber under 0.9375 inches and is used in making the coarser grades of cotton goods. F.L. Thomsen and R.J. Foote, op. cit., p.483.

and packing material and when spun gives only lower numbers of four or six or eight.⁶⁵ Somewhat higher numbers, allegedly up to twenty, can be seldomly spun, from special varieties".⁶⁶ However, this native quality was excellently suited to the climate of Anatolia and northern Syria. Furthermore, "it is not necessary to pick the lint, as with American, Egyptian and Indian cotton. It can be plucked along with its boll and the picking can be done in winter by the townsmen in their homes."⁶⁷ On the other hand, the crop of American cotton, in contrast to the local one, did not mature all at once, consequently the field had to be picked over several times until the entire crop was in.⁶⁸ These peculiarities of foreign cotton required a large number of workmen during the harvesting season. But, the shortage of labour in the region arose as the major impediment for the acceptance of American cotton varieties. Added to these, the different climatic conditions, the introduction of higher qualities were met with only moderate success. As reported by a British consul in 1908 "cotton seed imported from Egypt in the last few years is undoubtedly a

⁶⁵ The number of the cotton thread indicates how many two kilometers are contained in one kilogram. Ernest Giraud, "Numérotage des fils de coton", RCL, 277, (April 1910), p.484.

⁶⁶ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.244.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ M. Evans and E.B. McGowan, *A Guide...*, p.27.

failure"⁶⁹. The introduction of the other variety, the American cotton which could overcome a part of the problem by hiring labour from outside of the region, even though limited, gave better results. According to the Statesman's Year-Book in 1910, 6000 bales of the total cotton crop of the Adana province which amounted to 72,000 bales, consisted of long fibre (American) cotton and the balance of short (native) cotton.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the local variety had dominated the Anatolian cotton production until the First World War.⁷¹

W.F. Brück who gave us a detailed analysis on the cotton of Adana and Izmir⁷² describes below the processes undergone by cotton until its exportation. The gathering of the crop began in autumn, as soon as the desired number of bolls were available. For American varieties, which had to be picked the harvest began earlier.⁷³ For this, available labor was gathered from town and country and relatively high

⁶⁹ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Reform...*, p.293.

⁷⁰ *The Statesman's Year-Book*, 1912, ed. J. Scott Keltie, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1912), p.1291.

⁷¹ "Of total Turkish production, 95 percent comes from a cotton plant locally known as yerli -a variety of Gossipium herbaceum which was acclimatized in Asia Minor- and 5 percent from an American variety imported within the last few years and known in Adana as i hane ("foreign"). Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.242.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.242-246.

⁷³ Within forty or sixty days after planting, the boll matures and its white, fluffy content is ready for picking. M. Evans and E.B. McGowan, *A Guide...*, p.27.

wages were paid. Most of the picking was done by women and children. The payment was frequently made in kind.

The crop was then bought by native merchants, kozacis, who gave the cotton a first cleaning. For this process, a drum operated by hand was used, which separated the bolls from all the impurities such as leaves, pebbles, dust... In Adana, there were over two hundred such cleaning drums. At this point, the cottage industry took over; the bolls that had been cleaned in drums, the kozas, were worked over further in homes, thus, the lint was picked out of the bolls by hand. Before the war, 7 piasters per ceki⁷⁴ were paid at the beginning of the season and 4 piasters at its end.

After this separation, the cotton which was still attached to the seed, was sent to the ginnery for ginning and cleaning. Before the war, there were some eight hundred gins in the vilayet. The ginned cotton was then packed in large bags. The owner received from the ginnery in which his cotton was stored a bond showing the amount belonging to him. With this, the merchant negotiated with the exporter, who bought the goods on a sample basis, and received the bond, which authorized him to withdraw the goods from the ginnery. The cotton was then pressed: almost every large exporter had his own hand-operated hydraulic press. The

⁷⁴ The ceki was a highly variable unit. Ranging from 128 to 250 kilograms, it was usually 225.79 kilograms. Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.374.

sister company of the Deutsche Levantinische Baumwollgesellschaft, the Anatolische Industrie und Handelsgesellschaft, had built a steam press near its ginning factory, which pressed bales of 250 to 270 kilograms, the bales of the hand-operated pressed, on the other hand, usually weigh not more than 200 kilograms.

Shortly, by 1913, the plain of Adana had been transformed into a cotton production center which responded impressively to the world market demands and most of its cotton (roughly two thirds) was exported, the rest being consumed in the region. For 1910, it was stated that of the entire crop which amounted to 72,000 bales, 21,000 bales were utilized by the spinning mills of Tarsus and Adana and 51,000 bales were exported principally to Austria, France Germany, Italy and Spain.⁷⁵ The two mills in Adana had 10,000 spindles and 200 looms and 6,500 spindles and 50 looms respectively; in Tarsus, there was a spinning mill with 5,700 spindles and another with 15,000 spindles and 600 looms in the attached weaving shed.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ The Statesman's Year-Book, 1912, p.1291.

⁷⁶ Charles Issawi, The Economic History of Turkey..., p.245. Different numbers are stated by Vedat Eldem for these four factories. He had presented his data as below. Vedat Eldem, op. cit., p.131.

The commercialization of the region could be observed by a direct comparison of American cotton prices and those of Adana prevailed in Istanbul market.⁷⁷ To be able to analyze the data which was in different units, a base price was set for the year 1899.⁷⁸ In comparing prices of the cotton between 1899-1914, price relatives⁷⁹ obtained enable us to put the prices of the Ottoman and American cotton on the same basis. As can be observed by the graph, for fifteen years between 1899 and 1914 the prices of the Adana cotton followed the same fluctuations of the American prices. Thus, since the American cotton dominated the market,⁸⁰ the Egyptian one being too qualified to have a widespread usage and the Indian on the contrary of too low

<u>Companies</u> <u>Looms</u>		<u>Foundation</u>		<u>Spindles</u>	
			<u>Present</u>	<u>Working</u>	
A.Simonoglu & Co.	1906		5200	3000	51
Adana					
Tirpani & Sons	1904		5850	3220	80
Adana					
Rasimbey & Co.	1911		10800	7000	131
Tarsus					
Mavromati & Co.	1887		5000	5000	-
Tarsus					

⁷⁷ They are export prices.

⁷⁸ When converted to the American price, the Ottoman price showed a difference of a cent per pound. The exchange rates were taken as 110.45 piasters and 4.866 dollars for a pound sterling. The Ottoman one was the average of 1899 of the exchange rates presented in the RCL. The American exchange rate was the one given in the Statesman's Year-Book of 1899.

⁷⁹ Price relatives indicate the percentage changes.

⁸⁰ "Le IXme Congrès international du coton", JCCC, 1499, (27 September 1913), p.614.

quality to influence the market, it could be said that the Adana cotton was closely linked to the world fluctuations.

The period was characterized by more or less stable prices which showed a slow increase in the trend. However, the cotton case presented more fluctuations but always in an upward trend. Two important peaks in 1903 and 1908-1910 were the results of the cotton crisis and of the recovery period of the short but profound crisis of 1907-1908. The important decline of prices in 1914 obviously was due to the rumblings of the coming war.

To analyze the period closely, an industrial expansion at an enormous rate and population increase characterized the world economy. This steady increase in population and in the standard of life thus, in the demand of cotton clothing also enhanced the output of cotton industry which necessitated a similar enlargement in the quantity of its raw material. The supply of cotton, on the other hand, could not be increased in the same proportion as consumption. Moreover, the manipulations of the trust in the United States willing to acquire the absolute power in the market of this raw material increased the shortages. On the other hand, the climatic conditions which were not propitious to the cotton harvest of 1903 aggravated the situation.⁸¹ These circumstances of the day caused the inevitable 1903 crisis which was manifested by a substantial

⁸¹ "Le marché du coton", JCCC, 967, (18 July 1903), p.225.

rise in prices. On the demand side, however, the industrialists reacted immediately. The International Federation of Spinners and Weavers decided to decrease the working hours in several centers, a measure which gained strength particularly in England. An article in the Journal de la Chambre de Commerce de Constantinople⁸² announced that the spinners of Manchester and Roubaix-Tourcoing decided to stop their orders and in addition to put their own stock of raw cotton in circulation. Immediately after, the Journal stressed the priority that must be given to the growth of indigenous cotton⁸³ taking advantage of this shortage and increase of prices especially, at a day when speedier emphasis was given to new plantations. The foundation of the Deutsche Levantinische Baumwollgesellschaft in Adana which presented the interests of Germany also coincided with this period. On the other hand, new substitutes were trying to be discovered. Rayon⁸⁴ which was improved had become suitable, from a quality point of view for an increasing number of textile requirements.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ The Ottoman Empire which was self sufficient in cotton could acquire the chance to manufacture it at a lower price and to compete with other countries.

⁸⁴ "Rayon is made largely from cotton linters (the fuzz left on the seed after ginning), wood pulp, sulphuric acid, caustic soda and acetic anhydride". F.L. Thomsen and R.J. Foote, op. cit., p.492.

Rayon staple⁸⁵ was particularly stronger than the ordinary viscose rayon used in clothing and made possible the manufacturing of rayon cards and fabrics which were equal or superior to cotton equivalents. Obviously, all these measures were sufficient to return the cotton prices close to their precedent rates.

The panic of 1907-1908 represented another break in the expansion of the American economy. This panic was chiefly due to overspeculation in the large money centers. Many of the speculative ventures crashed but efforts by the government and by leading capitalists did much to prevent the panic from becoming widespread. The pessimism of this short period clearly, had affected the harvest of the following two years. The bad crops of 1909 and 1910 caused a big surge in prices. The sharp decrease in 1911 which changed again the following year could be due to the important rise in production, 15,694,000 bales in contrast to 11,609,000 bales obtained in 1910.⁸⁶ This price drop was not so drastic for the Ottoman market; consequently, the Ottoman cotton became more expensive for the year 1911 and a parallel decrease in exports was observed. For the export year 1911-1912, 17,900 tons of raw cotton was exported while

⁸⁵ Rayon staple are rayon fibers cut from 0.5 inch to 9 inches long. These short fibers can be handled on regular cotton and wool spinning machinery. M. Evans and E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.121.

⁸⁶ Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, U.S. Bureau of the Census, (Washington D.C.: 1960), p.301.

this number was higher for the other years, for instance, 18,700 tons in 1909-10 and 23,500 tons for 1913-14.⁸⁷

Coming to 1914, the outbreak of the war period in August caused a sudden, precipitous drop in American exports, intensifying the already international monetary crisis. A direct result of the crisis was the minimisation of the consumption to the strict necessary due to decreasing incomes.⁸⁸ Further, with the principal European customers for American cotton, France, England, Germany involved in fighting and the normal channels of trade being disrupted, the export trade was interrupted, cotton surpluses were stockpiled in America and farm prices fell rapidly. More precisely, the price of cotton had fallen by half in the United States⁸⁹ between July and December 1914.⁹⁰

The difference in the intensity of the fluctuations might be due to the numerous manipulations of the world market from the two sides: the supply by the United States and the demand by Europe while the Ottoman Empire was only a price taker which did not show strong capitalist operations as the United States. Coming to the

⁸⁷ Vedat Eldem, *op. cit.*, p.182.

⁸⁸ "La consommation du coton égyptien en 1914-1915", JCCC, 1553, (10 October 1914), p.608.

⁸⁹ The average price of the Ottoman cotton did not reflect this first shock of the war since the data after August is not available.

⁹⁰ H.N. Scheiber, H.G. Vatter, H.U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p.317.

deviations of the Ottoman cotton which sometimes prevails with the world market, they might be attributed to internal fluctuations.

Briefly, the period of 1899-1914 witnessed a speedy expansion in the cotton which was more and more transported towards harbors to meet the Europe's demands.

Wool

Wool could be defined as the outer hairy covering of animals like goats, camels, the llama, sheep... In this section, however, the discussion will be limited to the wool obtained from sheep and in the following one to the wool procured from the goats, namely, mohair.

Wool is either sheared from living sheep (shorn wool) or removed from the pelts of slaughtered sheep (pulled wool). The quality of the wool varies not only from fleece to fleece, but from one part to another of the same fleece. "In a general way, it may be said that the wool from the shoulders is fine, from the sides long and even, from around the neck fine but short, from the back, short and coarse, from the tail and legs, coarse and of little value and under the body is short and dirty."⁹¹ The buyer of wool, therefore, must be a man of great experience. He had to examine it not only for length of staple but for fineness,

⁹¹ M.S. Woolman, E.B. McGowan, Textiles, A Handbook for the Student and Consumer, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), p.123.

for strength, for its lustrousness, for its felting properties.

Broadly speaking, wool is used for the production of two grades of articles, firstly, woollens which comprise flannels, blankets, tweeds and various heavy milled cloths, and, secondly, worsteds, the lighter, the finer fabrics, fancy cloths and serges used by dressmakers and tailors. The main difference between woollen and worsted are to be found in the processes of manufacturing, the one being carded and made, chiefly, from the merino and shorter-stapled colonial wools, and the other combed from the longer Leicester⁹², Lincoln⁹³ and other British wools.⁹⁴

London was the natural and accepted meeting-place for all qualities of wool; the yield of the main wool producing regions such as Australia, the Cape, New Zealand... were marketed there. Besides, Anvers, Dunkerque and le Havre also were important for the wool originating from Argentina, la Plata and other countries. On the Mediterranean coast, Marseille, though it was surpassed by England, was still a market for the Levant wool. Hamburg

⁹² It is one of the most valuable British breeds. Its wool is long, silky and lustrous. Ibid., p.100.

⁹³ "The Lincoln a cross between the improved Leicester and the native sheep of the county, is another excellent long-wooled sheep -one of the best that England produces. The wool besides being long is lustrous and the fleece is often of remarkable weight". Frank Ormerod, Wool, (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1918), p.39.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.47.

and Bordeaux were also included among important wool markets.

The wool supply of the world, in its raw state was estimated to be about 3,000 million pounds.⁹⁵ In the Ottoman Empire, wool was "abundant but of an inferior grade"⁹⁶ used, mostly, in the carpet industries which require the long, tough, enduring, hairlike wools.⁹⁷ The annual production of the Empire, according to the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople, approached 18 or 19 million okes⁹⁸. The estimation of the French Chamber of Commerce was not so far from this. "When added to the exportation, the wool which was used for internal consumption, in the manufacturing of carpets, coarse fabrics or of woolen rough stockings... the production of the wool "in the grease" was at least 20 million kilograms⁹⁹ per year."¹⁰⁰ In the agricultural statistics of 1913, the wool production of the

⁹⁵ It equaled 1,362,000,000 kilograms. After washing, however, it would not weigh more than the half. Ibid., p.54. The washing decreased about 40% the weigh of the fleece. "La production lainière en Turquie", JCCC, 1180, (17 August 1907), p.382.

⁹⁶ E.G. Mears, op. cit., p.290.

⁹⁷ "The sheep which provide these wools are hardy animals and their long, hairy fleeces are a protection in their battle with nature". M.S. Woolman, E.B. McGowan, op. cit., p.105.

⁹⁸ "La laine", JCCC, 197, (6 October 1888), p.471.

⁹⁹ It equaled 15,006,000 okes.

¹⁰⁰ "Laines et lainages", RCL, (August 1912), p.255.

Empire was calculated as 27,506,220 kilograms.¹⁰¹ 41% was exported in the same year, exactly, 11,173,842 kilograms. 43% of the exportation was destined to England, 28% to France and 20% to the United States.

A study conducted on the market of Marseille, by Maurice Amassian Effendi, a trained agriculturist, had shown that for the years 1903, 1904 and 1905 the exports of the Empire¹⁰² to Marseille approached an average of 26% of the harbor's importation. The renown qualities of Ottoman wool were those of Aleppo, Urfa, Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad, Musul... The great demand for these qualities was not solely due to the superiority of their quality, fineness, length or elasticity but also due to a first washing which was executed in their provinces. This process which was designated to eliminate the impurities found in the fleece was not practiced widely in the Empire. In fact, Ottoman

¹⁰¹ Osmanlı Sanayii, 1913, 1915 İstatistikleri, ed. by Gündüz Ökçün, (Istanbul: Hil Yayın, 1984), 3rd ed., p.121. See also Vedat Eldem, op. cit., p.182.

¹⁰² For the years 1903, 1904, 1905 the number of bales exported were respectively 35,481, 42,749, 45,688. Though the quantity exported from the Empire increased in the overall importation of Marseille its percentage fell; 29%, 26% and for the latter year 23%. "Laines et lainages", p.255. A report of 1907 had presented to us the details of the exportation of the Empire to Marseille. The quantity had decreased a total of 11,149 bales which comprised 1,727 bales of Angora wool. The rest was obtained from the European part of the Empire, from Syria, Cyprus, Baghdad, Mesopotamia. "Les laines à Marseille", RCL, 250, (January 1908), p.140. The fall in the quantity exported to Marseille was partly due to the competition of Australian wool which was exported at lower prices than the Empire. "La laine", p.471. An other reason might be, of course, the turning of the woolen trade towards England.

exporters would benefit more if they succeeded to restrain the wool "in the grease" and increase the "washed" one. For instance, in 1909-1910, the total export of the Empire reached to 9,514,111 kilograms. Only one third, 3,143,500 kilograms, was washed, the rest was wool "in the grease".¹⁰³ Though the wool sold decreased in quantifying terms, the report had stressed that the value added obtained by this washing and benefit acquired from the difference in the cost of labor between France and the Empire compensated far beyond this loss. Then, Amassian Effendi had emphasized the favorable effects of the process to agriculture. The waters obtained after the washing contained inside potassium carbonate and the yolk, fertilizing components which enriched the land.

Izmir was an important export market for the Anatolian wool especially for that coming from Konya, Karahisar, Kayseri... These qualities were among the best when compared with other productions of the Empire. The white qualities were very rarely mixed with grey/black hairs but most often, the wool was sent unwashed.

Istanbul, on the other hand, was an important export market for pulled wool. Due to the large population

¹⁰³ The remaining 6,370,611 kilograms correspond to the quantity exported given by Vedat Eldem. Vedat Eldem, *op. cit.*, p.182. This export number is very low when compared with other years in the table. Probably, when other years numbers might be a total of both washed and unwashed wool exported, the export quantity of 1909/10 comprises only the unwashed wool.

living here and in the neighboring provinces, the consumption of meat reached a considerable amount, particularly, mutton, the one preferred by the people. The wool removed from the pelts of slaughtered sheep was not only sent from the surrounding areas, but also from the interior provinces to Istanbul where it could be easily sold. According to the French Chamber of Commerce, the wool exportation of the city had to surpass 1.5 million kilograms.¹⁰⁴

The wool from the exclusive slaughter-house of Istanbul was a particular quality known as kasapbasi;¹⁰⁵ it was the wool pulled from the skins of sheep which were killed for mutton. Practically, however, this quality was a mixture of wool coming from tanneries, which was generally shorter than the shorn wool and of the wool removed from ill or slaughtered animals, which was of lower quality since it had lost its strength and elasticity.¹⁰⁶ From September to the end of June, during ten months, the wool was removed from the pelts by the use of sodium sulfite. Some people were still applying the old-fashion method of the quicklime to acquire the fleece. Then, during two months in the

¹⁰⁴ Ernest Giraud, "Laines brutes", RCL, (November 1900), p.797. The number is probably overvalued since the statistics given for the year 1907/08 had shown us a total of 685,933 kilograms. "Commerce extérieur de Constantinople, 1323", RCL, 265, April 1909, p.265.

¹⁰⁵ Literally, it could be translated as chief-butcher.

¹⁰⁶ "La laine", p.471.

summer, July and August, the pelts were dried under the sun or washed in the sea to remove the remaining short and washed wool.¹⁰⁷ In an article of the Revue Commerciale du Levant,¹⁰⁸ the different qualities procured from the kasapbaşı fleece were presented as follows; 15%-20% of the fleece was white and fine, 25%-30% white and secondary, 10%-15% white but of third quality, 10%-15% of the fleece was grey/black and fine, 25%-30% grey/black and secondary and the remaining 15%-20% grey/black of third quality. However, the classification was not always properly done and several kinds were often combined in one bale.¹⁰⁹ The English authorities were very anxious about this problem¹¹⁰ since the grey and black hair which appeared in white fleeces were not removable by the ordinary process of sorting.

The price fluctuations of the Istanbul wool market are analyzed below on the basis of kasapbaşı of superior quality. It was highly commercialized¹¹¹ since 90% of the kasapbaşı production was exported to Liverpool¹¹² and was

¹⁰⁷ Ernest Giraud, "Laines brutes", p.797.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ M.S. Woolman, E.B. McGowan, op. cit., p.117.

¹¹⁰ Frank Ormerod, op. cit., p.107.

¹¹¹ This point could also be supported by the similarities observed in the general trend of prices of the kasapbaşı and the Anatolian kırpma. See the graphics in the appendix I.

¹¹² Ernest Giraud, "Laines brutes", p.798.

used for both clothing and carpets.¹¹³ Before entering into the details of the analysis, it must be noted that "the relatively high income elasticity of clothing expenditure, the low ratio of the cost of raw wool to the retail value of finished goods and the greater rigidity of other cost components suggest that the effect of a decline in income on the level of consumption probably tends to be much greater than the counteracting effect of lower raw wool prices."¹¹⁴ Thus, the demand side also had to be taken into consideration for an appropriate analysis of prices.

Broadly speaking, prices which had remained low up to 1903 increased in the subsequent years. The American crisis of 1907-08 had probably affected the wool prices since with a decrease in European consumption, prices which fluctuated around 10 piasters decreased to 7 piasters. But, contrary to cotton prices, the money crisis and the unrest of 1914 did not seem to affect the consumption level which followed an increasing trend since 1909. In the years 1910-1913, it approximated 1,000 of tons.¹¹⁵ On the demand side, the increase in the living standards multiplied the number

¹¹³ M.S. Woolman, E.B. McGowan, *op. cit.*, p.117. Even if it was named as wool of Andrinople, basically, we are talking of the same quality.

¹¹⁴ F.L. Thomsen, R.J. Foote, *op. cit.*, p.498.

¹¹⁵ B.R. Mitchell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750-1970*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p.445. This figure relate to all kinds manufactured wool. *Ibid.*, p.447. This must be taken into consideration when comparing with the world production figure given above.

of people willing to wear woolen cloths. On the supply side, however, the production did not expand in the same proportion. The agricultural and industrial expansion had badly affected the breeding of the sheep. Argentina, for example, had given up sheep herds for agricultural enterprises. Besides, the improvement in the frigorific industry enhanced the slaughtering of moderate quality sheep.¹¹⁶ Thus, while the industrial need of wool was increasing at a very high rate, their number of sheep flocks decreased rapidly.¹¹⁷ In its review of wool trade at the end of 1914, the Bradford Observer had said: "... Since 1909, there has been a steady decline in the number of sheep kept in this country and while it is too early yet to be alarmed about the English wool production, the downward trend of the figures for the past few years is something to be noted..."¹¹⁸ In 1912, an article in the Journal de la Chambre de Commerce de Constantinople announced that the world production of wool of ordinary quality was more or less stable and it could not be expected to have decreasing prices in the future.¹¹⁹ Obviously, the supply which could

¹¹⁶ "Marché de la laine", JCCC, 1018, (9 July 1904), p.217.

¹¹⁷ "La production lainière en Turquie", p.381.

¹¹⁸ Quoted from Frank Ormerod, *Wool*, p.89.

¹¹⁹ "Les laines à Marseille", JCCC, 1422, (6 April 1912), p.53.

not satisfy the steadily rising demand was the main reason behind the increasing trend in prices.

Coming, now, to the decrease of 1900, the reasons behind it were explained in details in the Journal de la Chambre de Commerce de Constantinople.¹²⁰ The wool prices which were low in 1897 increased in the following years reinforced by a rise in consumption. Nevertheless, the speculators artificially manipulated the price. In France, for example, the price increased from 6 francs, which was high enough, to 6 francs 80 centimes, in the beginning of 1899. The industrialists who could not support this price began to decrease their woolen production which was followed by a cessation of their orders. Inevitably, the prices fell. But, the revival of the wool industry could not be immediately achieved and, therefore, it took time for the prices to attain again their old levels.

Istanbul was not, of course, only an exporter of pulled wool. The provinces which had their outlet to Istanbul sent their production of shorn wool here. The sheep were shorn in spring, from April till June and then sent to Istanbul. The wool stocked in the city was exported principally to Liverpool.

¹²⁰ "Le krach des laines", JCCC, 819, (15 September 1900), pp.289-290.

In 1907-08, 29% of wool exported from Istanbul was designated for England.¹²¹ Lower quantities were sent to France and the United States. The rest was sold on the domestic market. The kasapbasi of inferior quality was used in the making up of mattresses or in the stuffing of expensive sofas. The small workshops of Aksaray and the Feshane Fabrika-i Hümayunu, dealing with the manufacturing of fez and fabrics particularly for the army¹²² bought a part of the wool marketed.¹²³ However, the preferred wool of the factory when providing its supplies was that of Bergama of which annual orders varied between 1,000 and 1,500 quintals.¹²⁴ With the indigenous wool, the manufacturing of coarse woolen fabrics, which weighed 750-1000 grams the metersquare, could only be achieved. The thread obtained from the wool of Istanbul, however, was finer than the general threads.¹²⁵ They succeeded to have

¹²¹ The percentage was relatively low when compared with the wool trade of England in the Empire. See above page 88.

¹²² The wool weaving section was added in 1843 to the Feshane which was founded in 1835 "to supplant hand manufacture of the new fez headgear". Edward C. Clark, "The Ottoman Industrial Revolution", *International Journal of the Middle East Studies*, 5, (1974), pp.66,69.

¹²³ Ernest Giraud, "Laines brutes", p.798.

¹²⁴ "La laine", p.471.

¹²⁵ The yarn obtained equivalent only those numbering as six French or three and half English.

yarn equivalent to the 26 French and 23 English quality¹²⁶ sometimes even higher. Generally, the Empire was self-sufficient in the production of wool but for finer fabrics the country had to import the wool. Australian wool from London or other finer qualities from Anvers were imported to Istanbul to meet the demands of the Feshane or other special requests of small workshops. But, the annual importation never amounted to large quantities.¹²⁷

Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, wool as cotton was increasingly demanded by the textile centers. Accordingly, all the wish of economic authorities was to encourage wool production, which they thought was easier than the rise of the cotton yields,¹²⁸ in order to enlarge the share of the Empire in this trade which would be a source of prosperity for the population.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ This number of the woolen thread indicates how many two kilometers is contained in one kilogram. The difference between the English and French numbers is due to the difference in units, the English one indicating how many thousand yards are contained in one pound.

¹²⁷ Ernest Giraud, "Détails des importations (étrangères) à Constantinople", RCL, 192, (March 1903), p.713.

¹²⁸ "Le marché de la laine", p.217.

¹²⁹ "... D'où l'on est en droit de compter sur la faveur dont continueront à jouir nos laines sur le marché français et que d'heureux jours leur seront encore réservés, et ce, au grand profit de notre pays et pour le bien-être de nos populations." "La production lainière en Turquie", p.382.

