

MEANS OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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Introduction

One of the most essential factors in the prosperity of any modern state is a well developed and well managed system of communication not only within the country itself, but also with the rest of the world. With the advent of scientific inventions and discoveries, geographical barriers have been eliminated, distances minimized, and isolation, both political and economic, rendered impossible. Peoples of all races and creeds have gradually been brought together, and have been forced into a closer understanding and cooperation. It has become the duty of all nations to render their particular territories easily accessible to all peoples, to provide for their comfort during their visit, and to help them in their enterprises: for the success or failure of one group is closely bound with the success or failure of the whole, and affects it vitally.

The Turkish Empire was one of the last states to awaken to the necessity of things. The Turks who considered themselves superior to the other nations of Europe have for a long time scorned Western ideas, and despised the Western peoples.

It is true that in their days of splendor, the Turks had every right to feel proud of their achievements. Many of the essen-

tials of a civilized state, such as:

"Meschita, maratium, charavansaraja, lavacra, (1)
Fontes et pontes fluviorum, et strata viarum."

existed mainly, or at their best in the Ottoman dominions alone. The social and political institutions of the empire were the most progressive in Europe. An ambassador's comparison of the Turkish and the Holy Roman empires illustrates very well the prestige enjoyed by the Ottomans at the time of Suleiman the Magnificent: "On their side is the vast wealth of their empire, unimpaired resources, experience and practice in arms, a veteran soldiery, an uninterrupted series of victories, readiness to endure hardships, union, order, discipline, thrift, and watchfulness. On ours are found an empty exchequer, luxurious habits, exhausted resources, broken spirits, a raw and insubordinate soldiery, and greedy generals; there is no regard for discipline, license runs riot, the men indulge in drunkenness and debauchery, and, (2) worst of all, the enemy are accustomed to victory, we, to defeat."

The early Ottomans were not scornful of the arts and methods of other nations. They showed a great readiness "to avail themselves of the useful inventions of foreigners", (3) No pains and expenses were spared for the development of their resources, and the improvement of their various institutions. Their empire came to be spoken of as "the

(1) Bates, E. S. Touring in 1600. p.204

(2) Busbecq, O. G. Life and Letters, v.1, p.221. see also
v.1, pp.155,293

(3) Ibid. v.1, p.255

greatest that is, or perhaps ever was from the beginning".... the
(4)
home of "the only modern people great in action."
(5)

Unfortunately, like so many other nations, the Turks lost the characteristics that accounted for their greatness as soon as they felt themselves powerful and safe. They developed a dangerous sense of superiority, and believed that the wonderful systems instituted by their ancestors would retain their efficiency forever. Unwilling to acknowledge the possibility of anything better than what they already possessed, they ceased to be attracted by what other nations had to offer to them. They allowed the alien communities within the empire and Western traders to indulge in what they regarded as despicable occupations, industry and commerce, while they themselves continued to display their skill at arms, and monopolized all the higher ranks in the government organization.

Too proud to burden themselves with the administration of justice to peoples of different standards from the Turks, the Sultans granted them, as a favor, civil and religious autonomy, the famous capitulations. It was of little concern to the Ottomans how these communities managed their own affairs, so long as they provided for the needs of the ruling classes, and assumed a respectful attitude towards them.

(4) Bates Op. Cit. p.187

Sandys, George. Relation of a Journey, p.121

(5) Blount, Henry. A Voyage into the levant, p.222

But the Turks proved to be wrong in their calculations. Their first steps towards the assertion of their superiority, were also the first steps towards their ruin. Progress is an unlimited process. It cannot be stopped at a given point. A nation that fails to see possibilities for further development is doomed to degenerate. For changes are bound to occur as generations succeed one another; and in the absence of a change for the better, deterioration is inevitable.

Thus while the Turks lulled themselves to sleep on the memories of their past splendor, corruption penetrated into all their institutions, and their treasury became exhausted. Their conquered subjects accumulated fortunes at their expense, and later proved to be their worst enemies. The Western peoples whom they despised as inferior to them, progressed rapidly in the fields of arts and sciences, developed their resources, and improved their various systems.

Professional spies, ambassadors, reported regularly on the growing weakness of the Ottoman Empire, and accelerated its decay through their machinations, and constant interference with the affairs of the Porte. As early as 1623, some sixty years after the flattering reports of the German ambassador, we are informed that the empire for sixteen months "hath bene a stage of variety; the soldioury usurping all goverment, placeing and displaceing,... as the wynd of favour or disaffection moved them.... Every new "vizier making use of his tyme, displaceing those in possession, and selling

their favour to others." (6) We are also told of the inability of the government to finance the organization upon which its strength rested, (7) the army; of the refusal of the Yenitcheris to serve without pay; (8) of the exortions resorted to in order to supply the necessary funds; of the migration of the peasantry out of the reach of government officials; and of the possibility of riding three days within the empire and not finding "an egg to eat, nor a man to draw you water." (9) These and similar statements as to the inefficiency of the Ottoman regime, and the corruption of its military organizations, emboldened the Western Powers in to action. They lost their traditional fear of the Turkish army and navy. Each victory over these formerly invincible forces strengthened their position within the empire. Privileges which had been granted to them, condescendingly, came to be regarded as dictatorial rights. From modest representatives seeking the favor of the Grand Signior for their respective states, European ambassadors rose into the position of merciless autocrats holding the fate of the Ottoman Empire within their clasp. By the middle of the 18th century Turkey ceased to attract travellers and scholars as a land that might contribute a great deal to the civilization of the West, but attracted them as a territory which offered possibilities for encroachment and

(6) Roe, Sir Thomas, The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the Year 1621 to 1628 Inclusive p.178 see also pp.54-55, 136, 153

(7) Ibid. pp.66, 114, 277

(8) Ibid. pp. 114, 153

(9) Ibid. p. 66

exploitation.

The Turks thus fell an easy prey to external influences. Their loyalty to their civilization and religion, and their scornful aloofness towards the Christian World could not prevent the surreptitious penetration of Western ideas and customs into their lives, and their unconscious assimilation. It may almost be said that European civilization made its way into the Ottoman Empire at the heel of the first traders and travellers who made use of the privileges extended to them by the Sultans.

Partly because of the greater trade possibilities offered by the weakening empire, and partly because of an increasing interest in travel, each century brought a greater number of Europeans into Turkey... and with them more of Western civilization.

The Christian and Jewish subjects of the Sultan, whose professions brought them into closer contact with the Europeans, were the first to avail themselves of the more enlightened methods with which they became acquainted. But the Turks were not so easily influenced. Their civilization and their religion bound them closely to the East. It was therefore harder for them to derive their inspiration from any other quarter. And yet, is intercourse between two civilizations possible without any reciprocal influence? Was it possible for a stagnant civilization like that of the East to restrain the activity of a teeming civilization like that of the West?

Two centuries of gradual decline were needed before the Turks descended from their lofty heights, and acknowledged that the Eastern attitude to which they had clung so faithfully had dragged them, and

all its adherents to the verge of ruin. There was nothing else to do but surrender, and allow the free play of the customs and ideas which had permeated their very lives in spite of all their oppositions. They had unconsciously been prepared for the sacrifice. Had they not learned to tolerate the presence of Westerners in their country, and in certain instances, even their friendship? Had they not learned to appreciate European commodities in their homes, and the progressive methods of the West on the battlefield? So that, at the beginning of the 19th century, it only remained for them to improve their various institutions, and fit themselves for the further reception of European methods. This could best be done by closer intercourse with Western peoples. A result which could be effected only by an improvement of their means of travel and transportation..... a history of which we purpose to consider in the following chapters.

The greater part of the information included in this essay has been obtained from travel publications, and the official reports of the Turkish government that are available in the United States of America.

The different types of travellers who have visited the Ottoman Empire during the modern times will be discussed in the first chapter, their preparations for their journey will be described, and mention will be made of the various routes followed by them. The remaining chapters will deal with: Roads in Turkey during the Nineteenth Century; Means of Land Transportation other than the Railway; The Ottoman Railways; Travel and Transportation by Water; The Reception and Accommodation of Travellers in Turkey.

Travellers: Preparations for Travel in Turkey

The Turkish Empire has been a source of attraction to Western peoples, for political, economic, and sentimental reasons. The Sultan ruled in Constantinople, the meeting place of important highways between the East and the West. His Dominions included: Greece, the home of famous classical writers and artists; Egypt, the birth place of science; the Holy Land, the cradle of the Christian religion. His authority extended over regions rich in natural resources, and his treasury was replenished by the tributes of neighbouring nations. It is no wonder then, that thousands of Europeans hurried into these much coveted lands years after year: for the sake of obtaining information about this heterogeneous empire, and spying into her affairs; for the purpose of saving their souls; with the intention of accumulating fortunes at the expense of the Ottoman citizens; and for the pleasure of contemplating, and studying the remnants of ancient empires and civilizations.

Among the Westerners who have visited the Ottoman Empire during the modern times we may then cite, the regular representatives of the European States; special envoys and military experts like Busbecq whose "mission was to stay, by the arts of diplomacy, the advance of the Asiatic conqueror, to neutralize in the cabinet the
(1)
defeats of Essek and Mohacz;" or like Sir Thomas Roe, whose duty was to protest against the destruction of British commerce by pirates

(1) Busbecq, Op. Cit. V.1, pp. 5, 54

(2)
from Algiers and Tunis; men like Tournefort sent by order of the French king to study "the natural History, and the old and new Geography of those Parts.... in relation to the Commerce, Religion, and Manners of the different People inhabiting there;" (3) or military experts like Baron de Tott, who was ordered to accompany the French Ambassador to Turkey, to learn the language of the country, and obtain information regarding the customs and government of the Ottomans. (4) We may mention the merchants who were attracted by the fame of Constantinople, a city into which "whatever is useful, necessary, or pleasant, may be imported.... by any wind;" (5) or by the trade opportunities offered by Smyrna, "where nothing that can be wish'd for is wanting, either for Cloathing, Sustenance, or Pleasure, because all the best Commodities of Europe and Asia, are brought hither to be sold at good Rates"; (6) or by the general weakness of the empire during the 19th century, "chaque jour de nouveaux commerçans arrivent et ne doivent compte à personne de leur projets." (7)
We may also refer to the newspaper correspondents who flooded the country in time of trouble, and despatched reports which reflected the expectations of their readers rather than the actual trend of events: We may enumerate all classes of adventurers, who did not care how they

(2) Roe, Op. Cit. pp. 2, 4

(3) Tournefort, M. A Voyage into the Levant, v.1, p.1 Also v.1, pp.XX-XXI,

(4) Tott, Baron de. Memoirs part 1, p. 1

(5) Thevenot, John. Travels and Voyages, p. 68

(6) Careri, J. F. G. A Voyage Round the World, p. 53

(7) Michaud, M. & Poujoulat, M. Correspondance d'Orient 1830-1831, v.2, p. 378

lived, so long as they managed to do so. The profession which seemed to bring the greatest returns to these gentlemen in Turkey, was that of a learned physician selling his medical preparations in the streets of the larger cities. (8)

The desire for salvation had come to be a lesser motive for travel during the modern times, due to the growing suspicion among the educated class of the redeeming power of indulgences and pilgrimages. Even as early as 1595 an English traveller confessed that by his journey to Jerusalem he "had no thought to expiate any least sinne" of his. (9) Nevertheless the increasing doubt as to the possibility of expiation by external acts, and the restrictions imposed by the nations of Western Europe, upon Religious Orders, necessitated the migration of over-enthusiastic believers into regions which continued to offer a market for their propaganda.... Turkey, like all the countries which tolerated several religions within their territories, received her share of missionaries, and allowed them free play so long as they contented themselves with converting her Christian population from one branch of Christianity to the other.

Among the travellers who made their way into the Turkish dominions, the most interesting are perhaps those who were moved by a desire to learn "where places are, what is curious in their peoples," who preferred their own observations to what "ten may declare on hearsay." (10)

(8) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 381

(9) Moryson, Fynes. An Itinerary, v. 2, p. 1

(10) Varthema, Ludovico Itinerario, p. 165
Blount, Op. Cit. p. 222

One cannot but sympathize with people with a "thirst after knowledge",⁽¹¹⁾ who considered variety the "most pleasing thing in the World, and the best life to be, neither contemplative alone, nor active altogether, but mixed of both".... Such as "the delight of visiting forraigne Countreys, charming all our senses with most sweet variety.... most unhappy, and no better than Prisoners"... are those.... "who from the cradle to old age, still behold the same wals, faces, orchards, pastures, and objects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares"⁽¹²⁾... It is a pleasure to know that there were tourists who regarded a contact with peoples whose customs differed from their own a means of broadening their outlook, and of attaining a better insight into human affairs.⁽¹³⁾

Unfortunately this sincere interest in people irrespective of race and religion, the desire to get acquainted with all sorts of places and institutions was true of a comparatively small number of travellers. The majority were not endowed with a far reaching faculty of appreciation. We read in 1700, that the "things which attract Strangers thither, must be a Search after Antiquities, Study of Natural History, Commerce. Relations of the Levant would be but dry stuff, if a Man were to describe nothing but the present State of the Provinces under the Ottoman Domination."⁽¹⁴⁾ Later in

(11) Moryson, An Itinerary, v. 3, p. 349, see also v. 1, p. XII
See also, St. John, J. A. The Lives of Celebrated Travellers, p. 53

(12) Moryson, An Itinerary, v. 3, p. 369
See also, Frederick, Caesar, Voyage and Travell, mp. 366
Careri, Op. Cit. p. 1
Thevenot, Op. Cit. pp. 59-60
Collins, Francis, Voyages, pp. 5, 48

the century, others were persuaded" that a voyage, properly made to the most remarkable places in antiquity.... might be of advantage to the public, at the same time that it would afford knowledge and entertainment to themselves." (15) "it was less the present than the ancient state of these countries that attracted" (16) ... them. The same attitude was entertained by 19th century travellers. Many of them undertook their journey to "rekindle those classic associations which ... (were) connected with... (their) early habits," (17) and had no desire to get acquainted with those whose hospitality they enjoyed. It is no wonder then that they had so little to say about the peoples of Turkey, and that what they had to say was so distorted and uncomplimentary. It seems to be very easy to detect the weaknesses that characterize human beings, and to forget that they have been true of all men, at all times, and in all places. Very few persons are capable of looking at things from the brightest possible angle; and of hoping the best even out of what is usually qualified as the worst... and we have to be thankful to them for all the joys of life... and for the progress of the world.

Let us now follow these tourists through their preparations for a journey in the Near East.

One of the most outstanding characteristics of the human race is a tendency to impart its experiences to others of its kind, and to

(13) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 222

(14) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 19

(15) Wood, Journey to Palmyra, p. 179

(16) Wood, Op. Cit. p. 181

(17) Hamilton, W. J. Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia, v. 1, p. V

offer its suggestions to those who are willing to indulge in similar activities. There is no man who is so insignificant as to refrain from advising, or so powerful as to resist the force of advice.

Human beings are more or less suggestible according to conditions and circumstances, but at no time are they more susceptible to such influences as on the eve of a venture into foreign lands. It is then that the company of former travellers is sought with pleasure; it is then that age worn travel books and their modern imitations, guide books, are brought down their dusty shelves, and perused with eagerness and interest. It is in accordance with the instructions derived from these manifold sources, that the future tourist prepares himself for his journey.

What informations did travellers, diaries, or guide books impart to men whose ambitions led them into the lands of the Sultan during the 19th century? What were the necessities with which they were advised to provide themselves, and the inconveniences against which they were warned?

The intellectual prerequisites of travel into any country were many and varied. Among the branches of learning indispensable for such an undertaking were a knowledge of national law and its defects in order to be able "to discover wise laws abroad":⁽¹⁸⁾ a knowledge of mathematics, in order to be accustomed "to proceed systematically in all... undertakings;"⁽¹⁹⁾ an acquaintance with natural history, navigation, agriculture, mineralogy, metallurgy, chemistry, mechanics, hydraulics, hydrostatics; music, drawing;⁽²⁰⁾ a knowledge of geography,

(18) Berchtoldt, Leopold. Essay to Direct the Inquiries of Travellers, p. 3

without which one would be as helpless as in "attempting a journey
 (21) without food or refreshment" an understanding of mankind for "it
 is not difficult to guide men as we please if we are able to look into
 (22) their heart and head"; enough knowledge of medicine to treat dis-
 (23) eases "which most commonly occur" and those peculiar to the terri-
 (24) tories to be visited; information about the country to be trav-
 (25) elled in, and a study of its language not only to obviate the need
 (26) of interpreters, but also for a better understanding of its inhabitants.
 "A foreigner, who submits to the toil of acquiring their vernacular
 idiom, meets with the same easy freedom, and is treated with the

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- (19) Ibid. p. 4
 (20) Ibid. pp. 1-18
 (21) Ibid. p. 5 (see also Moryson, Fynes. An Itinerary, v. 3, p. 376
 (22) Ibid. p. 15
 (23) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 12
 (24) Spencer, Edmund. Travels in the Western Caucasus, v. 2, p. 185
 (25) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 18
 Niebuhr, Carsten. Travels in Arabia, pp. 2-3
A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey,
Asia Minor, and Constantinople 1840, p. IV
 Quétin Guide en Orient p. 5
 Pettridge, Pembroke Harper's Hand Book for Travellers in Europe
and the East, pp. IX-X
 (26) Moryson, An Itinerary, v. 3, p. 377
 Tott, Op. Cit. v. 1, part 1, p. 7
 St. John, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 55
 Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. pp. 7-8
 Laurant, P. E. Recollections of a Classical Tour, p. 73
A Handbook 1840, Op. Cit. p. III

same friendly familiarity, as if he was a native." (27) And finally a determination to conform to the habits and customs of those whose (28) hospitality is enjoyed.

Having thus completed his intellectual training, the tourist was ready to provide himself with the other necessities for his journey.

Preparations for travel in Turkey were no simple matter according to former travellers. Because of the high rates of transportation, and the difficulties encountered at customs houses, Westerners were advised to take along with them only such articles as were absolutely necessary for the journey. (29) They were urged to content themselves with a few dozen pairs of wearing apparel, because it was hard to have cloths washed; (30) a portable bed, a mattress, pillows, sheets, a quilt, large leather sacks for the luggage, a tent, pistols and other instruments for protection, (31) an umbrella of "double silk" against rain or sun, (32) a saddle, as "Europeans will find it hard to ride on the saddles of the country," (33) a good watch, a compass, a barometer, a

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- (27) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 8
 (28) A Handbook 1840, Op. Cit. p. II
 Quétin, Op. Cit. pp. 4-5
 Petridge, Op. Cit. pp. IX-X
 (29) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. pp. 72-73
 Tournefort, v. 3, p. 6
 (30) Hobhouse, J. C., A Journey through Albania, v. 1, p. 37
 (31) Wey, William. The Itineraries of William Wey p. 6
 Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 6-8
 Niebuhr, Op. Cit. pp. 2-3
A Handbook for Travellers, 1840 pp. V-VII
A Handbook for Travellers in Turkey, 1854 pp. 12-15
 Boué, Ami La Turquie d'Europe v. 4, pp. 455-459
 Quétin, Op. Cit. pp. 7-9
 Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 37
 (32) Handbook, 1840, p. VI

thermometer, maps, a telescope, bolts suited to all sorts of doors, (34)
 small lamps rather than candles, oil being easier to obtain; (35) kit-
 chen utensils, china, silver and provisions; (36) medicine and first aid
 necessities, (37) including a bottle of vinegar, French brandy, Peruvian
 balsam, spirit of salmure against fits, and Hoffman's drops. (38)

According to 19th century publications a wise traveller might also provide himself with European articles such as pistols, knives, scissors, ornaments for ladies and toys for children, to distribute as souvenirs or bribes to persons whose services were enjoyed, or whose favors were needed. (39) Gold or silver coins might also serve the purpose. In fact bribery was as much of a custom in Turkey as it was in Europe, tips being necessary in all sorts of transactions. (40)

Earlier travellers do not agree as to the advisability of offering presents or cash in order to obtain prompt service or friendly reception in Turkey. A 16th century German ambassador is of the opinion that "a man who visits the Turks had better make up his mind to open his

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- (33) Ibid. p. VI
 See also, Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. I, p. 37
 (34) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 76
 (35) Handbook, 1840 p. VII
 (36) Niebuhr, Op. Cit. pp. 2-3
 Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 6-8
 Handbook, 1840, p. V, VII
 Boué, Op. Cit. v. 4, pp. 455-459
 (37) Quétin, Op. Cit. pp. 7-9
 Boué, Op. Cit. pp. 455-459
 Handbook, 1840. p. V
 (38) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 61
 (39) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. I, p. 44
 Quétin, Op. Cit. p. 9
 Handbook, 1840, p. IX
 (40) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 166, v. 3, p. 225

purse as soon as he crosses their frontier, and not to shut it till he quits the country... there is no other means of counteracting the dislike which the Turks entertain towards the rest of the world." (41) According to a 17th century traveller, "it is counted uncivil to visit in this country without an offering in hand" not only as a kind of tribute to people of high rank, but also among inferior people, as a "token of... respect to the person visited." (42) In 1700 a French scientist writes that "the Turks always fleece Travellers especially upon the Frontiers," (43) and that they must never be given Presents, "or those Presents must never be discontinu'd: they look on the first as a Contract for the future." (44) During the same century, another scholar also thinks that it is safer to avoid giving presents," for if presents are given in one place, it is known as one travels on, and then they are expected everywhere" (45) and yet, he agrees that it is necessary to make gifts to governors in order to get access to ruins. (46)

But it must be remembered that in all countries including Turkey, there were a number of men who did not sell their services, and were ready to help strangers without remunerations; and that we hear less about such people than about their less principled contemporaries. Such individuals were usually more careful than the others in their dealings with people whose past was unknown to them. Travellers were there-

(41) Busbecq, O. G. Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 108

(42) Maundrell, Henry, A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, P. 318

(43) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 132

(44) Ibid. v. 1, p. 46

(45) Pococke, Richard A Description of the East p. 507

(46) Ibid. p. 656

fore requested to provide themselves with letters of introduction to be presented to well known residents, or officials of the districts which they intended to visit. They were then entitled to help and information from influential natives, and to the protection of the ambassador, and the other representatives of their respective states. (47)

In the old days, many Catholics thought it necessary to obtain the Pope's license before they started on their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This document was hard to obtain and involved tremendous expenses. The applicant often felt as though "he had beene a suter for a Bishoppricke". Even if it might "give some credulous men hope of fuller indulgence or merit," it served them for no other use as the friars at Jerusalem did not inquire after them. (48)

Another custom which prevailed during the earlier centuries was to deposit a certain sum of money in trustworthy quarters before starting on a pilgrimage. with the understanding that the double or more of this sum would be repaid upon the traveller's return. In case of fatality or failure to undertake the journey, the money was appropriated by the insurance agency. (49) This was perhaps the reason why so many people were willing to undergo countless hardships, and even risk their lives for the sake of a short visit to the Holy Land. It also explains why they were so anxious to obtain a testimony under the seal of a monastery at Jerasalem, certifying that they had been

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- (47) Ibid. pp. 494, 507
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 100
Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. pp. 64-65
Handbook, 1840, p. IX
(48) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 1, p. 447
(49) Ibid. v. 1, pp. XII-XIII, 461

(50)
there; and "for better credit, they expressed therein some mark-
(51)
able signes" of the applicant.

The passport system was introduced into Turkey during the first half of the 19th century. In 1829 travellers were directed to the customs house at Constantinople to have their passports examined. (52) But as was observed a year later, the rigors of the police did not survive the smallest bakshish. (53) In 1834 and 1836 no examination of passport or trunks were necessary at the outskirts of the capital. One was exposed to such "vexatious regulations" (54) only "in more civilized, and (55) in this respect often more uncivil countries."

In 1840 travellers were requested to present their papers upon landing at Constantinople, or upon their arrival at Kutchuk Tchekmedje. Whenever they avoided this village, they entered and left the city without the knowledge of the police. (56) Anyway, the tourist continued to regard the passport as a means "calculated to retard his progress, by (57) transmitting him from one trouble to another."

(50) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 1, p. 461, v. 2, p. 37

(51) Ibid. v. 2, p. 37

(52) Slade, Adolphus Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece... v. 2, pp. 83-85

(53) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 186

(54) Spencer, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 127

(55) Tietz, M. St. Petersburg, Constantinople... v. 2, p. 271

(56) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 377

(57) Gell, Sir William, Narrative of a Journey in the Morea, p. 162

In 1844 the Turkish government issued an order requiring all foreigners to present their passports upon their arrival into the Ottoman dominions. Entrance was not to be granted to those whose certificates were not vised by their foreign office and by the Turkish Consul residing in their respective countries. (58)

This regulation was not always enforced, because the Turks were "less particular and suspicious in regard to travellers than any other people... (59) with the exception of the English."

It was only upon the accession of Abdul Hamid to the Turkish throne that a strict surveillance was established at all the frontiers of the empire, and the travellers were subjected to cross examination before they were allowed to enter the country. The passport became an indispensable document both to the tourist and to the Ottoman government; to the former as a protection during his sojourn in Turkey, to (60) the latter as a means of keeping track of suspicious persons.

Among the numerous necessities for travel in any country, none is as important and as tempting to others as money. Tourists were therefore warned against the imprudence of carrying with them more cash than was absolutely necessary for the first stages of their journey. They were instructed to provide themselves with letters of credit addressed to merchants or bankers residing in the cities to be visited,

(58) A handbook, 1854, p. 17

(59) Boulden, J.E.P. An American among the Orientals, p. 99

(60) Rousset, Leon. De Paris a Constantinople, p. XIII

Curtis, W.E. The Turk and his Lost Provinces, p. 100

Townshend, A.F. A Military Consul in Turkey, pp. 19-20

and to defray their further expenses with funds obtained from these
(61) sources.

They were told to be sure to obtain these letters from
a trustworthy friend at home "who will keepe good credit with the
Merchant that furnisheth him with mony abroad, lest his friends ill
paiments leese him his credit, and so drive him to disgracefull wants;" (62)
and to carry more than one letter so as not to find themselves in a
difficult position should a merchant refuse to extend the demanded
(63) credit.

Funds might also be obtained by means of bills of exchange. (64)
But these could be used only in the most important cities of the empire. (65)
They incurred delays, and did not entitle the traveller to advice and
protection on the part of merchants and bankers. (66) Letters of credit
were therefore preferable.

Former travellers considered European servants nuisances rather
than helps in the Levant, because they showed little disposition to
adapt themselves to new surroundings. It was wiser to wait until the
place of destination was reached, and then engage servants acquainted
(67) with the languages and customs of the country.

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- (61) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 2, p. 132
(62) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 62
Handbook, 1840, p. IV
Quétin, Op. Cit. p. 5
(62) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 3, p. 374
(63) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 63
(64) Baumgarten, Martin Travels p. 436
Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 37-38
Handbook, 1840, p. IV
Quétin, Op. Cit. p. 5
(65) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 125
(66) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. pp. 62-63
(67) Niebuhr, Op. Cit. p. 2
A Handbook, 1840, p. IV

The choice of routes was perhaps the most important and the most difficult task of the traveller in the early days of the 19th century. The experiences of former tourists on board the Mediterranean vessels and along the Near Eastern highways had been anything but pleasant. Their exaggerated tales about the treacherous waters of southern and south-eastern Europe, and about pirates and brigands, the self-elected dictators of lands and seas, were enough to dishearten the most daring adventurer. In making his decision, the Westerner had to consider the risks and inconveniences, rather than the expediency that might be expected from the itineraries under consideration. This situation was very much relieved upon the advent of steamers and the railway.

According to the reports of various travellers, the capital of the Ottoman Empire might be reached by the following routes:

- 1) Directly by water, from the ports of northern Europe, via Gibraltar, with optional stops at Marseilles, Algiers, Messina, Malta, Cephalonia, Zante, Patras, Crete, Alexandria, Rhodes, Chios, Smyrna, Mitylene, (68) Dardanelles, and Gallipoli.
- 2) Directly by water from an Italian, or French port on the Mediterranean, with optional stops at Messina, Malta, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Patras, Corinth, Syra, Pireus, Andros, Chios, Smyrna, Tenedos, Dardanelles, and (69) Gallipoli.
- 3) Previous to the building of the Oriental Railways, the overland route via Belgrade, Yagodino, Nish, Sofia, Tatar Bazardjik, Philippopoli, Moustafa, Pasha, Adrianople, Baba Eski, Tchouklou, Silivria, Buyuk

(68) Sanderson, Voyages, pp. 412-413, 426-427, 434-435
Mundy, Peter Travels in Europe, pp. 14-16
Wrag, Richard A Description of a Voyage pp. 107-113
See also Steamship Lines, pp. 78-84

(70)

Tchekmedje, Kutchuk Tchekmedje.

Belgrade might be reached by one of the following routes:

- a) By water from Venice to Spalatra. By land from Spalatra to
(71)
Serajevo and Belgrade.
 - b) By water from Venice to Ragusa, and overland into Serbia.
(72)
(73)
 - c) From Vienna or Budapest down the Danube.
(74)
 - d) From Venice overland, across northern Italy.
- 4) By water from an Italian port to Durazzo, then following the line of the Via Egnatia, to Elbassan, Ochrida, Monastir, and Salonica, and continuing parallel to the Eagean coast to Constantinople, via Chissele, Cavalla, Gumuldjene, Keshan, Malgara, Rodosto, Eregli, Silivria, Buyuk

- (69) Morysch, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 445-446
 Thevenot, Op. Cit. pp. 59-68
 Laurent, Op. Cit. pp. 7-58
 Slade, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 30-82
 Kohl, J. G. Die Geographische Lage der Hauptstadta Europas pp.3-35
 Sandys, Op. Cit. pp. 88-110
 See also Steamship Lines, pp. 78-84
- (70) Busbecq, Op. Cit. pp. 79-111
 Austell, Henry, Voyage, pp. 322-324
 Mundy, Op. Cit., pp. 45, XXVIII-XXIX
 Des Hayes, Louis. Voyage de Levant, pp. 199-214
 Blount, Op. Cit. p. 231
 St. John, Op. Cit. pp. 83-93
An Itinerary from London to Constantinople, pp. 36-37
 Abercrombie, Ralph. Itinéraire Général des Postes et Relais, pp.
 151-152, 176
- A Handbook, 1840 p. 215
 Kohl, Op. Cit. p. 9
- (71) Blount, Op. Cit. pp. 226, 231
 Mundy, Op. Cit. pp. 78-86
- (72) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 92
 Kohl, Op. Cit. pp. 9-14
- (73) Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 214
- (74) Austell, pp. 322-324

(75)

Tchekmedje, and Kutchuk Tchekmedje.

5) By water from Venice to an Albanian port, and overland to Scutari, Tirana, Ochrida, Monastir, Keuprulu, Tatar Bazardjik, Philippopoli, and route 3) to Constantinople.

(76)

(77)

6) From Belgrade down the Danube to Silistria or to Roustchouk, then across the Mount Haemus to Rasgat, Shumla, Kirk Kilisse, Bourgas, Tchorlou, and route 3) to Constantinople.

(78)

7) From Belgrade all the way down the Danube to the Black Sea, and then by boat to Constantinople.

(79)

Upon the advent of the railway, some tourists, preferred to leave the Danube boat at Roustchouk, take the train to Varna, and then the steamer to Constantinople.

(80)

8) From Bucarest to Guirgevo, across the Danube to Roustchouk, and route 6) to Constantinople.

(81)

9) Route 8) to Roustchouk, across the Balkans to Shipka, Kazanlik, Adrianople, and route 3) to Constantinople.

(82)

(83)

The following itineraries might be followed from Constantinople to the Asiatic and African provinces of the Empire:

(75) Kohl, Op. Cit. pp. 17-19

A Handbook, 1840, p. 253

(76) Pouqueville, F.C.H.L. Travels, v. 3, p. 192

A Handbook, 1840, p. 256

(77) Kohl, Op. Cit. pp. 9-14

(78) An Itinerary, Op. Cit. pp. 37-72

A Handbook, 1840, p. 218

(79) Kohl, Op. Cit. p. 14

(80) Reinach, Joseph. Voyage en Orient, v. 1, pp. 109-165

(81) An Itinerary, Op. Cit. pp. 37-72

A Handbook, 1840, p. 218

(82) The Modern Traveller, pp. 267-271

Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 191-273

(83) Ibid. v. 1, pp. 191-273

- 1) By boat to Trebizond, and overland to Gumushhane, Erzeroum, and the Persian frontier.
(84)
- 2) Overland to Erzeroum, via Ismid, Sabandja, Boli, Tosia, Merzifon, Anasia, Tokat, Niksar, Ash Kale, From Erzeroum, to Hasan Kale, Ardjish, Djanik, and Van.
(85)
(86)
- 3) Constantinople to Trebizond following route 2) as far as Niksar, then continuing to Gumushhane, and Trebizond.
(87)
- 4) Following route 2) to Boli, and then continuing to Hadji Abbas, Ashar, and Kastamouni.
(88)
- 5) To Moudania by water, then overland to Ouloubad, Mihalitch, Manias, Koula, Sandikli, Afium Kara Hissar, Bulwudun, Ak Shehir, Ladike, Konia, Karabounar, Kotch Hissar, Bektash, and Kaiseri.
(89)
- (6) Constantinople to Diarbekir via Ismid, Isnik, the Sakaria valley, the plain of Eski Shehir, Kutahia, Angora, Kaiseri, and Sivas.
(90)
- (7) Constantinople- Aleppo via Ismid, or Isnik, Lefke, Seugut, Eski Shehir, Seid-el-Gazi, Bulwudun, Ak Shehir, Ladike, Konia, Karabounar, (91)

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- (84) Careri, Op. Cit. pp. 102-110
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 94
Kohl, Op. Cit. pp. 19-22
Keane, A.H. Asia, v. 2, p. 328
 - (85) Ibid. v. 2, p. 328
A Handbook, 1840, pp. 281-282
 - (86) Ibid. pp. 281-282
 - (87) A Handbook, 1840, p. 287
 - (88) Ibid. p. 286
 - (89) Ibid. pp. 306
 - (90) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. p. 556
 - (91) Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 686-687
Sanderson, Op. Cit. pp. 432-433
Leake, W. M. Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, pp. 1-44, XV-XVI
Handbook, 1840, pp. 299,

(92)
Eregli, Cilician Gates, Tarsus, Adana, Aleppo, Antioch, and
(93)
Alexandretta.

8) Constantinople to Aleppo via Ismid, Brousa, Kutahia, Afium Kara
(94)
Hissar, Ak Shehir, Konia, and route 7)

9) Constantinople to Egypt by water with optional stops at Galipoli,
(95)
Dardanelles, Lemnos, Metelin, Chios, Samos, Rhodes, and Alexandria.

10) Constantinople by water to Moudania, and then overland to Smyrna
(96)
via Brousa, Ouloubat, Sardis, Tyreh, and Ephesus.