Mohair

Mohair¹³⁰ is the long, silky and non curly wool of the Angora goat. The fiber is soft and has an excellent luster. Its staple varies in length from 7 to 15 inches¹³¹ and is the bleacheest among all the other types. It has been used for a wide variety of articles of clothing, in the manufacturing of non-fulled cloths as plushes or in the weft of half-silky products. Coarser hair has long been converted into household furnishings, blankets and carpets.

To distinguish between different qualities of mohair, the clip of the sheep had to be examined according to their age or sex. The wool from the ewes is finer than that from the rams which is longer as well as coarser. But, the rams produce more than the ewes. At two years of age, at which they attain their full growth, they give 2 to 2.5 okes whereas the annual clip of the ewes varies solely from 1 to 2 okes. Coming to fine specimens, that are more than two years old, have been known to yield from 3.5 to 4 okes. They are in their prime, as regards both quantity and

¹³⁰ The word mohair comes from the Arabic word mukhayyer which means silky or more exactly a fine kind of changeable silk. William F. Leggett, *The Story of the Wool*, (New York: Chemical Publishing Co., 1947), p.276 and J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1987), p.1782. See also *The Oxford English Dictionary*, IX, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p.960. The present form is probably due to association with hair.

¹³¹ M.S. Woolman, E.B. McGowan, *op.cit.*, p.117. According to an article published in the JCCC the staple measures generally 10 meters. "La laine", JCCC, 197, (6 October 1888), p.469.

quality of the wool from three to five years old.¹³² The shearing takes place once a year, generally towards the end of April, but varies a little according to the season.

On the other hand, the mohair is all the finer and longer as the goats are grazing in higher altitudes. Thus, the best qualities are obtained from the highlands at 3,000 or 5,000 feet above sea level.¹³³ Those grown in lower lands gave an inferior yield. In the Ottoman Empire, the mohair was "produced in a district covering from 60,000 to 80,000 square miles and comprising roughly speaking, the provinces of Ankara and Kastamonu, though portions of the provinces of Bursa, Yozgat, Konya and Sivas must also be included in mohair producing area."¹³⁴ The finest quality came from Beypazar, in the Ankara province. It is this quality which is considered in this study when analyzing the mohair market.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the mohair clip was absorbed domestically, supplying several thousands of looms in the Ankara and Kastamonu regions.¹³⁵ Significant amounts of yarn were sent to Europe but the

¹³² Hardy to Clarendon, "Mohair Clip 1854", (May 6, 1854). Quoted from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, pp.269-270.

¹³³ Ernest Giraud, "Mohair", RCL, 145, (April 1899), p.776.

¹³⁴ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.268.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

export of both raw hair and Angora goats was prohibited. In 1820, however, the first shipment of raw hair was sent to England.¹³⁶ In 1835, England began spinning mohair yarn and in a very short period, machine-made mohair yarn was so superior to handmade Turkish yarn that export of that commodity drastically decreased.¹³⁷

A short time after, during the Crimean War the British secured permission to transport goats to England.¹³⁸ A few years after,¹³⁹ the production of mohair was developed in the Cape and Natal receiving especially a stimulus from the rise in prices caused by the American Civil War. Further, the mohair obtained approximated in value and volume the yield of Asia Minor. Thus, the Ottoman Empire which had an exclusive monopoly on the mohair together with the Himalayas and the highlands of Tibet began to face an increasing competition. The importance given to the export of the goats could also be witnessed in the detailed reports of the Europeans of the time. "End of April is the proper time to buy the animals, as they are, naturally cheaper after they have been shorn of this valuable produce. Ewes two years old may then be bought at 80 to 100 piasters, or

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ William F. Leggett, *op. cit.*, p.278.

¹³⁸ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.268.

¹³⁹ According to W.F. Leggett, the first introduction of Angora goats to South Africa was realized in 1838. *loc. cit.*

12 to 15 shillings, those of four years are worth from 200 to 300 piasters or 30 to 40 shillings, and fine specimens sometimes obtain a higher price. The spring and autumn are equally proper times for the animals to make the journey, whilst both summer and winter should be avoided. The direct route from Angora to Constantinople should be preferred to any other.(...) The passage home should be made by steamers, of which there are now almost weekly departures for England at very reasonable freights."¹⁴⁰ In the following decades, goat herds were also raised in the United States (Texas, New Mexico, California) and in Queensland in Australia.¹⁴¹ Of these, the Cape and Natal provided the most serious competition with a production twice as important, even though the quality of the hair corresponded to the secondary qualities of that of Turkish.¹⁴²

The greater qualities which were exported through Istanbul could not be met anywhere and were not so much subject to any rivalry. The rapidly rising demand led to a sharp increase in the exports of mohair, chiefly to Bradford in England and a corresponding expansion in production. "Average shipments from Istanbul which accounted for the bulk of exports in the early 1850's were put at 12,000

¹⁴⁰ Hardy to Clarendon, art. cit. Quoted from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.270.

¹⁴¹ Australia had no native sheep, but a few pioneers migrated there from England imported the first sheep. *Ibid.*, p.268.

¹⁴² Ernest Giraud, "Mohair", p.778.

bales.¹⁴³ In 1866, the total Angora mohair clip was put at 25,000 bales."¹⁴⁴ In the 1890's the mohair export approached to 8 million pounds.¹⁴⁵ "On the eve of the First World War, output was estimated at 5,000-5,500 tons and exports in 1913-1914 mainly to England amounted to 4,600 tons¹⁴⁶ of which 3,900 went through Istanbul."¹⁴⁷ The numbers given by the French Chamber of Commerce for 1906 and 1907 were not so far away, 62,000 and 57,000 bales¹⁴⁸ were respectively sold and exported from Istanbul.¹⁴⁹

But, incontestably the proportion of South African mohair in the imports of Britain increased. Cape prices being about one-third below Turkish ones, the lower prices constituted an important factor in this rise. The taxes

¹⁴³ A bale containing the washed wool ready to export weighed approximately 60 okes or 77 kilograms. Ernest Giraud, "Le mohair à Constantinople", RCL, 252, (March 1908), p.395.

¹⁴⁴ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.268.

¹⁴⁵ It equaled 3,632 tons.

¹⁴⁶ E.F. Nickoley who had written about the agriculture of the Turkey of 1908-1923 also had stated that "the exports which were shipped almost entirely to England before the war, amounted to 10 million pounds (4,540 tons) a year." Edward Frederick Nickoley, "Agriculture". Quoted from E.G. Mears, *op. cit.*, p.290.

¹⁴⁷ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.268.

¹⁴⁸ They are approximately equaled to 4,774 and 4,389 tons.

¹⁴⁹ Ernest Giraud, "Le mohair à Constantinople", p.394.

charged on goats, the high production and transport costs were the main problems that faced the Ottoman producers. For instance, while salt was free of charge in South Africa, the Ottoman producers had to cover this indispensable expense from their own revenue. Thus, the cost of the delivery of raw mohair from the interior provinces to the Istanbul market was higher than the cost of delivery to the South African market, to the Cape or Natal. Added to this, as a result of the slackening of the demand for bright luster material and in the same parallel, of a fall in mohair prices in the world, the cost of production could, by the producers, only be covered with great difficulty. The end of the 1880's witnessed the sale of Angora goats to butchers at very low prices since their subsistence could no more be assured.¹⁵⁰ The opinion of the British consul who stayed in Istanbul was that "even at so low a price as 1s. 6d. per lb. some mohair would, no doubt, be still produced by the smaller growers, who can keep goats at less expense; but should the price decline still further and remain for any length of time at say, 1s. 3d. per lb. even the small grower could not cover the cost of production and mohair trade of Turkey would infallibly disappear."¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ "La laine", p.471.

¹⁵¹ "Constantinople", United Kingdom, Parliament, Accounts and Papers, 74, (1883). Quoted from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey... op. cit.*, p.269.

Thus, the Ottoman government decided to take some measures in order to support mohair production. The Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople enumerated them as the exemption from interior customs, the decrease in taxes per goat from 4.5 to 3 piasters and the ban on the export of Angora goats. A study conducted in the following years by the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople evaluated the results of these measures.

The reduction of the tax on the goats had a decreasing effect on Ottoman mohair prices which enhanced a growth in production. The annual yield which amounted to 40,000 bales before the competition of the Cape and decreased thereafter, to 20,000 bales had increased gradually and reached 70,000 bales in twelve years.¹⁵²

On the other hand, to continue to be in the first ranks on the international market, the ban on the exports of living animals was very critical. In the Cape, the goats imported from the Empire were raised either as a pure strain or crossed with native African goats. This scientific cross¹⁵³ of the goats bred deteriorated every two or three years and fresh Angora goats' blood had to be infused on a periodical basis. A report¹⁵⁴ from the French consul

¹⁵² "Les chèvres à mohair", JCCC, 887, (4 January 1902), p.1.

¹⁵³ "La production du mohair en Turquie", JCCC, 1202, (18 January 1908), p.21.

¹⁵⁴ Ernest Giraud, "Mohair du Cape", RCL, 258, (September 1908), p.373.

residing in the Cape stated that the mohair imported from the Cape to London in the first three months of 1908 decreased by two thirds with respect to the same period in 1907. The decrease was partly due to the fashion of the day and partly to the American crisis but the chief reason was the deterioration in the quality of the product which caused a similar decrease in prices while the Ottoman ones were increasing.¹⁵⁵ However, the export ban on living goats was often broken either by the black market or the government itself. For instance, fifty couples of Angora goats together with their young had been exported by the authorities.¹⁵⁶ The excuse of the Sublime Port was that this export was a special case undertaken to please the embassy which demanded this exceptional favor. The Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople which had the main merit of undertaking this prohibitive decision through its several attempts twenty years before, again and again pointed out in its article that such favors given were detrimental to the interest of both the population and the Ottoman treasury.¹⁵⁷

Despite these problems, an export of 5,000 tons was realized every year, after having satisfied the internal mohair consumption, particularly important for the carpet

¹⁵⁵ See in the appendix I, the graphic for the price fluctuations.

¹⁵⁶ "Les chèvres à mohair", JCCC, 1293, (16 October 1909), p.329.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

industry.¹⁵⁸ Part of the mohair was sent to Russia, mainly to Warsaw. But, the main destination was Bradford, in England which was the principal center of mohair manufacturing.¹⁵⁹ The spinning mills of Bradford had acquired a worldwide renown name for their fine numbers, from one to seventeenth, of mohair yarn. Other industrial countries like France, Germany or Dutch instead of undertaking concurrent spinning mills, preferred to buy the mohair thread necessary for their industry from England. But, according to the Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople all the mohair exported to Bradford was not consumed there but a small quantity was reexported from Liverpool or Bradford to the United States¹⁶⁰ to meet the demand of manufacturing centers.¹⁶¹

To complete the picture of the exportation, we have to know also the other side of the market, the conditions of the internal market, concentrating particularly on Istanbul, the principal export center. The raw mohair was purchased by local merchants from the owners of the goats in its unwashed state, frequently several months before the shearing season, that is April. The bales

¹⁵⁸ "La production du mohair en Turquie", p.21.

¹⁵⁹ Ernest Giraud, "Mohair" art. cit., pp.775-776.

¹⁶⁰ Of the mohair designated to Bradford 20,000 bales were reexported in 1887 to the United States. "La laine", JCCC, 197, (6 October 1888), p.471.

¹⁶¹ The tax charged on the raw mohair was practically insignificant when compared with that of mohair yarn. Ibid.

coming from the interior provinces to Istanbul weighed from 60 to 70 okes and, sometimes more. It was there that they were cleaned and categorized for the exportation.¹⁶² The mohair was classified in numerous groups according to their fineness and quality. They were generally sorted in warehouses into four classes called whites, yellows, colors and inferiors.¹⁶³ This, in itself was a process calling for great skill and required long experience and much training. On the mohair market the English J.W. Whittall company¹⁶⁴ was the sole authority and as it was founded, the purchase and export which was once in the hands of Armenians had passed to the British.¹⁶⁵ The company which had forty eight branches dispersed in Anatolia had also an office in Istanbul, near Sultan Hamam, Meydancik street, 11.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Each export bale weighed approximately 60 okes but for sometime past, they had contained from 70 to 80. Hardy to Clarendon, art. cit. Quoted from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.270.

¹⁶³ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.269.

¹⁶⁴ It was founded by Charlton Whittall with his partners Lee and Barker families in 1811 to conduct the trade between the Ottoman Empire and England. Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 2nd ed., (Istanbul: Bilim Yayinlari, 1977), p.32.

¹⁶⁵ "Within the last few years two of the most important manufacturing houses in Yorkshire have established agencies here for the purpose of purchasing mohair and the experiment seems to have been a success". "Constantinople", *United Kingdom, Parliament, Accounts and Papers*, 103, (1899). Quoted from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, pp.268-269.

¹⁶⁶ E. Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Constantinople*, I, 12, (September 1904).

Besides, the company had a warehouse in Yedikule designated to mohair washing.¹⁶⁷ The selling took place in the warehouses of the dealers who stood for 1% value added export tax.¹⁶⁸

The mohair exported from Istanbul gave rise to several complaints from Bradford and other purchasing centers. One of the causes which endangered the good renown of Ottoman mohair was that although the whites were supposed to be packed separately, a scrupulous attention to this matter was not the rule.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps, more importantly, the habit of wetting the mohair or inserting other elements in the bales to cheat on the weight had to be stopped. The Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople had pointed out this problem in several issues.¹⁷⁰ According to the Chamber, merchants dealing with the exportation were not responsible since the defects of this swindling were immediately felt, particularly, during the transportation of the bales at their expense. Thus, the Chamber with the Ministry of Commerce and Public Services agreed that it was the producers who had the habit to wet their lots of mohair during their sales in bazaars or fairs.

¹⁶⁷ Paul Fesch, op. cit., p.516.

¹⁶⁸ Ernest Giraud, "Le mohair à Constantinople", p.395.

¹⁶⁹ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.269.

¹⁷⁰ "Les mohairs mouillés", JCCC, 830, (1 December 1900), p.377. "La production du mohair en Turquie", p.22.

The last point which will be discussed is the price fluctuations of mohair on the Istanbul market. In those days when Ankara was the sole supplier, mohair prices doubled the rates prevailed in the 1900's.¹⁷¹ The product was sold at 50-55 piasters.¹⁷² Then, with the increasing competition the price decreased, during a certain period, down to 12 piasters.¹⁷³ This was the time when goats were slaughtered since their breeding was no longer profitable. Nevertheless, the interval of time which was examined in this study shows the general stability of world prices. The exception arises when the prices which fluctuated around 22 and 23 piasters showed a drastic fall beginning from the year 1900. With the ups and downs the decrease could be followed up to 1903. This regression in prices could be attributed to the increasing competition of the Cape which had sold at lower prices. Though the mohair marketed by South Africa corresponded to the secondary quality of the Empire, its negative influence could not be ignored. The lack of data between 1903 and mid 1906 establishes a discontinuity in the trend. But, just after, a recovery could be observed which was a direct result of the deterioration of the mohair produced in the Cape. In the beginning of 1907 the Ottoman and the Cape mohair cost

¹⁷¹ Ernest Giraud, "Mohair", p.778.

¹⁷² Ernest Giraud, "Production et exportation de Constantinople", 191, (February 1903), p.427.

¹⁷³ Ernest Giraud, "Mohair", p.778.

respectively between 16.5-17 and 15.5-16 shillings on the London market. At the end of the year while the Cape mohair decreased to 14.5 the Ottoman product increased and varied between 17-17.5.¹⁷⁴ Then, came the 1907-1908 American crisis which had affected world prices. The crisis showed also its effect on mohair prices. From the middle of 1909 till 1911, an improvement was witnessed. The subsequent fall could be explained by political unrest, the Italian-Turkish War and the Balkan Wars. The reliance in the market had weakened in this period. The French Chamber of Commerce of Constantinople repeated in its reports that "the transactions were limited, the credit restrained and the money on circulation rare."¹⁷⁵ The Chamber, on the other hand, tried to wipe out the skepticism of Europeans by stressing that the market had survived even in more severe crisis and that the credibility of the Ottoman merchant was higher than it was thought, of course this last statement being valid for merchants with good reputation.¹⁷⁶ But all these were not enough to stop the decrease in the exported mohair which amounted in 1909-10 to 5,880 tons and fell in 1911 to 4,380 tons.¹⁷⁷ It was clearly due to the reluctance

¹⁷⁴ "La production du mohair en Turquie", p.21.

¹⁷⁵ Ernest Giraud, "La Situation", RCL, 308, (November 1912), p.607.

¹⁷⁶ Ernest Giraud, "La Situation", RCL, 294, (September 1911), p.371.

¹⁷⁷ Vedat Eldem, op. cit., p.182.

of Europeans to trade with the Empire. Then, a small recovery and, just after, a small regression with the beginning of hostilities in 1914 could be observed.

Briefly, mohair was, other than the wool, a substantial export item which despite the existence of rivalries from newly rising countries still could keep its primary place on the world market. Otherwise, how could we explain the popularity of the mohair which was renowned in the world with the name of its principal producer city, Angora?

Crochet-laces and embroideries

When talking of the exportation of textile goods from Istanbul we must not limit ourselves only to raw materials. Although local goods were losing their competitiveness, there were still some products exported to Europe. Ottoman entrepreneurs, mainly Jewish, taking advantage of the economic conditions of the day,¹⁷⁸ organized the commercial lacemaking, in other words, trade

¹⁷⁸ The Balkan's refugees in Istanbul offered a large and cheap labor pool. In order to gain their life they were ready to work at low wages offered by the market. Thus, they founded the nucleus of home industries emerging in the late nineteenth century. Donald Quataert, *Home, Factory...*, p.116.

capital started to put small producers under its hegemony.¹⁷⁹

As Ernest Giraud pointed out this new branch of trade which had started twenty years earlier could not be rivaled in Europe or the United States, just as the carpet industry.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, Jacques Thobie stated that even though the menacing presence of inferior qualities, in 1895, cotton laces with their folkloric character and artistic values constituted a particular branch of trade designated for luxurious consumption.¹⁸¹ However, later, crochet-laces had probably lost their originality since the models started to come from France.¹⁸² But, low wages prevailing in the city played a vital role in the continuation of the foreign demand for laces. The main destination was France. Its capital only consumed two

¹⁷⁹ This production system is called the putting-out or verlag system. It is considered as the last stage of the transformation of commercial capital into industrial capital by gradually putting production under its control. "In this system, as applied in the Ottoman Empire, the merchant gave the contractor raw materials and the manufacturing wages, which were calculated per piece; the contractor, in turn distributed this material to the "workers", who generally worked in their houses, and after the processing was completed, collected the manufactured goods and delivered them to the merchant". *Osmanli Sanayii...*, p.10. Also, Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.316.

¹⁸⁰ Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles au crochet", RCL, 208, (July 1904), p.64.

¹⁸¹ Jacques Thobie, op. cit., p.64.

¹⁸² Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles...", p.65.

thirds of its importation.¹⁸³ England and the United States, on the other hand, shared the rest of Istanbul lace exportation.

This trade of laces was mainly conducted by Jewish entrepreneurs. Often, they had partners abroad. Again in the Revue Commerciale du Levant,¹⁸⁴ Ernest Giraud tells us the story of one of his friends who saw, in Burgundy, two Jewish traders selling their laces from their country of origin, Silivri. They spoke in Turkish, sure of not being understood and congratulated themselves for their selling. These people were very surprised when they met there a stranger, E. Giraud's friend, who told and congratulated them in the same language.

The entrepreneurs supplied the thread together with the models to women and girls who crocheted in their spare time. These workers were generally from the Jewish or Greek population living in the poor districts such as Hasköy,¹⁸⁵ Balat, Kuzguncuk, Tatavla or Samatya. "In the summer, when wandering in the streets of these districts one could see the women or girls sitting at their doorsteps or at their window crocheting while chatting with each other,

¹⁸³ Ibid., p.64.

¹⁸⁴ Ernest Giraud, "Industrie Indigène", RCL, 242, (May 1907), p.932.

¹⁸⁵ In his description of Hasköy which was over all very negative, Edmondo de Amicis sketched briefly these women as "bent, ragged old crones (who) sat working with their skinny fingers in the doorways". Edmondo de Amicis, op. cit., I, p.114.

taking the fresh air or looking at the passers-by".¹⁸⁶ Their aim was to complete their lace as quickly as possible to begin another, thus to earn more money. Inevitably, the quality was not always that satisfactory.

The crochet-laces ready for the market was principally divided into three different models brought from Paris, namely, narrow and broad laces and yokes for shirts, trousers and collars. Each of them could again be categorized into two different qualities: those made of cotton sewing thread¹⁸⁷ in the ball (yumak) or the bobbin (makara). These different qualities were respectively named yumak and makara.

The cotton sewing thread was imported mostly from England. The renown trade names J. and P. Coats, Jones Brooks and Bros, J. Clark and Co. and Clark Senior, each identified respectively by the chain, goat, elephant and anchor trademarks, were the main brands sold on the market.¹⁸⁸ The best one and most preferred in Istanbul was that of J. and P. Coats. Balls of ten¹⁸⁹ or twenty grams in

¹⁸⁶ Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles...", p.65.

¹⁸⁷ It could be defined as strongly twisted yarn or as cable-laid thread. Ernest Giraud, "Filés et fils de coton", RCL, 205, (April 1904), p.644.

¹⁸⁸ Ernest Giraud, "Fil à coudre", RCL, 286, (January 1911), p.147. Orosdi-Back firm was the general agent for all the Orient, of cotton sewing threads of Clark & Cie., Anchor mills, Parsley. Annuaire Oriental, (1889-90), p.69.

¹⁸⁹ Those having a coarseness of number forty were exclusively imported and its kilogram was sold at prices between 35 and 45 piasters (gold). Ibid., p.148.

black, white or in colors were found on the market. Those balls of twenty grams having a coarseness of number fifty were the most widely used. They were sold in boxes of ten at 46 piasters per kilogram.¹⁹⁰ The balls of Brooks, the goat trademark, of coarseness number fifty, which were less appreciated, were sold at 4 piasters per box of ten balls at ten grams.¹⁹¹

These English threads were similar in quality to the French thread of Cartier Bresson.¹⁹² Thus, some buyers in France named the laces and yokes crocheted with these English balls as Cartier Bresson.

The quality called makara was principally manufactured with bobbins of cotton yarn¹⁹³ of coarseness number ten.¹⁹⁴ They preferred to use the English Brooks,

¹⁹⁰ Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles...", p.65. A few years after an article which appeared again in the RCL had stated that the balls of twenty grams which had a coarseness number between ten and eighty were sold between 30 and 39 piasters (gold), the kilogram. Ernest Giraud, "Fil à ...", p.148.

¹⁹¹ The kilogram came at 40 piasters.

¹⁹² Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles...", p.66.

¹⁹³ There were bobbins of different length: fifty, a hundred fifty and two hundred yards. But the most demanded was that of two hundred yards. Ernest Giraud, "Fil à ...", p.147.

¹⁹⁴ The coarseness of the bobbins varied between number ten and eighty. The lower numbers were disposed by two, four or six intervals and after number forty by greater intervals of ten. Ernest Giraud, "Filés...", p.656.

goat trademark, bobbins which cost 68 piasters the gross.¹⁹⁵ German cotton thread again of goat trademark, namely, Gebrüder Gimnerli was particularly demanded by the interior provinces. Its gross was sold at 65 piasters.¹⁹⁶ This price however was not low enough to undertake a severe competition to the English threads. Italy and Belgium also marketed their threads. The Italian one was of second quality but very cheap when compared with others. Moreover, Italian manufacturers furnished the special requests of their customers. Thus, these advantages increased rapidly the orders which were mainly destined to the interior provinces. The Belgian cotton thread, Eiffel trademark, manufactured in Ninove, was also of lower quality than the English one. The bobbins of coarseness number forty were sold at 36 piasters and those of number fifty were sold at 34 piasters per gross.¹⁹⁷ Coming now to the French thread, only that of Dollfus-Mieg and Co. (DMC) was sold in

¹⁹⁵ Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles...", p.65. An article which appeared in 1913 stated a different price, 92 piasters (gold), for the bobbins of two hundred yards of coarseness ten-twelve. Ernest Giraud, "Fil à ...", p.149. Generally, English merchants accorded a discount of 5% and four months of credit. Furthermore, when the payment was done in cash another discount of 2% was added to the previous one. Ibid., p.148.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ernest Giraud, "Fil à ...", p.150. These prices were f.o.b. Istanbul, that is, they comprised the carriage, freight and insurance at sender's risk. Ernest Giraud, "Modes de livraison", RCL, 239, (February 1907), pp.362,363. Other facilities accorded by the Belgian merchants could be enumerated as 5% discount and sixty or ninety days of credit. Ernest Giraud, "Fil à ...", p.150.

luxurious stores of Istanbul. Their quality was excellent, even superior to those of England but expensive for the bulk of the Ottoman population.

They crocheted also unbleached yokes named colareto with cream colored or sometimes with black and white ball thread. This model was produced with the English thread of coarseness forty which cost 4 piasters per box of a hundred grams. The German cotton thread, sold at 35 piasters per kilogram, sometimes replaced the English one.¹⁹⁸

It was mentioned above that the entrepreneurs were the ones who supplied the thread to the women and then picked up the hand-made crochet-laces. The yumak qualities for which two hundred grams of thread were used, were bought from the women and girls at 19 piasters (silver).¹⁹⁹ If the work was accomplished in twenty full days, which was generally the case, the daily wage of these women and girls came to 40 paras. The other quality, makara works were bought at a lower price, 10 piasters (silver). Twelve bobbins and fifteen days were necessary for such a lace. Thus, the daily wage amounted to 29 paras.²⁰⁰ These wages

¹⁹⁸ Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles...", p.65.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p.68.

²⁰⁰ These wages corresponded with those reported by the French Chamber of Commerce. Ibid. Here, they are calculated assuming that the thread cost for each quality respectively 46 piasters per kilogram and 68 piasters the gross and that the parity between gold and silver piaster was 1.1.

were very low when compared with those of women working in cotton weaving factories. In 1915, the average was between 4 and 6 piasters per day.²⁰¹

The sale of the laces or yokes was set on a kilogram basis. The price differed according to the model and quality. The broad laces made of good quality balls were sold at 122 piasters while the narrow ones at 109 piasters. The yokes for shirts and trousers manufactured always of good quality balls were bought at 130 piasters. The makara quality was cheaper. The yokes cost 74 piasters while the broad and narrow laces were priced at 57.²⁰²

It was assumed that the lace weighed in accordance to the thread which was utilized; for example to the thread which crocheted with two hundred grams of thread weighed two hundred grams. The kilogram of the yumak quality came to 95 piasters (silver). Thus, when the market price of broad laces made of balls was converted to silver piasters a benefit of 39 piasters (silver) per kilo was acquired. This was shared by the entrepreneurs and commissionaires if not by the retailers.²⁰³ According to Ernest Giraud the severe competition between Jewish traders which led to the decrease in prices diminished the benefit acquired from the sales. Therefore, the lacemaking far from being a prosperous branch

²⁰¹ Osmanli Sanayii...., p.136.

²⁰² Ibid., p.67.