From Smyrna one might continue:

a) to Syria via Sardis, Alla Shehir, Bourdour, Adalia, Isbarta,
(97)
Egerdir, Konia, and route 7)

b) to Syria via Tyreh, Guzel Hissar, the Meander valley, Denizli,
(98)
Bourdour, and route a).

c) to Erzeroum via Magnesia, Brousa, Angora, and Tocat. (99)

The following were the direct routes between Europe, and Syria,
Palestine, Mesopotamia, Egypt:

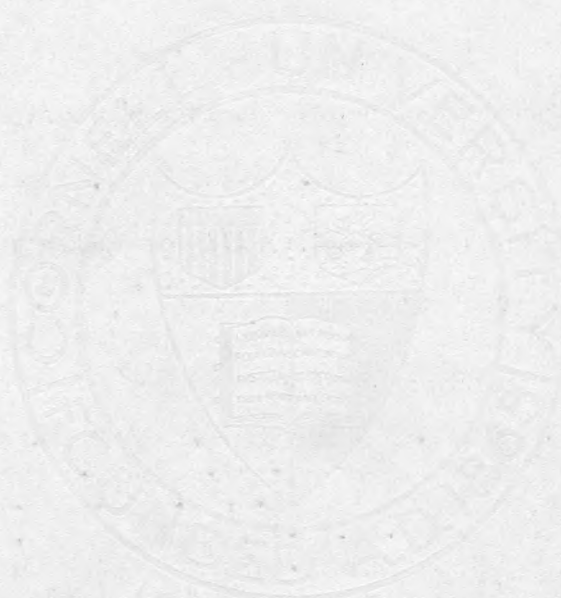
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- (92) Ibid. p. 300
Sanderson, Op. Cit. pp. 432-433
Pococke, pp. 686-687
- (93) Sanderson, Op. Cit. pp. 432-433
- (94) Kohl, Op. Cit. pp. 14-17
Leake, Op. Cit. pp. XVII, XVIII
Keane, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 328
- (95) Sanderson, Op. Cit. p. 414
Sandys, Op. Cit. p. 171
Kohl, Op. Cit. pp. 27-31
- (96) Thevenot, Op. Cit. pp. 100-114
A Handbook, 1840, p. 275
- (97) Leake, Op. Cit. p. XV
- (98) Ibid. p. XV
- (99) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 258-332

- 1) By water from Venice to Jaffa, with optional stops at
Mediterranean ports and islands, then by land to Rama, and Jerusalem. (100)
- 2) Directly by water from the ports of northern Europe to Tripoli in
Syria with optional stops at Mediterranean ports and islands. From
Tripoli to Aleppo, Biredjek, Felechia, Bagdad, and Basra. (101)
- 3) From Venice to Tripoli by water, and overland to Basra,
(102)
(103)
following route 2)
- 4) From Venice to Alexandria via Corfu, Candia, and other Mediterranean
islands. (104)
- 5) From the ports of northern Europe to Alexandria via Gibraltar,
(105)
Mediterranean ports, and islands.

Having studied the itineraries of previous travellers, and decided upon his route, the future tourist wrote his will in order to ob-

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- (100) Aldersey, Lawrence, Voyages, pp. 206-209
Locke, John, Voyage, pp. 77-89
Wey, Op. Cit. pp. 4,8.
Moryson, An Itinerary, v. 1, p. 446
Malta Protestant College, Journal of a Deputation, v. 1, pp.
- (101) Fitch, Ralph, Voyage pp. 465-468, 505 282-292
Eldred, John, Voyage pp. 1-9
Sanderson, Op. Cit. pp. 424-425
- (102) Frederick, Op. Cit. pp. 366-373
Dandini, Jerome, A Voyage to Mount Libanus, pp. 274-282
Aldersey, Op. Cit. p. 213
- (103) Frederick, Op. Cit. pp. 366-373
- (104) Varthema, Ludovico, Itinerario pp. 167-185
Baumgarten, Op. Cit. pp. 425-502
- (105) Aldersey, Op. Cit. pp. 39-46
Evesham, John The Voyage passed by Sea into Aegypt, pp. 35-38

viate "infinite distress and disputes in his family" in case of
fatality, (106) and confessed his sins, praying to God to bring him
home safe from the difficult journey he was to undertake. (107) He
was then ready to make arrangements for his conveyance by water or
by land. We shall follow him on the Mediterranean and Turkish waters
in the next two chapters.



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- (106) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 83
Moryson, An Itinerary, v. 3, p. 376
(107) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 3

On the Mediterranean and Turkish Waters

The traveller could not help but sigh with relief, when his ship was towed out of the harbor, and abandoned to its fate on the high seas. The strain of the last few weeks had weighed heavily on him. Had he known that this much worry and rush preceded a journey by water, he would have remained at home, and resigned himself to becoming 'dull witted'. His friends, and the guidebooks which he had studied, had done their share in complicating matters. He could still hear the anxious questions, and read the warning sentences. Had he obtained information as to the captain's character? Did he behave well and treat "his passengers with politeness and attention?" (1) How old was the vessel; was she seaworthy; (2) how much cargo did she carry; what was the number of her crew, and the quality of her passengers? (3) Was her flag "respected by the pyratrical powers of Barbary..." (4) Yes he had bargained with the master, and obtained his promise to provide fresh water, fresh bread, and hot meat twice a day at two meals. (5) He had inspected the ship, he had seen her spare sails. (6) His mattresses and quilts had been purchased, (7) and his provisions supplied. (8) The farewell shot was received with an indulgent smile. His advisors were perhaps right. It might be to his advantage to be on good terms with the of-

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- (1) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 78
Haight, Mrs. S. Letters from the Old World, v. 1, p. 66
(2) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 77
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 66
(3) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. p. 77
(4) Ibid. p. 77
(5) Wey, Op. Cit. p. 4
(6) Haight, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 66
(7) Ibid. p. 66
Moryson, An Itinerary, v. 1, p. 448

(9)

ficers, and to win the crew over to his side with small presents.

It would be absurd to hold that a normal human being will receive this much advice without grumbling. And yet he will act upon instructions as nearly as he can. The 20th century man is as susceptible to such influences as his 15th century ancestors. The thought that made his grandfather, or perhaps great grand father, take the above mentioned precautions in 1800, was very much akin to the thought that keeps him at home on a Friday, or prompts him to leave a table when the words "we are thirteen" are uttered next to him. Even in this unbelieving age people prefer not to have to reproach themselves for neglect should the predicted calamity occur.

Many were the vessels that made their way to the Levant in days when sails and oars had to brave the waters of the world. The ports of the Ottoman Empire sheltered ships of all sizes, and of many nations. Throughout the Middle Ages, and even in the early years of the modern Era, special vessels sailed from Venice on Ascension Day to convey pilgrims "to the holy city of Jerusalem..... every year..... with passports from the Republic".⁽¹⁰⁾ Many of the faithful preferred the deck to the stuffy cabins with which these boats were provided. Most of them neither changed their cloths, nor slept in a bed all the time they were on the high seas... and it is doubtful that they ever sleep. Everybody and everything seemed to come into activity after dark. Vermin crept out of

(8) Ibid. v. 1, p. 448

Dandini, Op. Cit. p. 301

Haight, Op. Cit. f. 1, p. 66

(9) Berchtoldt, Op. Cit. pp. 78-79

(10) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 352

every nook and corner, rats raced over people's faces, sailors walked on top of them, some members of the party prominated around with torches, and occasionally set the place on fire, others, more cheerfully disposed, passed their time away singing, talking, and even yelling. Those unfortunate enough to contract disease died all around. Daylight arrived with no relief. Meals were interrupted by calls of "pando", and the passengers were rushed from one quarter to another before they fully realized that the ship bore down to one side. None of them were too disappointed to part with the food supplied by the captain. The "meat had been hanging in the sun, the bread hard as a stone with many weevils in it, the water at times stank, the wine warm, or hot enough for the steam to rise".... But those who had failed to provide themselves with provisions, had to resign themselves to a starvation diet, when these unpalatable victuals became scarce. (11)

Pilgrim ships were happily discontinued by the end of the 16th century, as a lesser number of Europeans undertook the journey to the Holy Land. Even the priests who were sent "into those parts, to doe divine duties to the Papist Merchants there abiding",... used "to passe in no other than common Merchants ships" (12) in size from 200 to 900 tons. (13)

Europeans usually preferred their own vessels to those of the

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- (11) Bates, Op. Cit. pp. 67-68
(12) Moryson, An Itinerary, v. 1, p. 447
(13) Wrag, Op. Cit. pp. 94-95
Morysch, An Itinerary, v. 1, p. 455
Dandini, Op. Cit. p. 274
Tournafort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 364
Bates, Op. Cit. p. 68

Turks which they thought were "neither so well built, nor so swift in saile, nor so fitt to fight, nor so strong, nor built of so durable Timber, as those of the Spaniards, Venitians, and other Christians
(14)

Their Enemies." They were very few in number considering the seas at the Sultan's command and his numerous ports, "protected from every
(15)
wind of heaven, and capable of containing the fleets of nations."

If indeed the Turks had been interested in the seas, they could easily have controlled the Mediterranean, and chased "away the Corsairs, who
(16)
do so much Mischief to their Traffick."

But Oriental seamen were inexperienced, ignorant of the arts of navigation, of the use of sea
(17)
charts and of the compass. "They steer by their knowledge of the

Coasts, which is very erroneous; and they generally trust themselves in long Voyages, as to Syria and Egypt, to Greeks, who have run the Course with Christian Privateers, and have got the Track of the
(18)
Countries of Asia and Africa by rote."

Natives seamen sailed only in perfect calms, and spent the rest of their time sleeping, smoking, drinking coffee, or eating rice. They lowered the sails at night even
(19)
when the wind was favorable and settled down to rest.

Travel was perhaps risky in the 36-40 ton Baghales which crowded

(14) Moryson, Shakespeare's Europe p. 58

(15) Spencer, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 167

See also, Moryson, An Itinerary v. 4, p. 122

(16) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 278

(17) Ibid. v. 2, p. 278, v. 3, p. 2

Moryson, An Itinerary v. 4, p. 122

Garerâ, Op. Cit. p. 29

(18) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 278

(19) Ibid. v. 3, p. 56, 4, v. 1, p. 268

Castellan, A. L. Lettres sur la Grece... part 1, p. 8

the Persian Gulf. These were vessels whose planks were "sowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees....(with)... no kinde of yron worke....save only their ankers." (20) The roughly built 150 ton boats of the Black Sea, "short, broad, very deep, and nearly open to the sea" (21) might have frightened the traveller, even though these ships were known to weather "a storm infinitely better than many a nobler craft." (22) But so far as comfort was concerned, they were not any worse than those of the West. We know that European vessels were so filthy as to necessitate the use of linen breeches instead of sheets during the journey. (23) For a long time few vessels could afford luxuries such as knives, forks, spoons, and glasses. Complaints as to the treacherous and thievish disposition of the crew, and the discourteous conduct of the captains are not lacking. In 1596 during a passage from Scanderon to Candia, an Englishman could not sleep for fear of an attack on the part of the French sailors, who were ill disposed towards his countrymen. (24) In 1634 another English traveller who had "often proved the barbarism of other nations at sea" was so surprised at the "incredible civility" of the Turks in all matters, that he wondered "whether it was

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- (20) Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 7
Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 372
Fitch, Op. Cit. p. 468
Guinet, Vital, La Turquie d'Asie v. 3, p. 244
(21) Spencer, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 114
(22) Ibid
(23) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 1, pp. 448, 451
(24) Ibid, v. 2, p. 72

(25)
a dream or real." But later during the same century, another
tourist is of the opinion that his Christian brothers should "avoid
going aboard a Turkish Vessel, for tho' there be more Greeks than Turks
aboard, yet the first are worse than the latter, and bear the same
hatred to Catholics." (26)
At the end of the 18th century, a French-
man who had many occasions to complain of the mismanagement of
Mediterranean ships, felt that on the whole European vessels were safer
than those of the Levant. (27)
Around the beginning of the 19th century
English ships are reported to be cleaner than the rest, and provided
with comfortable cabins. And yet, they were not as adequate to resist
the sudden squalls of the Aegean as the pollaco rigged crafts. (28)

Such contradictory reports are anything but satisfactory. It
is hard to obtain a clear idea of the situation. It is only too nat-
ural for a tourist to wish to be among his own nationals, or those
whose customs do not clash with his own. It is also very easy for him
to misinterpret the attitude, and underestimate the efficiency of those
whose language and habits are unknown to him. The Turkish vessels were
perhaps just as good, and Ottoman sailors, as reliable as those of the
West during the 16th and 17th centuries. This period was probably
followed by one of decline. The Europeans in the meantime perfected
their ships, and became better acquainted with the art of navigation.
So that by the 19th century their boats afforded greater safety, and
better comfort than those of the Levant. The Sultan himself realized

(25) Blouht, Op. Cit. p. 251

(26) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 84

(27) Olivier, G. A. Voyages dans l'Empire Ottoman v. 1, pp. 9-12

(28) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 79

the inefficiency of heavy built vessels and decreed the construction of lighter craft on the Western model. Foreign workmen were invited to direct the works at Constantinople and on the Danube. (29) B7 1859 the merchant fleet of the Ottoman Empire numbered 2,200 vessels of 182,000 tons. (30)

One of the greatest handicaps of a sail vessel was its dependence upon favorable weather. There was no way of calculating the length of a journey, everything being determined by the presence and the direction of the wind. Contrary winds were as apt to delay the date of departure, as their absence. In 1680 a pilgrim was thus deterred for three days on board a 900 ton vessel in Venice. (31) In 1700 a French scientist arrived at Marseilles on the 27th of March, and having engaged his passage waited for a northwest wind to lead the boat towards Candia. He sailed on the 23rd of April "but the Wind being too fresh....tarry'd among the Isles, and put not to Sea till the next day..." (32)

The earlier traveller accepted this dependence upon the weather quite philosophically. He thought it unreasonable to expect the captain to land him at a given port, for that was "onely in the power of God, according to the windes, which might force him to take harbor." (33)

The master could promise to direct his vessel to a given port only "if the wind would permit". (34)

(29) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 77

(30) Heuschling, Xavier L'Empire de Turquie, pp. 192-204

(31) Dandini, Op. Cit. p. 274

(32) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 18, v. 2, pp. 12, 24

(33) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 1, p. 461

(34) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 594

Towards the end of the 16th century stormy weather obliged a Cypriote to land at Zante on his way to Candia, and to return home months later without having fulfilled the object of his journey. (35)

In 1739 a man bound for Messina was forced into to Cephalonia by contrary winds. (36) A vessel is said to have struggled four days at Jaffa before it could land its passengers. (37) As late as 1830 storms held

an English ship 15 days in front of Tenedos at the entrance of the Dardanelles. (38) Around the same period it took about 3 days for English and American vessels to maneuver out of the bay of Smyrna during the "imbat" (wind blowing from the north west) The ships of other nationalities unable to do even this much, had to wait for favorable wind. (39)

The 19th century traveller was not as patient as his ancestors. (40) In 1818 a tourist whose voyage was "much retarded by contrary winds" is of the opinion that "no punishment can be imagined more cruel to an active mind than to be a passenger on board a ship becalmed; the masts constantly creaking and the pulleys and cordages striking against the deck tease the ear by their eternal sameness of sound, while the eye is tired with contemplating the same lands even in view at the same distance; man in such a case feels himself deprived of his most precious

(35) Dallam, Thomas The Diary of Thomas Dallam, p. 27

(36) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 764

(37) Locke, Op. Cit. p. 91

(38) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 34

(39) Mac Farlane, Charles Constantinople in 1826 v. 1, pp. 130-131

(40) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. V

rights - his liberty - and but little persuasion is required to induce him to assent to the idea that a ship is only another word for a prison."⁽⁴¹⁾

The length of a journey in those days was certainly enough to drive any normal person out of his senses. A voyage directly by water from Stockholm to Smyrna was an affair of 51 days.⁽⁴²⁾ A journey from Leghorn to Smyrna lasted 40 days.⁽⁴³⁾ A ship reached Constantinople 5 months after it sailed from Gravesend.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The passage from London to Alexandria was performed in $4\frac{1}{2}$ months,⁽⁴⁵⁾ and from Leghorn to Alexandria in 23 days.⁽⁴⁶⁾

We hear of journeys of 25 and 30 days from Venice to Cyprus,⁽⁴⁷⁾ and of 51 days from Marseilles to Constantinople.⁽⁴⁸⁾ "So quick a Voyage" as that from Marseilles to Candia in 9 days happened "but rarely."⁽⁴⁹⁾ A 42 hour trip from Schio to Constantinople was an event to be mentioned "for the raritie thereof" for another ship made the same distance in six weeks.⁽⁵⁰⁾ 5 weeks were often necessary for journeys from Candia to Constantinople,⁽⁵¹⁾ and from Gallipoli to

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- (41) Ibid. pp. 15-16
 (42) St. John, Op. Cit. p. 55
 (43) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 364
 (44) Sanderson, Op. Cit. pp. 412-413
 (45) Evesham, Op. Cit. p. 35
 (46) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 765
 (47) Dandini, Op. Cit. pp. 274-282
 (48) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 1, pp. 452-459
 (49) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 18, 20
 (50) Tott, Op. Cit. part 1, pp. 1-3
 (51) Coryat, Thomas Crudities v. 3, Constantinopolitan Observations
 (52) Ibid
 (53) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 2, pp. 84-90

(54)

Venice.

The passage from Jaffa to Cyprus varied between 2 nights and 1 day during favorable weather. A 16th century tourist reached land 3 days after leaving Cyprus... but it happened to be the coast of Egypt.

(55)

He arrived at Jaffa 2 days later.

Ships made the distance between

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Damietta and Jaffa in two days in 1693, and in 4 days in 1738.

The trip from Constantinople to the Dardanelles was an affair of 12 hours in fair weather, and of days in case of storms or calms. The

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journey from Smyrna to Constantinople varied between 9 and 21 days.

Unfavorable winds might have been accepted with resignation by the traveller, had the crew faced facts reasonably, instead of seeking unnatural causes for natural phenomena. The superstition of the sailors, was often as distressing as unfair weather. Their strange beliefs, and still stranger remedies were many and varied. Should a cloud with a long tail, the Italian Cion, light on any part of the ship, all those on board trembled with anxiety. To prevent the expected calamity the seamen used "a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the same did crosse the said taile as if they would cut it in twain, saying these words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they stucke the knife on the ship side with the edge towards the said cloude". This procedure proved to be so efficacious, that the cloud vanished "in lesse

(54) Ibid. v. 2, pp. 106-113

(55) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 1, p. 462

(56) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 29

(57) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 406

(58) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 78

(59) Covel, John Extracts from his Diaries, pp. 142-144

(60) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 84

than one quarter of an hour." (61) Greek sailors seldom ventured on the sea before the waters were blessed. This ceremony was performed at a given time by priests. The Turks had such faith in this ritual, that they were apt to put off their sailing should they be told that (62) the seas had not yet been opened.

The signs of a future disaster, or the explanation of a present calamity were never sought very far in those days. Should an object happen to be turned upside down, the passengers and the crew prepared themselves for the worst. (63) The presence of two Anglicans on board a French vessel was enough to account for a storm. The unfortunate Englishmen were therefore sent ashore in a tiny boat. (64) Should somebody take it to his head to inform the captain that a certain day was unlucky, nothing could make him leave the harbor before the evening. (65)

Of all the experiences of the traveller on the high seas none was as disastrous as an encounter with pirates. These enterprising gentlemen deemed it their pleasure as well as their means of sustenance to raid the vessels that fell within their grasp. The capture of a ship and the disposition of its passengers was effected in short order by these experts in the business.

Even though European travellers take special pains to convey the idea that the subjects of the Sultan were about the only pirates

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- (61) Locke, *Op. Cit.* p. 90
(62) Busbecq, *Op. Cit.* v. 1, p. 256
(63) Moryson, *An Itinerary* v. 1, p. 458
(64) Moryson, *An Itinerary* v. 2, p. 72
(65) Tournefort, *Op. Cit.* v. 3, p. 56

(66)
that infested the Mediterranean and the Aegean, there is no doubt that their own corsairs did their share in rendering that sea dangerous to merchant and war vessels. Nevertheless Western traders trembled at the sight of Algerian galleys. French, Italian, Dutch, and English vessels were constantly raided by them. It is reported in 1623 that within 12 years the French lost 44,000,000 frs. in trade, and about 2,000 ships to Muslim raiders, and that the losses of Dutch merchants were such that they decided to give up their trade with the Levant. (67)
In 1624 these same corsairs had "taken and burnt 9 shippes, and the value of 600,000 dollers from Christians" in the space of three months. (68)
It was argued at that time that unless these raiders were suppressed, "their encrease would become an aid to the Grand Signor in any enterprise in the Levant seas, and their strength embolden him to come out:" (69)
that the Sultan and his vezirs shared in the booties, and encouraged such enterprises; (70)
(71) that the pirates were bold enough to bring their prizes to the ports of the empire and that "as boldly the governors" (72)
bought them.

But was the Ottoman Empire really profitting by this situation? We learn from various sources that during the 17th century Turkish vessels sailed only during the day "not daring to keep out at Night for

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- (66) Mundy, Op. Cit. p. 16
Roe, Op. Cit. pp. 14, 255
(67) Roe, Op. Cit. p. 224
(68) Ibid. p. 255
(69) Ibid. p. 17
(70) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 2, pp. 108-109
(71) Sandys, Op. Cit. p. 130
Roe, Op. Cit. pp. 27, 227-490
(72) Ibid. p. 490

fear of Pyrates, and not for want of wind." (73) We know that the Barbary raiders were so little afraid of the Sultan that they attacked his ports, and carried away the ships they could get hold of, irrespective of nationality. They even searched the towns of men, Christian or Muslim, and forced officials to deliver them. (74) In the summer of 1624 they had "shutt upp the Archipelago, and stopped all passage to" (75) ...Constantinople. In 1625 the entrance to the Dardanelles and to the Gulf of Smyrna were watched so narrowly that there was "no more passage from port to port, and the grand signors custome-house...(was) (76) .. emptye."

We know also that piracy was encouraged by all the states of Europe, as a means of frustrating each other's commercial and political ambitions. In 1586 as a result of the rivalry between the English and the Spanish, the king of Spain "had given order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Levant, to hinder the passage of all English ships... (77) to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods." Speaking of a proposed treaty between Spain and the Sultan an ambassador is of the opinion that the offer of Spain to set free all Turkish slaves is practically impossible, because "the princes and knights of Malta, and the great duke, will never disfurnish their gallies for the service of the king of Spaine; and that the second proposal; to render the sea safe for the subjects of the Sultan, or else make good for the losses

(73) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 56

(74) Roe, Op. Cit. pp. 224, 279

(75) Ibid. p. 279

(76) Ibid. p. 490

(77) Jones, Philip. A True Report of a Worthy Fight, pp. 46-47.
see also pp. 47-57

suffered by them, is impracticable because the foundation of the State of Malta is religion, and her aim is to "make warre against the enemy of their faith".. all knights having "sworne to live and dye in that profession, and the king of Spaine hath no authority over them". (78)

The Maltese pirates raided the coasts and seas of the Ottoman Empire throughout the 16th century, and continued in that capacity during the following centuries. We know that as late as 1738 "if the Maltese find any Mohametan passengers, they make them slaves",....and, (79) "take away every thing that is valuable both from Turks and Christians."

The Maltese were not the only Europeans that raided the seas. In 1628 the ship that conveyed Sir Thomas Roe to England having been attacked by these corsairs, he felt that "the great licence given or taken by our ships, will leave us no friend, nor place to relieve with a drop of water. They fly att all without difference; and shortly we shall have (80) neither trade nor port in the Levant." We thus learn incidentally

that the English were no better than the rest in their attitude towards piracy. In 1634 a letter from the Sultan to Charles the First of England reveals to us that 14 Turkish merchant vessels returning from India to Ayman "were taken and surprised by the English men of war, and the merchants.... made slaues, and all their goods and faccoltyes made (81) prise."

A message from the English ambassador at Constantinople to his superiors informs us that "the arrest of those 14 vessels... con-

(78) Roe, Op. Cit. p. 455

(79) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 444

(80) Roe, Op. Cit. p. 827

(81) Ibid. p. 605

(82)
cerneth only the Dutch," thus dragging the Dutch into the business. That the French were not idle during that period is confirmed by the report that the Turks dare not appear much in the Archipelago "before the departure of the French Privateers, who would often go and take them by the Beard, and away with them on board Ship, where they made Slaves of them." These subjects of the French king were "Men of Quality and distinguished Valour, who only followed the Mode of the Times they liv'd in"... many of them assuming the duties of "Captains and Flag Officers of the King's Fleet, after they had cruised upon the Infidels" In fact they were known to have been "more successful in the Preservation of Christianity, than the most Zealous Missionaries."⁽⁸³⁾

Of all the pirates that infested the Aegean during the Modern Era the Banditti held the sway even after the others had been subdued, or had given up the profession. They were described in 1700 as a "parcel of Villains, who are forced by Indigence to lay hold on the first Vessel they light of, and lie in wait for others at the Turn of some Cape or in some Creek. These Wretches, not content with plundering People, throw them overboard with a Stone about their necks, for fear of being seiz'd upon the Complaints of those they have ill used."⁽⁸⁴⁾ Their activities were so far reaching, that they were feared in all parts of the Aegean. In 1818 and 1830 they were still pestering the secluded ports of the Archipelago, and of the Morea.⁽⁸⁵⁾ They were seen

(82) Ibid. p. 614

(83) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 187-188

(84) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 268

(85) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 16

off the coasts of Syria in 1839 lying in wait for vessels containing
(86)
hadjies (pilgrims) returning from Mecca.

The Arabian Gulf was the only sea in the Levant that did not breed pirates. But the sailors were forced to keep near the shore, because of their inexperience on high seas. They were thus at the mercy of the brigands that infested the Arab lands. To protect their vessels against these raiders they found it necessary to sail in little fleets
(87)
of four or more.

Many were the promised exchanges by European powers and the Sultan for the suppression of piracy. In 1622 and 1623 the French and English governments sent special envoys to Constantinople to protest
(88)
against the Barbary raiders. The Ottoman ruler pledged himself to
(89)
remedy the situation if the other rulers would adopt similar measures. One sided efforts could not possibly yield permanent results. Now and then the various states of Europe found it advantageous to use their fleets against the Mediterranean corsairs, other than their own nationals. We thus know that in 1507 a galley belonging to the Island
(90)
of Corfu" was cruising on that Coast to clear it of Turkish Pirates."

In 1610 a traveller met the Captain Pasha's fleet of 60 vessels near Zante intrusted with the duty of collecting tribute, suppressing piracy and fighting, whenever necessary, with enemies like the Maltese,

(86) Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 200

(87) Niebuhr, Op. Cit. p. 17

(88) Roe, Op. Cit. pp. 2, 4, 224

(89) Roe, Op. Cit. p. 262

(90) Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 432

(91) the Spaniards, and the Florentines. In 1634 an Englishman reports that the Turkish Black Sea fleet of 86 ships were being used to protect the Rhodian galleys against "piracy or Christians." (92) Such measure became more and more effective as time went on. By 1818 the banditti, were the only raiders of note which still infected the secluded corners of the Aegean, or the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Even their numbers had been much diminished thanks to the "vigilance of the French, English, and Turkish frigates, stationed in these seas." (93)

The Mediterranean vessels were always armed against pirates, and the passengers and crew ever on the look out for them. A ship's safety depended as much on the courage and skill at arms of its inmates, as upon its canons. An interested account of how the captain prepared his subordinates to face possible attacks may be read in a 16th century pilgrim's diary. When the vessel was a day's distance from Ragusa, the master "muster'd all his Soldiers, assigning to all his Archers, Gunners, etc. their Posts; and withal encouraging them to acquit themselves bravely if there should be occasion." (94) The fact that he thought such precaution necessary, only when his boat neared the shore was probably due to the pirate's preferring to keep their galleys near enough the coast, to be able to shelter themselves in their hiding places in case of an encounter with a stronger fleet.

Travel by water previous to the invention and use of the steam

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- (91) Sandys, Op. Cit. p. 92
(92) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 232
(93) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 16
(94) Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 432

engine was thus a risky and apparently an unpleasant undertaking. It is a wonder people ever ventured on the high seas in those days. They would probably have been better off had they remained at home. An yet, even this sort of a journey was of educational value to those who knew how to profit by it. It is true that a ship whose progress was utterly dependent upon the weather was no better than a prison. But it was a prison shared by other human beings; human beings representing almost all the races and nations of the world. The passengers claimed to be Greek, Armenian, Turkish, Persian, Jewish, Arab, Indian, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, German, Flemish, and what not. These tourists were often bitterly disposed towards one another, on grounds which were unknown to them. A forced association within a limited space could not but result in a better understanding of each other's habits and customs, and perhaps in a realization of the futility of their antagonism. There they were all at the mercy of the same phenomena, subject to the same emotions, and cooperating towards the same goal. Could there be a better example of the possibility of even religious toleration when a Christian travelled unmolested in a Venitian Galley in company with Muslims and Jews? (95)

And what is more, at the ringing of a bell at a given time every day "each man prayed privately after his owne manner....Easterne Christians, of divers Sects and Nations, and Turkes, and Persians, yea, very Indians worshipping the Sunne". After the prayer, at the sounding of a whistle the sailors turned their faces to the East, and shouted "Buon' viaggio, Buon' viaggio" three times. The captain then delivered a non sectarian

(95) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 226

sermon urging his subordinates and his guests to behave modestly during
(96) the voyage. If peoples of different habits and customs could learn to live on friendly terms with each other on board a vessel, why should they not be able to do it back in their respective countries, within more extensive areas? That at least a few tourists returned home better disposed towards their fellowmen is proved by the literature of the 17th and 18th centuries. Was not the world the richer through their contributions?

Light and slender cayiks, tapering to a point at each end, darted with inconceivable rapidity over the waters, and surrounded the Mediterranean vessel as soon as she entered a Turkish port. These "marvellous-
(97) ly neat and pretty" boats almost covered the haven of Constantinople. Their number was reckoned to be 40,000 in 1759. In 1819 hundreds of boatmen were seen "plying with their light canoes, between the ships and the shore; and on all sides ... (were) .. heard the cries of caic, caic, and the shouts of men in all the languages of Europe."
(100) One often caught sight in the same cayik, of the turban of an ulema, (muslim clergyman) the kalpak of a Greek or an Armenian, the pyramidal bonnet of a dervich, and the hat of a Frank. The Golden Horn, the
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- (96) Morysch, An Itinerary v. 1, pp. 452-453
Bates, Op. Cit. 68-69
(97) Castellan, Op. Cit. part, II, p. 29
Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 60
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 35-36
Handbook, 1840 p. 153
Handbook 1854 p. 55
Reinach, Op. Cit. pp. 169-170
Monroe, W. S. Turkey and the Turks pp. 216-217
A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, p. 115
(98) Tournefort, v. 2, p. 176
(99) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 727
(100) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 60
(101) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 196

inner port, was decorated with "thousands of caiques, with their high sharp points.... ships with the still proud banner of the crescent, and strangers with the flags of every nation in Christendom, and sailboats, longboats, and rowboats, ambassador's barges and caiques of effendis, beys, and pashas with red silk flags streaming in the wind." (102) The

presence of so many vessels naturally created a great deal of confusion (103) in the port, but serious accidents occurred rarely.

The boatmen's guild was one of the most important at Constantinople. Its administration was in the hands of a Cayikdji Bashi (chief boatmen), two Vekils (deputies) one for the city, one for the suburbs, a number of (104) inspectors, overseers, and foremen.

Each cayikdji was required to register in the books of the Vekil of his district, and to pay 8 piasters a month if married, 16 piasters if single, for a licence. They deputy accounted for this sum to the chief of police, and he in turn to the government. The members of the corporation were further requested to contribute a few paras a month for the support of the foreman of their station. (105) They were bound to obey

the rules of the guild, and transferred from one locality to another only with the permission of the Vekil. (106) Transgressions were punishable with fines, confiscation, or corporeal punishment. Young men entering the guild as apprentices received no payment until they proved their abil-

(102) Stephens, J. L. "Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia"
v. 1, p. 225

(103) White, Charles Three Years in Constantinople, v. 1, p. 36

(104) Ibid. v. 1, pp. 51, 52

(105) Ibid.

(106) White, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 36

ity for the work. They were then given a certificate of fitness and good conduct bearing the seal of the foreman of their station, and of the civil functionary of their quarter. (107)

With the exception of a few Jews and Armenians, the cayikdjis were mostly Turkish or Greek, the Turks working within the harbor, the Greeks on the Bosphorus. The cayiks registered in the books of the Vekils amounted to 19,000 around 1845, and the boatmen to 24,000. (108)

The cayiks varied in size according to the locality within which they plied. Those within the harbor were two oared, further up the Bosphorus the boats were four oared. Cayiks with three pairs of oars were limited to private owners. It was wise to hire an eight oared cayik for trips to the Prince's Islands, or to the villages on the Marmara. (109) These cayiks had only one elevated seat at the extreme stern and no benches except for the rowers. Passengers had to be seated à la Turca on a carpet, or a mat at the bottom of the boat, and keep steady, for the least movement was enough to upset the light craft. (110) A narrow bench of a circular shape was built around the stern later in the century, and

(107) Ibid., v. 1, pp. 51, 52

(108) Ibid. v. 1, pp. 36-37

(109) Ibid.

(110) Haight, Op. Cit. pp. 35-36

Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 77

Handbook 1840 p. 153

Handbook 1854 p. 55

Castellan, Op. Cit. part II, p. 29

Monroe, W. S. Op. Cit. pp. 216-217

A Handbook of Turkey in Europe p. 115

White, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 35-37

(111)

provided with mats and cushions.

Heavier built, flat bottomed boats, bazar cayiks, large enough to hold 20-30 persons, conveyed passengers from the harbor to the neighbouring villages. Similar crafts of a rougher structure were used for the transport of merchandise.

(112)

The regulations prescribing the number of oars according to the social standing of the owner of the cayik, were still in force around 1845. The Sheik-ul-Islam (head of religious affairs), all ministers ranking as marshalls were entitled to ten oars, two abreast. Officials of secondary rank were allowed eight oars, their subordinates had to content themselves with three pairs. The Captan Pasha travelled around in an 18 oared green cayik, ornamented with gold. His flag captain followed him in an 14 oared boat with the ensign of the admiralty: a crimson banner bearing a double bladed sword.

(113)

The ambassador's cayiks were larger than those of the Turkish officials, the largest being 50 feet by 6. They were fitted with seats and cushions, and allowed ten oars, two abreast. The national flag adorned the bow; the oars and the moulding were often painted in the national colors. The reis (coxwain) wore a rich Albanian costume, the boatmen were dressed in embroidered sleeveless vests, white shirts with full sleeves, plitted skirts, and red caps.

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- (111) Reinach, Op. Cit. pp. 169-170
(112) White, Op. Cit. p. 53
Walker, Eastern Life and Scenery p. 326
Monroe, Op. Cit. pp. 216-217
A Handbook of Turkey in Europe p. 115
(113) White, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 39-40
(114) Ibid. v. 1, p. 41
Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 60

The sultan's boat was distinguished from the rest by its length, colour, and number of its oarsmen. A gold fringed canopy surmounted by crescents shaded its stern. The vessel, 78 feet long, was painted white within and without. A green border ornamented with gilded arabesque run under its richly decorated mouldings. A palm branch, and a golden falcon, the emblem of the House of Osman, decorated its projecting bow. (115)
The 24 rowers were dressed in white, and wore blue tasselled red caps.

The Turkish territories were well supplied with rivers and lakes, many of which might easily have been rendered navigable. But little pains were taken to open them up.

The Danube was the only river in European Turkey which was thus utilized from the earliest days. During the first years of the 19th century, with the exception of a stretch of a few miles in the neighbourhood of Orsova, the stream was navigable as far up as Vienna. (116)

The journey down the river was comparatively easy. But few boatmen trusted themselves up stream, and therefore sold their boats at one of the ports near the mouth of the Danube. Those courageous enough to struggle against the waters, had a difficult time at places like Orsova. The boat had to be pulled from the shore by horses, men, and even women. The short distance between Viddin and Belgrade was made in a month. 20-30 horses were needed for every vessel. The conductor was 4 frs. on each horse. Human labor cost 37150 to 75 frs. per head. (117) It is no wonder

(115) White, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 47-49

(116) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 149-150

(117) Boué Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 149-150

Skene, F. M. Wayfaring Sketches p. 283

then, that people received the introduction of steamers with little protest, and extended their patronage readily to the so called "productions of the devil".