²⁰³ Since the price was given in gold piasters, it specified probably the wholesale price.

of trade, did not satisfy anybody. This was true for the women who crocheted the lace but also for the entrepreneurs, commissionaires and retailers.²⁰⁴

The crochet-laces were not manufactured only in Istanbul. The coast of Marmara, Monastir, Beirut and probably some towns in the interior of Anatolia were involved in this trade. M.G. Aslan, the consular agent of France in Tekirdag,²⁰⁵ reported that:

"The lace crocheted here, in Silivri and in the Marmara Island is only exported to France. But, since a few months ago, they have begun shipping a part of the laces for the United States.

The lacemaking was performed by Greek and Armenian women²⁰⁶ in their spare time. But, even if they work all day their daily wage can not exceed 60 paras. Sure, this is very low, but the laces are

manufactured when they do

manufactured

fields or when there is nothing to do in the

²⁰⁴ Ernest Giraud, "Dentelles...", p.65.

²⁰⁵ Known by foreigners as Rodosto.

²⁰⁶ Jewish young girls of Silivri also were lacemakers. More than two hundred young girls worked full time -twelve or fifteen hours a day- for a taskmaster of Istanbul. Paul Dumont, "Jewish Communities in Turkey during the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century in the Light of the Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle", Christians and Jews..., p.220.

house. Moreover, they had the advantage of working at home.

The Jews of Istanbul come to bring the cotton thread of English origin, usually Coat's, and later return to gather the laces. These entrepreneurs do not limit the women and the workers are free to choose between different models the one which they prefer to crochet. Broadly, two different qualities are manufactured. The first sold at 75 to 80 piasters per kilogram and the second at 60 to 62 piasters."²⁰⁷

Before completing this part, another hand-made article, oriental embroidery, has to be mentioned. Towels were the most numerous products of this art²⁰⁸ but larger products such as wall hangings, curtains, prayer rugs, bed sheets and pillow corners were often ornate with

²⁰⁷ Ibid., pp.68,69.

²⁰⁸ "Towels vary in width from 9 to 42 inches in length from 2 to 14 feet. The embroidered band at each end is from 2 to 20 inches wide. The embroidery is practically identical on each side. The toweling may be linen or cotton and the embroidery is normally in colored silk, metal or tinsel, or a combination of all of these. The towels were made as kerchiefs, veils, belts, wrappers for precious objects, handkerchiefs, napkins or towels. Whatever their purpose, they were all made for personal use. In the course of time I learned that these Turkish embroideries were not only made by Turks but also by Armenians, Greeks and other minorities living within the territory of the Ottoman Empire". Burton Y. Berry, *Out of the Past, The Istanbul Grand Bazaar*, (New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1977), p.23.

embroideries.²⁰⁹ Traditionally, rich families had the habit to offer embroidered objects to their children to decorate their bridal chamber. Thus, it was mostly a domestic art. It was, however, included in the export items of the city destined to Europe and, particularly, to the United States.²¹⁰ For instance, embroideries took the second place after the carpet trade in the exports from the Empire of the

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p.22.

²¹⁰ Ernest Giraud, "Industrie...", p.933. See also Ernest Giraud, "Fil d'or et d'argent", RCL, 241, (April 1907), p.708.

Baker²¹¹ company.²¹² These embroideries together with carpets had been so popular that as early as 1877, Baker brothers decided to explore the possibility of having

²¹¹ George Percival Baker arrived in Istanbul in 1847 to assist in the laying out of gardens at British Embassy's summer residence at Therapia, recently given to the British by the Ottoman government. Within a few years, George Baker was also employed to help replan the garden of the new British embassy being rebuilt to replace that previously burned down. Various tradesmen were brought out from England at this time to assist in the building and decoration of the new embassy. George Baker became friendly with a number of these men including four traders called Hayden, Haywood, Burness and Duff who were all to remain in Istanbul on the termination of the embassy work in order to set up their own businesses. By the mid 1850's the development of trading in imported British goods had accelerated. George Baker, with a number of important contacts in the city realized the potential of such business and sent for a small shipment of linens from his brother James. These were quickly sold to the British Embassy and the order was repeated. In 1857, a room was taken in Pera to house the stocks of imported goods. In 1860, George Baker went into partnership with Hayden and goods were supplied on demand; James Baker acting as agent and shipper in London. By August 1862, G. Baker had given up his job as gardener and a shop was opened below the Galata Tower. Credit was offered, and all prices included a mark-up of 75% on the cost of the purchase on goods in England (packaging and shipping were included). The turnover of the trade increased. He began to invest in other local businesses, including the flour mill managed by his brother-in-law, Heywood, and by 1869 the Baker-Hayden partnership was dissolved in favor of separate businesses. In 1870 G. Baker opened another shop in Pera and this provided the nucleus of the general trading companies known as Baker and Edwards, Edwards and Sons and G. & A. Baker Ltd. From East to West, Textiles from G.P. & J. Baker, (London: G.P. & J. Baker Ltd., 1984), pp.18,20.

²¹² Ibid., p.13. Letters from George Baker written whilst travelling show large orders for embroideries. He wrote of Bursa "Gold work is 30% better than Consple (Constantinople). I have bought £130 and given orders". From Istanbul "I am prevailing upon our people to employ a special hand to look after the whole work". Aleppo covers were very popular and one order consisted of "20 blue green, 20 pink, 20 lemon, 20 coffee, 20 cream, 20 other, 50 piece gold thread... 200 pieces altogether. Ibid., p.159.

textiles made in England patterned with these designs and the influence of the East was strongly marked on textile designs printed from 1893.²¹³ Moreover, the embroideries made of gilded or silky threads attracted the attention of Europeans visiting the Empire who often returned to their country with some of them. On the other hand, often, these embroideries were sent as presents to friends in Europe by inhabitants of the city. The ones who embroidered for the market were the skillful Armenian women living in Samatya and Topkapi. The daily wage of the most qualified embroideresses varied between 1.29 and 2.12 piasters. Those dealing with simple ornaments took between 18 and 23 paras.²¹⁴

To conclude it must be noted that the interest of foreigners would remain in these hand-made products, embroideries or laces, as they were affordable and, for this trade, the large population of Istanbul played a crucial role.

2.3.Importations

With the increasing commercialization of the Empire and the rapid growth of imports, Istanbul which was mainly an import port ranked first in 1914 surpassing all other seaports.²¹⁵ The capital alone took from 35% to 40%

²¹³ Ibid., pp.69,73.

²¹⁴ Ernest Giraud, "Fil d'or...", p.708.

²¹⁵ E.G. Mears, op. cit., p.339.

of the Ottoman imports.²¹⁶ The most striking point in the import trade of the city was the outstanding share of textile products. Clearly, the greatest amount of European textile goods were shipped to Istanbul from where they were distributed to its surrounding and interior provinces. But, above all, Istanbul with its growing army, its great number of government officials, its many wealthy people, its foreigners..., was a big market. In other words, this unquestionable metropolis of the Near East had a great capacity to absorb all sorts of textile imports.

Thus, this section will focus on these goods which were very different from one another. Some were intermediary goods as the cotton yarn which was used in the domestic manufacturing of cotton fabrics, others were finished products of considerable importation figures, as cotton fabrics while others were of minor importance, as underwears. Briefly, this very broad topic was analyzed in four main parts: inputs and fabrics, clothing, accessories and house supplies.

Inputs²¹⁷ and Fabrics

²¹⁶ A figure of 1899 calculated on the value of the goods. "Constantinople", United Kingdom, Parliament Accounts and Papers, 101, (1904), p.1. Quoted from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.113.

²¹⁷ Though this part considers only the cotton yarn, a certain amount of wool and all cotton sewing threads which are detailed in the previous section, are also imported inputs used for the local industry of Istanbul.

Cotton Yarn²¹⁸

The cotton yarn manufactured in the Empire did not satisfy the demand as was the case for the wool. Few factories in Tarsus, Adana,²¹⁹ Izmir, Salonika and Istanbul met only part of the indigenous demand of cotton yarn. According to the statistics of 1913-1915, the production of the country satisfied only 21% of the consumption.²²⁰ Consequently, the importation of the cotton yarn became necessary for the cotton weaving industry of the country.²²¹

In Istanbul, the two cotton weaving factories which survived until the first years of the Republic, The Cloth Factory for Military Provisions (Levazımat-ı Umumiye-i Askeriye Bez Fabrikası) founded in 1855 and the Cotton and Woolen Thread and Fabrics Manufacturing Ltd. Co. (Yün ve Pamuk İpliği, Akmişe ve saireye mahsus Osmanlı Anonim

²¹⁸ Although the sewing threads are also in cotton, they are not included in this part, but they are analyzed above in crochet-laces.

²¹⁹ Cited above in page 88.

²²⁰ *Osmanlı Sanayii...*, p.138. Though Adana and Tarsus were not included in the statistical analysis of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture, the four factories were mentioned when examining the cotton spinning and weaving industry. Thus, the percentage had to comprise, even if it was an estimation, the production of these textile mills.

²²¹ In 1898-1899 more than 15,000 tons of cotton yarns were imported in the Empire while decreasing in the following year to 12,000 tons. Ernest Giraud, "Filés et...", p.646.

Sirketi)²²² founded in 1899 were located outside the walls of the city, respectively, in Bakırköy²²³ and Kazlıçeşme.²²⁴ They supplied their own yarn. It was even intended that the raw material for the Bakırköy textile mill should be provided from a large, experimental farm near the present Yesilköy where cotton was planted among other crops.²²⁵ In addition to this, cotton gins were imported. Nevertheless, as time passed, the cotton spinning section which was not adjusted to the changes of the day became obsolete. Therefore, with the foundation of the cotton spinning and weaving factory in Yedikule, the yarn of the Bakırköy textile mill started to be partly supplied by this new factory. On the other hand, it started to export its cotton

²²² A concession of twenty years was given by the government in 1886 for the foundation of a textile mill in Istanbul or its surroundings. Though the company was an Ottoman limited, in 1906, the administrative board was composed of English businessmen A. Simmons, H. Baker, L. Mizzi, H.E. Pears, F.E. Whittall, B.P. Dobson, F. Holt, G. Thomas, the only exception being Hulusi Bey. E. Pech, *op. cit.*, pp.223,225.

²²³ Known as Macrikeui.

²²⁴ "L'usine de fils et de coton de Yédi-Coulé", JCCC, 764, (26 August 1899). Comprised in Yedikule industrial park.

²²⁵ Edward C. Clark, *The Emergence of Textile Manufacturing Entrepreneurs in Turkey, 1804-1968*, (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1969), p.323.

yarn to Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.²²⁶ Its daily production attained 750-800 bundles²²⁷ of cotton yarn of coarseness number between four and fourteen.²²⁸ The factory did not produce the fine qualities. However, among the yarn of the same category, it was superior to others so that the wholesalers tried to cheat their customers by giving foreign yarn instead of the indigenous one. Thus, it was advised to search on the cotton yarn the trademarks of the factory, precisely, the fountain and the goose.²²⁹

The rest of the city's consumption was met by imported yarn. England which was the main center of cotton manufacturing had the monopoly in this market, particularly on the unbleached and whitened qualities. Other European countries imported mostly colored yarn. The choice of the

²²⁶ JCCC complained about the increase in kustom taxes of these countries from 8% to 25% value added, which, practically, stopped the export not only of the Yedikule factory's cotton yarn but, of any Ottoman export product. "L'usine de fils ...".

²²⁷ Each bundle weighed 4.5 kilograms. Osmanlı Sanayii..., p.137. According to Vedat Eldem's data the Bakirköy mill having 6,008 working spindles in 1914 produced 310 tons of cotton yarn while the other in Yedikule, with its 13,900 spindles, produced 890 tons. Vedat Eldem, op. cit., p.131. Assuming that the daily production remained the same in the following ten years, the Yedikule textile mill needed about 250 working days to attain its annual production stated above. On the other hand, the JCCC stated that the annual production of Istanbul amounted to 200,000 bundles (the same number could also be obtained from our suppositions). "Les filatures de coton en Turquie", JCCC, 1198, (21 December 1907), p.593. Shortly, Istanbul manufactured 20% of the Ottoman yarn production.

²²⁸ Ernest Giraud, "Filés et ...", p.648.

²²⁹ "L'usine de fils ...".

consumers was toward bright red colors, the favorite being the garnet-red²³⁰ yarn produced at low cost in Switzerland and Germany.

With the crisis of overproduction in Italy in 1897, the market share undertook an important change. Italy which had to find new openings succeeded to capture the market of coarser cotton yarn up to number fourteen, leaving the finer qualities to England.²³¹ Belgium, on the other hand, which tried to compete with England since 1880's, had not realized important sales. Austrian cotton yarn also tried to find a place in this market,²³² but its sole competitive product was colored yarn, cotton yarn dyed in reds and blues. The products of an other country, but this time from the East, tried their chance in the market since the first years of 1900's. Indian cotton yarn of low quality invaded the market. It obtained the greatest share after England and Italy, 21%.²³³ The yarn was sold at credit. Thus, though its strength and regularity were far short of the marketed qualities, it constituted a severe threat to the Italian coarser yarn. In 1907, the JCCC reported that since a year, the Italian yarn had disappeared

²³⁰ Called also rouge d'Andrinople.

²³¹ According to the statistics of 1913, the respective shares of England and Italy were 32% and 28%. *Osmanlı Sanayii...*, p.138.

²³² 11% of the imported yarn came from Austria. *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

from the market like by "the touch of a magic wand."²³⁴ Was it a direct result of Indian competition?

Among different qualities, unbleached cotton yarn constituted the greatest part of consumption, approximately, 75% of the sales.²³⁵ The most renowned quality was the one denominated under its English name Water Twist. It was sold in different coarsenesses from four to thirty two in bundles weighing 10 pounds.²³⁶ The lower numbers from four to twelve were imported from Italy while the other important supplier, England, provided the yarn of coarseness number between sixteen and thirty two. The renowned English trademarks were the Cat's Head, the Green of R. Mac Chuse and Sons and the Red of Hindley Twist Co.²³⁷

Another quality, the Extra Hard simple thread characterized by an excess torsion giving a curly aspect was furnished more or less in equal quantities by England and Italy, though it did not attain the large importation figures of the precedent one. It was mostly used in the European part of the Empire, on the coast of Marmara and of

²³⁴ "Les filatures de ...", p.593.

²³⁵ Ernest Giraud, "Filés et ...", p.652.

²³⁶ It equalled to 4.5 kilograms.

²³⁷ Ernest Giraud, "Filés et ...", p.652.

the Black Sea. The muhacir bezi²³⁸ which was in vogue in Istanbul in the beginnings of 1900's was produced with this yarn. Again, as for the preceding quality, the coarser yarn from four to twelve was imported from Italy. The preferred were, however, the finer ones of number twelve to fourteen, sixteen to twenty four and twenty eight to thirty two. The bundles of 10 pounds were generally sent from Europe in packings of forty and, sometimes, even more, a hundred bundles.²³⁹

The "sewings"²⁴⁰ also had an important place in the market. Italy imported the unbleached ones of coarseness eight to twelve of three fibers. England sent finer and bleached qualities of 20/2 to 80/2.²⁴¹ However, the importation of bleached sewings was very limited since this process of bleaching was better succeeded in the Empire.

Coming now to the colored yarn, the rouge d'Andrinople was the most demanded. Germany, Austria and Italy were the major suppliers. The yarn in indigo blue, even the preferred English one, was less imported than the rouge d'Andrinople.

²³⁸ Translated literally as the cloth of immigrant. It was a light, striped, pleated cotton fabric manufactured by the Bulgarian immigrants. Ernest Giraud, "Le commerce des tissus de coton à Constantinople", JCCC, (14 March 1896), p.123.

²³⁹ Ernest Giraud, "Filés et ...", p.653.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ The number after the dash indicates the number of the fibers.

red. Diamond black also was another color demanded in the market, but the other colors were not imported since the dyeing process was realized at very low cost in the country.

The colored sewings used in the manufacture of stockings or other knitted products were found in the market of coarseness number four to twelve and sixteen to twenty four. There were sold in bundles of 1, 1.5, 2 and 2.5 kilograms. The colors were white, grey, red, blue, chocolate...

The sewings used in the manufacturing of nets were those of six, nine or twelve fibers. The coarseness of sewings of nine and twelve fibers varied between four and a hundred fifty while for the ones of six fibers the interval decreased to thirty two and a hundred fifty. The renowned trademark Emery was sold in bundles of 4.5 pounds.²⁴²

Very broadly, the prices of cotton yarn were very closely linked to the variations of the demand and supply of its raw material, cotton. Coming to the terms of payment, England accepted only cash payments charged fourteen days after receiving of merchandise. India, on the other hand imposed payment against document.²⁴³ Italy insured credit facilities to the merchants, which helped it to conquer the

²⁴² It equaled 2.5 kilograms. Ernest Giraud, "Filés et...", p.655.

²⁴³ The payment was done just before the clearing of the merchandise from the customs. In such an agreement, the saler took the risk of the freight.

Ottoman market. Other countries accepted the payment with instalments.

As a last point, the importation to Istanbul, which attained about one fifth²⁴⁴ of the total Empire's importation, was used for its own and surroundings consumption. The orders of Istanbul's cotton yarn merchants for other destinations were directly shipped to the nearest port.

Cotton Fabrics²⁴⁵

Cotton fabrics which were used as a substitute to other textile fabrics were very widely utilized in the Empire. Bed cloths, towels, table-cloths, many of the pocket-handkerchiefs, sail cloths, even umbrellas were manufactured of cotton materials. Furthermore, cotton covering replaced increasingly that of wool, just as the substitution of the flannel²⁴⁶ by the flannelette.²⁴⁷ Likewise, many of the collars and cuffs were made of cotton. Thus, the enormous number of cotton fabrics in various

²⁴⁴ More exactly 17%. Osmanlı Sanayii..., p.138.

²⁴⁵ This part was mainly based on two articles of Ernest Giraud: "Le commerce des tissus de coton à Constantinople" printed in the JCCC in 1896 and "Cotonnades" published in the RCL in 1903.

²⁴⁶ It applies generally to "a light-weight, all wool or wool combined with cotton or silk material of plain or twill weave with a slightly napped surface. Specific types are used for infants' garments, men's trousers and dresses". M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.209.

²⁴⁷ "A cotton fabric plain or printed, napped on one side". The Random House..., p.501.

weaves, types of knitting, finishes... was another proof of the importance of cotton in daily life.

It was England which monopolized the trade of cotton fabrics of the Empire. For instance, in the nineteenth century, Manchester was the only supplier of unbleached cotton fabrics. However, when coming to the twentieth century, its supremacy began to be questioned. A work²⁴⁸ of the vice consul of England in Istanbul, Waugh who was particularly interested in cotton fabrics, provided us with important information on this market of 1902.

In 1900, England's share in the cotton fabrics' trade decreased heavily. At this time, Italy was at its highest point. However, the advantage of England remained in its specialization. For instance, those who manufactured unbleached cotton fabrics were not interested in and did not produce other qualities. Thus, the great commercial firms which had a branch in Manchester were also directly involved in their manufacturing, since they themselves bought the yarn, brought it to the weaver, dyer, finisher and to who was responsible for the packaging. In this way, they succeeded to decrease the production cost.

Italy had arrived to capture the second part of the market after England. Other than the advantage of the country in its resources as cheap labor and the usage of the electrical motor, the facilities offered to the buyers

²⁴⁸ Ernest Giraud, "Cottonnades", RCL, 193, (April 1903), pp.918-920.

played an important role in its success. The merchandise was sent c.i.f. Istanbul, a discount of 5% was granted and the payment was acquired only after three months after the receipt of the merchandise.

Austria ranked as the third country in the importation figures of the Empire as well as its capital.²⁴⁹ Germany also entered into this competition of cotton fabrics and tried to increase its share. Switzerland, on the other hand, altered its production. It ceased to manufacture old fashioned articles and replaced them by new products which were more easily marketed. Spain also tried to enter into this market, but it had an unsuccessful start. Its prices were too low. France monopolized the cotton fabrics of superior quality and entered the market of common ones. However, the finish of these articles was always better than that of other countries.

Very broadly, cotton fabrics could be classified into three categories: unbleached, whitened cotton fabrics and prints. What was striking is that, though in different proportions, the dominance of English products was felt in each category. Thus, three fourths of the unbleached cotton fabrics were imported from England while Italy furnished 20%

²⁴⁹ Even though Mr. Waugh had said that Austria sold almost nothing, the statistical data shows the contrary. In the years 1907-1908, the importation of Austrian articles amounted to 689,380 kilograms. Thus, with its share which was around 8%, Austria followed Italy (15%). "Commerce extérieur de Constantinople", pp.519,520. See also Osmanlı Sanayii..., p.139.

and the rest of the market was shared by Germany and the Netherlands. The whitened cotton fabrics inferior in quality when compared with the previous ones, were again primarily imported from England. The exception arose in superior and more expensive qualities in which France was specialized. Italy, on the other hand, did not succeed to enter into this market. The importation of the third category articles, the prints, was a great threat to the local industry producing colored cotton fabrics. Again and again, England prevailed as the unsurpassed country, holding half of the prints' importation of Istanbul. The other half was shared by Italy, Germany, France, Spain and Switzerland. Differently, Italy's exportation passed through a trade association founded in 1899 by the three most important producers of the peninsula: E. de Angeli, Cousinella and Aglie. This agreement was, obviously, the setting of a term to their severe competition.

For the sales, the collection and the strength of the colors were very important. The preference of the consumers was towards the red, scarlet, chocolate, dark and light blue, dark grey and black. But, their main requirement was the unalterability of the colors.

A more detailed analysis of the market on cotton fabrics shows us that the most demanded article was the T.cloth (terry cloth) which was an unbleached fabric having a special heavy smell which was demanded by the customers. Its other characteristic was the selvage made of four or

five colors aligned parallelly, specifically yellow, purple, poppy-color and blue. Pieces sold on the market were of 24 or 36 yards, folded at every yard.²⁵⁰ Its width, on the other hand, varied between 29 and 36 inches. It was estimated that the annual importation had attained 3,000,000 pieces. England had a monopoly; almost the totality of the product was imported from there. Italy did not succeed to enter into the market while the United States sent certain quantities of T.cloth which were destined particularly for the interior provinces. The terry cloth was used for underwears and lining and its prices varied between 12 and 85 piasters per piece.

The whitened shirting known in the Empire as madapolam, the name of the city of its origin in India, came after the T.cloth. The inferior qualities which were the most demanded had a strong dressing. Its importation approximated to 9,000,000 pieces the length of which varied between 24 to 40 yards. Again England exported almost the total of this figure, the only exception being Alsace which furnished several thousands of pieces (about 3%). Italy entered into competition with England for the whitened shirting, unbleached shirting and the cabot. It took time to arrive at the same dressing, selvage and smell. But, they succeeded in the end. Thanks to their low prices, their sales had attained considerable figures. But, their

²⁵⁰ Some merchants managed to have the folds at a shorter length, one of the tricks of the market.

quality in general and resistance in particular was lower than the English ones. Consequently, the consumers who bought for a while Italian fabrics returned to the English products manufactured in Manchester and Bradford.²⁵¹

Cabot, on the other hand, is a twill material very resistant and stronger than the shirting. Its price was more or less fixed and did not leave any important profit to the merchants. According to Ernest Giraud, if they had not been forced to buy the fabric as an assortment, most of them would not have imported it. The fabric originated from the United States.²⁵² However, it was also produced in England and as was noticed above, Italy exported considerable quantities.

The dimicoton, is a sort of fustian, twill or diagonal. It is produced unbleached or whitened in different widths. Its back is fluffy. In brief, it is a sort of flannelette, fluffy on one side and was used for the manufacturing of drawers, shirts and baby's cloths. It was imported from Belgium, England and France. Nevertheless, its importance was moderate.

²⁵¹ A similar statement was published in the JCCC, in an article discussing the different reasons of the increase in the importation figures of English cotton fabrics in Istanbul. "Le commerce des manufactures", JCCC, 847, (30 March 1901), p.97.

²⁵² Ernest Giraud told that they arrived in small bales having almost a square shape. On the packing, there was inscribed "Use no hooks. Cabot. Made in USA." But since the porters of the city did not know the English, big hooks were used and generally a large tear was done on this English instruction. Ernest Giraud, "Cotonnades", p.923.

The dülbend or türban was another article which had an important consumption. It was the generic name of the light cotton fabrics like muslins of inferior quality. It was used for the manufacturing of yazmas.²⁵³ Their importation from England was mostly in white. It was in Istanbul that they were dyed in bright colors or printed with a wooden stamp.²⁵⁴ Since its color fixing required plenty of salty water the workshops were located in sea shore districts. On the shores of the Bosphorus and of the Golden Horn up to Yedikule several families lived on the dying or manufacturing of yazmas. Each village had its own speciality. Those of Üsküdar, for instance, were of moderate qualities, while those of the northern shores of the Bosphorus, specifically the yazma yemenis of Kandilli,²⁵⁵ were renowned for their good qualities. The shores of the Golden Horn and Yedikule, on the other hand,

²⁵³ The yazmas which could be translated as kerchiefs were small pieces of fabrics used as yemeni (head kerchief), bohça (a piece of fabric wrapped around a quantity of dresses, materials...in order to protect them) or quilting sheet. Resad Ekrem Koçu, "Basma", Türk Giyim, Kusan ve Süslenme Sözlüğü, (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayinlari, 1967), p.25.

²⁵⁴ The yazma designs were based on nature with floral, leaf and fruit designs being worked according to their originals. Geometric forms were not common. The principal of yazma was a border design encycling a field. Fatma Pamir Akbil, Türk El Sanatlarindan Örnekler, (Istanbul: Akademi Yayinlari, 1970), p.30.

²⁵⁵ The particularity of the yazma yemenis of Kandilli was that after the printing of the designs, their inside were filled by hand one by one. R.E. Koçu, "Yemeni", Türk Giyim..., p.246.

manufactured the inferior goods. The first printing workshop was founded in Üsküdar, later other factories in Yenikapi and Ahmediyye were added to it,²⁵⁶ but the bulk of the production was done in the houses. The pieces having a length of 20 yards and a width of 27-30 inches were sold at 30 or 40 paras. Some were embroidered in gilded thread and they were priced up to a mecidiye.²⁵⁷ Switzerland which sent considerable quantities decreased its exportation at the end of the nineteenth century. Instead, the local production which restructured²⁵⁸ itself attained significant levels. According to Ernest Giraud, the pieces dyed in Istanbul had to surpass a million. The main actors of this branch of trade were the Armenian entrepreneurs. They procured the material, brought it to the home of the workers who were mostly women. Then, the fabric was sent to different provinces of the Empire, Bulgaria, Syria and so on, according to their specialization. Thus, as in the lace

²⁵⁶ The struggle between the workshop of Üsküdar and those of European side was told by Donald Quataert in his book. Donald Quataert, *Home, Factory ...*, pp.112-114.

²⁵⁷ A silver coin which equalled twenty silver piasters.

²⁵⁸ "Bursa once had controlled most of production processes, both the weaving of the cloth and its decorative painting. But, c.1850, European weaving and printing factories replaced the Bursa producers. By the century's end, however the industry had changed and Europeans imports of finished product nearly had ceased. Instead only the thin fabric itself was imported". Donald Quataert, *"Ottoman Handicrafts..."*, p.174.

case, the yemeni trade was also structured in a putting-out system.