The other rivers of European Turkey were seldom utilized even for the simplest kind of shipping. The Serbian morava passed through one of the most fertile valleys of Eastern Europe. It was argued in 1840 that it could easily be rendered navigable. But it was not used even for rafts. Only small row boats, and rafts were found on the Bosna. The other Bosnian rivers the Drina, the Verbas, and the Ouna, received no attention whatever.
(118)

One caught sight of small boats and rafts on the Save. Vessels of 150 tons were seen on the Albanian Bojana only as far up as Obotti, even though some cleaning might have allowed them to penetrate further up into Lake Soutary. Small vessels made their way up the Drin to Alesso, larger ones to Skela. The Salambria in Thessaly was too swift for navigation. The Vardar and the Strymon might have been utilized to feed
(119)
canals. Crude vessels were found on certain sections of the
(119)
Maritsa.

The ferries which one met, rarely, on the Roumelian rivers, were crudely built flat bottomed boats, so full of holes, as to render the
(120)
crossing dangerous. In 1812 the Voiussa in Albania was crossed "in a curious kind of trough, broader at one end than the other, the horses being driven with great shouts and cracking of whips into the river, and

(118) Bouq, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 40-43

(119) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 76

(120) Ibid. v. 3, p. 75

made to gain the opposite bank by swimming." (121) Hollowed tree trunks capable of holding three persons were often used for the same purpose. In some places two of these trunks were attached together, and the horses forced to jump in them two legs in one boat and two in the other. One wonders whether the poor beasts thought this kind of locomotion preferable to swimming. (122)

Even as late as 1917 the ferries used on the rivers of European Turkey were described as punt shaped boats driven across the stream by poles, capable of holding 25 men or 8 horses. (123)

The Anatolian rivers were not any more available to continued navigation than those of Roumelia. It was reported in 1848 that the streams of Asia Minor, uncontrolled and unrepaired, ravaged the country, and offered less and less possibilities for shipping. (124)

In 1836 boats "of a triangular form... flat bottomed and with straight upright sides, formed of loose boards slightly nailed together".. were being used on the Kizil Irmak, when the waters were high. Fording was certainly less objectionable than a crossing in "such a fragile conveyance". (125)

Hydraulic engineers stated around 1890 that the Kizil Irmak and the Sakaria could be canalized and rendered navigable at little expense. In fact a foreign company applied for the canalization and navigation of the Sakaria around that period, but was denied the concession. (126)

(121) Hughes, T. S. Travels in Greece and Albania v. 2, p. 377

(122) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 75-76

(123) A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, pp. 196-197

(124) Percy, Earl. The Highlands of Asiatic Turkey, pp. 306-307

(125) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 326-327

(126) Guinet, Vital La Turquie d'Asie, v. 1, p. 274

(127)

Nothing but tree trunks were ever seen on the Kodja Tchay, and only the crude boats of the customs house ventured on the Nahr -i-

(128)

Djihan from Youmourtalik to Missis.

Navigation on the Tigris and the Euphrates during the 19th century was still carried on by means of crafts similar to those in use during the 16th century. A kind of raft, the kelek, made up of a hundred or more "inflated skins arranged with their mouths uppermost so that they could be untied and blown up again, in case of necessity by means of a hollow cane.... and covered over with several layers of bamboo screened from the sun by awnings of muslin", conveyed passengers and merchandise

(129)

down the Tigris from Diarbekir to Bagdad. The journey lasted about

(130)

ten days. The raft was then discarded, the wood sold, and the skins

(131)

transported up the valley on camels or donkeys. The kufa, a circu-

lar boat calked with pitch, with sides curving inwards, was used for

(132)

local service on the upper sections of the river. Both the kelek

and the kufa are very ancient means of transportation, probably intro-

(127) Ibid. v. 4, p. 68

(128) Ibid. v. 2, p. 147

(129) Percy, Op. Cit. p. 268

See also: Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 368

Fitch, Op. Cit. p. 466

Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 6

Pecocke, Op. Cit. p. 535

Cuinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 429

Keane, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 362

Official Report of the Vilayet of Diarbekir, 1903, pp. 165-166

(130) Cheyney, E. P. Transportation in Turkey, p. 86

(131) Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 369

Fitch, Op. Cit. p. 466

Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 6

Cuinet, Op. Cit., v. 2, p. 429

Keane, Op. Cit., v. 2, p. 362

(132) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 86

duced into the country by the Assyrians. The kufa is depicted on their
(133)
monuments.

The boats used on the Euphrates during the 16th century were flat bottomed, crudely built vessels, which the passenger bought at the beginning of his journey and sold (whatever was left of it) when he reached his destination. The waters were too fast for a struggle up the stream. It was thought necessary to have more than one boat at hand, to be used in case of wreck; such disasters being very frequent in those days. The trip down the river from Biredjik to Feluchia was an affair of 15-18 days
(134)
in high waters, and of 40-50 days when the waters were low. The stony bottom of the stream allowed travel only during day time. The vessel was therefore tied to a stake after sunset and its inmates settled
(135)
down for a well earned sleep.

In 1699 the Euphrates boats at Biredjik were described as "of a miserable fabric, flat and open in the fore part, for horses to enter,... large enough to carry about four horses". The vessel was drawn up the river as far as the boatmen knew it to be necessary, and then directed
(136)
to the opposite shore mainly by the force of the current. In 1738
(137)
the ferries at Romkala looked "like a common boat with one end cut off."

The Euphrates boats seem to have undergone no change during the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1901 we read that they are of Noah's ark

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- (133) Keane, Op. Cit., v. 2, p. 362
(134) Frederick, Op. Cit. pp. 367-368
Fitch, Op. Cit. pp. 465-466
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 3
(135) Ibid. p. 3
(136) Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 383
(137) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 532

type, flat bottomed vessels with prows almost level with the water and high sterns, propelled down the stream by poles. (138)

Sail vessels called Mehelle, and the already described flat bottomed boats, crowded the lower sections of the Tigris, and the Euphrates, as well as the Shatt- el- Arab in 1890. (139)

The lakes of the Turkish Empire were as neglected as her rivers. No effort was made to develop their shores, and utilize them for navigation. Lake Okrida, a deep and navigable waterway, was so little used even during the first half of the 19th century, that few people settled on its shores. (140) The only boats used on it were narrow fishing vessels. Those on Lake Scutary were large enough to hold one horse. (141)

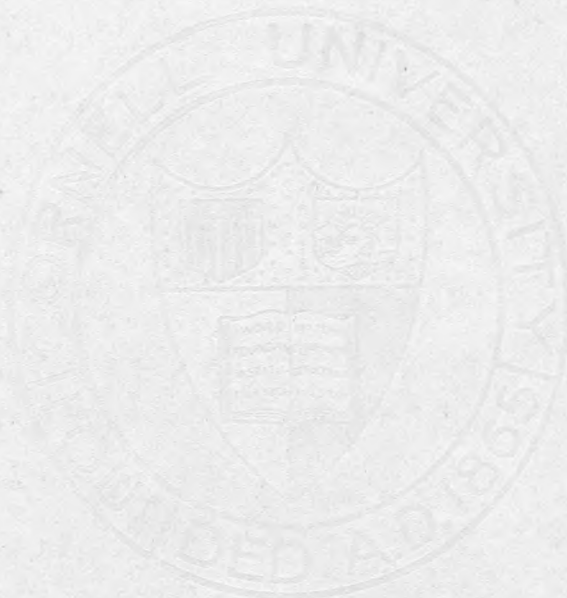
"Narrow, flat-bottomed canoes, shaped like an isosceles triangle" were being used on 1836 on Lake Seidi Shehir in Asia Minor. (142) Those on lake Egerdir were "very shallow and flat-bottomed, with oars of a great strength, and a huge gunwale of rushes as a precaution against being swamped. There was scarcely a ripple on the water, and yet it rolled as if in a gale." (143)

A large number of fishing boats were observed on Lake Appolonia in 1890. (144) 87 sail vessels with a crew of 384, navigated Lake Van, (145) a waterway of 6,300 square kilometers, and a depth of more than 100

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- (138) Percy, Op. Cit. pp. 109, 274
(139) Cuinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 244
(140) Bone, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 42
(141) Ibid. v. 3, p. 76
(142) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 342
(143) Ibid. v. 1, pp. 479-480
(144) Cuinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 74
(145) Ibid. v. 2, p. 670

(146)
meters at a short distance from the shore.

Such were the conditions of navigation on Turkish rivers, lakes, and seas, previous to the arrival of steam vessels into the Levant. How far did the steamer contribute towards the remedy of existing evils, and the comfort of the 19th century traveller?



STEAMERS

Great was the excitement at Constantinople in the summer of 1828. The first steam boat had made its way into Turkish waters. As she sailed up and down the Bosphorus, the English vessel, "Swift" was stared at by an immense crowd as a product of Sheytan. Could anything but a devilish force set it into motion against the currents of the strait? A few weeks after its arrival, leading citizens of Constantinople purchased the steamer for 350,000 piasters, and presented it to the Sultan.⁽¹⁾

The Sultan was very much taken by the new means of conveyance, and utilized it for pleasure trips. His subjects were however forbidden, for a number of years, to travel by steamboat.⁽²⁾ It was, probably, a well intended restriction. Innovations do not make themselves at home in people's lives overnight. They clash with established habits and preconceptions. A period of readjustment is necessary before they are assimilated by the reluctant majority. Why not allow this much common sense to an enlightened ruler like Mahmoud instead of explaining⁽³⁾ the prohibitory decrees as due to the "usual vacillation and jealousy" of the Porte?

The restrictive measures were withdrawn around 1835. Boat loads of Ottoman citizens arrived at the Dardanelles during that year to

(1) Mac Farlane, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 490, v. 2, pp. 229-231

(2) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 62

(3) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 62

"avail themselves of the magic powers of a wheel-ship... in setting at nought both wind and current." (4) From that time on, steamers became popular with all classes of passengers. They came to be so crowded, (5) that people had to stand on deck during a great part of the journey.

For a while, Mediterranean steamers were few in number, "indifferent boats, constantly getting out of order, and running so irregularly that no reliance... (could)... be placed upon them". (6) Nevertheless, they provided enough comfort and speed to make their use desirable. (7) A few of them like the English vessel "Crescenta" a "fine and well ordered" boat, sailed regularly between the important ports of the Empire. (8) Even in those days the journey from Constantinople to Dardanelles was made in 14 hours, those from Constantinople to Smyrna, and from Constantinople to Moudania in 36 (9) and 5½ hours respectively. (10)

The number of steamers on the Mediterranean and on the Turkish seas increased rapidly. The boats were improved, and better service was provided. Regular steamship companies were soon established.

In 1860 the following companies were providing regular steamer service between the ports of Western Europe, and those of the Levant:

1) The Austrian Lloyd, established in 1837. Steamers left Triest the 1st and 16th of each month, and made the trip to Constantinople in 7 days,

(4) Ibid. v. 1, p. 61

(5) Blanqui, M. Voyage en Bulgarie, pp. 349-350

(6) Stephens, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 208

(7) Howard, G. W. F. Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters p. 192

(8) Spencer, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 118

(9) Handbook, 1840, p. 212

(10) Howard, Op. Cit. p. 34

with stops at Corfu, Syra, Smyrna, and the Dardanelles. They left
(11)
Constantinople the 5th and the 20th of each month.

The Company had also established steamship service between
(12) Constantinople and Galatz, (13) in
Constantinople and Trebizond, Constantinople and Stilida, Con-
junction with the Danubian Line, Constantinople and Braila, Constantinople and Smyrna, Smyrna and Jaffa,
(14)
and Smyrna and Alexandria.

2) Beginning with 1836 the Austrian Company of Danube Navigation pro-
vided steamship service from Galatz to Constantinople, from Constantin-
(15)
ople to Smyrna, Trebizond, and to Syra.

3) The steamers of the Messageries Maritimes conveyed passengers, mail,
and merchandise from Marseilles to the Levant. They sailed the 1st,
11th, and 21st of each month from Marseilles, and the 7th, 17th, and
(16) (17)
27th from Constantinople. In 1859 the company had 50 steamers.

4) The Peninsular and Oriental Company. Steamers left Southampton
the 27th of each month. They made the journey to Constantinople in 15
(18)
days via Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria.

5) The Liverpool Company. Their steamers left twice a month from Con-

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- (11) Handbook, 1840, p. XII
Handbook, 1854, p. 11
Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 211-212
(12) Blanqui, Op. Cit. pp. 349-350
Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 211-212
(13) Skene, Op. Cit. p. 221
(14) Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 211-212
(15) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 152-153
(16) Handbook, 1840, p. XII
Handbook, 1854, p. 12
(17) Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 213-214
(18) Handbook, 1854, p. 12
Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 214

stantinople, the Anatolian, Syrian, and Egyptian ports. They reached
(19)
Constantinople 18 days after leaving Liverpool.

6) The steamers of the Russian Steamship Company conveyed passengers,
mail, and merchandise three times a month from Constantinople to
(20)
Odessa, and other Black Sea ports.

7) Beginning with October 1859, Belgian steamers worked once a month
between Antwerp and Constantinople, with stops at Gibraltar, Genoa,
(21)
Messina, Malta, Alexandria, Beirut, and Syra.

8) Turkish steamers sailed regularly between Constantinople and the
following ports: Smyrna, Salonica, Ismid, Gemlik, Moudania, and
(22)
Trebizond.

The Austrian boats were the most popular during that period,
because of the civility and the caution of their captains and crew. They
(23)
refrained from racing with other ships, and explosions were very rare.
In 1857 the Lloyd possessed 68 vessels of 39,179 tons. In 1850 they
carried 216,000 passengers, 417,000 letters, and 24,484,000 kilograms of
merchandise. In 1856 these numbers were increased to 364,167 passengers,
(24)
1,168,336 letters, and 125,385,792 kilos of merchandise.

The Turks felt themselves at home in these Austrian boats. Half
of the deck was reserved to them. They laid their carpets and mats;
built a temporary cabin around them with their bags and trunks; and

(19) Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 214-215

(20) Ibid. p. 215

(21) Ibid. p. 215

(22) Ibid. p. 243

(23) Boulden, Op. Cit. p. 45

(24) Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 211-212

(25)
lounging or squatting in the Oriental fashion, they smoked their
pipe, or sipped the coffee brought to them from the booth round the
corner. (26) They were often so packed together, that only a mass of
(27)
turbans was visible from a distance.

The steamship companies extended their services more and more
as the century passed on. By 1886 the Lloyd boats had reduced the
journey from Trieste to Constantinople to 5½ days, and had included
(28)
Odessa and Batoum to their itinerary. As a result of their
ing popularity the Austrian, French, and Russian companies had been
(29)
obliged to institute weekly sailings. New competitors had also
appeared on the scene.:

- 1) La nouvelle compagnie marseillaise de navigation à vapeur,
Fraissinet et Cie, had established a weekly service between Marseilles
and Constantinople, and a bi-monthly service between Marseilles, Con-
(30)
stantinople and the Danube.
- 2) The steamers of La compagnie de navigation N. Paquet et Cie, sailed
directly twice a month from Marseilles to Constantinople, with a stop
(31)
at the Dardanelles one way, at Smyrna the other.
- 3) Twice a month the boats of "Le service de navigation générale
italienne," Flori et Rubattino, made the journey from Marseilles to
Odessa via Genoa and Salonica, and via Genoa and Smyrna. They sustained

(25) Scene, Op. Cit. p. 221
Boulden, Op. Cit. p. 49
(26) Howard, Op. Cit. p. 25
(27) Scene, Op. Cit. p. 221
(28) Rousset, Op. Cit. pp. XX-XXIII
(29) Ibid. pp. XVI-XVIII, XL-XXIII, XXVI
(30) Rousset, Op. Cit. p.
(31) Ibid. p.

also a weekly service between Venice, Brindisi, Pireus, and Constantinople.
(32)

4) Steamers of the Khedivial Mail sailed weekly between Constantinople and Alexandria via Smyrna and Pireus.
(33)

Minor companies like Bell's Asia Minor, Caravas Linnios Co., Joly Victora, and the Aegean Steam Navigation Co. provided steamers for the Conveyance of passengers, mail and merchandise between the ports of the Ottoman Empire.
(34)

By the end of the 19th century, the Germans had also established steamship lines between their ports and those of the Levant:

1) The Deutsche Levant Linie was founded at Hambourg in 1889. 30 cargo and passenger steamers sailed regularly from Hambourg and Antwerp to the Near East with stops at Pireus, Syra, Smyrna, Salonica, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Russian ports on the Black Sea.
(35)

At a conference held at Vienna in 1905, the Deutsche Levant Linie decided to establish a Mediterranean in conjunction with the North Deutscher Lloyd. The new company was named the Deutsche Mittelmeer Levante Linie. Her steamers started at Marseilles and Genoa and touched at Naples, Pireus, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Batoum, on their way to Odessa. This service having proved disastrous to the companies was discontinued in 1908. The Norddeutscher alone maintained three steamers, which sailed every 2 weeks in winter and

(32) Ibid. p.

(33) Ibid. p.

(34) Rousset, Op. Cit. pp.

(35) Pinon, René L'Europe et l'Empire Ottoman p. 325

Earle, E. M. Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway.
p. 107

(36)

every week in summer.

2) The Bremer Dampfer Linie Atlas, inaugurated two Mediterranean Lines in 1905. Some of her steamers worked between Bremen and Odessa with stops at Malta, Pireus, Salonica, Dede Agatch, and Constantinople; others reached Odessa by way of Alexandria, Beyrout, the coasts of Caramania, and Greece.

(37)

3) During the same period the Hambourg-America line established a monthly service between Hambourg and the Persian Gulf, with stops at Antwerp, Marseilles, Port Said, Port Soudan, Aden, Mascate, Bender Abbas, and Basra.

(38)

The vessels of the other German steamship companies met those of the Hambourg America at Naples and transferred their passengers bound for America.

(39)

In 1906 the steamers of the Hungarian Levant Steamship Company sailed between Antwerp, Constantinople, and the Danube, and between, Antwerp, Alexandria, and Smyrna.

(40)

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 shortened the distance between the European ports and those of Southern Asia. The following Britist companies established steamer service between England, her colonies and the Persian Gulf, via the new waterway: The Anglo-Arabian and Persian Company; The West Hartlepool Steam Navigation Company;

(41)

(36) Pinon, Op. Cit. p. 326
Earle, Op. Cit. p. 107

(37) Ibid. p. 107
Pinon, Op. Cit. p. 326

(38) Ibid. p. 328
Earle, Op. Cit. p. 108

(39) Ibid. p. 107

(40) Pinon, Op. Cit. p. 353

(41) Ibid. p. 328

These lines were of great help to Persian and Mesopotamian pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Instead of undertaking a dangerous journey by caravan across the desert, they could sail directly from Basra to Djeddah, thus gaining 500 kms. British steamers made the distance (43) from Basra to Suez, with a stop at Aden or at Djeddah, in 18-20 days.

The advent of German steamers in Turkish seas, was the cause of rivalry between British, French, and German steamship companies. Travel in a German boat was cheaper than in a British or French vessel. German steamers were therefore more popular in the Near East. But the other two nations could not afford to lose their passengers. Hence they lowered their fares. The Messageries Maritimes, the Paquet Co., and the Compagnie Fraissinet reduced the price per 100 kgs. or merchandise, from Batoum to Marseilles, from 20 to 15 frs. They also afforded a 10% discount to the merchants who used their boats rather than those of (44) the Deutsch. The Arabian Co. had to lower its rates from 50 frs. (45) per ton from Marseilles to Mascate, to 15 frs. from Antwerp to Mascate. It was only in 1913 that an agreement between the steamship companies (46) brought an end to the rate war.

Thus during the nineteenth century, more expeditious means of conveyance rendered travel in Turkish seas a comparatively pleasant experience. As a result many of the Ottoman ports gained in importance, and became trade centers. The attention of the government was drawn to the necessity of improving the harbors. In 1801 many of them were

(43) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 248-249

(44) Pinon, Op. Cit. P. 328

(45) Ibid. p. 329

(46) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 109

shallow, and so full of dirt as to render the entrance of 200 tons
(47)
vessels impossible. In most places goods had to be transported
from the ships to the shore in maounas, clumsy boats, difficult to
steer. As late as 1850 an important port like Constantinople had
(48)
no quays.

The construction of the quay of Smyrna was started in November
(49)
1867. It was ready for use in 1875. That of Salonica was built
(50)
during the same period. A "jetée" of 30 meters was built from
1880 to 1885 within the harbour of Trebizond. But it was not long
(51)
enough to offer protection to vessels during a bad storm. In 1891
an imperial irade granted the concession for quay construction, and the
exclusive control of quays and warehouses, on the European shores of
Constantinople, to the Société Anonyme Ottomane des Quais, Docks et
Entrepôts de Constantinople. The company was financed by French and
British capitalists. In 1898, the Société du Port de Haïdar Pasha, an
Ottoman corporation closely connected with the Anatolian Railway Company
(52)
undertook the building of quays on the Asiatic shores of Constantinople.
(53)
The jetée, and quays of Beyrut were ready for use in 1895. The
Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company built quays, and repaired the breakwater
(54)
at Panderma, the terminus of the railway. The remaining Turkish

(47) Sonnini, C. L. *Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie*, v. 1, pp. 389-390

(48) Gautier, Théophile *Constantinople*.

(49) Cuinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 399

(50) Aflalo, F. G. *Regilding the Crescent* p. 65

(51) Cuinet, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 37

(The Russians built a breakwater at Trebizond during the World War. Ravndal, *Turkey*, p. 63

(52) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 59

(53) Cuinet, *Syria, Palestine* p. 66

(54) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 63

ports had to content themselves with whatever safety they received
(55)
from nature.

Launches and ferries followed the steamers into the Ottoman ports. The cayikdjis far from approved of these satanic inventions that interfered with their trade. Fanatical ladies and gentlemen continued to favor the cayik alone. But all in vain. By 1854 two companies, a British and an Ottoman, controlled steam navigation (55)** within the Bosphorus. They give way to the Shirket Hairie later in the century. This corporation was granted the monopoly of ferry service between the villages on the Bosphorus. Its capital of 200,000 Ltqs. is furnished by Turkish citizens alone. Its shares are not available to aliens. (57) The company provided regular service, during the day, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. (58) The boats were not allowed to run after sunset.

The Seir- i- Sefain (the government shipping board) operates steamers between the bridge at the entrance to Golden Horn, and the villages and islands on the Marmara. The Golden Horn Boats (Inc.) has the monopoly of navigation between the Galata Bridge, and the villages on the Golden Horn. (59)

(55) The Nationalist government has recently appropriated 8,000,000 Ltqs. (about 4,160,000 \$) for the construction of a modern port at Mersina. (Ravndal, p. 62)

(56) Each company had 8 boats. (Howard Op. Cit. p. 29)

** Several launches were built at the Golden Horn docks as early as 1840

(57) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 64

(58) Frazer, D. The Short Cut to India, pp. 9-10

Tchihatcheff, P. Le Bosphore et Constantinople pp. 334-335

(59) Ravndal. Op. Cit. pp. 64-65

In 1884 an Ottoman Company obtained the concession for ferry service within the port of Smyrna, and to the neighbouring villages. The permission was granted for 30 years and 33 months with the understanding that all vessels were to revert to the Hamidie Hedjaz Railway Company at the end of that period. This stipulation has not been fulfilled. In 1908 the firm owned 12 boats. (60)

River steamers were introduced into the Turkish rivers shortly after their appearance on the Ottoman seas. The Austrian Company for the Navigation of the Danube was established at Vienna in 1834, and steamer service was set up between Vienna and Orsova. It was extended to Galatz in 1835, and to Constantinople, Smyrna, Syra, and Trebizond in 1836. Beginning with 1838 the Danube boats were met by those of the Austrian Lloyd, and their passengers taken to Pireus, Patras, Alexandria, and other Mediterranean and Adriatic ports. In 1837 arrangements were made with the Russian Steamship Company for the transfer of passengers and merchandise bound for Odessa, and Constantinople. (61)

In 1840 the Austrian Company possessed 13 boats, working between Ulm and the Black Sea. These steamers provided a weekly service along the Turkish section of the Danube, following the Wallachian shore one week, and the Bulgarian shore the other. (62) Navigation was interrupted at Drenkova because of the rapids at Islas, Scinica, and at the Iron Gates. Ordinary boats were used on these parts of the river. (63) Low

(60) Official Report of the Vilayet of Aidin for the Year 1908, p. 184

(61) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 152

(62) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 153

(63) Boue, Op. Cit. p. 155

waters during the dry season, and fogs often rendered the journey im-
possible, and the lack of landing places, made it disagreeable. (64)

But improvements were noticeable as years went along. Those who in
1840 complained that the boats were loaded beyond capacity with mer-
chandise and carriages, and that the captains and the crew were none
too polite to passengers, (65) continued to crowd the vessels in spite
of such inconveniences. (66) In 1837 the number of tourists carried by

these steamers on the Austrian and Wallachian Danube was 47, 436 and
in 1838 74,584. (67) At the end of 1857 the company possessed 106 vess-
els which conveyed within that year 605,270 passengers, and 869,205,568
lbs. of merchandise. (68) The travellers began to shed favorable re-

ports, as to accommodations on the boats. In 1847 we are told that the
boats are well suited to river navigation, and are provided with com-
fortable cabins. (69) In 1853 they are described as of first rate vess-
els with excellent accommodations, such as airy cabins, promenade
decks, and lounges. (70)

Previous to 1840 the journey from Ulm to Constantinople was 14
days down the river, and 20-21 days up stream. Beginning with 1840,
arrangements were made to shorten the journey. Passengers were landed
at Rasova, conveyed by carriage to Constantza, and from there, sent by

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- (64) Howard, Op. Cit. p. 20
Reinach, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 115
Blanqui, Op. Cit. pp. 45-53
(65) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 157
(66) Blanqui, Op. Cit. pp. 45-53
(67) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 156
(68) Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 213
(69) Skene, Op. Cit. p. 240
(70) Howards, Op. Cit. pp. 16-17

boat to Constantinople. This allowed a gain of four days. The tourists who were not pressed for time continued in boats all the way down the Danube. (71) Later in the century the trip was shortened without the need of overland transport. A traveller leaving Vienna on Friday, reached Galatz on Tuesday the next week, embarked on a larger steamer, (72) and landed at Constantinople two days later.

Freedom of navigation and commerce for all nations on the Austrian and Ottoman sections of the Danube was sanctioned by treaties during the second half of the nineteenth century. The river was placed under the control of an international commission.

The other rivers, and the lakes of European Turkey were not available for steamship navigation during the Ottoman administration of the country, even though Lake Ochrida was believed to be deep enough for steamers, and some cleaning might have opened the Maritza for small vessels, as far as Adrianople. (73) The rivers and lakes of Asia Minor (74) fared no better. Small boats might easily be used on Lakes Manias, and Appolonia and larger ones on Lake Van. In 1887 the state appointed a commission to investigate the possibility of steam navigation on Lake Van. The reports were favorable. Steps were taken to grant a concessions to a foreign firm. But the demands made by such companies (75) were impossible to fulfill. The attempt was therefore given up.

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- (71) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 153-155
(72) Handbook 1854, p. 11
(73) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 42-43
(74) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 76
(75) Ibid. v. 2, pp. 670-671

During the same period a European corporation was refused the per-
mission for the canalization and navigation of the Sakaria. (76) Shortly
after the government forbade the use of tugs on the Sémav Sou for the
transport of minerals from the Boracite mines of Sultan Tchair. (77)

The Euphrates and the Tigris were the only navigable rivers of
Asiatic Turkey. The first was navigable from Hitt on. (78) Higher up,
the stream was not wide enough during the dry season, its bed was full
of dirt, and its banks in need of repair. (79) A little cleaning might
have rendered it available for vessels as far up as Meskene. In fact
this possibility was investigated by the state in 1875. A coaster
made the journey up with little difficulty. (80)

The Tigris was navigated by steamers from Bagdaddown to its
mouth. Strong powered steamers might have braved the current beyond
that city. But the lack of funds rendered such an undertaking im-
possible. (81)

The privilege of steam navigation on the Mesopotamian rivers
was shared throughout the 19th century by a British and a Turkish
company. The British government obtained the permission for introduc-
ing steamers on the Euphrates, in 1834. (82) The steamers Tigris and
Euphrates were transported piece by piece across the desert, and

(76) Ibid. v. 1, p. 274

(77) Ibid. v. 4, p. 69

(78) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 288-289

(79) Percy, Op. Cit. pp. 306-307

(80) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 146

(81) Ibid. v. 2, p. 429

(82) La Jonquiere, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman v. 2, p. 645
Frazer, Op. Cit. pp. 247-257

launched near Biredjik in 1835. The Tigris foundered during the journey down the river, the Euphrates reached the Persian Gulf. (83)

During the decade 1840-1850 the Lynch Brothers, British merchants established at Basra, became interested in the navigation of the Mesopotamian rivers, and obtained from the British government the concessions of 1834. (84) Thus the enterprise was tied down to a definite corporation. When the Lynch Brothers formed the Euphrates Valley Navigation Company in 1860, their rights were affirmed by the Porte. Two steamers were brought up by way of the Suez Canal. A third vessel was added in 1875, to be used as a reserve. (85)

It is a curious fact, that although the above mentioned concessions were granted by the Turkish government for the navigation of the Euphrates, and the British company derived its name from that river, no mention being made of the Tigris, steamer service was established on the Tigris alone. In 1890 the two British steamers worked regularly between Bagdad and Basra. But their service left much to be desired. The government was stubborn in its refusal to allow a third steamer between the two ports, and to permit the towing of lighters by the available boats. Often merchandise waited for months at Bagdad or at Basra before they were taken in by the steamers. The charges were so high that it cost more to transfer freight from one of these cities to the other, than from Basra to London. However, in spite of these inconveniences, the British vessels conveyed more pass-

(83) Fraser, Op. Cit. pp. 247-257

(84) Ibid. pp. 247-257

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 74

(85) Fraser, Op. Cit. pp. 247-257

(86)

engers, and merchandise than their Turkish competitors.

The Turkish company for the navigation of the Tigris was founded in 1859 by Geuzluklu Rechid Pasha governor of Bagdad. This corporation came to be known as the Hamidie Company. In 1890 the Turkish steamers numbered 6. They were badly kept, and looked as though they could not last more than 3 or 4 years. These vessels were used mostly for the postal service, as they could not take in much merchandise. They were however allowed to tow lighters, and being cheaper than the British boats, they were able to compete with them. (87)

British steamers made the journey down the river from Bagdad to Basra in 3 days, and returned in 4-5 days. The Turkish boats, which were smaller, could reach Bagdad only in 7-8 days when the waters were high, and in 14-15 days when they were low. This mode of travel may appear very slow to the modern traveller. But it must be remembered that nevertheless, it was a tremendous advance over the preceding centuries. The 16th century vessels made their way down stream in 8-9 days when the waters were high, and in 15-18 days when they were low. The return journey was an indefinite affair. Men halled the boats, the greater part of the way, by means of ropes in 38-50 days. (88) (89)

The navigation concessions granted to the Bagdad Railway Company during the early years of the 20th century, were a source of irritation

(86) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 244-245

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 74

(87) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 244-245

(88) Ibid. v. 3, pp. 244-245

(89) Frederick, Op. Cit. pp. 371, 445

Pitch, Op. Cit. p. 505

Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 7

to the British. They could not allow German vessels on the Tigris, Euphrates, and the Shatt-el-Arab, even if they were used only for (90) the transportation of supplies, and building material. The Lynch Brothers felt the blow very heavily. German competition, would necessitate better service and lower rates. The train would shorten the journey between the two Mesopotamian cities to one day, and as such accaparate both the passengers and the merchandise. But why worry? The British government was there to back their claims. The necessity of safeguarding British interests in Persia and Mesopotamia was brought before the public in England. (91) The Crown's disapproval of the pro-German policy of the Ottoman government was expressed by the refusal to sanction the increase of Turkish customs duties from 11% to 14% ad valorem. The excuse offered at the House of Commons was that England could not approve of any measure that would provide funds for a railway which in time would "take the place of communications which have been in the hands of British concessionaires." (92)

The Anglo-Turkish agreement of 1913 settled the differences between the two empires. In return to British sanction to a 4% increase of the customs in Turkey, the Porte granted exclusive navigation rights on the Tigris, Euphrates, and the Shatt-el-Arab to the Ottoman River Navigation Company to be formed by Lord Inchcape, chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental, and the British India Steam Navi-

(90) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 81

(91) Ibid. pp. 190-191, 210-211

(92) Ibid. p. 111

gation companies. Turkish capital was promised a 50% participation. The concession was to last 60 years, and was to be renewed after that for 10 year periods. The rights of the Lynch Brothers were reaffirmed. They were permitted to add another steamer to their service with the only restriction that it fly the Turkish flag. The British were not to interfere with irrigation works so long as they did not divert navigable rivers from their course. Basra was to be the terminus of the Bagdad Railway. (93)

In 1914, as a result of an agreement between Lord Inchcape, Mr. Lynch, and the Bagdad Railway, the Lynch Brothers were admitted to participation in the new navigation company, of which Mr. Lynch was to be a director. (94)

The European tourist has now reached his port of destination in the Levant. We are ready to follow him on the Turkish highways, to get a glimpse of the kind of roads with which he had to contend, and to observe their improvement during the 19th century. But before venturing any further we may perhaps stop for a short while, to see the traveller through one of the inconveniences which confronted him everywhere in the world; the visit to the customs officials.

From the earliest days of the empire, all vessels arriving to, or leaving Constantinople by way of the Dardannelles, were stopped at Gallipoli to be searched by customs officials. The vessel was detained until the authorities of the port were convinced that she carried no prisoners, or offenders, or runaway slaves. All passengers were

(93) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 255-256

(94) Ibid. p. 260

required to present their permits before they were allowed to enter
(95)
or leave the strait. War vessels were exempted from this ne-
cessity only if they were provided with an order to that effect from
(96)
the Porte. But as a traveller expressed it so well in 1700, the
(97)
whole procedure was more "a Ceremony than a Search".

The customs officials at other Ottoman ports were not any
stricter than those at Gallipoli. In 1694 it was observed that at
the customs house at Smyrna trunks were "look'd into no farther than
(98)
the top, and that very civilly". Anything might have been taken
(99)
into Trebizond without the knowledge of the authorities of the port.
A traveller's trunks were opened at Lohia in 1762, but were scarce-
(100)
ly examined, those on charge having "behaved with great civility".
It was only when passengers were detected while concealing dutiable
(101)
articles, that they were required to pay double the regular fee.
Even contraband goods were redeemable upon the payment of a fine.
"Compare this mildness of the Turkish Laws, with the severity with
which those of Europe treat this offence, often punished with death,
(102)
and almost always with the loss of Liberty."

The custom of stopping all vessels leaving the Dardanelles was
still in force during the 19th century. But the captain's firman and

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- (95) Moryson, An Itinerary v. 2, pp. 104-105
Careri, Op. Cit. p. 83
(96) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 141
(97) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 141
(98) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 54
(99) Ibid. p. 101
(100) Niebuhr, Op. Cit. p. 29
(101) Ibid. p. 20
(102) Peyssonnel, M. Strictures and Remarks p. 212

(103)
the passengers' permits were all that were examined. The straits
were open to all friendly nations. Entering vessels were not required
(104)
to stop if they had announced their arrival beforehand.

The customs officials were as easy to deal with during the 19th
century as during the previous centuries. A small bakshish was enough
to blind them until the traveller's luggage passed out of the custom
house. At the Austrian frontier on the Danube, trunks were only nom-
(105)
inally examined. Prohibited articles such as pistols were smuggled
(106)
in large quantities into the capital, and sold openly at leading stores.