Sevaspoor which was inferior in quality to the dülbend characterized by its strong dressing was supplied by England. On the contrary, the coarser mermersahi mainly used for baby's shirts and handkerchiefs was of better quality. It had a bright appearance and was similar to a very thin madapolam. This article which was not very widely used was sold in pieces of 27 yards. Similarly, muslin fabrics also were of limited usage. They were of better quality and their weaving was well-done. They were marketed in small pieces and their width changed between 40 and 160 centimeters. Italy exported a small quantity but the most demanded were those of Tarare-France. The plain muslins were manufactured for Istanbul and particularly Persia. For this quality the width was 150 centimeters in small pieces of 7.5 meters of length. The tarlatan which was similar to the muslin was also produced in a single color for Istanbul. Mainly, it had an everyday usage. Picture frames, glasses were covered with it, lamps were protected from the flies, fruit-baskets, delights, çöreks, even the beds of the brides were covered with tarlitan. Its width varied between 60-160 centimeters. France only exported this article, Germany did not succeed to manufacture it with similar perfection.

Bugran or triplure is a lining which was used in the maintenance of the rigidity of the neck and front of the shirts. It was not of great importance. Its speciality was

that its dressing was very strong. It was supplied by England and in lesser quantities by Tarare. It was also produced in black for women's dresses.

England annually exported also 100,000 pieces of nainsook for the consumption of women. it was a sheer, strongly dressed fabric. Another English product, bazin was also imported by 50,000 pieces. It was very like the diagonal serge and its length was 24 yards.

Among printed cotton fabrics, the calicos, called basma by the indigenous population, were imported in great quantities from Manchester.²⁵⁹ Its annual exportation to Istanbul amounted to 800,000 pieces of 40 yards each. The moderate quality was the most demanded. The designs were unusual, the colors loud and sometimes badly printed. Nevertheless, its price was not high, its pic²⁶⁰ varied from 60 paras to 2 piasters.

²⁵⁹ Though the printing done in the country succeeded on small pieces of fabrics, the longer printed material had to be imported from European countries and the main customers of this article were the moderate or poor people. R.E. Koçu, "Basma", p.26.

²⁶⁰ "A measure of length used for cloth, etc. in the Turkish Empire and in the Levant generally, and varying from about 18 in. (45.72 cm.) to 28 in. (71.12 cm.), there being a long and a short standard. The Oxford..., XI, p.761. The çarşı arşını or market ell(pic), used for measuring cloth equalled 68 cm. Charles Issawi, The History of Economic History of Turkey..., p.374.

France, on the other hand, furnished the finer qualities surnamed basma saten (sateen,²⁶¹ printed batistes...²⁶²). Their designs were neat, the colors strong. But, their pic were priced between 4 and 6 piasters. Thus, their consumption was very limited.

The zephyr cloth was a sort of very light calico having multicolored jacquard twists sometimes striped by linen, woolen or silky lines. It was particularly used for the manufacturing of dresses. Annually, its importation levels reached 7,000-8,000 pieces each measuring 40-45 yards. As usual it was England which furnished the common ones, while Mulhouse supplied the inferior quality.

Coming now to the calicos for house furnishing like cretonne,²⁶³ crêpe,²⁶⁴ printed rep,²⁶⁵ France had been the main supplier of this category. Nevertheless, it lost the market in the beginning of 1900's. Germany and Austria

261 "A woven cloth receiving a mercerized finish and calendering to increase the luster. It is used for lining, draperies and garments". M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.209.

262 "A soft, somewhat sheer fabric in plain weave given a mercerized finish and used for infants' wear, dresses, blouses and lingerie". Ibid., p.31.

263 "A printed cotton fabric used for draperies, slip covers and upholstery. It is generally heavier and coarser than chintz and has a thick soft filling yarn". Ibid., p.33.

264 "A light-weight, plain weave fabric with a crinkled surface". Ibid.

265 "A drapery and upholstery fabric very similar to poplin but made of coarser yarns, the crosswise rib being very distinct". Ibid., p.37.

which, in the meantime, had achieved to produce a similar quality prevailed in the market. The Netherlands, on the other hand, with its exportation which amounted 10,000 pieces per year settled gradually in the market. The inferior qualities which importation attained 50,000 pieces were brought from Manchester.

The cotton flannelettes were on the same footing as dimicotons. In fact, their manufacturing was the same, the only difference was that the flannelettes were napped on both sides. The renowned printed flannelettes were those of Russia. Ernest Giraud reports that in order to attract the customers pedlars shouted in the streets "Russian flannelettes". As stated above, they increasingly replaced the woolen ones. The annual consumption of the city amounted to 50,000 pieces. In winter, 80% of dyed cotton fabrics sold in Istanbul were flannelettes, 80% of which was imported from Germany and Italy. Thus, Waugh, the vice-consul of England, recommended British industrialists to manufacture more flannelettes, the consumption of which increased every day.

If the knitted cotton fabrics were considered, a "fabric woven with two threads of different colors",²⁶⁶ the Vichy cotton took the first place in the list. Its annual consumption attained 200,000-300,000 pieces and was mostly

²⁶⁶ Ch. Petit, W. Savage, *Dictionnaire Français Anglais*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1946), p.1331.

used for the confection of dresses, aprons and carsafs.²⁶⁷ This article of French origin started in the 1900's to be imported from its concurrents. England had not been able to improve the dressing. Switzerland and Germany also had the same difficulties in the beginning, but at the end they succeeded to achieve almost the same quality. But, it was Italy which supplied the three fourths of the Vichy's cloth imported in Istanbul. The Italian ones were generally well-done. Their only failure was in the colors which were shorter than the marketed ones.

A similar but larger fabric was the dokuma, a sort of ticking.²⁶⁸ It was weaved by the cotton threads numbered between 21 and 24. In Istanbul, it was manufactured in Findikli where about fifty looms were working. But, there were no great profits in the business. Among those imported, the best qualities were sold as native manufactures. It was mainly used for slip-covers, bed-ticking and cloths of home life. England exported the ordinary ones of restrained width. Switzerland exported to Istanbul the superior ones. Germany, on the other hand, taking advantage of its successful dying, sold substantial amounts to Istanbul. As a result, it established its proper wideness of 117 centimeters found on the market.

²⁶⁷ Women's outdoor garment.

²⁶⁸ A heavy twill fabric.

Alacas were the narrow fabrics weaved with red and blue marine threads.²⁶⁹ Once, they were manufactured only in the Empire and those of Tire and Erzincan were the best ones.²⁷⁰ Later, England imitated them. In order to follow the local habit, it manufactured in small pieces of some ten pics. The bulk of the production was manufactured of two colors stripes, mostly the blue-marine and poppy-color sometimes yellow and black. The alacas imported from England and Italy were used in the production of waistcoats of Bosnian, Albanians and Montenegrins.

Coutils consumption also was important in Istanbul. They were sold in pieces of 35-40 meters. The superior qualities were imported from Germany while Switzerland and Belgium furnished the inferior ones used for the manufacture of trousers. The white coutils which had a limited consumption was supplied by England.

All sorts of kerchiefs were also imported in Istanbul. The three quarters was made in England which had replaced Switzerland. The white colored or printed English products were sold in the market. Italy and the Netherlands, on the other hand, imported a considerable amount of table-cloth and towels.

²⁶⁹ The alaca was generally a red fabric having yellow stripes. See R.E. Koçu, "Alaca", *Türk Giyim...*, p.10, and Mine Esiner Özen, "Türkçe'de Kumaş Adları", *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 33, (March 1980-81), p.300.

²⁷⁰ R.E. Koçu, "Alaca", p.10.

Before completing this part, it must be said that the quilts stuffed of cotton were very widely used in Istanbul. It was produced in the city and every year 20,000 quilts were sent to other provinces of the Empire. In every day usage, generally, a cotton fabric as a sheet was sown to one side of the quilt.

As stated in the beginning, the cotton fabrics were so various that those mentioned here did not and could not cover all sorts of material prevailed in the market. It gave us just an idea on the subject. Perhaps, as a last word, it must be noticed that Italy lost ground and Germany started to capture the market thanks to the variations in its designs which were very appreciated in the East.

Cloth²⁷¹

The word cloth for a long time designated the fabric manufactured of loosely spun and fuzzy carded woolen yarns. It frequently had a napped surface and consequently, a soft and fluffy texture. But, later, other qualities of yarn were mixed in its weaving. The mixture of combed wool and cotton gave a softer feeling, reduced its cost and frequently added to the attractiveness of its appearance and texture.

²⁷¹ This part was based on two commercial reports appeared in the RCL. The first was "Draps" article published in July 1899 and the other "Draperies" printed in the issue of October 1912. Other sources used were noticed in the footnotes.

According to J. Briata, the chief of the firm Robert Briata's Sons²⁷² founded in 1871, cloth imports to Istanbul, which were previously very important, decreased in the end of the nineteenth century. There were different reasons behind this. First of all, ready-made clothing started to be wide-spread. In the nineteenth century, when tailors were still numerous and the customers' choice of the bourgeois class was directed towards the superior qualities, considerable amounts of cloth were imported from Europe, principally from England and France, and partly, from Austria. However, with the changing conditions of the day,²⁷³ the biggest ready-made clothing firms from Vienna established in Istanbul their own warehouses which sold well cut and latest fashion suits and overcoats²⁷⁴ at very low

²⁷² This French firm was situated in Stamboul, Asir Efendi Kütüphanesi Street, Alyanak Han and had a branch in Izmir. Ernest Giraud, "La France à Constantinople", RCL, 237, (December 1906). E. Goad, Plan d'assurance de Constantinople, I, 12.

²⁷³ The fashion of the day had to be also considered.

²⁷⁴ Under the increasing competition of ready-made clothing, especially, of Austrian articles, the tailors of Istanbul demanded from the State the increase of the custom duties for this particular item in order to protect their industry. "La chambre de commerce de Constantinople", JCCC, 117, (26 March 1887), p.74.

prices.²⁷⁵ On the other hand, the Karamürsel Cloth Factory (Karamürsel Çuha ve Şayak Fabrikası) founded not far from Istanbul in 1892, satisfied part of the demand of the city's population.²⁷⁶ The last point is the loss of the Balkan markets. Balkan States and Eastern Rumelia, which used to get their supplies from Istanbul, preferred, with increasing transport facilities, to contact directly European countries for their transactions.

As it was stated above, in the 1890's, France, England and Austria were the main cloth suppliers. While Paris, Lyon, Marseille, London and Huddersfield specialized

²⁷⁵ Istanbul was a city where lived the higher number of small officers, administrative workers, professors and other people having a restraint budget who were obliged to buy from the ready-made clothing shops. Ernest Giraud, "Draps", RCL, 148, (July 1899), p.153. On the other hand, Austria had been able to maintain its low prices thanks to the good equipment of their factories, the low cost of their labor, their turnover and the low custom duties which did not differ from those of fabrics imported per piece, 8%.

²⁷⁶ The production of Feshane was principally destined for the army. Thus, the Karamürsel factory remained as the sole textile mill fulfilling the cloth consumption of its surroundings' population and competed with Bulgarian cloth. "Lettre d'Ismith, Draps", RCL, 148, (July 1899), p.118. The shop of the factory was in Galata, Yüksek Kaldırım, 112. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1912), p.915.

An advertisement in a woman magazine described us the products of the factory. "Karamürsel Fes ve Çuha Fabrikası İdaresinden varid olan ilandır. Fabrikadan elverisli pek güzel mallarımız gelmiştir. Erkekler için kostümlük ve pantolonluk her nevi akmise ve alafranga usulde hanımlar için yeni moda ceket ve kostümlük kumasların her türlü gayet nefis zenne erkek ve çocuk fanilaları ve donları dahi mevcuddur. Mallar günbegün daha nefis ve daha ehven düsmekte olduğundan ragbet edecek zevatin memnun kalacakları ilan olunur". *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 41, (19 Kanunsani 1311 - 19 January 1899), p.3.

in finer and better qualities, Bradford and Leeds traded secondary qualities in pure woolen cloth and common ones in wool weft and cotton warp. Austria-Brielitz, on the other hand, sent important quantities of colored plain cloth. Bédarieux tried to compete with Austria but its exportation levels never amounted to considerable figures. Two other French centers, Lisieux and Mazamet, which specialized in printed cloth and in low priced qualities respectively, were far surpassed the former by Bradford and the latter by Vienna. But, the newly rising centers of the time were Alsace with its combed woolen fabrics²⁷⁷ and Belgium with its carded fantasies.²⁷⁸ Belgium was for a while the greatest exporter of fantasie articles. Making use of the moderateness of its prices and of other advantages offered to the buyers, the cloth merchants of Istanbul acquired the possibility to create a variety of fantasies of different colors and designs at a price lower²⁷⁹ than that of France. Besides the advantage of the difference in prices, the Belgian manufacturers delivered pieces of 15 or 17 meters while French dealers did not sell below 22 meters of each color and design. Some of them even required a minimum of 40 or 45 meters.

²⁷⁷ Combed yarns are both smoother and stronger than carded yarns and are found in merchandise of better quality.

²⁷⁸ These not plain fabrics were ornate of fancy designs.

²⁷⁹ Approximately at two thirds of the French fantasies' price.

Under the threat of this new competition, the older textile centers felt the necessity to take some measures. France decided to change the structure of its trade. The manufacturing firms which conducted their business with commissionaires started to be directly represented. English producers, on the other hand, continued to deal with these intermediary agents of Huddersfield, Bradford and Leeds. Nevertheless, they decreased their qualities. Thus, cheaper cloth, the mixtures of wool and cotton, began to constitute the core of English cloth trade. In 1907-1908, for instance, the share of England in coarser cloth imports in Istanbul attained 76% while it was only 9% for finer qualities.²⁸⁰

Coming now to 1912, both the increase in population which was witnessed in Istanbul and its surroundings and, the speedy inclination of the society toward luxurious tastes reinforced the cloth trade, especially that of the cheaper qualities. England was no more the master of the cloth market. But, its advantage was that it produced very different qualities, from the most inferior one made of spinning wastes to the superior one destined to luxurious consumption. Though its importation was still considerable, its share decreased. For instance, its mixtures were replaced by the French ones which offered more advantageous conditions. On the other hand, the

²⁸⁰ See "Le commerce extérieur de Constantinople", p.509.

rivalry of the Netherlands in cheap products did not hurt much the position of England, since its exportation to Istanbul was limited. Belgium and Italy's shares also diminished. The Italian weavers who succeeded so well in cotton fabrics had not been able to attain the perfection in these fabrics nor a variety of choice. Those of Biella which were sold at very low prices were manufactured of ordinary wool dyed in the loose state.²⁸¹ They were usually weighted and dressed. The winners of this competition were, incontestably, Austria which reinforced its position and the developing Germany. They both successfully assimilated oriental tastes and adapted to the price levels and conditions of the Istanbul cloth market.

As a result, the older textile centers had to follow the more advantageous trade conditions that were presented by Germany for the Ottoman market. Before, France and England's longest terms of payment were of four months beginning from the invoice date. For cash payments, France accorded a 3% discount while England's rate was of only 2.5%. Nevertheless, the latter allowed for other reductions on the merchandise. It deduced from the bill the price of a yard per piece.²⁸² Belgian terms of payment, on the other

²⁸¹ The dying of these fabrics were sometimes done per piece. Obviously, the dying of the wool in the loose state being more thorough, the penetration of the dye could not be the same when the process was executed per piece.

²⁸² Of 60 to 80 yards.

hand, was more flexible and varied between four and six months moreover, its discount was higher, reaching 9%.

Germany which succeeded to manufacture a quality of cloth very soft in feeling and flattering in appearance, accorded, since its beginnings in the Ottoman cloth market, six months of terms and different discounts either on cash payments or on the merchandise. Soon, Italy and Austria also began to offer the same advantages. Though the official term of payment of the latter three countries was settled as six months, often, it was prolonged to seven or eight months. Further, a discount of 5% was granted if the payment was done at the end of the third month. Another advantage was that the mode of delivery could vary according to the agreement done. The merchandise could be delivered x-m1,²⁸³ f.o.b.²⁸⁴ or f.o.b. Istanbul²⁸⁵ In France, for instance, the cloth was either delivered x-m1 or sent f.o.b. Istanbul Roubaix-Tourcoing, for example, had adopted the latter option as another advantage granted to the buyers.

The English case was different. Above, it was said that the industrialists preferred to work with commissionaires. This appeared more as necessity than a

²⁸³ Or ex mill. The delivery of the merchandise is made in the factory. In other words, the saler does not stand any transport cost.

²⁸⁴ Or free on board. The saler takes the responsibility of placing goods on a ship at the point of embarkation, but the buyer bears all other expenses and risks.

²⁸⁵ See footnote 196.

preference since the demands of the industrialists were very strict. Besides their insistence on cash payments, the orders of the merchants had to amount to important figures for each different color and design. Consequently, it was the great commissionaires who ensured the link between the factories and the cloth merchants of Istanbul.²⁸⁶ These intermediary dealers who usually sold pieces of 60 to 90 yards accorded a term of forty days which most often was prolonged to two or three months with a discount rate of 2.5%. Nevertheless, with the increasing competition, some firms had to grant longer terms of payment, up to six months and sent the merchandise c.i.f.²⁸⁷ Istanbul, a certain percentage²⁸⁸ comprising the packing,²⁸⁹ transport and insurance costs was added to the bill. There were also commissionaires who sold suits to merchant-tailors at higher prices but longer terms. Besides these facilities already

²⁸⁶ Excepting for the great firms which preferred to work without any intermediary. They installed a branch of their office in Bradford and Leeds.

²⁸⁷ Or cost, insurance and freight. The price comprises all these expenses but the saler was free of any risk.

²⁸⁸ It rarely surpassed the 6%.

²⁸⁹ England was the only country among those trading the cloth with Istanbul which took the packing fee. In the deliveries the cloth was sent generally folded (each forty five centimeters). Nevertheless, some articles, principally, the heavy and fuzzy cloth for overcoat was rolled since their folding could harm the fabric. The same rolling manner was also followed for some low priced English cloth.

mentioned above, others were granted.²⁹⁰ However, they were not valid for luxurious cloth (Army's Cloth) and for serges.²⁹¹ On the other hand, an additional 5% discount was reserved for the cotton warp cloth denominated Union Cloth and Leather Cloth. Belgium also accorded six months of terms or discounted 3% or 5% when the payment was done between forty five and sixty days. The manufacturers were, generally, not responsible for the delivery of the merchandise, but even if it was not customary, the goods were also sent f.o.b. Anvers. As to the Netherlands, each manufacturer granted different facilities. Some were closer to German ones while others preferred to follow the English system. The last country mentioned here will be Bulgaria which accorded four or six months of terms. Differently, it discounted 0.5% or 0.75% for each month paid before term. For instance, if a buyer paid at the third month instead of the sixth, he benefitted from a discount of 1.5% or 2.5%.

For the settlement of the delays of payment, all European countries calculated the annual interest rate as 6%. The only exception was England which took 5% as a basis.

²⁹⁰ If it was assumed that a yard was offered for each eighty yards, it approximated to a discount of 1.25% .

²⁹¹ "A twill-weave fabric made from worsted yarns, sometimes with cotton warp, in a variety of weights and finishes. It is characterized by a prominent diagonal effect on both sides of the cloth". M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.210.

What were the different sorts of cloth consumed in Istanbul? The high and light meltons,²⁹² friezes,²⁹³ ratinés,²⁹⁴ fantasies, eiderdowns,²⁹⁵ cheviots,²⁹⁶ and mixtures²⁹⁷ were only some of them. Thus, solely, the consumption of which attained considerable quantities are detailed below.

The first item considered was the frieze or army's cloth. England was the main supplier of the blue army's cloth which changed to khaki after the constitutional regime. However, it was not the only one; the grey fabric used for the manufacturing of the greatcoat²⁹⁸ was also imported from Germany. Moreover, Eindhoven in the

292 "A heavily felted, short-napped woolen fabric of considerable thickness and little pliability used for overcoats. It is woven with a twill weave". Ibid. p.210.

293 "A rough, heavy woolen fabric with napped surface in plain or twill weave used for men's overcoating. Coarse wool yarns and shoddy are used in this fabric which is frequently of mixed colors as well as plain". Ibid. p.209.

294 "A loosely woven fabric made in plain weave with regulation warp and novelty wool yarn filling. The texture is rough and rather stretchy". Ibid. pp.37,210.

295 "A heavy quilt or comforter especially one filled with eiderdown". The Random House..., p.423. It is used for bath robes and infants' coats and robes. M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.34.

296 "A medium-weight woolen or worsted fabric similar to serge, but with a rough, slightly napped surface. It is made in twill weave and is used for coats and suits". M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.209.

297 Or Mélangés are fabrics woven of yarns combining various colors. The Random House..., p.856.

298 A heavy overcoat. Ibid., p.947.

Netherlands decreasing its price competed with the inferior English friezes, but its consumption remained limited since it was the English ones which were appreciated for their solidity, thickness and exactitude in deliveries. The expensive qualities, on the other hand, were also sent from Brachova-Austria and Bulgaria. It must also be mentioned that though its production was limited, the Karamürsel Cloth Factory produced also the frieze.

The second article considered here was the fantasie manufactured of wool and cotton. Mainly, it was a quality which interested those dealing with the confection of clothing. Again, England furnished an important quantity. Besides, it exported its high novelties of pure wool, the Scotch fantasies, marketed principally by the commissionaires of London, Leeds and Bradford. France tried to keep its place. Though those of Elbeuf were no more demanded because of their limited choice of designs and colors and high prices, other textile centers such as Roubaix and Tourcoing replaced their fantasies in the Istanbul market. Belgium also, mostly Verviers and its surroundings, exported to Istanbul, their fantasies of carded or combed wool or those mixed with the cotton. In the end of the nineteenth century, however, they were replaced by the manufactures of Cottbus and of Aix-la-Chapelle. Austria (Brünn) also exported its high novelty

fantasies²⁹⁹ of pure wool while Bulgaria sold the coarser qualities. The Italian textile centers of Nivera and Biella sent to Istanbul low priced combed and carded wool fantasies.

It was stated above that the English mixtures were partly replaced by those of Roubaix-Tourcoing. The Netherlands, on the other hand supplied the carded pure wool mixtures. Coming now to the cheviots, these pure wool fabrics in colors black and blue were imported from France while the plains and fantasies were imported in substantial quantities from England.

Knitted fabrics also could be included in this part. In the beginning of the 1900's, Belgium exported considerable quantities of this item; in a way, it had the exclusiveness in the selling of knitted fabrics. But, they were imitated, in a very short time, by Germany's, Forst and Reichenberg centers, which captured the market by selling at a lower price than Belgium. Austria also was another country prevailing on the market. The Austrian knitted fabrics were demanded, particularly, by the Muslim population of the provinces. Besides, they were used in the manufacturing of trousers for officers. But, the preferred

²⁹⁹ Novelty materials are weaved by novelty yarns which give the effect of irregularity or roughness of surface. M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.212.

fabric of the officers was the diagonal cloth³⁰⁰ which had apparent diagonal stripes.

As a conclusion, it could be said that unlike cotton fabric trade, a sole country did not monopolize the cloth market through centuries. The bulk of the cloth trade passed from one country to another. Thus, the dominance of England on the market which was obtained by surpassing France in the beginning of the nineteenth century was in its turn weakened in finer qualities by Austria at the twentieth century.

Clothing

Ready-made Clothing³⁰¹

We mentioned earlier the wide-spreading of ready-made clothing and the importance of Austria in this market.³⁰² The confection clothing imported from this country was sold by three Austrian firms established in

³⁰⁰ It is probably the Milanese fabric, since it has, just as the one described above, the simple designs of diagonal plaids and checks when some of the warp threads are in color.

³⁰¹ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Vêtements confectionnés et lingerie", RCL, 271, (October 1909), pp.437-452.

³⁰² By 1870 the Franco-Prussian War seriously affected the clothing trade of France, and Vienna using this advantage, emerged as a major fashion center. In the early 1900's, "a Vienesese model dress had almost the cachet of a French one". Doris Langley Moore, *Fashion through Fashion Plates 1771-1970*, (New-York: Clarkson N. Potter Inc, 1971), p.17.

Galata.³⁰³ These firms which had their headquarters in Vienna marketed their articles not only in Istanbul but also in the principal cities of the Empire. They also had branches in Beyoglu or Stamboul. They had a substantial annual turnover thanks to their advertising campaigns. In their shop-windows, on the other hand, goods were ingeniously exposed, their prices attached on them. Moreover, tailors working for these establishments did the necessary adjustments according to the customers' needs.

After the Tanzimat, men in Istanbul were increasingly wearing European dress. Therefore, the sector of ready-made clothing was basically specialized in men's garments. More precisely, 75% of the sales were designed for men's consumption while children's and women's clothing constituted respectively 15% and 10% of the sales.

³⁰³ Ernest Giraud was probably thinking of Victor Tiring and Brothers, Carl Carlmann, A. Mayer or perhaps of Fratelli Goldenberg, S. Stein and V. Schmill and Sons. Three of them, Tiring, Mayer and Goldenberg (the owner of Au Paon) had their shops next to one another on the Grande rue de Galata. See E. Goad, *Plan d'Assurance de Constantinople, Péra and Galata*, II, 28, (December 1905). Schmill, the former partner of Tiring, had continued to supervise one of the shops of this partnership established in Karaköy street, 27 but his warehouse of clothes was on the Stamboul side, in Sirkeci. See the *Indicateur Ottoman* of 1880 (p.177) and the *Annuaire Oriental* of 1889-90 (p.452). Stein who was also specialized in military clothing for sailors, owned two shops, one in Karaköy Square, 2 and the other in Bahçe Kapi, 36. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1912), p.936. What is striking in these names, is that all of them are Jewish, a fact which could be explained by the high proportion of Jewish tailors in Austria. Similarly Berlin also had its hard-working Jewish tailors but they were not so well equipped to develop this craft as much as the latter country. See Doris Langley Moore, *Fashion....*, p.17.

Among men's garments, woolen suits were the most consumed. Their prices varied between 100 and 400 piasters and, as usual, the moderate prices of 150-200 formed the main part of the demands. The suits of this category were good enough in quality, had a good cut and could profit of the necessary adjustments if desired. Cheviots, cashmere and similar fabrics of inferior quality which were mixed with cotton, were different fabrics used in their manufacturing. Principally, Austrian or German materials were used but secondary English woolen fabrics were also utilized. Austrian industrialists knew also to seize the opportunities of the market to minimize their cost, buying at very low prices pieces of bad work, goods left in the sellers' hands or stocks of bankruptcy.

A tailor-made suit of good quality fabrics manufactured in Istanbul was sold at about 330 piasters. Ready-made clothing was, generally, lower priced since it was seen mostly as a secondary quality article.

Our main concern was with woolen suits but cotton ones were also sold for the warm seasons. White, khaki or fantasy suits for men and children or waistcoats of the same material were found in the market. Nevertheless, the white clothing was not so much sold due to the dust of the city which turned into mud when the streets were watered. Ernest Giraud stated³⁰⁴ that one living in this city had to change

³⁰⁴ Ernest Giraud, "Vêtements confectionnés et lingerie", p.444.

his clothes every day, not being sure of remaining clean all day. Thus, white clothes were mostly worn in the countryside or when going to hunting .

The overcoat, on the other hand, had a particular place in the clothing habits of the inhabitants of the city. In a way, it completed the clothing of the elegant man. They were priced between 100 and 600 piasters, the latter one being the price of overcoats ornate with an astrakhan collar. Those mostly sold were overcoats of 200 piasters.

The clothing confection had a fixed price³⁰⁵ which could not be bartered. Nevertheless, sometimes they decreased the price not to loose customers. On the other hand, the great shops granted credit facilities to the employees of the administrative services and accepted monthly payments. Generally, the cashier of the administration undertook these payments and employees were responsible for each other. If a debtor died or left his work, all his colleagues shared his debt. This system while increasing, without any great risk, the turnover of the shop in one hand, insured to the government officials not to leave half of their wages³⁰⁶ at one time. Evidently, the price of the garment was a little bit increased when the payment was done by credit.

³⁰⁵ See for instance the advertisement announce of Carlmann and Blumberg in *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90).

³⁰⁶ Which did not amount even 500 piasters.

In the city, there was also an industry of ready made clothing. It was even said that its production, of 31 million piasters, was higher than the quantity imported. Basically, two different categories of clothes were manufactured. First, the good quality ones which were equal to the Austrian garments and perhaps even better since the same quality of fabrics were sewn by skillful tailors working for lower wages. The second category consisted of the quality of clothes which were most easily sold, that is secondary quality clothes. They were made of German or Austrian fabrics of very inferior quality. Further, they were sewn³⁰⁷ by the very cheap labor of the city, the tailors who were helped by their wife, children and, when necessary, by other childworkers. Everything, outside of the buttonholes, was made with a sewing machine and these workers, which were paid by piece, earned 1 or 2 piasters per trousers. These trousers were sold in the market at 20 and 30 piasters while a suit varied between 80 and 100

³⁰⁷ Beginning from the end of the nineteenth century, the rising availability of sewing machine played an important role in the emergence and expansion of several sweatshops industries including the manufacture of umbrellas (see below) and ready-made clothing. Donald Quataert, *Home, Factory...*, p.116. Thus, since the first years of the twentieth century, the sewing machine became an indispensable tool of the houses, even families having a very limited budget, owned one. Ernest Giraud stated that around 80% of the sewing machines, sold particularly to the home market, were hand-driven and added that this was due to a popular belief that the pedal-driven machines were harmful to the health. Ernest Giraud, "Machines à coudre", RCL, 203, (February 1904), pp.265, 272.

piasters. Trousers, made of cotton fabrics of Lodz³⁰⁸ were also sold by pedlars as low as 5 piasters, on Karaköy Square. The low priced clothing left much to be desired by its cost as well as the quality of the fabric used. However, they principally corresponded to the needs of the poor population of the city.

Ready-made clothing for women was mainly sold in Beyoglu. Three different articles were marketed: mantles, blouses and dresses.

Mantles of good and moderate qualities were supplied by France but Berlin and Vienna also entered into this market. One dealing with this trade had noticed that among ten moderate quality mantles, five came from Berlin, three from Paris and two from Vienna. Further, when the very cheap quality is considered, it was mostly imported from Berlin and the rest from Vienna.

The tailors of Beyoğlu also manufactured mantles which were imitations of French models. Their only variations were in the colors and accessories adapted to the tastes of the consumers.

Imported dresses constituted a very small portion of the consumption since most of them were manufactured by the skillful tailors of the city.³⁰⁹ Thus, if half or more

³⁰⁸ Imitation of the cloth. Lodz is a city in central Poland.

³⁰⁹ The cheaper dress came to 1.5 Turkish Liras. Ernest Giraud, "Industrie indigène", p.931

of the men population of the city bought ready-made suits , for women this percentage decreased even more, 20% only of women buying confection dresses.

Blouses were mostly imported from Vienna. Berlin came after. Paris, on the other hand, sent the finer models. Vienna was specialized in blouses made of cloth, lace, silk or flannel. Those manufactured of batiste fabric were severely competed by England which had lower prices. But, as the previous article, blouses were also made on order and most of the women preferred them to have clothes of haute couture which would fit better on them. But, for the girls clothing the circumstances differed. A lesser importance was given to the young ladies and, therefore, their garments were more often bought ready-made from the shops of Beyoglu.

Shirts, Collars and Cuffs³¹⁰

The Austrian-owned ready-made clothing stores sold also other garments than suits and overcoats. Shirts, for instance, were imported in considerable quantities.³¹¹ Obviously, the bulk of the importations came from Austria.

³¹⁰ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Chemises d'hommes et cols", RCL, 309, (December 1912), pp.752, 761.

³¹¹ Though it could not be quantified since it was not specially indicated in the statistics of the customs, the increase in the population of the city and the exaggerated luxurious tastes of its inhabitants supported this argument.

Three different categories of shirts were sold in the market: white shirts, colored ones and night-dresses.

White shirts were mostly demanded neither with a collar³¹² or cuffs. They were manufactured of linen, cotton or of both materials. The preferred quality was the one manufactured in cotton but having a front in linen. Moreover, the shirts' fronts also varied. They were plain as well as pleated, stitched or embroidered. On the other hand, soft shirts though in small quantities started to be used.

On the wholesale market, a dozen of shirts was priced between 144 and 300 piasters and those manufactured of linen were marketed between 360 and 600 piasters. On the retail market, the price of a good quality shirt sold in Beyoglu varied between 20 and 25 piasters for those having plain fronts, while those in pleated fronts attained 30 piasters. There were even first quality shirts bought at 95 piasters a piece.

The colored shirts were made of zephyr cloth or cretonne and had a various collection of colors and designs. As the white ones they were marketed without collars, but differently, cuffs were included. They were even delivered with an additional pair of cuffs. Further, their front was mostly pleated.

³¹² Only very few white shirts had its own collar.

Their dozen was sold between 126 and 360 piasters, sometimes even higher. In the stores of Beyoglu, a colored shirt was priced between 25 and 32 piasters, sometimes reaching up to 40 piasters. These shirts were soft with the exception of the neck opening and cuffs.

Coming now to night-dresses, they were mostly white with turn down collars ornate of inlays or red, pink, blue embroideries. Some were manufactured of linen, but mostly, they were produced of cotton materials. The most common length in use was 130 centimeters. In wholesales, their dozen varied between 240 and 300 piasters, and sometimes even more. Thus, a night-dress pleated in its front was sold at 28 piasters in Beyoglu.

Shirts, in general, were marketed in cardboard boxes each comprising three of them. When talking of inferior qualities, however, this number increased to six. The packaging was free. The sole exception arose when the customers ordered superior quality shirts folded each in its own box.

Besides shirts, collars and cuffs were separately sold in the market. In the important stores of Beyoğlu, such as Bon Marché, cotton collars were sold at 2.5 and 3.5 piasters, their dozen amounting to 28-38 piasters. Those in linen were priced at 4 and 5.2 piasters. Similarly, the cuffs were made of linen or cotton and their width varied between 25 and 30 centimeters. In the wholesale market, the dozen of pairs of cuffs in cotton was sold between 12-60

piasters while in the retail, a pair in cotton was sold at 4 piasters. The linen cuffs were more expensive, 5 piasters.

In the summer or during travels, soft collars generally manufactured of cretonne or zephyr cloth were preferred. A dozen of these white, colored or striped collars was sold at 21-36 piasters in the wholesales.

The three fourths of the collars and cuffs were imported from Prague. The rest which constituted the good quality linen products sold in the stores of Beyoglu were imported from Germany, Italy and England. All the manufacturers sold their articles at four or six months of term and granted a discount which varied between 2.5% and 5.5%. It should be added that the packaging was comprised in the price.

Collars and cuffs made of celluloid³¹³ were increasingly used, especially after the coming out of the printed celluloid fabrics which could be taken for zephyr cloth. The advantages of celluloid collars were great. First, they were economical. A well-kept collar, in other words, a collar washed every day with its special soap, could be used for six months. Further, it got less dirty

³¹³ In today's term, they were made of rayon. This word, however, was utilized later. The Federal Trade Commission, which adopted this new name in 1924, defined the rayon as "the generic term for manufactured textile fiber or yarn produced chemically from cellulose or with a cellulose base, and for thread, strands or fabric made therefrom, regardless of whether such fiber or yarn be made under the viscose, acetate, nitrocellulose or other process". M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.115.

than those of cotton or linen, the ironing of which was expensive and short-lived. During the hot days of summer, this celluloid collar did not cockle like starched collars. In brief, a meticulous man could be always neat with at most three collars per year, that is at the price 13.5 piasters. Moreover, the old ones could be used for hunting.

The celluloid cuffs also were very widely used. Simple ones as well as those called "protector", utilized to preserve those in linen during the work, were the different models sold in the market. The celluloid cuffs and collars were marketed in similar sorts and colors as linen articles. In wholesale trade, a dozen of collars was priced between 15 and 24 piasters while it varied between 36 and 48 for the simple cuffs and between 24 and 36 for the "protector" ones.

If the importations attained considerable quantities, the indigenous production also had a part in the market of shirts. It had specialized, particularly, in superior qualities. Different shirts were manufactured of different fabrics. The usual white shirts were made of materials imported from England for good and ordinary qualities, Italy for good quality, Austria for moderate quality and France for the superior one. The fabric of linen white shirts were first furnished by France and then by Austria and England. The colored shirts which constituted the main part of the production were made of zephyr cloth which was imported from England, Austria and France.

In Istanbul, the three French firms dealing with the trade of shirts, collars and cuffs were Orosdi-Back³¹⁴ in Stamboul both for the wholesale and retail market, Bon Marché owned by Bortoli Brothers and Maison A. Demilleville³¹⁵ in Beyoğlu for retail. Other than these big firms, several firms were dealing with shirts trade. Albert Kun³¹⁶ imported the best qualities from London and Paris while Hayden³¹⁷ besides his importations manufactured also on orders. Karnik Bechiktachlian³¹⁸ and Mir and Cottereau³¹⁹ were other tailors who also sewed shirts to

³¹⁴ Successor of A. Orosdi founded in 1855. It was transformed to a limited company in 1895 by Léon Orosdi, Hermann Back de Surany, Philippe Orosdi and Joseph Back de Surany. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90) and E. Pech, op. cit., p.220.

³¹⁵ Founded in 1858. His shop was on the Grand'rue de Péra, 303. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90).

³¹⁶ In Beyoğlu, Grand'rue de Péra, 399, on the other side of the Byzance Hotel. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90).

³¹⁷ "For men, ready-made and custom-made shirts, collars, ties, etc... In Galata, Voyvoda Street, 87" *Resimli Kitab*, 5, 26, (Teşrin sani ve Kanun evvel, 1326 - November and December 1910).

³¹⁸ Specialized in men's and children's garments. Havuzlu Han, 37, Stamboul. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90).

³¹⁹ Founded in 1850. Their shop were on the Grand'rue de Péra, 140, below the Cercle Oriental. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90).

their customers whereas Stronguilo brothers³²⁰, shirtmakers of the Palace and Theodore A. Mylonas³²¹ had their own factory of shirts.

Hosiery³²²

The word hosiery defined stockings as well as other goods knitted or woven like a hose. Ernest Giraud said that hosiery comprised any article manufactured of one thread. It was important for the economy since the labor constituted half of the manufacturer's price. In Istanbul, also, the hosiery was an important branch of trade and considerable amounts were imported from Europe. Since hosiery comprised numerous articles, only some of them will be mentioned below.

The first one will be the flannel-vest. The flannel vest with sleeves was very widely used in Istanbul which was always wet and hot in the summer. According to the season the fabric used differed; cotton in the summer and wool in the winter.

³²⁰ In Beyoglu, Grand'rue de Péra, 272, at the entrance of Anatolian Passage. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1912), p.2132. Mentioned wrongly as Etronguilos Brothers by Said Duhani. Said N. Duhani, *Eski İnsanlar Eski Evler*, 19. *Yüzyıl Sonunda Beyoglu'nun Sosyal Topografyası*, trans. by Ahmet Parman, (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing Otomobil Kurumu, 1984), p.93.

³²¹ In Sultan Hamam, 19. He had a branch in Beyoğlu, Grand'rue de Péra, 375.

³²² Based on Ernest Giraud, "Bonneterie", *RCL*, 207, (June 1907), pp.917-927.

Its price varied according to its quality and size. Nevertheless, as usual, the cheaper qualities were the most easily sold. In the same parallel, the bulk of the orders was toward the bleached cotton waistcoats. Nonetheless, colored ones also were demanded. Particularly, the camisole, together with its colored and mercerized ribbons or embroideries, was imported.

Italy (Biella and Busto-Arsizio) had the greatest share with 35%. The clear-sighted Italian manufacturers had been able to imitate all the articles manufactured in other countries. Among the flannels sent from this country three fifth were woolen, the rest was in cotton. Germany's exportation (25%), on the other hand, was half and half. The specialization of this country was in ordinary waistcoats, colored fantasy novelties, camisoles ornate of ribbon and embroideries; in brief, well-done articles. They had succeeded to be renowned for their quality and did their best to keep it. Obviously, this way of thinking improved their quality every year.

The specialization of England in the Istanbul market, constituted of woolen articles. Its waistcoats were the best and Germany, which tried to monopolize this English product, was its greatest competitor. France, on the other hand, sold some beautiful cotton specialities sent, particularly, from Aube and Somme. Germany and Spain had tried to imitate these cotton articles without any great success. But Spain entered into the market of cotton fannel

vest of ordinary quality. As to Austria's share, it was of no importance.

The second article which had a great demand was the stockings and socks.³²³ Evidently, those manufactured of cotton which constituted 70% of the consumption were the most demanded. The rest of the demand was for woolen stockings and socks.

Men's socks were also manufactured according to the fashion of the day. In the 1900's, they were all black. Women's stockings also were mainly black. Nonetheless, colored socks and stockings were also sold in the market. In the summer, white or straw-colored, particularly openwork stockings were worn jointly with white shoes. socks and stockings were manufactured of twisted or mercerized threads, the latter being characterized by their silky dressing. Children's socks followed the same fashion.

Germany almost monopolized the entire market of socks and stockings in Istanbul. 80% of imports were realized from this country and the greater part of the quantity supplied was in cotton. France followed it with 10%, mostly in cotton. England, on the other hand, with its woolen articles had acquired 7% of the market. Italy, Spain and Austria shared the remaining 3%. Particularly, Spain tried to enter into the market with its good quality socks and stockings.

³²³ called also half-hose.

As always, the finer qualities were imported from France and England. Troyes and its surroundings sent superior quality woolen products. Socks and stockings manufactured by a mixture of cotton and wool which gave way to important business were furnished in Aube and Somme.

Germany had adopted a very nice packaging. Every six socks and stockings were packed in a cardboard box providing a luxurious appearance. Moreover, each pair was bound together in three different places by green or grenade colored silk thread. The French or English ones were also packed in six but the cardboard box was optional.

The woolen knitted undershirts were solely furnished by France up to the 1900's and these fine articles were very appreciated in Istanbul. However, the newly industrializing Italy, entered into the market to compete successfully with them.

The pure woolen or mixed cardigans, priorly largely consumed were no more demanded. The ordinary quality was exported from Italy and Germany and the better ones were sent from France. But, it was really insignificant.

Children's articles as dresses and cloaks for babies, children's berets, babies' knitted shoes were mainly furnished by Germany, but a few superior quality products came from France.

Crocheted woolen shawl imported from Germany were not profitable for the trade of Istanbul merchants. This

decrease in the profit rates put also an end to the jersey trade which was previously conducted with Berlin.

Mufflers, on the other hand, which were the speciality of Austria were very widely used in the provinces in the winter season. But, again, in Istanbul, the quantity sold was limited.

In the city, the principal dealer of hosiery was Orosdi-Back, a French firm. Nonetheless, there were also several important or smaller firms.³²⁴ It was noticed by Ernest Giraud that the principal traders in hosiery were the dönmes³²⁵ from Salonika. These merchants went every year to Saxony, the main production center of hosiery. Often, the travel was undertaken two or three times per year. There, they examined several models sold by great firms. Then, they looked for and found at the end, smaller manufacturers working for these great firms. They bartered with the smaller firms in cash and obtained an important reduction in the price. Nonetheless, for other European countries, the products were still sent through the commissionaires of Istanbul. A very important point in this trade was that errors were severely punished by the merchants of Istanbul and, in such cases, European industrialists had to agree to a considerable reduction on the price. Mostly, the hosiery articles were sold in cash with a discount of 5% to be paid

³²⁴ See the appendix IV.

³²⁵ It is the Turkish word of apostates. The term is particularly used for Jews converted into Islam.

after sixty days upon the receiving of the merchandise. But, this period could easily be extended to three months. Generally, the prices were set c.i.f. Istanbul and comprised the packaging fee.

The indigenous production also existed in the country. The hosiery factory of Salonika, for instance, though in smaller quantities than the interior provinces, sent waistcoats, socks, stockings and other articles to Istanbul.³²⁶ Another factory producing socks, stockings, waistcoats... was founded in Istanbul, Sisli. When founded in 1894-1895, its beginning was not so successful. However, a new group of Ottoman capitalists had transformed the factory and, the articles manufactured there started to be easily marketed in their shop opened in Galata in 1899.³²⁷

Underwears³²⁸

The outer appearance was very important for the population of Istanbul. But, the same attention was not given to under garments since they were only seen by the husband and the husband counted for nothing. On the contrary, when a woman had beautiful underwears she was disapproved and criticized by her milieu who asked her "for

³²⁶ A total of 10,000-12,000 Turkish Liras.

³²⁷ "Une nouvelle industrie Ottomane", JCCC, 779, (9 December 1899), p.386.

³²⁸ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Vêtements confectionnés et lingeries", pp.450-452.

whom these beautiful under garments were worn?". Therefore, the luxurious linen had a limited consumption. Nevertheless, every woman, once in her life, bought beautiful under garments for her trousseau which was traditionally exposed before her marriage.

The under garments for the trousseau were made by the sisters orphanage of Saint-Vincent de Paul renowned for its beautiful linens. In such establishments, labor was cheap, expenses very limited and, moreover, they benefited of some other advantages. Thus, it became difficult to compete with them. Similarly, Greek orphanages also manufactured important quantities to the market.

The small quantity of underwears imported in Istanbul came from Vienna. Fewer quantities came from Berlin and Brussels while France furnished only the different models. The total of under garments' importation was constituted of cotton articles. Several firms were dealing in underwears. Other than the Bon Marché, Maison A. Demilleville, Carlmann and Blumberg, M. Chryssoi and

Co.,³²⁹ another renowned shop in Beyoğlu specialized in the linen trade was owned by the widowed Etienne Touzet.³³⁰

Briefly, a great quantity of under garments were manufactured in the country, often at home by skillful embroiderers. The necessary cotton fabrics, on the other hand, were imported, as usual from England but Italian cotton fabrics also started to enter the market.

Corsets³³¹

The word corset of French origin was a diminutive of corps (body). It was more an apparatus than a cloth and "was used in order to modify more or less, hopefully, women's shapes and to squeeze their waists".³³² Although medically, the corset had been proven hazardous to the

³²⁹ Founded in 1868 and established in Beyoğlu, Grand'rue de Péra, 420. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90).

³³⁰ In the Hazzopulo passage, number 30. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1912), p.936. Said Duhani had told us a story about the owner of the shop. When the husband of Etienne Touzet was still alive, he had the habit to give alms to a beggar who visited him every day. One day, he was nervous since he had to pay the invoice and the banks were closed (they were so often closed for every feast of different religions...). The beggar who did not get his alms asked the reason to his wife. Mrs. Touzet explained the situation. He said "if the problem was only the money, I will lend you, the assistance must be mutual" and gave the necessary amount to them. Then, he added "you reimburse me next week, merchants had to help each other". Thus, being able to pay his dept, Mr. Touzet did not besmirch his good name. S.N. Duhani, op. cit., pp.77-78.

³³¹ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Corsets", RCL, 311, (February 1913), pp.331-339.

³³² Ibid., p.331.

health, women would not cease to wear it, for it became a part of their clothing accessories.³³³ Men, on the other hand, criticized women by saying that the most reasonable women wore it loosely, others squeezed it. But, they also appreciated the shapes of women wearing this apparatus. A friend of Ernest Giraud, for instance, said that "the corset held the mighty shapes, supported the feeble ones, brought back disordered shapes and hid the defects".³³⁴

At the turn of the century, the consumption of corsets increased. Before, it was only utilized by Europeans or some non-Muslim women, but, later, every women who wanted to be dressed in European style,³³⁵ started to adopt it without any distinction of religion or race. Ernest Giraud interpreted this as "equality by the corset."³³⁶ The principal part of the corsets was furnished by Austria, Italy and Germany while Belgium and France were specialized in expensive corsets, the sales of which were insignificant.

³³³ See the article in Hanimlara Mahsus Gazete which presented a healthier corset to those willing to have a beautiful shape. Emine Seniye, "Moda ve Korse", Hanimlara Mahsus Gazete, 59, (11 April 1312 - 1896), p.2.

³³⁴ Ernest Giraud, "Corsets", p.333.

³³⁵ Emine Seniye had described us the comedy of women who were not comfortable in their corset since these women who wore large dresses at home, were not used to it. Emine Seniye, loc. cit.

³³⁶ Ernest Giraud, "Corsets", p.334.

The Austrian corset was good enough when compared with the low priced articles. It was a beautiful fantasy ornate of laces, small ribbons, knots... and was sold in a flat cardboard box. At least, such were those marketed in Beyoglu and which had become renowned for their quality. Evidently, real baleens were not used in its manufacturing, instead, fine steels warped with paper replaced them. When horns of buffalos or oxens were utilized, a label marked "real baleens" was attached.

Italian ones were very cheap. Even though the baleens were made of reeds, it was estimated as a success to produce at such a low price. The manufacturers of the peninsula did not trade directly with Istanbul, they preferred to do their transaction through a firm, that of Montavani established in Milan. However, more expensive models were also furnished. These ones were not only white but in other colors: grey or straw colored. Nonetheless, the Italian corsets remained as secondary articles which were sold in the interior provinces or in Istanbul, by small shop-keepers and pedlars.

German corsets also were of the same categories, they manufactured corsets with reed baleens. A better quality was manufactured of steel in white or grey colors if desired. The cheaper ones were delivered in cases while those of superior quality were marketed in flat boxes.

The novelty articles were the most expensive ones since the persistent competition present in ordinary corsets

was not valid for this category of corsets. The main furnishers of this article were Belgium and France. They were well-done, strong and each of them had a beautiful shape.³³⁷ But, when comparing corsets of the same category, they were not as flashy as the Austrian ones. The preferred French mark was DS or Déesse belonging to M.A. Clément from Limoge. Another French mark³³⁸ also very well known was La Sirène. It belonged to the Farcy and Oppenheim Establishments in Paris and had an important market in Istanbul.

French firms which sold the corsets in Istanbul were Orosdi-Back in Stamboul for the secondary articles and the Maison Parret in Beyoğlu,³³⁹ directed by Simon Dapola for better qualities. The Austrian firm, Carlmann and Blumberg also was one of the firm specialized in the corset trade of the city.

The terms of payment of the corset factory were six months which were sometimes prolonged to eight. For cash payments, the discounts varied between 3% and 5%. Nevertheless, the prevailing habit was 3%. France delivered the merchandise x-ml. All other firms sold it c.i.f.

³³⁷ Its shape was important for the corset.

³³⁸ Though it was mentioned as a Belgian mark, it was corrected in the following issue of RCL. RCL, 312, (March 1913), p.466.

³³⁹ Grand'rue de Péra, 262. The workshop was established in Tütüncü Geçidi, Reşid Paşa apt., 1. Annuaire Oriental, (1912), p.960.

Istanbul. The packaging fee, on the other hand, was comprised in the price.

The very low priced corsets had two stocking suspenders while the expensive corsets had four. The usual form sold was the straight one. As stated above, the ordinary quality was generally supplied in white, grey and straw color. The expensive quality was more colored. Pink and sky blue were the most demanded.

There was also a local production specializing in luxurious corsets³⁴⁰ which varied according to the fashion trends. The elegant woman had to accept the requirements of her tailor. Thus, the tailor who recommended his corset-maker, also had to benefit from a commission depending on the model ordered. According to Ernest Giraud, there were four principal firms³⁴¹ which manufactured corsets in Beyoglu and their overall production attained important figures.

Initially, a corset made to order cost at least 3 Turkish Liras, often it increased to 5. But, as time passed

³⁴⁰ France was more competitive in the luxurious qualities. Corsets manufactured locally could not be as good as the French article since France had a long experience of perfection.

³⁴¹ One of them established in the Cité d'Alep was owned by Mrs. R. Schmit who had learned the details of her technic in Paris. Ernest Giraud, "La France à Constantinople", RCL, 236, (November 1906), p.697. Others could be shops owned by Mme Ferdinand, Mme Dellasuda and Hovaghimian Brothers (Mme Suzan Burbon was at the head of this section). Kadınlar Dünyası, 142, (9 May 1330 - 1914).

its price decreased and in 1913, it cost 1.5 Turkish Liras or at the most 2.5.

There were three different basic models and all the others derived from them. The small corset or corselet which was used in the morning when undressed, the straight corset of 35-45 centimeters of length and the fourreau which descended to the knees.

The bulk of the sales was on the straight one. They were generally made of coutil in white or colored in pink, blue sky, sometimes striped or ornate of flowerets on white ground. Fantasy fabrics, half silky half cotton ornate of different designs were also utilized. The fourreau could only be procured by order and was made of rubberized cloth. The corselet, on the other hand, was only made of white coutil. The most demanded sizes were between 48-72 in the corslet, particularly, between 54-66. The fourreau's size varied between 56-96. The most demanded were 64-86.

Corsets for children were another branch of specialization and were manufactured of white coutil or cotton fabrics.

Accessories

Men's Hats³⁴²

³⁴² Based on Ernest Giraud, "Chapeaux d'hommes", RCL, 212, (November 1904), pp.631-649.

In the Empire the usual hat was the fez.³⁴³ Muslims could not wear another hat. It was the headgear of the governmental services as well as the army. The exception arose in the cavalry and artillery which had adopted the kalpak.³⁴⁴ In brief, almost all of the Muslim population wore fezes. Differently, ulemas adopted a white or green türban while dervishes put on a stiff long cylindrical hat manufactured of brown felt.

The European hats were, therefore, adopted by foreigners and a limited number of non-Muslims. Nevertheless, among the latter group the number of those wearing hats continuously increased since European hats were estimated as more elegant.

Top hats, excepting very rare occasions, were not worn in Istanbul. Even if somebody was clothed with a dress-coat, he usually put a bowler on. On the other hand, they were people who wore (top hats all the time, even in their daily life to appear more respectable. Otherwise, it was the bowler which was the preferred model of hat. Then came the soft felt hat, woolen ones, caps,³⁴⁵ fur caps - almost abandoned-, the small toque which was the national head-gear of Croatsians and Montenegrins, the brimless and

³⁴³ See the next part for the analysis of this article.

³⁴⁴ A large black cap of sheepskin or other heavy material. The Random House..., p.193.