Most 19th century guidebooks state plainly that the tourist need
not worry about the fate of his luggage upon his arrival at Constantin-
ople. The courier or the dragoman would see that they were only for-
(107)
mally inspected.

The Only objects which were absolutely prohibited were books,
newspapers, or manuscripts: "pertaining to the Mussulman religion, the
personality of the Sultan, the foreign relations or the internal af-
(108)
fairs of Turkey." All printed matter, and sealed packages were
carefully inspected, and burned, should they prove to be of a harmful
character. Abdul Hamid could not take any chances with foreign publi-

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- (103) Leurent, Op. Cit. p. 79
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 32
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 55
(104) Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 192-204
(105) Howard, Op. Cit. p. 19
(106) Scudamore, Frank A Sheaf of Memories p. 27
(107) Curtis, Op. Cit. pp. 98-99
Rousset, Op. Cit. p. 102
(108) Curtis, Op. Cit. p. 99
Rousset, Op. Cit. p. 102

cations. He was safe only so long as he could keep his subjects in happy ignorance of the faith he was preparing for them.

The Young Turks cancelled all prohibitory laws as soon as they came into power, and reformed the customs administration under the supervision of Mr. Crawford of the British Customs Service. The customs officials were subjected to a strict discipline, bribery was forbidden, the tariff revised, and bonded warehouses established. (109)



(109) Aflabo, Op. Cit. pp. 246-247
Garnett, L. M. Turkey of the Ottomans, p. 62

ROADS

When the early Ottomans conquered the territory occupied by the Eastern Roman Empire, they found a network of roads which ramified into the remotest corners of the country. The following highways connected Constantinople with the Cilician Gates: (1) through Malagina, Eski Shehir, Amorium. 2) via Malagina, Eski Shehir, Bulwudun, Ak Shehir, Konia. 3) through Isnik, Aine Geul, Afiun Kara Hissar, Konia. 4) Isnik, Eski Shehir, across the Sakaria and the Kizil Irmak to Sivas, Kaiseri Kommagene, and Cilician Gates. Minor roads led across the Taurus and the Anti-Taurus, into Syria, and Mesopotamia. The West (2) communicated with the Byzantine capital along four main routes: (3)

1) The Belgrade-Constantinople road via Nish, and Sofia. 2) from the mouth of the Nerenta, through Sarajevo, Western Morava, and Nish. 3) from Durazzo, through Okrida, Sofia, to the Danube by the Isker Valley, along the river to the Black Sea, and following the shore south to Constantinople. 4) from Durazzo by the Skumbi Valley to Struga, Monastir, Ostrovo and Salonica, then parallel to the Aegean, (4) to Kavalla, Dede Agatch, and Constantinople.

The ambition of the first Sultans was to preserve the actual order of things, and so far as possible, improve the system of com-

- (1) Solakian, Arshak. Asie Mineure. 1923
(2) Newbigin, M. I. Geographical Aspects of Balkan Problems. 1915, pp. 92, 99-100
(3) Route of the Orient Express.
(4) The road Durazzo-Salonica, known as the Via Egnatia, was built by the Romans for the purpose of providing a direct line of communication between Rome and Constantinople.

munication established by the Romans and Byzantines. They provided men and money for the repair of existing roads and bridges, and encouraged the building of many new ones. (5) Among the highways built or repaired during that period we may cite: 1) The Constantinople-Belgrade road through Nish and Sofia. 2) The Demotica-Bosna, via Gumuldjene, Cavalla, Siroz, and Uskub. 3) Smyrna-Kotch Hissar, via Boli, Osmandjik, Ladike, Niksar. 4) Kutahia-Damascus through Konia, Adana, Bilak, Aleppo and Hama. (6) 5) The military road Ismid-Bagdad (7) through Angora, Sivas, Malatia, Diarbekir, and Mousoul.

Thanks to the Padishah's generous contributions, and the financial support of the richer families these roads were kept in good repair. (8) and great kervanserais erected at stated intervals provided (9) for the comfort of native and foreign travellers.

Several of the early bridges have survived to the present days, and are described by scholars as masterpieces of architecture. The most famous of these are: The Buyuk Tchekmedje and the Kutchuk Tchekmedje bridges, across indentations of the Marmara, near Constan-

(5) Moustafa, Report to the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works. 1910

Guinet, Vital. La Turquie d'Asie, v. 3 p. 392, v. 4 p. 340

(6) Moustafa, Op. Cit.

(7) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 392

Moustafa, Op. Cit.

(8) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 261

Thevenot, Op. Cit. p. 92

Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 308

(9) See Chapter: Accommodations

(10) tinople; the bridges at Moustafa Pasha, (11) Baba Eski, (12) Uzun
 (13) Kerupru, (14) Luleh Burgaz, (15) Silivria, (16) Havza, (17) Elbassan,
 (18) Larissa, (19) Adrianople, (20) Mostar, and Uskub over the
 Toundja, Maritza, Erkene, Vardar, Skumbi, Salambria, and the Narenta in
 (21) European Turkey, and those at Sivas, (22) Kaiseri, Kerupru Keuy, Os-
 mandjik, Amasia, Niksar, Tokat, Adana, (23) and Diarbekir over the

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- (10) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 109
 Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 213
 Mundy, Op. Cit. p. 46
 Coval, Op. Cit. pp. 175-190
 Careri, Op. Cit. p. 72
 Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1 p. 265
 Moustafa, Op. Cit.
- (11) Mundy, Op. Cit. p. 51
 Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 73
- (12) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 733
- (13) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 59
 Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 735.
- (14) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 71
 Mundy, Op. Cit. p. 48
 Coval, pp. 249-250
- (15) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 71
 Michaud, M., Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 136
 Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 73
- (16) Mundy, Op. Cit. p. 49
- (17) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 73
- (18) Coval, Op. Cit. pp. 249-250
Official Report of the Vilayet of Adrianople for the Year 1894
 pp. 270-275
Official Report of the Vilayet of Adrianople for the year 1901.
 pp. 934-938
 Sami, Ch. Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire et de Geographie,
 v. 2, pp. 808-809
- (19) Miller, William. Travel and Politics in the Near East. p. 134
- (20) Moustafa, Op. Cit.
- (21) Official Report of the Vilayet of Sivas for the Year 1907, p. 236
 Moustafa, Op. Cit.
- (22) Ibid.
- (23) Official Report of the Vilayet of Diarbekir for the Year 1903,
 pp. 165-166
 Moustafa, Op. Cit.

Sakaria, Ueshil Irmak, Kizil Irmak, Siniak Sou, Tigris, and the lesser rivers of Asia Minor.

The wealthier families were as anxious as the Sultans to provide the roads with bridges, and devoted part of their fortune to the building of these conveniences. (24) It was even observed that neighbourhoods (25) joined together to supply their districts with such necessities.

Unfortunately, the system of communications soon declined. The later Sultans who found a ready made empire, grew to be selfish and lazy. The pleasures of the palace attracted them more than the needs of their subjects. They left the administration of the state in the hands of corrupt officials who sacrificed the interest of the people to their own selfish ambitions. The roads that had been the pride of Suleiman the Magnificent, the bridges and fountains that had been constructed with such great care, were allowed to fall into ruin. Nobody thought of having them repaired, except when the Sultans or princes bore the expenses, or when some person of importance chose to undertake a journey within the empire. Even then, such repairs as were in progress were abandoned as soon as the imperial allowance was stopped, or when the distinguished traveller had passed.

By the end of the 18th century, as a result of the neglect of roads, transportation reverted to primitive types, traffic became difficult, and travel disagreeable.

The reports of early 19th century travellers as to the state

(24) Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 211
Blount, Op. Cit. p. 261

(25) Thevenot, Op. Cit. p. 19
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 308

of roads are anything but complimentary. At a time when the various peoples of the West, revolutionized by inventions and discoveries, were rapidly perfecting their means of communications, the citizens of the Turkish Empire were allowing the few remaining highways to fall into ruin. With the exception of those leading from the Sandjak (26) of Roustchouk to Bulgaria; the Vidin-Constantinople road, via Tchipka and the Shoumla Karnabat, repaired for the passage of the Sultan in 1837; (27) and a number of fragmentary cause-ways, the roads in (28) European Turkey were in great need of repair and development. In 1804 nothing could "equal the impracticability of a Greek road over a district of pointed limestone rocks perpetually appearing at the surface, except that across the succeeding valley or plain, when it has (29) been well soaked by the autumnal rains" The want of roads and of conveyances made a thorough study of the geography of the Peloponneses (30) impossible in 1805. Many of the roads in Wallachia were "nearly (31) impassable" in 1833; those in Moldavia were so bad after a rain, (32) that a carriage sank "to the axletree at every step". As the paths around Silistria became "a complete mass of mud", after a shower

(26) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 226-228, 218-219

(27) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 51

Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 233

(28) Castellan, Op. Cit. part 2, pp. 120-121

Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 48-52

Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 233

Frankland, C. C. Travels to and from Constantinople in 1827
and 1828. pp. 23-32, 38-92

(29) Gell, Op. Cit. pp. 59-60, also pp. 98, 113, 119

(30) Leake, W. M. Travels in the Morea v. 2, p. 287

(31) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 190

(32) Spencer, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 198

(33) travellers avoided them. Steep and rocky tracks and swamps made
(34) travel disagreeable in Albania, in 1809. In 1834, an important
road like the Adrianople-Constantinople was "worn out, and often
(35) broken up for the space of ten or twelve feet". As a result of
this neglect the diligence service established between the two cities
(36) by an American Company had to be discontinued in 1848. The roads
in Bosnia were the worse in Roumelia. Traces of former highways were
scarcely discernible in the swamps. Tourists thought it advisable to
inquire if other caravans had used them before venturing into the
marshes, and even then, tried the dept of the mud with their canes be-
(37) fore stepping in it. In 1840, the fragments of paved roads in
Western Macedonia, Albania, Herzegovina, in some parts of Thrace and
of Serbia were avoided because the stones were hard on horses and
carriages. Unpaved routes were preferable during summer, but almost
(38) impassable in winter on account of the mud.

According to a French scientist one of the causes of the neg-
lect of roads in European Turkey was the lack of wheeled traffic.
Merchants preferred the water routes for the conveyance of their goods
to the capital and other important cities. Tourists found it more
convenient to travel on hourseback because they could then use short
(39) cuts through forests and across mountains. Many of the governors,

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- (33) Ibid. v. 2, p. 193
(34) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 45
(35) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 257
(36) Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 233
(37) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 54
(38) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 45-48
(39) Ibid. v. 3, pp. 52-53

whose duty it was to see that the roads were in good shape, welcomed these preferences. They pocketed the allowances, and failed to repair even the most necessary routes and bridges. (40) The more conscientious Valis seem to have thought that highways are needed only in plains and valleys. Consequently, the practicable roads ended at the feet of mountains, (41) and were continued by miserable tracks. The direct route from Belgrade to Constantinople via Nish and Sofia could not be utilized because of a rapid descent south of Ichtiman, and the uninviting paths in the neighbourhood of Bania, Scharkeuy, and north of the plain of Sofia. If the mountain tracks between Bania and Samakow, Samakow and Doubnitza, the bassin of the Bistritza and Egri Palanka, Strajin and Nagoritch had been developed into routes, travel across Roumelia from Islivne to Kalkandel via Eski Sagra, Philippopoli, Bania, and Uskub would have been possible. Vehicles might have been used between Pristina and Salonica had it not been for the mountain paths around Oustroundja. (42)

Sweeping statements like "throughout the whole empire (1836) not a single road is to be met with, and a bridge but rearely", (43) no matter how exaggerated, when supported by descriptions of particular roads, convey us the idea that the Asiatic provinces of the empire were as destitute of highways as those of Europe. A few paved roads, remains of Roman or early Turkish causeways, were fragmentary, and so

(40) Ibid. v. 3, p. 56

(41) Ibid. v. 3, p. 49

(42) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 49

(43) Spencer, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 167

Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 233

Handbook 1840, p. 137

(44) badly kept, that tracks running parallel to them were preferred
by travellers. Others bore only "traces of having been paved". (45)
Remains of the military route to Bagdad could be observed in the
neighbourhood of Touz Goul, only if a thick coat of salt was removed. (46)
Owing to the constant rains, the Erzeroun-Trebizond road, one of the
most important in Asia Minor, was "so cut up and poached by long
trains of beasts of burden as to be often impassable"; its paved sec-
tions, unrepaired for years, were in "a most wretched state". (47)
Travel along the coast of the Black Sea from Trebizond to Sinope, was
very difficult, because of "the impracticable state of the roads". (48)
Those between Tireboli and Kiresoun were "so bad, that it was far more
advisable to go by sea". (49) The road Angora-Kaiseri was extremely
dangerous. (50) The highways in the plain of Kohia, "in excellent order
for travelling", (51) during the dry season, were useless during winter
because of the mud. (52)

The bad state of roads was not always the cause of their im-
practicability. Some of the highways, like those branching off from
Bolawadun, Ak Shehir, Ilgun, and Konia to Kodj Hissar and Ak Serai

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- (44) Hamilton, W. J. Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia,
1842, v. 1, p. 480, v. 2, p. 299
Marcellus, Comte de. Souvenirs de l'Orient, 1861, p. 564
Michaud, & Poujoulat. Correspondance d'Orient 1830-31
1833, v. 7, 576
(45) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 287
(46) Ibid. v. 2, p. 237
(47) Ibid. v. 1, p. 163
(48) Ibid. v. 1, p. 244
(49) Ibid. v. 1, p. 255
(50) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 565
(51) Leake, W. M. Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, p. 21
(52) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 196, 325

could not be used during the summer months because of the scarcity of
(53)
water and provisions.

Irregular tracks, along the valleys of Asia Minor, were either
(54) (55)
too woody for the passage of baggage horses, or wet and boggy.
Some paths were "marked by numerous deep and parallel furrows, worn
into the rock.... caused by the constant passing of strings of horses
(56)
or camels keeping the same tracks." In certain places "no attempts
had been made to clear a path" over a stony ground; one "seemed to be
(57)
riding over a slate quarry". Travel along sloping banks between the
(58)
waters and perpendicular cliffs, or the bed of a stream, "amidst
(59)
the huge stones with which it was encumbered", was full of danger.
Progress along narrow and tortuous mountain tracks, which often run in-
(60) (61)
to precipices, or were lost in the woods, was anything but
(62)
easy. The journey through rocky and broken passes, or up wild and
(63)
steep ravines was a test of courage and endurance.

Even if the tourist made "allowances for the natural wildness

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- (53) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 186
(54) Ibid. v. 1, p. 304
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, -. 99
(55) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 239, 280, 306. v. 2, p. 170
(56) Ibid. v. 2, p. 296
(57) Ibid. v. 1, p. 218
(58) Ibid. v. 1, pp. 208, 300, 252
(59) Ibid. v. 1, p. 215
(60) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 100
(61) Ibid. v. 7, pp. 94, 560
(62) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 458, 317. v. 2, p. 174
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 579
(63) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 410, 416, 417, 433, 479, 316
v. 2, pp. 340, 378
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 584

of the country, the impossibility of using wheel carriages on the
mountains, or horses in the desert", (64) he could not help being
surprised at the lack of roads in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The
only routes were "tracks over the natural soil, or unbrocken rock." (65)
The important highways to Jerusalem and to Gaza, used by caravans for
thousands of years, were scarcely distinguishable from the surrounding
wilderness. (66) A tortuous mountain path lead from Damascus to
Baalbeck. (67) The Damascus-Beyrout road was exceedingly difficult,
and in places dangerous. (68) The mountain tracks in Syria were very
hard on the traveller. As he made his way along rough and winding
paths to the shores of the Mediterranean, dragging his horse or mule
behind him, (69) he thought he could never get across "the large masses
of rock, as steep almost as stone walls," (70) or help the beasts of
burden "keep their feet on the slippery rocks and precipices." (71)

Bridges throughout the Ottoman Empire left as much to be de-
sired as the roads. Here and there one came upon an old stone bridge,
and wished it was kept in better repair. The newer structures, mostly
wooden, were hastily and poorly built. (72) Those erected along the

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- (64) Stephens, J. L. Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea
and the Holy Land, v. 2, p. 131
- (65) Journal of a Deputation sent to the East by a Committee of the
Malta Protestant College in 1849 v. 2, p. 543
- (66) Stephens, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 130, 131
- (67) Malta Protestant College, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 496
- (68) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 6, pp. 138-139, 145
- (69) Ibid. v. 7, p. 258, v. 6. p. 415
- (70) Malta Protestant College, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 503
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 311
- (71) Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 31
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 6, pp. 138-139
- (72) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 71

Vidin-Constantinople road in 1837, for the passage of the Sultan,
(73)
were thrown down two months later by storms. Some were so slender-
(74)
ly built, that they "vibrated with the weight of a single hourse".
(75)
Others were so full of holes as to be dangerous. One often ex-
pected to be thrown off one's hourse, and upon rising "see the animal
dead lame in consequence of having stepped into an aperture, caused by
(76)
a vacant plank, and concealed by the snow". Still others were
(77)
half demolished. Sinking into the river bed with the bridge was
(78)
not an unusual accident.

Stone bridges were seldom repaired, and even then restored in
wood, because of lack of skilled workmen and funds. Remains of
earlier bridges were observed all along rivers, or in the waters, as
(79)
the same points were being crossed in crude boats. Only stone
piles marked the ends of Trajan's famous bridge over the Danube at
(80)
Turnul Severin.

In the absence of bridges or boars, the rivers had to be ford-
ed. Few people were acquainted with the peculiarities of these
streams. Their depth was hard to ascertain, because it varied with
the season, and the weather. Cautious travellers waited a few days

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- (73) Ibid. v. 3, p. 51
(74) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 121
(75) Blarqui, Op. Cit. p. 249
Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 73
(76) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 3, 101
(77) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 3
(78) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 73
(79) Ibid. v. 3, p. 74
(80) Reinach, Op. Cit. v. 1 p. 115
Howard, Op. Cit. p. 21

before they ventured in them, specially after a storm. (81) Guides
were not always reliable. In the event of their missing the ford,
the stranger, his horses, bag, and baggage, had to swim across the
(82)
waters as best they could. Even under ordinary circumstances
fording "was not unattended with personal difficulties, and some dan-
(83)
get to.... horses". One could not boast even of a dry shed after
(84)
a splash through one of these rivers.