³⁴⁵ Worn particularly by the Christian employees of the port, the sailors and children.

bell-shaped hats of Greek priests, the straight and brimless hats of Armenian priests and top hats.

The importation of men's hats was more important than the women's ones.³⁴⁶ Italy which had partly replaced France and England had the greatest share in the market. Its annual exportation of felt and woolen hats was estimated at 24,000 pieces. Straw hats which took the primary place in this trade were evaluated at 36,000 pieces. In addition to these, Italy had smaller exportation of caps and berets which attained 12,000 pieces and fur caps, the annual figure of which was lower, between 8,400 and 9,600. France and England though in smaller quantities, still marketed their hats. The exportation of France in felt and woolen hats amounted to around 8,000-9,000 pieces. Besides, it furnished annually 12,000 fine quality straw hats and 24,000 rattan and manila, lower in quality. For the caps, this figure was of 2,000. Specialities of France in the Istanbul market were top and cocked hats. However, though almost the total consumption came from France, their importation did not amount to considerable figures. England, on the other hand, exported 5,000 felt and woolen hats, about 7,000-8,000 berets for children and 1,000 caps. Austria-Hungary embarked from Trieste straw hats designated particularly for

³⁴⁶ In 1907-1908, the importation of men's hats was 25,997 kilograms while that of women's hats gave us a lower figure, 10,668 kilograms. These numbers were not much when compared with the importation of fezes which amounted to 197,558 kilograms for the same years. "Commerce extérieur de Constantinople", p.530.

workmen. Besides, it furnished small quantities of felt and woolen hats. Greece also exported every year 8,000-9,000 of its straw hats while Belgium and Switzerland tried to enter into the market, respectively, with their woolen and straw hats. But, their exportation to Istanbul remained very low.

The deliveries were generally sent f.o.b. Istanbul. France was the exception, it sent the merchandise f.o.b. Marseille. Coming now to the terms of payment, Italy and Germany were the most advantageous countries, they fixed it from four to seven months. Particularly, Italy granted even longer terms. France was more demanding and had the shortest terms, three or four months. England and Greece set this period as four or six months while Austria-Hungary determined it as five months.

Obviously, the importation of men's hats were more important than the women's. Could we say the same thing for the local production? A small manufacture was founded in Sisli and produced ordinary straw hats sold at 5-8 piasters. Besides, different workshops of the city produced annually 20,000 sailors' caps for children, each priced at 3-8 piasters, 25,000 caps for students sold at 1.75-8 piasters and 30,000 caps for men's consumption sold at the higher prices of 2.5-8 piasters. They also made of false astrakhan 2,000-3,000 caps, each marketed at 2.5-12 piasters.

Merchants who ordered caps and berets furnished the arches necessary to their manufacturing. Then, at their delivery time, their price was subtracted from the total.

The profits were so low that payments had to be in cash and credit facilities could not be accorded.

There were also seven workshops who were specialized in Croatian toques. These toques looked like the lid of a cylindrical box, their brims were in black and its top was embroidered on red or colored ground. They were sold between 16 and 75 piasters according to the quality of the embroideries and fabrics, and their consumption attained annually 600-700 toques.

Priests hats used by the Greek priests or kalimafkis were ordered every year by the priest of St. Nicholas in Galata and an inhabitant of Fener. The necessary amount for the Orthodox clergy varied between 800 and 900 and each of them were bought at 35-45 piasters. Armenian priests' hats consumption was higher, every year more than 1,000 hats were ordered. All the orders were furnished by three Armenian hatters, one in Beyoğlu, the other in Galata and the last one in Kumkapi.³⁴⁷ They were priced between 35 and 45 piasters according to their qualities.

There was also a sort of recycling in the old hats. Shoe blacks gathered from the hatters the old hats left by the customers in their shop when buying a new one.

³⁴⁷ Among few Armenian hatters named in *Annuaire Oriental*, there were Haz. Arabian in Galata (Yüksek Kaldırım, 31), J. Caracachian (Grand'rue de Péra, 488), Agop Kerestedji (Grand'rue de Péra, 647) and Kircor Kanavizian (Turun street, 27, Feriköy) in Beyoğlu. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90), p.417 and (1912), p.856.

Besides, they also bought at 1 or 2 paras from rag-pickers the hats which were collected from rubs. These people, then, resold these hats to 60-100 paras to Russian pilgrims. Besides, there were also about thirty shops which repaired hats and took for each of these repairs 5 or 10 paras.

If somebody wanted to buy a new hat, there were three shops in Beyoglu, two specialized on this article, for instance the French firm Lagrange. For the third merchant, hats were his main though not only preoccupation. Two other establishments in the same quarter, Bon Marché and an English firm also catered customers with hats.

Fezes³⁴⁸

The fez is a cap made of red felt and shaped like a truncated cone. A black tassel, a mixture of silk and cotton, garnished it. This brimless hat was judged to be uncomfortable since it did not protect either the eyes from the sun rays nor the neck from the rain.

In the end of the nineteenth century, different fezes were adopted simultaneously. Simple fezes namely, dal fes,³⁴⁹ were the usual caps of those working in governmental services. They were adopted in order to differ from the

³⁴⁸ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Fez", RCL, 151, (October 1899), pp.792-804.

³⁴⁹ R.E. Koçu, "Fes", Türk Giyim..., p.114.

military ones.³⁵⁰ In the army, some young officers who liked to make themselves conspicuous put on cylindrical high fezes. There were also small, pointed fezes which stayed as perched on the head or very high ones which were kept from falling thanks to the ears... Colors, also, varied from the most vivid one to the darkest one: red, dark red, purple, coral red and black.³⁵¹ Some Albanians put white fezes on. On the contrary, some Christians wore very dark red or black fezes when they were in bereavement and, very rarely, they enveloped their fezes with a slip cover of crêpe. Coachmen of important establishments had the French blue tassel on their fezes. Butchers, on the other hand, had fezes without tassels. By transporting great pieces of beefs, their caps became spherical and covered by a layer of fat which turned the color of the fez into black.

The way of putting the fez gave a message to the people. Disabused and grumbling old men had the habit to wear very low their fezes. When pushed as such on the front, fezes signified anger and sadness. When worn in balance it represented the quietude and wisdom. If the fez was put back, it became synonymous to the easy going good nature and cheerfulness. Sprightful men wore it bending to the right. Those who settled their head far into fezes were

³⁵⁰ Fezes adopted by the army had a special tassel at very short fringes which constituted another variation from the civil ones.

³⁵¹ Ahmed Rasim, "Fes Hakkında", Muharrir Bu Ya, (Istanbul: M.E.B. Yayınları, 1990), p.26.

generally old colonels who were characterized by their authority and severity. Something interesting to note was that, fezes were never taken off. Such a conduct was estimated as a very familiar habit which was tolerated only in the strict intimacy.

Adopted by the bulk of the population, the importation of fezes constituted a particular branch of trade. France, which had entered into the market with its fezes of Lyon and Orléans, had a very limited importation in Istanbul, 616 kilograms only.³⁵² It was very low when compared with Austria's importation which amounted to 164,426 kilograms. Firms of Bohemia had almost monopolized the market. The first producers whose firms disappeared later, were Weill and de Bossi. As the demand enlarged other manufacturers of fezes also were founded in Austria. The increasing competition caused a decrease of 40%-50% in the price. There were other reasons behind. Machineries were improved and the low speed hand made manufacturing was transformed to a more speedy production. This increased in the output which was also a direct result of the growth of the demand permitted a fall in the fixed costs of the factories.

³⁵² "Commerce Extérieur de Constantinople", p.530.

However, Austrian manufacturers,³⁵³ seeing their profits diminishing every day, founded a joint stock company with the help of the Oesterrsisch Credit Anstalt from Vienna.³⁵⁴ The society nominated the French firm of Orosdi Back & Co. as their only agent in the Empire. The Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul criticised this attitude of Austrian firms since, hindering free competition, it was an attempt to monopolize the market.³⁵⁵ The first market manipulation was undertaken immediately after its foundation. Prices of superior quality fezes were increased by 20% while for the ordinary ones this percentages were higher, 30%-40%.

Italy, Germany and Belgium also tried to enter the market. But, they were not successful. Italy's attempt to produce straw fezes, very light for the hot days of summer, was also a failure. Thus, Austria managed to keep its place thanks to its good machineries, experience of half a century and financial facilities. In addition to this, the manufacturing process was difficult.

The importation was done by packages of six fezes. Each assortment comprised four or five different sizes and

³⁵³ The following names were the firms which founded the joint stock company: A. Volpini & Söhne; Rousso & Finzi; Fürth, Wolff & Co; Ign. Stein Senior; J. Stein & Co.; Ign. Bondy Nachf; F. Klein; Ad. Münch & Söhn, Math. Zücher & Co.; L. Gülcher. Ernest Giraud, "Fez", pp.798-799.

³⁵⁴ Their office in Istanbul was in Stamboul, Demirkapı Street, 9. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1912), p.908.

³⁵⁵ "Un trust pour les fez", *JCCC*, 741, (18 March 1899), p.81.

the same variance of colors. Prices set c.i.f. Istanbul differed for each size and included the packaging fee.

The Feshane which depended on the War Ministry produced the necessary fezes for the army.³⁵⁶ Any way, with its high prices, it could not compete with the Austrian fezes on the market. The Karamürsel factory also tried this manufacturing but it had to gave up very quickly. On the other hand, in the district of Şişli a French entrepreneur founded a factory of Fezes. They were marketed under the mark Dondurma which started to be well renowned.

Arab pedlars sold low priced fezes. They generally worked for a great firm of the market. When the bargain was stricken with the customer, these fesçis gave an almost regular shape to the fez by drawing it out on a wooden mould.

Fez ironing was an important branch of commerce. Though people had the habit to protect their fezes with a hand-kerchief when raining, they often had recourse to the ironers who sold also fezes in their huts having an open front. Fez ironers used two moulds in copper³⁵⁷ which fit into each other. The superior one had a hole in its center

³⁵⁶ Its shop was established in Stamboul, Kalpakçılar Başı Street, 8. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1912), p.907.

³⁵⁷ Before, after getting wet fezes were ironed in wooden moulds. The new heated fez moulds were first used in Izmir. It was an ironer named Todori who brought this invention in Istanbul. He had his shop in Sultanhamam and others following him opened their ironing shops in the area between Uzun Çarşı and Süleymaniye. Ahmed Rasim, "Fes Hakkında", pp.26,27.

for the tassel. Moulds were heated while ironers unstitched the tassel, brushed the fez and took out the stains. Then, they put it on the mould, covered it with the other one and pressed it as much as they could. The cap, thus, regained a regular shape and a new dressing. The tassel was sewn and the fez was immediately put on the head of the customer. If it was the servant who was waiting, the ironer placed the fez in a lining of light paper. This ironing cost 20 paras.

Women's Hats³⁵⁸

For women just as for men, hats were important accessories of clothing. There were numerous modistes in the city who manufactured the extraordinary hats worn by women.³⁵⁹ Each modiste usually went to Paris once a year to select and bring the latest fashioned hats which were used as models. These original hats imported in very limited numbers were sold at very high prices. Locally manufactured hats constituted the majority of the consumption of Istanbul. But, the necessary materials were imported from Europe.

The simple bodies of straw and felt hats were furnished by European countries. France sent the most

³⁵⁸ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Fournitures pour modes", RCL, 215, (February 1905), pp.256-263.

³⁵⁹ A renowned modiste of Beyoglu, Scordaki said that he manufactured at least twenty five hats per day. Ernest Giraud, "La rue", RCL, (1903, second semester), p.594.

elegant and the latest fashion hats. Nevertheless, it had lost its competitiveness due to the severe conditions of transactions imposed by French industrialists. Italy, on the other hand, exported straw hats to Istanbul whereas Vienna responded to mass consumption. It successfully imitated the Parisian models of toques,³⁶⁰ boaters³⁶¹ and of other sorts of hats. Sure, they were not as perfect as French hats; nevertheless, the difference in prices compensated largely for it. The exception arose in hoods which were all imported from France. Some German firms also tried to enter the market but, "their prices were so low that it was wondered if the delivered goods would match up to the samples."³⁶²

Bodies in brass wires or matting were no more imported, they were manufactured in the city. In this way, modistes could adapt them to the sizes and tastes of the customers. The superior quality brass wires covered with silk or cotton were used in the production of expensive qualities. It was imported from France while secondary qualities came from Austria. Germany, on the other hand furnished the necessary matting for the industry.

³⁶⁰ A brimless and close fitting hat for women, in any of several shapes. *The Random House...*, p.1386.

³⁶¹ A stiff straw hat with a shallow, flat-topped crown, ribbon band and straight brim. *Ibid.*, p.149.

³⁶² Ernest Giraud, "Fournitures...", p.258.

Flowers which were the latest fashion of the 1900's, decorated hats of all seasons. The latest novelties were those made of cotton or muslin while those manufactured of velvet or silk were not utilized anymore. Paris and Vienna exported the superior quality flowers. The latter had been able to capture the bulk of the market thanks to its lower prices. Paris sent only trimmings and fantasy piquets in Istanbul. Lower quality flowers, on the other hand, were imported from Bohemia and in fewer quantities from Germany.

Coming now to the features, panaches, ostrich plumes, poufs..., when imported from France they had a perfect finishing as compared with others. However, Austria had established lower prices, in particular, for marabouts and aigrettes. Thus, Paris exported, as in the previous case, the fantasy articles: natural or colored and artificial wings and birds.

Switzerland furnished the fantasy straw gallon used in the manufacturing of the hats' bodies. These gallons were marketed by pieces of 12 meters. Chenille laces manufactured on tulle were principally imported from France. If French industrialists were to produce simpler and smaller designs to decrease their price, the total consumption could have been imported from there. Similarly,

France exported tulles, veils and different laces for hats.³⁶³

The linings of elegant hats were manufactured of Lyon's taffetas. For cheaper hats, the mercaline imported from France and Zurich was utilized. The ribbons used were plain, those flowered or figured were out of fashion in 1905.

All these materials of hats were mostly sent by rail. But, important delays were caused due to the insufficient number of employees working in the railways' companies. Further, for such travels the packaging had to be strong enough to endure the bad manipulations undertaken, particularly in the customs of Istanbul. The wooden hat boxes were generally damaged. Instead, hard cartoon boxes which were more elastic and resistant to shocks and crushing were preferred. It was noted that French packages were inferior with respect to others which were less damaged when being transferred in postal cases.

The usual conditions of payments were of six months terms or 5% of discount for cash payments charged thirty days after the receipt of the merchandise. Nevertheless, this interval of time was easily prolonged to forty days. Prices were set c.i.f. Istanbul and the packaging was included. France was the only exception which billed separately the transport as well as the packaging.

³⁶³ They were not the latest fashion of the day.

The buyers who could not know the market as good as French industrialists had to pay more for these services. Consequently, the prices amounted to higher rates and France lost its competitiveness.

Umbrellas³⁶⁴

In the rainy days, pedlars sold umbrellas to passers-by near the Karaköy bridge. These Jewish people were recognized by their vigorous cry of ombrellaci.³⁶⁵ Once, the umbrellas sold in Istanbul were mostly imported. Lyon and Vienna were the main furnishers. Nevertheless, a drastic fall in the trade of umbrellas was witnessed in the end of the nineteenth century. In this period, Lyon remained the sole supplier of finished products. Its exportation was marketed in three luxurious shops of Beyoğlu³⁶⁶ which served elegant customers.

³⁶⁴ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Ombrelles et parapluies", RCL, 176, (November 1901), pp.906-913.

³⁶⁵ Though its Turkish name was *semsiye*, deriving from the Arab word *şems*, meaning sun, it was called umbrella. The latter word, on the other hand, could derived from the Latin word "ombra" meaning shade as well as the ancient Greek word "ombros" meaning rain. See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, XI, (1961), p.24 and Ernest Giraud, "Ombrelles...", p.913.

³⁶⁶ Probable names were Albert Kun, Demilleville, Au Lion, Au Camélia. See advertisements in *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-1890).

Meanwhile a considerable number of umbrellas were manufactured in the workshops of the city.³⁶⁷ The most important ones owned by Orosdi Back Co.,³⁶⁸ their overall number was estimated at 8 or 9. The handle, shank and the frame of the umbrella were imported from Austria, Italy and Germany, were assembled locally and covered with European fabrics.³⁶⁹ Around 1902, the industry reduced its dependence on Austrian handles when a workshop in Stamboul began manufacturing umbrella handles.³⁷⁰ At the beginning of each new season a wide collection of umbrellas were imported from Lyon and Vienna. They basically constituted the models for the season.

³⁶⁷ Their workers were mostly children whose salary did not exceed 10 or 20 paras per week. Ernest Giraud, "La rue", RCL, (1906 second semester), p.608.

³⁶⁸ Ömer Efendi Han, Bahçe Kapi, Stamboul. See the advertisement of the firm in *Annuaire Oriental*... About sixty workers were employed in this workshop. *Osmanlı Sanayii*..., p.125.

³⁶⁹ This production was not solely consumed in the city but also sent to other provinces. See the letter of the consular agent of U.S.A. saying that the umbrellas sold in Harput and Mezreh were manufactured exclusively by the firm Orosdi-Back in Istanbul. Thomas H. Norton, "Lettre de Harpout-Mezreh", RCL, 176, (November 1901), p.803.

³⁷⁰ Donald Quataert, *Home, Factory*..., p.117.

The umbrella was the fashion of the day³⁷¹ and had a wide-spread use among the inhabitants of the city.³⁷² Men including many officers used it in the hot summer days³⁷³ as well as rainy days since their fezes could not protect them. On the other hand, it was an important accessory of the hanims. If they were walking, no matter if the sun was shining or snowing, they had to take their umbrellas which were mostly black. They carried it very low in order to hide their faces, which were veiled, against indiscreet glances. To go out without her umbrella would be improper for a lady. In a way, it was a sign of social status. Only women of lower classes went out without umbrellas. In those years, when men and women lived in separate worlds, the way of handling the umbrella was a code of flirting for young ladies and men.³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ The annual production of these workshops attained 900,000 and 1,200,000 pieces. Ibid.

³⁷² Ahmed Rasim had described in one of its articles the comic events that occurred when using the umbrella. Ahmed Rasim, "Mektub 51", *Sehir Mektublari*, I, (Istanbul, M.E.B. Yayinlari, 1990), pp.238-243.

³⁷³ White umbrellas were sold in the market against the sun. But, most often the black ones used in the rainy days were also utilized in good weather. See Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1919*, (Istanbul: Haset Kitapevi, 1987), pp.18-19. A wide-spread usage was also the covering of the black umbrella by a white handkerchief.

³⁷⁴ If a young lady closed her umbrella and, then, leaned on it, she said that "I fell ill of tuberculosis and will die because of your love".

If the lady was leaning on her umbrella and meanwhile crossing her foots, this was the sign of friendship.

Gloves³⁷⁵

We saw that the external appearance was very crucial in the life of the inhabitants of Istanbul. Even comfort was sacrificed for good-looks and gloves were an important part of their accessory collection. Women, even those who had a very limited budget would be ashamed of themselves if they had to go out without their gloves. Men, on the other hand, felt themselves obliged to hold gravely in their hands a pair of gloves when going to their offices. Thus, the consumption of gloves could not be ignored and the annual importation figure was estimated at 69,000 piasters. The demand of women's gloves was much more important, since only rich men constantly wore their gloves. Those having a moderate level of income held them. But, for women the

If the lady turned her umbrella like a windmill, she meant that "let's come to meet together in a corner" and the way was pointed by herself or the gentleman.

If the lady opened and closed her umbrella when seeing the man, she gave a rendezvous for the same night. If she opened and rose it, the rendezvous was fixed for the day after.

If the umbrella of a man was inclined when opened toward the women, he meant that "I am not interested in you".

If the lady inclined her umbrella and threw a piece of paper in the same direction she was expressing her intention of corresponding. If the object thrown was a stone, the lady said that "do not run after me, go away".

If the lady played with the ribbon of the shank of her umbrella, she was implying that she was engaged or married.

R.E. Koçu, "Şemsiye", *Türk Giyim...*, p.218.

³⁷⁵ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Ganterie", RCL, 156, (March 1900), pp.470-475.

habit of wearing their gloves was so well established, that every body was shocked if a woman went out without them.

Gloss gloves with four buttons were the most preferred. French cut and sizes were ideal for those having short fingers. Prices of the gloves differed according to the models and quality. For women, the price of a dozen varied from 2.76 to 10.12 piasters. The first figure being the price of the most inferior quality while the second corresponded to the price of the best. A dozen of musketeer gloves of 16-20 buttons put on when going to the ball were sold between 8.05 and 9.2 piasters. For each supplementary button, the price of a dozen increased by 0.92 piasters. Prices were higher for men, a dozen was priced according to its quality between 3.68 and 11.5 piasters. Children's gloves, on the other hand, were sold between 8.05 and 11.5 piasters.

White and pearl-grey were the most demanded colors. Particularly, white gloves were in vogue in the 1900's. Black ones had a limited market in those years. In the hot days, elegant women wore openwork gloves.

Woolen gloves were also used in winter. The heavy green ones were designated for military usage and their consumption increased every year. These gloves which were imported from Russia and Germany were priced between 6.9 and 11.5 piasters and their annual importation attained 18,400 piasters.

France, on the other hand, furnished the fine qualities. They were primarily designated for women's consumption. For men, the quality was not so important since because of the habit of holding their gloves, this accessory did not wear out. Two French firms entered into the market of Istanbul. The first, Reynier Frères, was very well known in Istanbul and supplied only the superior quality.³⁷⁶ Rondet et Vallier from Grenoble, on the other hand, was a newer firm but had also a considerable number of customers.

House Supplies

Furnishings³⁷⁷

The living room was the most important room of an Istanbul house. The upper class had more than one living room, one in the alla franga and the other in the alla turca style. The European styled living room was used most often as a showroom for the owners' wealth. Therefore, this room was full of objects no matter if they were ill-assorted. There, the lady being herself beautifully dressed and wearing an extraordinary hat received her friends.

³⁷⁶ These gloves were sold in Au Camelia, a shop of novelties owned by J. Seidenberg. *Annuaire Oriental*, (1889-90).

³⁷⁷ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Etoffes pour ameublement", RCL, 312, (March 1913), pp.455-464. This study had included curtains, draperies and fabrics for furnishings.

Curtains were manufactured of velours, moquette³⁷⁸ or silk³⁷⁹ materials but also of cotton fabrics³⁸⁰ either one colored or designed in styles of Louis XV, Louis XVI or Empire. Cretonnes³⁸¹ and printed fabrics, on the other hand, were very widely used for ordinary curtains. The greatest part of these fabrics together with upholstery fabrics were imported from Europe, the Imperial factory of Hereke being the sole local furnisher for the surroundings.

France which was specialized in fine and moderate qualities of upholstery fabrics, exported velvety cotton fabrics called moquettes, the trade of which attained considerable figures. It also supplied superior quality cretonnes, silk fabrics or mixtures of silk and cotton. The Parisian mark Vanoutryve was very well renowned in the city. The factory of Hereke created an important competition for silk materials and mixtures. Even though its production was more expensive and inferior in quality,³⁸² it succeeded to

378 " A type of fabric with a thick, velvety pile, used for carpets and in upholstering". The Random House..., p.867.

379 Silk fabrics on the whole were very durable but are readily attacked by ultra-violet rays of the sun and by moisture. M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.41.

380 "The cotton fiber is used very extensively in drapery as well as glass curtain materials. It makes a cloth that is inexpensive, it washes well; when dyed with fast-color dyestuffs it does not fade with great rapidity, it is not seriously attacked by sun and moisture". Ibid., p.42.

381 Made of cotton fibers.

382 It was said that many pieces had weaving defects.

sell its products thanks to its Oriental designs. Further, they were also preferred by the Turkish aristocracy in which patriotic sentiments was emerging.³⁸³

Italy competed with its cotton, silk fabrics and mixtures of cotton and jute. Its exportation was not only destined to Istanbul, but also to the interior provinces of the Empire. Belgium which exported the same articles was in general more expensive than Italy. Thus, profiting from the political events of the day, more precisely the Italo-Turkish war, this country succeeded to enter the market. Austria, England and Germany also exported different fabrics for furnishings. For instance, moderate quality cretonnes and printed fabrics were imported from England and Germany and facilities granted particularly by German producers increased the trade with this country. Spain, on the other hand, exported its fabrics in jute. They were of ordinary quality but successful in designs and colors.

Coming now to the tulle curtains, England furnished the ordinary quality while Vienna and a new exporter, Norway, furnished the superior. Embroidered curtains came from Saint Gall of Switzerland. Cotton, woolen, silk, velours, linen³⁸⁴ curtains were mainly imported from Germany. Italy exported a certain quantity in

³⁸³ Ernest Giraud, "Etoffes...", p.461.

³⁸⁴ They are usually beautiful but expensive. M. Evans, E.B. McGowan, A Guide..., p.42.

Gobelins style while France furnished the most beautiful quality in silk and moquette.

Door-curtains or draperies which were made of velvet, cloth or linen were mostly embroidered and were sold in the market with their accessories. In other words, two shawls and valance were included in the price.

Upholstery fabrics made of cotton were generally marketed folded in two and rolled contrarily to silk and moquette materials which were rolled in their full width. Their standard length was of 60 meters but some pieces of 30 meters were also produced upon special request of the merchants.

Selling conditions also differed from country to country. England and France delivered their merchandise x-ml. While the first accorded three months of terms or 2.5% of discount for cash payments, the latter granted only two or three months of terms but 3% of discount. Italy, Germany and Austria's terms varied between three and six months and their discount was 5%. Moreover, the merchandise was sold c.i.f. Istanbul.

In the city, the French firms M.A.N. Moussat and Orosdi-Back Establishments sold curtains and furnishings.

But, the firm specialized in house supplies was that of Lazzaro Franco.³⁸⁵

Blankets and Quilts³⁸⁶

Blankets were not the usual bed-covering of the people of the Orient. But, there was a certain consumption. The woolen blankets' importation of Istanbul, for instance, was 51,949 kilograms³⁸⁷ in 1907-1908. France was, once, the sole supplier of these woolen blankets. Then, Germany industrialized and started to send its articles. Later came Italy which imitated German blankets and sold them at lower prices. Italian blankets were not as good as German ones

³⁸⁵ This man of Italian origin came to Istanbul through Czechoslovakia and opened his shop in the Great Bazaar (Kalpakçılar Basi Street, 207). Later, he moved to Filcancilar or Riza Pasa Street, 7. Broadening his field of transaction, he together with his three sons, Donato, Emilio and Amadeo, enlarged his shop in Stamboul (Filcancilar Street, 31,33,35,37) and opened two others in the other side of the Golden Horn. Thus, the firm started to cater his customers first, in Galata next to the Tunnel Station (Yeni Camii Street, 16) which was a shop of several floors and later in Beyoğlu (Grand'rue de Péra, 183) at the entrance of Anatolian Passage. The sons of Lazzaro Franco continued their business for a long time. Nevertheless, receiving a shock with the varlık vergisi of the early 1940's, they founded a partnership with one of their employees, Ekrem Kulen and in 1986, they closed definitely their firm which was at the time, in Beyoğlu, Misir Han. Indicateur Ottoman, (1880), p.174; Annuaire Oriental (1889-90), p.449 and (1912), p.904; Behzat Üsdiken, "Beyoglu'nda Kaybolan ve Yasayan Pasaj ve Geçitler - IV", Tarih ve Toplum, 91, (July 1991), p.27. Personal interview with Lydia Albükrek, the grand daughter of Lazzaro Franco, in 1992.

³⁸⁶ Based on Ernest Giraud, "Couvertures", RCL, 210, (September 1904), pp.361-374.

³⁸⁷ "Commerce extérieur de Constantinople", p.512.

but had a flashy appearance which was very appreciated in the city.

The pure woolen blankets were generally manufactured in white. They also were ornate of multicolored stripes at their two borders and napped. Sometimes, they were garnished with floral patterns and a binding. The superior quality blankets were washable and the colors became more vivid after each cleaning.

Their prices varied with size. They cost more as they became greater. The biggest ones attained 215/265 and even 265/385 centimeters. There were greater blankets manufactured by particular orders of merchants but they were rather exceptional. The usual sizes were 140/190, 150/205 and 160/220 centimeters. For the bunks of ships, however, a smaller blanket of 120/170 centimeters was also produced and had an important consumption.

In Istanbul, cotton blankets increasingly replaced woolen ones. They were very similar to woolen coverings by the napping on both sides. In addition to this, they were cheaper. Another advantage of the cotton coverings was that in the summer season, they were secured of moths.

The principal supplier was Germany. It marketed cotton blankets printed of nice designs and of fixed colors. Italy tried to enter the market and succeeded to decrease the share of Germany. Belgium had a smaller share and France sent to Istanbul only some specialities. The cotton blankets were manufactured in three different sizes:

190/230, 160/210, 140/190 centimeters. Among those marketed, the printed ones were preferred, then came the white blankets also called duffels. The low quality blankets of dark colors, on the other hand, had also a considerable consumption due to their cheapness. The pastel colored blankets which were brilliant in one side was a speciality of Cours.³⁸⁸ This article which had a disadvantage of leaving threads on any fabric when touched had a limited consumption.

The crocheted blanket having goffer designs and fringes were used as bed-spreads. Though they were principally made in white, there were also colored ones in lesser quantities. Thus, they had gold or strawberry colors or were in red, pink and sky blue. Their usual size was 158/207 centimeters and they were imported from England, Spain and Germany.

Brown or grey small blankets were very widely used in the Empire. This covering napped in one side just as the cloth and garnished of parallel stripes of three or four colors -purple, blue, yellow and mauve- was preferred for its cheapness. They were used in hospices, in the army by soldiers and horses and by coachmen. Cours which manufactured this article from wool wastes and hairs had a smaller market than Italy which used cotton wastes. Sure, the latter qualities were less warm but also cheaper,

³⁸⁸ Situated in the department of Rhône in France.

therefore, they were broadly consumed particularly in the provinces of Anatolia. Other than these, blankets made from a mixture of wool and cotton were imported from Germany and Italy. The travelling blankets or rugs³⁸⁹ were imported from England and Berlin. They can be analyzed in two different categories. The luxurious article was not much used. It was woven of cotton and mohair hairs and ornate of fantasy designs in which were included the goffers. The cheaper blankets were widely utilized by coachmen. They were printed, on one side, with tiger skin or similar designs, while the other side was plain black.

Blankets, manufactured of cotton and silk wastes designed to cover the beds were among luxurious articles. This silk blanket also was a speciality of Cours which had a limited consumption.

All blankets were sold with six months of terms and in case of cash payments the factories made their usual 5% discount.

Contrary to the blankets, every house, rich or poor, had more than one quilt which was utilized as a covering at night. The one the most used had the outer side of printed cotton while the other generally plain was made of shirting³⁹⁰ or cotton fabric colored mostly in rouge d'Andrinople. The inside was filled of carded cotton.

³⁸⁹ They were manufactured by the rug makers. Ernest Giraud, "Couvertures", p.363.

³⁹⁰ White cotton fabric.

Quilts were manufactured locally. The quilt makers were concentrated in Yorgancılar street in Galata or in the Mısır Çarşısı. Ernest Giraud described us³⁹¹ the small street full of stores selling house furnishings as quilts, window-blinds and sofas. The silence which prevailed in the street was only rent by the noise of sewing machines. At their shop-windows, merchants who were mostly Muslim exposed cotton and wool among which customers chose the material which they wanted to be used for the filling process.

The manufacturing of the quilts, on the other hand were detailed as below. The quilt maker bought the necessary cotton and cleared it of foreign particles. Then, he carded the material with "a strange tool which looks like a lyre having one cord" making the cotton more dense. After having spread the sheet, he placed the cotton on and then covered it with the upper fabric, sew the borders and pricked them together by creating various designs. The quilt was completed. As a last thing, a white sheet was basted to the inferior side of the quilt. More luxurious quilts had wool, silk and sateen fabrics on their superior sides. Prices of quilts varied between 20 piasters and 3 mecrediyes. But, the best thing was to buy the necessary cotton and to manufacture the quilt at home. Thus, the cheating of merchants who had the habit to use old cotton

³⁹¹ Ernest Giraud, "La rue", RCL, (1901, first semester), p.961.

was avoided; and, more importantly, the risk of catching an illness was avoided.

The estimated annual consumption in Istanbul was of 200,000 quilts. Besides, those designed for home usage, a part of them were sold to the sailors working on boats used for coasting trade.

Oilcloths and Linoleum³⁹²

Oilcloth which was invented in 1804, is a cotton fabric which was made waterproof by being treated with oil and pigment.³⁹³ It was used as table-cloths, shelf coverings... The one used for floor covering was the linoleum. Invented in 1863, it was formed of burlap or canvas coated with linseed oil, powdered cork and rosin.³⁹⁴

The oilcloth was widely consumed in the Empire. It was put on the table of the dining rooms substituting to the table-cloth or on the dressing table, besides it was used in the kitchens. Biles, window blinds, curtains covering the talikas,³⁹⁵ wrappers of laternas³⁹⁶ were all

³⁹² Based on Ernest Giraud, "Toiles cirées et linoléum", RCL, 252, (March 1908), pp.498-508.

³⁹³ The Random House..., p.925.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., p.780.

³⁹⁵ "A coach on four wheels, suspended by straps". James W. Redhouse, op. cit., p.1227.

³⁹⁶ A mechanical music box.

manufactured of oilcloths. Furthermore, a quality similar to leather was utilized by shoe-makers.

In this country where the floor of houses was generally constructed of wood and therefore impractical, the heavy oilcloth and linoleum was very broadly adopted. These materials covered the splits of the floor, were easy to wash and, furthermore, they were cool in the hot summer days. Linoleum was much more expensive than oilcloth but it was more resistant as floor covering.

In the Istanbul market, these two different categories of oilcloths were easily found. Those designated for floor coverings were sold in different sizes and qualities. The simple width of 45-80 cm. was priced between 3 and 12 piasters per meter while the square meter of the double width varying between 225 and 365 cm. was marketed at 7-22 piasters. These oilcloth were almost totally imported from England. The main furnisher was the firm of Jas. Williamson & Sons from Lancaster which was preferred due to its good quality, advantageous prices and attention paid to the customers. Then came Michael Nairn & Co. Ltd. from Kirkcaldy whose sales increased. The collection of designs was various enough to satisfy all tastes, the European one as well as the Oriental. On the other hand, though the varnish of superior quality oilcloth was good and resistant, linoleum competed severely with this article.

The other category comprised the finer quality oilcloths of various designs like duck,³⁹⁷ marble, wood, mosaic, fantasy, leather... Again Williamson's were dominant in the market. But other firms, one founded in Lyon and owned by M.E. Maréchal de Vénissieux and the other established in Prague started to sell oilcloths to Istanbul. A piece of fine oilcloth of 11 meters and of various width, from 25 to 230 cm., was priced at 18-300 piasters. The narrower was utilized as borders of shelves in the kitchens and offices. Generally, those on white ground ornate of different designs were preferred for this usage. Other widths were used as table cloths, wall tapestry or as coverings in the cars. The leather imitation was used in the upholstery of seats, in the binding of books or in the manufacturing of slippers. Some qualities imitated so well the varnished calf-leather that even shoes for women and children were made of this material.

Finished table cloths were also imported. The price of a dozen of 140-180 square cm. varied between 95 and 140 piasters. Assorted window blinds were also widely used and the price of a dozen varied from 45 to 150 piasters.

Linoleum, on the other hand, was an expensive article and consequently, was bought by richer people. Nevertheless, its importation increased. England was the main furnisher, selling 90% of the consumption. As in

³⁹⁷ "A heavy, plain weave cotton fabric for tents, clothing...". The Random House..., p.407.

oilcloth, two factories, those of Nairn and Williamson prevailed in the market. Linoleum was sold in simple and double sizes. Each meter of the simple ones having 45-180 cm. of width was priced at 5-18 piasters while a square meter of double sizes, 225-365 cm., was sold at 10-50 piasters. Clearly, prices differed according to the thickness of the material. Smaller widths of 45-75 cm. were used as ways in living rooms, vestibules... However, the covering of stairs was generally not of linoleum but of oilcloths.

Briefly, this long chapter had tried to analyze the local production, exports and imports of textile goods, giving detailed information for each different product,³⁹⁸ emphasizing the market share of foreign countries, specifying different brands of the market, naming foreign representatives or Ottoman textile dealers and at the same time, giving some clues about the mentality of its population. Such a detailed analysis will inevitably lead us to generalize the topics mentioned above. Thus, the next chapter will be an attempt to understand in a broader context the mechanisms of the Istanbul trade or more specifically of Istanbul textile trade.

³⁹⁸ See also the glossary of textile fabrics.

CHAPTER 3: MECHANISMS OF TRADE

If a market is defined as an area over which buyers and sellers negotiate to exchange a commodity, the study of this market should also comprise the different factors influencing both the demand and supply. Therefore, this last chapter will concentrate on this analysis. But, not being limited only to a mechanical description, it will even go further by analyzing human resources of the textile trade. Thus, while the first part will give us information on the workings of the textile market, the second will concentrate on the fashion of the day which dictated the consumption behavior. The third part, on the other hand, will be the analysis of textile dealers in the city. Who were these people? Where did they conduct their businesses? Briefly, this last section trying to find answers to these questions, will be an ethnic and topographic study of the textile trade in Istanbul.

3.1.Price, Selling Conditions and Competition in the Istanbul Market

At the turn of the twentieth century, a large part of the population, the percentage of which increased

everyday¹ was earning their living from the international trade of the city. The textile sector was particularly important since a significant ratio of the men and women living in the capital had to and liked to be well dressed. These merchants of threads, fabrics, ready-made clothing... serving the inhabitants of Istanbul handled mostly small businesses. A few great firms operating in the market as Bon Marché, Tiring, Orosdi-Back... were mostly branches of European firms which had a certain experience of affairs and therefore, were well established in the sector. On the contrary, small business owners had to compete severely with each other to be able to sell their goods.

Their competition started in the port. Transport and storing expenses were high and a good bargaining was essential in determining the total amount paid. Besides, since custom taxes² were evaluated ad valorem, estimations

¹ Before, the First World War, the Muslim population also was progressively involved in the international trade. "Muslims entrepreneurs alone or by the intermediary of their firms started to operate in the market. New Muslim shops were opened everywhere and the newly rising Muslim companies emerged here and there. On the other hand, Muslim population had been encouraged to purchase from these shops or firms, this was a need of national protectionism". Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli...*, p.54. One of the principal supporter of this new policy was the Journal of Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul. See the article which tried to persuade the Muslim youth to deal with commerce. "Les Musulmans et l'initiative privée", JCCC, 776, (18 November 1899), p.362.

² "All imported goods, no matter their sort or origin, were subject to a uniform tax of 8% A.V.". Ernest Giraud, "Droits de douane et vente franco à domicile", RCL, 197, (August 1903), p.195. In 1911, this percentage increased to 11%.

done by different customs' officers could easily vary if importers knew how to manage them. They had to know how to bargain, sometimes they had to threaten them with payments in kind or, when necessary, had to give a present to attain a "reasonable estimation". On the other hand, the long duration of customs clearing processes had to be added to the price. Among fixed expenses, the rent of the store also constituted a great part of the cost. Particularly, after the fire of the Covered Bazaar in 1893, merchants who had before their shops there, started to install them in different places. This fact together with other economic factors had caused the increase in the rents. It was so excessive³ that small shopkeepers had to choose between closing their shop or continuing their commerce at a loss.

Eventually, all these expenses had to be included in the price. But, the matter was that the purchasing power of the bulk of the population was low. Consumers, in general, bargained with persistence to pay the minimum. Women did not hesitate to visit all shops in order to save a

³ The annual rent of a small shop which was about 40 liras had raised above 240 liras. Z.Y., "Le loyer cher et nos boutiquiers", JCCC, 1538, (27 June 1914), p.402.

few paras⁴. Consequently, cheap and flashy products invaded the market and the consideration of quality was secondary. Besides, merchants competed with each other in terms of price not to loose the customer. This did not only decrease their profits, but sometimes caused losses, due to inaccurate accounting⁵ in which fixed charges were mostly not included. The same was true for the wholesalers. An agent of an English sewing thread renown in the city had stated that wholesalers lost about 1.75% in each sale. Discounts granted to the customers by the wholesale merchants caused in the end this loss and strangely enough this fact continued for thirty years. The agent added that

⁴ Ernest Giraud had also described us a different typology of customers who were not as numerous as the previous type. This one was sure of himself and was immediately recognized at his malicious manner of saying "I am never mistaken". If the merchant knew to flatter him, he could easily draw considerable benefits from this trade. Giraud, then, stated two cases. A unique quality of velvet was packed in various boxes and was sold at different prices, 8, 12 and 16 piasters per pic. This type of customers often chose the most expensive one. The same thing was true for women who preferred an expensive hat which did not fit themselves to a cheap but pretty one. Ernest Giraud, "La clientèle de Constantinople", RCL, 245, (August 1907), pp.173-174.

⁵ According to Ernest Giraud, most of Ottoman firms and some of Europeans had only a book and several pieces of paper brought together. The cash journal was difficultly kept update, often the balance was not controlled and accounts were in suspense. Ernest Giraud, "Comptabilité indispensable", RCL, 164, (November 1900), p.725. The Journal of the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul, however, claimed that this category of merchants who were honest but old-fashioned did not have any direct or indirect contact with European industrialists and agents. "Les commerçants Ottomans jugés par la presse étrangère", JCCC, 769, (30 September 1899), p.306.

during this period, the amount paid to the manufacturer by the wholesalers exceeded approximately 650 liras that of received from retailers.⁶ Retailers, on the other hand, earned only around 1 para⁷ per clew. As a result, consumers bought the thread almost at manufacturer's price.⁸

Unfair competition was also prevalent in the Istanbul market. The Journal of the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul complained about the liquidations of several firms which clearly, did not wipe up their affairs but used permanently this notice⁹ as a way of attracting customers. Taking advantage of the idea of sales which was associated with the word liquidation, merchants utilized it as a trick to increase their profits.

The lack of liquidity in the market established a credit mechanism from the retail seller to the wholesaler and the manufacturer. Obviously, whatever his capital, a merchant always needed credits which constituted the amount allowing him to extend the sphere of his operations. Ernest

⁶ Fixed expenses were not considered in this calculation. This was the note of the wholesaler.

⁷ In the original text, this profit was claimed to be 0.5 centimes. Ernest Giraud, "Excès de concurrence", RCL, 148, (July 1899), pp.67-68.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ "Les liquidations à Constantinople", JCCC, 790, (24 February 1900), p.58.

Giraud being himself an agent¹⁰ described to us an amusing situation which showed us the difficulties of charging a bill.¹¹ The actors of this scene were: the manufacturer, his agent and the merchant.

"Some firms did not want to sign any acceptance. "We pay in cash, they say nobly, and we are not accustomed to pledge our signature".

This declaration often dazzles the manufacturer¹² who decreases the price at its lower limit and, then, provides a 5% discount special for cash payments.

When the merchandise arrived, it was thoroughly checked and every little difference from the sample caused a discount in the price.

Supposing that the merchandise was not
subject to any remark, the agent humbly presents

¹⁰ In 1875, he founded a firm which imported besides other things, all sorts of fabrics in cotton, wool, silk, velvet..., hosiery, linen drapery... In 1906, the firm was directed by O. Giraud in Galata, Perşembe Bazaar street, Tidjaret Han. Ernest Giraud, "La France à Constantinople", RCL, 237, (December 1906), p.841.

¹¹ Ernest Giraud, "Exagération du crédit", RCL, 242, (May 1907), pp.747-749.

¹² The commerce of Istanbul was snippy and even small merchants bought their merchandise directly from Europe. Agents preferred to divide the total of liabilities into several bills to decrease the risk. So, there were several bills circulating in the market but of little value. When one of them was protested, a case which was not rare, the charges remained comparatively high. Ernest Giraud, "Exagération des frais de protêt", RCL, 259, (October 1908), p.581.

himself to the merchant three weeks after the receipt of the merchandise. He timidly inquires the health of the merchant, tries to entertain him with a joke, speaks about this and that and, when leaving, says:

- By the way, what about the small invoice of ...?

The merchant puckers up his brows:

- You are in a hurry!

The agent confused apologizes:

- As you like... As you wish... I just incidentally mentioned it.

And, he withdraws backwards by giving his regards.

Three more weeks pass. It makes 1.5 months that the merchandise entered the shop of the merchant and 3 months that it left the factory. The agent reminds the merchant of the overdue account.

- You don't leave me in peace, answers the buyer.

- Sorry, but you know how European manufacturers are tiresome with their demands of bills collection.

- O.K. the payment will be settled within these days.

The agent asks for another two or three times for payment. At the end, three months after the arrival of the merchandise, he collects the account by means of cheques which includes the discount for cash payments. Thus, the buyer benefits both from terms and discount without any restriction of time.¹³

To avoid any discussion, often, merchants stated their terms when the agreement was set. A discount of 5% with a payment in 2 or 3 months by means of foreign bills were dictated. These terms of payment were particularly true for fabrics and materials, the sector which witnessed a severe competition."

Indeed, European merchants or manufacturers had to adjust themselves to the conditions of the Istanbul market. Manufacturers willing to sell their products, agents willing to earn money had no alternative other than accepting these terms. For instance, German and Austrian industrialists had doubled or even quadrupled their trade with the Empire while French and English manufacturers who preferred to be more

¹³ "Ottoman merchants had no notion of due date. They considered that their engagement was limited with the settlement of liabilities. Bu, they did not feel the necessity to assign a date for it". Ibid.

cautious in the credit facilities had to put up with smaller shares.¹⁴

Central European countries also gave importance to the commercial travellers¹⁵ who brought them necessary information about the Ottoman market like the quantity that could be marketed, tastes and tendency of consumers...and, at the same time, advertised the products of their manufacturing. On the other hand, the local merchant liked to receive these travellers and felt himself honored from their visits. Therefore, in general, commercial travellers returned to their countries with considerable orders. Some of them struck up close friendships with the merchants and particularly, these friendships were crucial in contending against the competition. In comparative terms, the number of German commercial travellers visiting the merchants were enormous, that of Austrian and Italian were sufficient but the French ones were very little.

For fabrics that were divided into summer and winter or for articles following the fashion, these visits had to be undertaken twice a year. For the winter collection, the traveller had to come and take the orders at

¹⁴ "Les commerçants Ottomans jugés par la presse étrangère", JCCC, 769, (30 September 1899), p.306.

¹⁵ In the Empire, commercial travellers were not subject to any tax and enjoyed of a complete freedom. The only amount paid was the deposit taken for their samples when passing the customs. Later, it was refunded at their departure. Ernest Giraud, "Commis Voyageurs", RCL, 265, (April 1909), p.602.

the end of February or beginning of March, and for the summer one in September, in order to allow the necessary time for the manufacturing. On the contrary, manufacturers of other products, like sewing thread, madapolam, T and grey cloths, which were standardized in quality and models had to decrease the number of travels in order to be able to diminish expenses and to grant other facilities like sending the merchandise c.i.f. Istanbul and franco packaging.

Besides economic factors, political events and wars of the time also altered the market share of European countries. The annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary and then the rebellion of The Greek population of Crete led to the boycott of their imported goods and shippings. The first case which lasted for one year (October 1908 - February 1909) had important impacts on the commercial life of Istanbul. This popular boycott had started among merchants of Istanbul which were mainly of Salonika dönme origin.¹⁶ Then, "customers were prevented from entering Austrian shops. Muslims were asked to stop patronizing Austrian stores that were listed on placards slapped on homes, mosques and shops."¹⁷ The movement against Austria-Hungary took more severe dimensions "when port workers and lightermen of Istanbul refused to unload

¹⁶ Who were also members of Union and Progress. See Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration...*, p.140.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.125.

the Austrian Lloyd ships."¹⁸ Meanwhile, other merchants of different ethnic origins -Greek, Armenian, Jewish or foreign- joined boycotters by declaring that "they would cancel orders they had with Austrian firms and would not place any further orders."¹⁹ Despite several negotiations, the cessation of trade lasted long due to the persistence of lightermen and port workers demonstrating once more their political influence.

Though the economic impact was not easy to determine, it could be said that the major export article of Austria, fezes, dropped by 60% between November 1908 and November 1907.²⁰ This decrease in the quantity supplied of fezes was partly compensated by a rise in the output of Feshane. On the other hand, people started to substitute the fez to other headgears as keçe külah,²¹ arakkiye,²² kalpak. There were even people who wanted to choose a new official headgear.²³ Public officers also had increasingly adopted the kalpak. In the beginning of 1909, a great part

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.128.

²⁰ "Near the end of the boycott, fez trade was reported to have declined by 2 or 3 million kronen". Ibid., p.142.

²¹ A felt cap.

²² A thin cap manufactured of mohair. Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Sözlük*, 3rd ed., (Istanbul: Inkilap Kitabevi, 1959), p.38.

²³ Ahmed Rasim, "Fes Hakkında", p.17-18.

of them replaced the fez while Istanbul merchants ordered 2000 kalpaks for the usage of policemen.²⁴ Similarly, Austria lost its market of ready-made clothing for men and children which had started to be procured from other European countries.²⁵

This movement against Austria was also used as a political tool in the following years. But, the later boycott of 1910 against Greece was not so simple. First of all, the exportation of the Empire to Greece was higher than its importation from this country. Secondly, and more importantly, the Ottoman Empire depended on Greek ships to ensure the transport of goods and passengers in Ottoman waters. Thus, when the interests crashed the movement could not be as successful as the previous one.

Another political event was the Italo-Turkish war of 1912. It caused a cessation of commerce in several products. Threads, fabrics and materials, hosiery made of cotton were no more bought from Italy. Thus, the outstanding market of this country had been shared by England, Austria, Germany and Spain. On the other hand,

²⁴ Erdal Yavuz, "1908 Boykotu", Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Gelişme Dergisi, (1978 Special Issue), p.166.

²⁵ England had been able to capture a part of Austria's market. But, mostly, its goods remained expensive due to the high transport cost. Ibid., p.172. On the other hand, an article in the RCL said that French industrialists could not benefit from this exceptional occasion due to their lack of energy and their fear to take the first step. Ernest Giraud, "Boycottage Autrichien", RCL, 262, (January 1909), p.130.

imports of the Empire had easily found new markets. So, the war did not cause any important loss either to the merchants nor to the customers of Istanbul.

Briefly, to do business with the metropolis of the Near East was not easy. European countries willing to have a greater share in the trade of the city had to adapt themselves to the conditions of Istanbul market. To know about Oriental tastes, to make friends, to grant credits in a market where the shortage of liquidity was highly prevalent... were the important tricks of trade in the city. Thus, Istanbul far from the exactitude of European markets, dictated its own rules. However, consumption preferences were mostly determined by the European fashion. Even if sometimes, it was adapted to local tastes and conditions, the fashion of Istanbul incontestably took its inspiration from the West.

3.2. Fashion and Tastes

This section will analyze one of the factors determining the demand of textile goods. In this context, fashion was -and, still is- important in determining the consumption and, indirectly, the supply. The discussion brought up by the Chamber of Commerce of Tarare²⁶ on the consequences of the decrease in quantity consumed revealed

²⁶ Industrial center of Roubaix.

this argument. It concluded that the industrial crisis was a direct result of the fashion of the day. The manufacturing of dresses which necessitated the usage of 12 or 14 meters of fabrics, was done, in 1911, of 4 or 5 meters. Similarly, underskirts which, first were made narrower, were later totally removed. As a result, the demand of fabrics shrank enormously and, thus, caused the crisis prevalent in Tarare.²⁷

One can ask oneself how important fashion was to the inhabitants of Istanbul. First of all, Muslim women mixing socially only with members of their sex in a very restricted circle of relatives and close friends had not to meet the necessity of social competition that was prevalent in the lives of European women. On the other hand, fashion signifying mutability of taste was "a phenomenon based on forms of class distinction and can operate only when social order is fluid, when the structure of society is such that each stratum is able to take on the manner of life of another stratum which seems to have more advantages."²⁸ Could we talk of such envies between classes in Istanbul? Nevertheless, with the Tanzimat, the break of the principle

²⁷ Ernest Giraud, "Effets désastreux de la mode féminine actuelle sur l'industrie", RCL, 291, (June 1911), p.772.

²⁸ Doris Langley Moore, op. cit., p.29.

of traditionalism²⁹ and the increasing strength of the non-Muslim bourgeois class insured the adoption of Western habits. To live in a Westernized city and to look like Europeans³⁰ became the main preoccupations of the inhabitants of Istanbul -at least of a certain percentage which comprised the non-Muslims and the upper class of Muslim population.³¹ In brief, to keep up with the fashion of the day became a symbol to show that the individual supported the modernization.

For men, the European fashion was first imposed by the State. Public officers started to wear the starched

²⁹ It could be defined as conserving the equilibrium in economic and social affairs, preventing any transformation and returning to the previous state in case of uncontrolled variations. Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadi...", p.180.

³⁰ Profitting of the reformations of the time, the French firm Laferrière was one of the first dressmakers established in Istanbul. Laurence de Laprade, the Istanbul correspondent of Figaro, reported that in 1908, the collection exhibited in the yellow saloon of Pera Palace did not comprised only tea gowns and ball dresses as before, but also every day costumes and dresses. Laurence de Laprade, "L'élégance Française en Orient", Figaro Illustré, (October 1908), p.5.

³¹ See the photography of Ayşe Sıdıka Hanım, the wife of Fahreddin Türkan Pasha in 1904. Engin Çizgen, *op. cit.*, p.135. Another illustration was the photography of Bedi Muvahhit and his family. It must date from the same years. Gökhan Akçura, "Bir Cumhuriyet Sanatçısı, Bedi Muvahhit", *Cumhuriyet*, (23 February 1993), p.12. The representation of the life of the konaks in the late nineteenth century or first years of the twentieth also described in another way this transformation. In İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Sultanahmet.

shirt with collars³² and cuffs called frenk gömlegi, trousers and the dark coat named istanbulin.³³ The fez remained as the sole difference between Ottomans and Europeans.³⁴ For women, though they followed the path of the men, the transition was different. Non-Muslim women, like non-Muslim men, had more easily accepted European styles but among Muslims this way of clothing was first adopted by the women of the Palace.³⁵ Though very slowly, this fact started the "modernization"³⁶ of Muslim women.³⁷

³² Stand-up collars of 5 cm. Musahipzade Celal, *Eski İstanbul Yasayışı*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992), p.169.

³³ This close-fitting coat with a stand-up collar, usually double-breasted and its skirts extending to the knees was a modification of the redingote.

³⁴ The evolution of men's costumes were humorously in the caricature published in Hayal, 23. Nora Şeni, "La mode et le vêtement féminin dans la presse satirique d'Istanbul à la fin du XIXe siècle", *Varia Turcica XXIII*, *Presse Turque et Presse de Turquie*, ed. by N. Clayer, A. Popovic, T. Zarcone, (İstanbul: ed. Isis, 1992), p.203.

³⁵ Hülya Tezcan in her article had said that the exact dates of westernization of women clothing could be figured out through two documents. The first dating from 1854, shows that women clothing was still keeping its traditional aspect, the change being observed only in some accessories. The second document of 1873-1874 shows, on the other hand, the complete westernization of women clothing. Hülya Tezcan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Son Yüzyılında Kadın Kıyafetlerinde Batılılaşıma", *Sanat Dünyamız*, 37, (July 1988), p.45. See, particularly the orders of the women of the palace. *Ibid.*, p.49-50.

³⁶ The most superficial aspect of modernization was clothing.

Even, for those who adopted western styles the dualism could be observed. The daughter of Cevdet Pasha, Aliye Hanim, for instance, said that she dressed sometimes in oriental styles and sometimes in European. But, it seems that she gave preference to European chic since she said that her friends who adopted Western clothing were more cultivated and more refined than those who continued to dress traditionally.³⁸

Newspapers and magazines reinforced this trend. Advertisement announcements of renown shops as Tiring,³⁹ Carlmann and Blumberg⁴⁰ and Baker⁴¹ never forgot to note that the models of their dresses were of the later fashion.

³⁷ It is interesting to note the role of France in this tranformation from the eyes of a French woman. "L'heure est venue, et il n'est pas douteux que les maîtres de l'élégance française n'aient à remplir une mission importante, mission d'initiateurs et de pacifiques évolutionnistes dans la Turquie moderne". Laurence de Laprade, art. cit., p.5.

³⁸ Nora Şeni, art. cit., p.189.

³⁹ The firm had inaugurated a new saloon in Karaköy street, Galata which served only women customers. Even the dealers and dressmakers of the saloon were their counterparts. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, 41, (19 Kanunsani 1311 - 19 January 1895), p.4.

⁴⁰ The owners had three different branches. According to the announcement, the first shop established in Büyük Millet Han-Galata, the other in Beyoglu (door numbers 362 and 363) and the last one in Çorabçi Han-Stamboul were at the service of their customers with their last fashion goods which were imported from Paris, Londra and other European cities. *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Other than the shop in Beyoğlu (door numbers 207 and 500, Teke), the firm had established a branch in Stamboul, next to the new postoffice. This one was also specialized in military costumes and coats besides the usual man, woman and child clothing. *Resimli Kitab*, 37, 7, (February 1327 - 1911).

Besides, several magazines for women published fashion plates⁴² of Parisian designers.⁴³ Obviously, these prints did not reveal realities. They were images of a world where life was easy, where there was someone else to make the beds and other houseworks. Similarly, it was supposed that there was an abundance of opportunities for wearing these dresses. In brief, fashion was publicized if it was accepted and acceptable. In fact, prints of models had a limited impact on masses. Poor women had neither the time nor the money to follow the latest fashion. Besides, the constraints of their milieu was an important impediment for these people. Therefore, when analyzing the fashion prints published in magazines, one can in most cases only talk of aspirations.

The metamorphosis of Muslim women who lived in a different world than their European counterparts, had started within their own limits. Even if they could not be in line with various fashions, they knew to adapt European styles to their way of clothing. Dresses replaced the

⁴² In a time when copyrights were difficult to enforce, the copy of the prints were highly prevalent. Doris Langley Moore, *op. cit.*, p.15. Therefore, it seems probable that these fashion plates published in periodicals were also pirated.

⁴³ Though London and Vienna were also important fashion centers, high fashion almost all over Europe took its inspiration from Paris.

traditional shalwar and yelek.⁴⁴ This enabled also the wear of corsets which changed the silhouette of Ottoman women. To have a fine waist to be flat-bellied and to accentuate the bosom like an hourglass shape was in vogue of the time. In the 1880's, dresses having a bouffant back⁴⁵ replaced the malakof⁴⁶ dresses of the 1860's and 1870's. A pillow attached by a girdle to the belly puffed up the hips and the dress was worn over this.⁴⁷ In Istanbul, this pillow was called the puf.⁴⁸ Throughout the 1890's, skirts no more

⁴⁴ It is usually a fancy sleeveless vest of rich material, often elaborately trimmed, and open in front. Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady, A Social History from 1718 to 1918*, (New York, Westport-Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 1986), p.188. But, a different definition was given by Lucy Garnett. A yelek is "a sort of long coat, tight-fitting above the waist, and buttoned from the bosom to below the girdle, but open on each side from the hip downwards and trailing a few inches on the floor". Lucy M.J. Garnett, *The Turkish People, Their Social Life, Religious Beliefs and Institutions and Domestic Life*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1934), p.279. Perhaps, as Fanny Davis pointed out the yelek had different forms in different periods.

⁴⁵ Men of this period often laughed at this fashion. Refik Halid for instance scoffed at "women who considered themselves elegant with a "balcony" at their back". Refik Halid, *Üç Nesil Üç Hayat*, (Istanbul: Semih Lütüfi Kitabevi), pp.75-76. See also the caricature published in *Hayal*. A woman attached the puf in her front as she was pregnant. She replied the other woman, who thought that she had attached it wrongly, that this was the last fashion. Nora Seni, art. cit., p.205.

⁴⁶ This was the name given to the crinoline. It came from the Malakof castle which had a strategical importance in the Crimean war during which this fashion had been introduced. Refik Halid, *Üç Nesil...*, p.75.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Nora Seni, art. cit., p.202.

lavished with lace and embroideries, took the shape of bells.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the voluminous sleeves brought the transformation of the outer garments. The sleeves, too bulky for feraces⁵⁰ had brought a new type of loose mantle.⁵¹ Thus, the ferace and yaşmak⁵² left their places

⁴⁹ "Moda Hakkında Bir İki Söz", Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete, 4, (31 August 1311(1895)).

⁵⁰ A loose ankle-length mantle with a large cape of silk or wool depending on the wealth of the owner. Mary Evans, *Costume throughout the Ages*, (Philadelphia and New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1950), p.270.

⁵¹ Zafer Toprak, "'Milli Moda" ve Çarşaf", Boğaziçi, 6, p.36.

⁵² "The yaşmak is comprised of two squares of semi transparent fabric, each folded diagonally. The small one is placed over the head with the bias fold well down on the forehead, and pinned at the back, the larger one is similarly secured at the back with its fold so adjusted across the lower part of the face that only eyes and nose are exposed to view. The ends fall down over the chest and shoulders. Mary Evans, *Costume...*, pp.270-271.

to the çarsaf⁵³ which followed a metamorphosis according to the fashion of the day. At the turn of the century, the fit of the skirt had been increasingly close around the hips. Accordingly, slips replaced the voluminous underskirts. Foreigners living in Istanbul were scandalized by this way of dressing which showed all shapes of women. It will be amusing to read the critics of Marius, a friend of Ernest Giraud.

"Levantine women started to wear skirts
which outlined the shape of their hips. They went

⁵³ The çarsaf "a two-piece, dark-colored outer garment for street wear that covered a woman from head to foot. One piece was skirt, one a sort of the cape that started at the top of the head and come down over the skirt". Fanny Davis, op. cit., p.187. It came to Istanbul from Syria, brought by the ladies of Abdüllatif Suphi Pasha family at their return in 1872. But, its form was soon transformed in accordance with the taste of Ottoman ladies. Musahipzade Celal, op. cit., p.165. "According to Semiha Morali, this garment was at first called zar meaning "integument" or "envelope" and only later became known as çarsaf". Fanny Davis, op. cit., p.198. Pakalin says it was also called torba (bag) and dolma (stuffed). The word çarsaf derived from the Persian word çarderseb meaning bed cloth. Then, he added women who knew to sew manufactured the simple çarsafs at their home. Those who were not capable of such handworks went to dressmakers. Women belonging to the high society ordered their çarsafs to the renowned dressmakers of the time among which could be named Madam Epenetos Ifijenja opposite to Galatasaray and Spiegel on the first floor of the Galatasaray apartment. The necessary silk fabrics were procured from various shops of Beyoğlu, Bahçekapı and Sultanhamam. Au Lion, Calivroussi, Hüsn-ü Intihap Ticarethanesi owned by Ipekçi Kani, Emin Yahya Brothers and Orosdi Back were the most renown. But, the best quality was sold by the Armenian Minas Nichan. In the first years of the constitution, Tiring and Stein specialized in ready wear clothing imported ornated çarsafs from Vienna, a mediocre quality priced at 3, 3.5 and 5 golden liras. Mehmet Zeki Pakalin, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, I, (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946), p.327,328.

even further, and uncovered as much as possible their nape, then thanks to the transparent bodies they made a show of their shoulders, arms and sometimes a little more. Ultimately, thinking that they did not expose sufficiently their body to men's eyes, they wore open-work stockings and lifted their skirts up to their knees bringing their legs to the admiration of men. But, strangely, when a single-man excited by this show, made bold admirations, women got angry. I understand that those who were dressed with modesty had the right to be offended, but women who continued to show all their shapes had to appease the impetuosity of men."⁵⁴

In the first years of 1900's, "trains were usual until about 1910, when skirts began to rise."⁵⁵ With these vogues, in 1909, carşafs also got narrower and shorter.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ernest Giraud, "La rue", RCL, (1903, second semester), pp.207-208.

⁵⁵ Douglas Gorsline, *What People Wore, A Visual History of Dress from Ancient Times to Twentieth-Century America*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1952), p.170.

⁵⁶ Critics of older Muslim women to the fashionable ladies were not based only on the morality principals but also on the lack of attention given to their health. Sermet Muhtar Alus stated us the pasage below:

Some women even discarded the skirt portion altogether and wore simply the pelerine. Similarly, its pelerine also shortened up to the elbows.⁵⁷

A Muslim woman, Emine Seniye, also expressed the importance of fashion for Istanbul ladies in a publication of 1896. She said that just as in Europe, Ottoman women had to accept innovations that pleased them and reject others.⁵⁸ Thus, adapting European styles to their clothing, fashionable Ottoman women had started the costume reformation which would be accelerated after the Republic.

But, who were the active agents of this transformation? Unquestionably, Istanbul merchants and tailors who constantly advertised the European fashion to attract the potential customers had an important impact on the society. Thus, to know more about these agents of European civilisation, an ethnic and topographic study will be conducted in the next part.

"Are you crazy? What kind of freedom is this? You are like the actresses Peruz or little Eleni who exposed their breast when walking in the streets. Leaving the morality aside, the weather can vary at every moment of the day and if the wind started to blow from the north, it is very probable that you caught the pleurisy. Later, you will be sorry for it, but it will be too late. Then, they added you are young, restless and wanted to be like Greek women and madams of Beyoglu. They are different. These people, since their early ages, are accustomed to be dressed like this. Even, in the cold snowing nights, they wore thin dresses to go outside." Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *op. cit.*, p.329.

⁵⁷ For the transformation of the çarşaf, see Refik Halid, *Üç Nesil...*, pp.79-80.

⁵⁸ Emine Seniye, *loc. cit.*

3.3. Actors of Trade

"All occupations except agriculture and military service are distasteful to the true Osmanli. He is not much a merchant; he may keep a stall in a bazaar, but his operations are rarely conducted on a scale which merits the name of commerce or finance. It is strange to observe how, when trade becomes active in any seaport or along a railway line, the Osmanli retires and disappears, while Greeks, Armenians, and Levantines thrive in his place."⁵⁹

This passage reflects a very common myth of European travellers. Unlike this general thought, Muslims participated in many artisanal and commercial occupation. However, it is also true that already by the end of the eighteenth century, the minority groups -Greeks, Armenians and, to a lesser extent, Jews- had obtained a commanding lead in the trade and finance of the Empire.⁶⁰

At the turn of the twentieth century, non-Muslim and foreigners constituted about half of the population of

⁵⁹ Elliot, C.N.E., *Turkey in Europe*, (London: Arnold, 1908), quoted from Eliot Grinnell Mears, *op. cit.*, p.40.

⁶⁰ Charles Issawi, "Effects of Reforms on Status of Minorities", *The Economic History of Turkey...*, p.54.

Istanbul.⁶¹ The influx of foreign capital had led the immigration of tens of thousands of Europeans⁶² who generally chose Beyoğlu as their trade district.⁶³ The number of immigrants from the Balkan countries or from Russia also accelerated the demographic growth which was a clear consequence of developing commercial activities of the capital. Besides, since the Muslim population was mainly

⁶¹ See the first chapter for different estimations on the population of Istanbul.

⁶² Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of the Middle East...*, p.114.

⁶³ Western Europeans were much more numerous in Beyoğlu than merchants arriving from Central Europe. Their preference was also reflected in numbers, while Western Europeans were concentrated in Beyoğlu with 74%, Central Europeans' businesses were more dispersed and only 39% of firms were established in the district. See graphics in the appendix III.

attracted by the governmental services,⁶⁴ non-Muslims concentrated on and excelled in trade and industry. Political conditions of the day also helped to promote their places. The foreign protection which they enjoyed beginning from the nineteenth century, their superior education, the help from coreligionists outside the region... all contributed to their success in trade and industry.

Our data which was gathered from the information of the Annuaire Oriental also confined this point. Between

⁶⁴ According to Stanford Shaw, in 1885, the share of the Muslims in trade, industry and commerce was only 38.32% while that of state services attained 95.34%. Stanford Shaw, art. cit., p.412. See the table in footnote 71 below. Though many efforts of the Union and Progress members, this picture did not much change until the First World War. In this context, it could be interesting to read a passage from the JCCC, the unofficial supporter of Union and Progress Party. "Les jeunes Musulmans n'ont donc rien à envier à leur compatriotes de rites et de race différents qui s'adonnent paisiblement au commerce et à l'industrie sous le règne bienfaisant et glorieux de S.M.I. le Sultan. Ce qui leur a manqué jusqu'à présent, ça a été le goût d'utiliser leurs aptitude dans la carrière commerciale, et l'abandon, sinon le mépris, de cette branche de l'activité humaine, a donné naissance à un esprit d'hésitation qui arrête les pas de plus d'un jeune homme désireux d'entrer dans le commerce. Mais le moyen le plus sûr de combattre cet esprit, ce serait d'inculquer dans les esprits aussi bien jeunes gens sortant de nos écoles que dans ceux des parents qu'ils devraient absolument résister à la tentation et à l'attrait des places administratives qui offrent naturellement certaine quiétude mais qui ne peuvent nullement constituer un élément de richesse et de progrès social. Cette race chevaleresque qui a dès le début de son histoire, fait preuve d'un mépris vraiment admirable pour tous les dangers qu'elle a su vaincre grâce à son courage et son intelligence, puisera si possible, de nouvelle force en dédaignant, au même titre, les risques relativement moins considérables que les opérations commerciales et industrielles pourraient offrir pour l'initiative privée. "Les Musulmans et l'initiative privée", JCCC, 776, (18 November 1899), p.362.

1880 and 1912, the presence of Greeks and Armenians in almost all the branches of the sector was highly prevalent. Jews often maintained the third or the fourth place. The only exceptions arose in military clothing where they took the first place with 50%, as well as in umbrella and cloth selling where they had to follow respectively the Armenians and Greeks.⁶⁵ Muslims, concentrated in Stamboul (99%),⁶⁶ had generally a smaller share in the textile trade.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, they were dominant in the trade of raw materials such as cotton or in a traditional branch of textile production, such as linens, particularly those of Bursa in which they excelled with a share of 75%. When talking of fashionable goods which started to be imported in the city with the "modernization" process, like dresses, hats and accessories, Europeans came to the scene.

In the comparisons done above and in those which will follow some points must be noted. First, the Annuaire Oriental supplies limited and biased information and the disparities between Jews as well as Muslims⁶⁸ and Christians

⁶⁵ It is interesting to note the same competition for the cloth between Greeks and Jews in the eighteenth century. See Edhem Eldem, *Le Commerce...*, p.267.

⁶⁶ See the graphic in appendix III.

⁶⁷ Muslims' share was only 10%. See the graphic in appendix II.

⁶⁸ Even though the share of Muslims increased as the years passed, this fact was not probably due to an increase in the number of Muslim merchants, but to a more equitable collection of the data. See the ethnic representation of the data for different years.

were severe. Secondly, Jews were much less numerous than Armenians and Greeks⁶⁹ and consequently, they prevailed in statistics in smaller numbers and this fact could easily mislead people. For instance, in our sample Jews had a smaller share than Greeks and Armenians.⁷⁰ But, when comparing our data with the male population of each ethnic group, it could be observed that the millet the most involved in textile was the Jews⁷¹ and, the interest of Greeks, Armenians and Foreigners constituted a smaller share within the group. On the other hand, the percentages of males within each group dealing with trade, commerce and industry and of each millet within our sample of textile dealers could also be compared. The share of the Jewish men

⁶⁹ The population census of 1897 indicated that Greeks and Armenians attained respectively 236,000 and 162,000 people while Jews were 47,000. Kemal H. Karpat, op. cit., p.104. Similarly, according to the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Jewish population of Istanbul remained at 40,000 between 1880 and 1900 and this figure increased to 65,000 by 1905. Paul Dumont, art. cit., p.231.

⁷⁰ Jews' share was 16%, while Armenians' and ones amounted to 27 and 33%. See the graphic in the appendix II.

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Ethnic grps	Male pop. (1885)	Male pop. in trade...	% of pop in trade	Sample (1880-1912)	% of our sample wrt male pop.
Muslim	201,339	51,073	25.4	241	0.12
Greek	91,804	33,866	36.8	787	0.86
Armenian	83,870	35,979	43.0	652	0.78
Jews	22,394	6,984	31.1	381	1.70
Foreigners	101,205	-	-	216	0.21

It was assumed that owners of businesses were mostly men. Male population figures were taken from Stanford Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul...", p.407.

in trade, commerce and industry was 5.24 while in our sample this figure increased to 16%. These statistics could be interpreted as showing that Jewish men dealing with trade were particularly interested in textile. Having the same reasoning, it could be deduced that on the contrary, Muslims preferred other sectors while Greeks and Armenians were prevalent in textile.⁷²

Though it could be misleading, the data of the *Annuaire Oriental* do allow us, however, to acquire some idea on the general trend. Thus, having these points in mind, we could proceed with our analysis. The commerce of cotton yarn was not in the hands of Muslims as was the case for cotton. Greeks dominated this market. Greeks were also ready-made clothing merchants,⁷³ tailors, dress makers, modistes..., in other words, they excelled in all sectors which followed the fashion of the West. Probably, this fact was due to the contacts which they easily established with

72	% of ethnic groups in trade, industry and commerce	% of ethnic groups in our sample
Ethnic groups		
Armenian	26.99	27
Greek	25.41	33
Jews	5.24	16
Muslim	38.32	10

The percentages of occupation were the figures of Stanford Shaw. *Ibid.*, p.412.

⁷³ Even though, it was stated that Jews had obtained a leading place in modern ready-made clothing, they took the third place in our sample.

Europe. On the other hand, Armenians who had contacts with the East still monopolized the muslin trade with 89%. These people were also talented in handworks, and thus, they dominated the trade of embroideries and golden thread and laces.⁷⁴ Something else that Armenians controlled according to the statistics was the selling of fezes. Their share in this market was 50% while Muslims had a secondary place with 29%. It is also noteworthy to see that Muslims who considered to wear a hat as "becoming a pervert of Islam or being the subject of a European power"⁷⁵ did not appear either in the making or selling of these hats. Jews knew how to fill their place and excelled in the manufacturing and selling of these European hats. Foreigners from Western Europe followed them while Armenians and Greeks had smaller shares. On the contrary, with a share of 46%, Greeks maintained in their hands the market of women's hats as was the case for dress making.

Another accessory which was brought with the "modernization" was the umbrella. In the previous chapter, though it was stated that Jews dominated this market, according to our statistics, surpassed by the Armenians they only obtained a secondary place. This fact could be due to the bias of our data but also to the fact that Jews selling

⁷⁴ But, as was stated in the previous chapter the trade of laces made with European threads was in the hands of Jewish entrepreneurs.

⁷⁵ Sir James W. Redhouse, op. cit., p.1106.

umbrellas were generally described as pedlars.⁷⁶ As Issawi had stated, Jews "have always been pedlars",⁷⁷ a process accelerated by increasing immigration in the end of the nineteenth century.⁷⁸ Eventually, these people did not and could not have a place in the statistic figures.

Jews dealing in haberdashery was also a widespread image. The development of this commerce was largely attributed to them. Nevertheless, according to our statistics they were far surpassed in number by the Armenian and Greek traders. Probably, this conception was relevant within the group as it could emerge later. Similarly, in the previous chapter it was stated that dönmes were highly prevalent in the hosiery. Our data did not show any evidence to support this argument. First, Muslims' share with 17%, was not considerable. On the other hand, it is not easy to differentiate the dönmes from the Muslims⁷⁹ to know their exact numbers. However, the renowned shop owned by Dilber zade brothers and which operated up to 1980's was

⁷⁶ See the previous chapter, page 206.

⁷⁷ Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of the Middle East....*, p.120.

⁷⁸ In 1899 and in 1900's, the Rumanian emmigration was particularly important. Paul Dumont, "Jewish Communities in Turkey...", p.213.

⁷⁹ They could be distinguished from Muslims only when their family names were present. Carache, for instance, was a typical dönme name. Besides, names of several business groups could also be attributed to them. The name Koyouncou which was the adaption of Jewish name Cohen meaning to watch over could be classified under this heading. Oral interview with Erol Coskun, 18 May 1993.

an establishment of dönmes. On the other hand something interesting to note was that though the Jewish element had not the first places in this branch, the renowned shops of time as Carlmann, Seidenberg, Stein, Tiring, Rosenthal... were owned by East European Jews, the so-called Ashkenazims.⁸⁰

Briefly, Greeks and Armenians were engaged in almost every branch of textiles. Jews, on the other hand though they were mainly involved in trade activities, particularly, in textile, did not really occupy a leading position in any branch. Muslims played an even more minor role. These people who were usually not used to engage in any international trade activity, could not start to compete in a short time with non-Muslims and foreigners. However, taking advantage of the political developments of the First World War and of a redistribution of the wealth, Muslims together with Jews caught up with Christians. The Austrian boycott of 1908 could be considered a starting point of the process by which Christians lost their place in the economy of the country. Christians very closely involved in the European economy tried to protect their short term interests

⁸⁰ "Ashkenaz is a Hebrew word commonly used for Germany. The Jews who settled in the Rhineland and northern France spread across France and Germany, and later migrated into Eastern Europe, were known as Ashkenazim". Joan Comay and Beth Hatefutsoth, *The Diaspora History, The Epic of the Jewish People among the Nations*, (Tel Aviv: Steimatzky's Agency Ltd, 1988), p.138.

by abstaining from or opposing the boycott.⁸¹ Muslim traders, on the other hand, who were not engaged as much as non-Muslims in international trade activities were more willing to observe the boycott. Thus, the accusation of Christians of unpatriotic behavior which hastened the disappearance of Christians from the commercial life of the Ottoman Empire.⁸² The culmination of this distrust of non-Muslim Istanbul merchants together with the redistribution of assets took place in the events of 6 September in Beyoglu and the execution of varlik vergisi or capital tax in the Turkish Republic.⁸³

⁸¹ This very fragile link of Christians with the European powers was very well illustrated by the case of Orosdi-Back company. One of four major shareholders of the department store, Joseph Back de (von) Surany was a leading member of the Austrian community. Though the store was French, Back being a Hapsburg subject, the company suffered from serious losses. Thus, the firm responded by joining the Istanbul boycott committee and plastered the store with Baker's membership certificate. But, though the company escaped greater financial losses, Baker's prestige was no more the same in Austrian community. He "lost his position as president of the Austro-Hungarian member of commerce and resigned other posts in the Austro-Hungarian charity society. The embassy, moreover, suspended him from his position on the mixed commercial courts". Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration...*, p.143.

⁸² Ibid., p.145.

⁸³ See Edward C. Clark, *The Emergence of...*, pp.70-81, 161-169, for an elaborate discussion on the capital tax.

CONCLUSION

At the turn of the century, the Ottoman Empire was an important market for products of the European industrial revolution. Commercial treaties signed in the first half of the nineteenth century, with each European power accelerated all this peripherilization process which varied from one specific region to another.

Istanbul, the major importing port of the Empire had a unique place in its economic life. This metropolis of the Near East with its high population was an excellent market for European goods, particularly for cotton threads and fabrics. On the other hand, the newly built railways which connected the city to important raw material production centers as Adana and Central Anatolian regions, made of the city the second export port of the Empire. Thus, Istanbul the trade of which increased rapidly in the dozen of years preceding the First World War, was not only a consumption market, but also an entrepot between industrial countries of the West and its countryside. The successive analysis of different export and import textile goods also supported this point. The mohair of Central Anatolia, the wool of the surrounding regions and a part of the cotton of Adana was stocked in Istanbul before being shipped to Europe. Similarly, umbrellas which were assembled locally, cotton blankets imported from Italy... were also sent to the interior provinces.

In this international context, commercial practices of the city had a particular importance. Far from the exactitude of European markets, based on friendship relations and with its credit mechanisms, Istanbul market dictated its own rules to European powers willing to increase their share in the trade of the Empire. However, consumer preferences were mostly determined by the world market. Men starting to wear the European dress, women increasingly adopting the European fashion initiated, in a way, the costume reformation of the Republic. Obviously, the agents of this transformation were Istanbul textile dealers who constantly advertised the European fashion in newspapers and magazines of the time. These people of different ethnic origins sometimes supporting each other but mostly competing with each other had acquired an indispensable place in the international commerce of the city. Greeks and Armenians were engaged in almost every branch of the textile trade while Jews did not really occupy a leading position in any branch. Muslim merchants who were concentrated in Stamboul, on the other hand, had an even minor role in this trade. Nevertheless, the story started to change with the First World War and the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

Thus, Istanbul was certainly the most integrated port in the world economy and shared the same destiny of other similar ports. But, as the capital of the Empire, this huge city had its own requirements and even if it

undertook similar changes to other ports of the Empire, it was unique in some other aspects. Thus, immediate generalizations could lead us to wrong interpretations. Before using the economic history of Istanbul to explain economic activities of the Empire as a whole, market studies of other similar ports as Salonika, Izmir, Beirut... also had to be undertaken. An adequate comparison of commercial activities of these ports will certainly equip us better for situating Istanbul in the general context of the international trade of the Ottoman Empire.