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- (81) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 75
(82) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 4
(83) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 119
(84) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 4
Tietz, Op. Cit. pp. 220-221

This roadless empire must have presented a very sad picture to the Western traveller. Was there no energy left in this conglomeration of races and creeds? Was the sick man of Europe living his last days thanks to the efforts of rapacious neighbours, greatly interested in his chronic illness? Never was a dying man so carefully attended. Never indeed was the diplomatic game played with greater skill, to suit the interests of various nations. The attention of the patient was diverted away from internal remedies like reforms, and directed towards disintegrating factors like wars and international intrigues. To the joy of European powers, all chances of recovery were lost. Could any such hopes be entertained for a state whose central government could scarcely communicate with its various parts? The only thing to do was to delay the end until all questions of inheritance were settled in the most satisfactory manner, that is, in a way that would satisfy all parties concerned, and yet preserve the imaginary balance of power.

But appearances are often deceptive; and Europe, cock-sure of validity of her conclusions, was deceived by the external aspect of facts, as she was never deceived before.

Things were not as hopeless as they appeared to the diplomatic observer. At a time when the Western powers were busy protecting their antiquated regime against the influx of revolutionary ideals, the French language, culture, and customs were making their way into the Turkish Empire through the medium of Emigrés. The first signs of a slow, but effective revival were already observable. Selim III, an intelligent sultan, had outlined an extensive program of reforms.

But his ideas were ahead of his time; he died a victim of his premature innovations. Nevertheless, the first steps were taken; there were others ready to sacrifice themselves.

French ideas permeated into Turkey during the first half of the 19th century. Men became more and more accustomed to the inevitable changes. Their repugnance towards European customs weakened with time. The educated class became acquainted with Western conveniences, and appreciated their efficiency. Mediaval dogmatism dwindled away under the pressure of practical science.

This new spirit found expression in various ways, and contributed towards the ameliorations within the Empire. Many of the systems that had been neglected for centuries were reorganized under the supervision of European experts.

It was towards the middle of the 19th century, that the Turkish government realized that the lack of good roads was detrimental to the economic development of the country, and means were devised to remedy this deficiency. In 1850 under the influence of Ahmed Vefik Effendi an official of importance in Brousa, Edhem Pasha, minister of Public Works, and of the Council of Public Works, composed mainly of British and French engineers, Abdul-Medjid decreed the building of the roads Brousa-Gemlik, and Brousa-Moudania. (85) In 1856, the state undertook the making of a road between the Persian frontier and Trebizond, through Erzeroum and Bayezid, (86) and in 1862 invited en-

(85) Cuinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, pp. 85-87

(86) Ibid. v. 1 pp. 22-23

gineers from Europe to study the country, and draw the lines of possible roads from Erzeroum and Sivas to the Black Sea. (87) The construction of roads in Roumelia was also started in 1862 under the supervision of Midhat Pasha, governor of the province. (88) In 1859 a French company obtained the concession for a road from Veyrut to Damascus. (89)

It cannot be said that the first enterprises were successful. Because of the inexperience of the engineers, as well as that of the government officials, the building of roads was a slow process, and the results unsatisfactory. It was only in 1865 that the Brousa-Gemlik, (34 kms. 500) (90) and Brousa-Moudania (34 kms.) roads were opened to traffic. The other highways were completed even later. Although the first section of the Persian frontier - Trebisonde road, 160 kms., was easy to build, the section crossing the vilayet of Erzeroum, 434 kms, necessitated cutting in the rock, and involved other engineering difficulties, which owing to the carelessness of certain superintendents were not done with care, so that, although a large sum of money was spent on them, they had to be built over again in 1865. (91) The road 594 kms. in length was ready for use only in 1872. (92) This highway gained in importance in 1883, when Russia prohibited the export of Persian goods through the Causasian roads. Thus all the products of

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- (87) Moustafa, Op. Cit.
Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 25
(88) Moustafa, Op. Cit.
(89) Guinet, Vital Syrie, Liban et Palestine p. 42
(90) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 4 pp. 85-86
(91) Ibid. v. 1, p. 22
(92) Ibid.

Persia had to be exported via Bayazid, Erzeroum, Balibourt, and
(93)
Trebizond.

In 1870 the Ministry of Public Works saw the need of carrying on the making of roads in a more systematic way. The officials at the head of the organization considered the means of doing away with the abuses, and securing quicker work, and decided to appeal to the state. The government was favorably disposed. She promised to subsidise the enterprise. A law was passed requiring all normal men from 16 to 60 to devote at least 20 days in five years to the making of roads, and place their hourses, mules, etc. at the disposition of the vilayet during those days. The highways were to be of three classes: 1) State roads connecting the capitals of the vilayets with Constantinople. 2) Secondary roads between the capitals of the vilayets. 3) Minor roads between important towns within the provinces.
(94)

Roads were built more rapidly under the new system. By the end of 1882, the Empire possessed important roads such as the Adrianople-Moustafa Pasha-Havza, the Salonica-Monastir, Trebizond-Erzeroum, Brousa-Gemlik, Brousa-Moudania, and minor roads in the vilayets of Salonica, Monastir, Kastamouni, Sivas, Konia, and
(95)
Diarbekir; in all 900 kms. of roads.

From 1882 on, Hassan Fehmi Pakha, grand vezir, paid special attention to the making of roads. He persuaded the government to

(93) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 1 p. 23

(94) Moustafa, Op. Cit.

(95) Ibid.

contribute a larger sum towards the development of means of communication. (96) Roads were built in the vilayets of Monastir, Trebizond, Sivas, Hudavendighar, Adana, and Syria. The Ordou-Sivas road, (97) 294 kms., started in 1869, was completed in 1884. That of Unia-Niksar, 102 kms., was built from 1882 to 1891. (98) The important highway giving to the products of the eastern vilayet of Diarbekir access to the sea, from Diarbekir to Samsoun, 645 kms., through Mezre, Malatia, Kangal, Sivas, Tokat, Amasia, was opened to traffic (99) in 1883. The construction of the road from Kiresoun to Karahissar, 122 kms., although started in 1870, was completed only in 1888, the cause of the delay being, a misunderstanding between the governors of the vilayets through which the road passed as regards (100) the question of boundaries. Sections of the Ismid-Angora road had been built in 1878, thanks to the efforts of Sirri Pasha, Inspector of Roads and Bridges. But the works had to be suspended for some time, when the government undertook the construction of a railway following the same route. In 1884 the making of the highway was resumed, and the road 360 kms. 952 was ready for use in 1887. (101) Other important roads in the Asiatic Provinces used for wheeled (102) traffic in 1890 were: The Aleppo-Alexandretta, 160 kms., Sivas-

(96) The yearly allowance for roads was raised to 2,000,000 pts.
(See Moustafa, Op. Cit.)

(97) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 24, 643

(98) Ibid. v. 1, p. 25

(99) Ibid. v. 2, p. 340

(100) Ibid. v. 1, p. 24

(101) Ibid. v. 4, pp. 336, 341-242

(102) Ibid. v. 2, p. 149

(103)
Kaiserli, and Sivas-Harpout roads; the Erzeroum-Bitlis, 253 kms.,
(104)
Erzeroum - Van, 396 kms., Erzeroum-Erzindjan, 176 kms; the Adana-
Mersin via Tarsus, Mersin-Silifke, Silifke, Silifke-Ermanak, and
(105)
Adana-Sis - Missis roads; the Kastamouni-Ineboli, 90 kms.,
Kastamouni-Djide, 135 kms., Kastamouni-Kangeri 112 kms. 700, Kasta-
(106)
mouni-Bartin, Sinope-Boyabad 96 kms. 300 roads; the Brousa-
Mihalitch-Panderma, 102 kms., Brousa-Biledjik, 230 kms. via Yenishehir,
joining the Kutahia road near Bazardjik; Brousa-Kutahia via Aine Guel,
(107)
Bazardjik. Bozluyuk, In Eunu, 220 kms.; the Smyrna-Kassana, via
Nif, 63 kms. 400; Smyrna - Tcheshme, and branches, 105 kms. 975;
Dikili-Manissa, 155 kms. 260; Menemen - Bergama, 69 kms. 200; Salihli-
(108)
Demirdji, 104 kms. 550; Smyrna-Manissa via Bournabat, 44 kms. The
following were some of the highways in process of construction: Aleppo-
(109)
Biredjik via Kiliss, 270 kms., Machaali-Kilis-Aintab, 185 kms.,
Roads connecting Angora with Samsoun, and Ineboli on the Black Sea, and
(110)
with the Gulfs of Mismid and Gemlik on the Marmara. Highways from
Konia southwest to Adalia, East to Nigde, and West to Afium Kara
(111)
Hissar. The road Lataquiyeh-Hama 140 kms. begun in 1884. By the
end of 1890 there were 19960 kms. of completed and projected roads in

(103) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 643

(104) Ibid. v. 1, p. 166-167

(105) Ibid. v. 2, p. 17

Official Report Vilayet of Adana, 1892, pp. 6-7

(106) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 436

(107) Ibid. v. 4, pp. 87-79

(108) Ibid. v. 3, p. 398

(109) Ibid. v. 2, p. 149

(110) Ibid. v. 1, p. 271

(111) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 812

(112)

Turkey.

In addition to those already mentioned, the following highways were being used for wheeled traffic previous to the Great War: The Adrianople - Luleh Bourgaz - Constantinople road, 144 3/4 miles; the Adrianople - Kirk Kilisse - Serai - Constantinople, 161 3/4 miles; (113) the Sedd-el Bahr-Kavak-Keshan-Ouzoun Keupru-Demotica, 134 miles; the Aleppo-Curfa-Diarbekir; highways across the Taurus mountains; from Eregli to Tarsus via the Cilician Gates; the Mersine-Adana-Tarsus, and (114) the Alexandretta-Karaman-Tarsus roads. Important roads in Syria and Palestine like the Damascus-Nablus-Jaffa-Jerusalem; Damascus-Homs- (115) Tripoli; Tyr-Sidon-Beirut-Tripoli; Damascus-Dummar-Baalbec.

In spite of all the efforts of the government abuses could not be prevented. A large sum of money was mispent, and the work was unsatisfactory. In 1890 3/4 of the roads were in need of repair. (116) Even though they gave access to district which up to that time were seldom visited, they were not enough to meet the demands of the (117) (118) country. In many of the Eastern vilayets such as Bitlis, Van, Mousoul, Bagdad, and Basra, and the independent sandjak of Zor, most

(112) Moustafa, Op. Cit.

(113) A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, p. 193
Keane, A. H. Asia, 1896 v. 2, pp. 402-403
Solakian, Op. Cit. pp. 20-24

(114) Ibid. pp. 20-24

(115) Guinet, Vital Syrie, Liban Palestine pp. 41-42

(116) Moustapha, Op. Cit.

(117) In 1881 the authorities had planned roads from Bitlis to Diarbekir, Bitlis - Mamahatoun, but the project was abandoned after 16 kms. of the first, and 20 kms. of the second road were built. (Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 548)

(118) There had been a road between Van and Ardjek, meeting the Erzeroum road at Malachguerd. But it fell into disuse three years after its completion. (Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 671-2)

(119)
of the roads were paths traced by successive caravans, the most
important of these routes being: Van - Bitlis - Diarbekir; Van
(120)
Erzeroum; Van - Bach Kale - Djimlamerick - Amadie; Deir el Zor -
(121)
Aleppo; Deir el Zor - Damascus; Bagdad - Basra; Bagdad - Persia,
via Hanikin; Bagdad - Mousoul, following the left bank of the Tigris,
and Bagdad - Mousoul, via the right bank of the Tigris; Bagdad- up
the Euphrates valley, then across the desert to Aleppo; Hit, across
the Euphrates, and the desert to Damascus; from Deir and Rakka, via
Palmyra to Damascus; Aleppo - Asia Minor via Marach; Mousoul-Diarbekir
via Jesireh, Nissibin, Mardin; and Mousoul-Ourfa, through Jesireh,
Nissibin, Mardin, and across the Euphrates at Biredjik; Aleppo -
Alexandretta via Antioch and Latakia; the caravan routes leading from
Bagdad, Damascus, the Persian Gulf, Northern Arabia, and Egypt to
(122)
Medina and Mecca. As for the other vilayets, the existing roads
were scarcely enough for their economic development. In 1891 there
(123)
were only 329 kms. of practicable roads in the vilayet of Diarbekir,
(124)
724 kms. 453 in the vilayet of Aidin, 1202 kms. 195 in the vilayet
(125) (126)
of Sivas, 1337 kms. in the vilayet of Angora, 742 kms. in the
(127) (128)
vilayet of Erzeroum, 210 kms. in the vilayet of Aleppo, 1254

(119) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 289, 671, 793. v. 3, p. 243

(120) Ibid. v. 2, pp. 672-674

(121) Ibid. v. 2, pp. 289-291
Cheyney, Op. Cit., p. 81

(122) Cheyney, PP. 81-82
Keane, A. H. "Asia" 1896, v. 2, pp. 366, 403, 448
Solakian, Op. Cit. pp. 3-4
Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 2, 71

(123) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 433

(124) Djavid, A. Vilayet of Aidin, 1891, pp. 526-527

(125) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 643

(126) Official Report, Vilayet of Angora, 1891, pp. 308-309

(127) Guinet, v. 1, p. 167

(128) Guinet, v. 2, p. 149

(129)
kms. 500 in the vilayet of Hudavendigâr, 1023 kms. 300 in the
(130)
vilayet of Kastamouni.

In 1890 Zihni Pasha, Minister of Public Works, realized that if better results were to be obtained, the administration on charge of road making had to be reorganized, and certain changes to be introduced in the laws pertaining to the building of roads. As a result of his endeavours, the state was freed from the burden of financing the constructions. (131) One tenth of the revenue of the agricultural bank was assigned to meet the expenses. Men were subject to compulsory service, for a number of days per year, beginning with 20 years of age instead of sixteen. They were no longer required to place their beasts of burden at the disposal of the state, and those who desired it, were allowed to substitute a road tax for the requested amount of work. The tax was determined according to the resources (132) of each district.

The new system was fruitful. Fewer roads were built, but the constructions were done carefully by hired workmen, experienced in roadmaking. Roads built or repaired every four years amounted to: (133)

(129) Guinet, v. 4, p. 91

(130) Guinet, v. 4, p. 436

(131) It had cost the state 173,000 Ltqs. per year. (Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 433)

(132) Moustafa, Op. Cit.
Guinet, v. 2, pp. 433-434

(133) Moustafa, Op. Cit.

	<u>Repairs</u>	<u>New Roads</u>
1890	320 kms.	170 kms.
1894	432 kms.	278 kms.
1898	1065 kms.	321 kms.
1902	666 kms.	451 kms.
1906	697 kms.	350 kms.

Several of the vilayets profited during this period of greater efficiency, and boasted of many more kilometers of roads. In 1895 there (134) were 1129 kms. of highways in the vilayet of Monastir. Those of (135) the vilayet of Trebizond were increased to 1561 kms. 424, and (136) those of the vilayet of adrianople to 1752 kms. by 1900 and 1901 (137) respectively. The vilayet of Diarbekir possessed 418 kms. of roads in 1903. In 1904 the vilayet of Hudavendigar owned 2350 kms. (138) (139) 230 of causeways, the vilayet of Trebizond 1665 kms., the vilayet of Salonica 1800 kms. and the vilayet of Angora 2182 (141) kms. 550. The official estimates for the year 1908 were: 1560 (142) kms. 910 of routes in the vilayet of Aidin, 845 kms. 250 in the (143) vilayet of Beirut. The empire was provided with 12714 kms. of

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- (134) Official Report of the Vilayet of Monastir, 1895, p. 153
 (135) Official Report of the Vilayet of Trebizond, 1900, pp. 312-313
 (136) Official Report of the Vilayet of Adrianople, 1901, p. 900
 (137) Official Report of the Vilayet of Diarbekir, 1903, p. 172
 (138) Official Report of the Vilayet of Hudavendigar, 1907, p. 286
 (139) Official Report of the Vilayet of Trebizond, 1904, p. 222
 (140) Official Report of the Vilayet of Salonica, 1904, p. 635
 (141) Official Report of the Vilayet of Angora, 1904, p. 347
 (142) Official Report of the Vilayet of Aidin, 1908, p. 769
 (143) Official Report of the Vilayet of Beirut, 1908, p. 111

highways in 1899, and 16360 kms. in 1903. (144)

All of these roads were supplied with stone and steel bridges. Their construction was given great care, and the best available material was used. (145)

For centuries the only mode of communication between the two shores of the Golden Horn, at Constantinople was by means of row boats. (146) It was only in 1838 that the first bridge was thrown across the harbor. Its building was decreed by Mahmoud the second, and given to the people free of toll. (147) It is known as the Oun Kapan Bridge.

The Galata Bridge was built at the mouth of the Golden Horn parallel to the Oun Kapan Bridge by the mother of Sultan Abdul Medjid in 1945. (148)

The Oun Kapan and Galata bridges were replaced later in the century by more modern structures. Men were stationed at their extremities to collect the usual charges. (149) The Galata Bridge provides landings for the Bosphorus and Golden Horn ferries, and is crossed at present by a double line of electric trams. It is the intention of the municipality to renew the Oun Kapan Bridge and make it

(144) Moustafa, Op. Cit.

(145) Moustafa, Op. Cit.

Guinet, Op. Cit. (see former references)

Barkley, Op. Cit. pp. 341-342

A Handbook of Turkey in Europe pp. 249, 275

(146) see section Ports)

(147) White, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 319

Walker, Op. Cit. p. 323

(148) De Launay, L. La Turquie que l'On Voit p. 127

(149) Walker, Op. Cit. p. 323

De Launay, Op. Cit. pp. 127-130

available for boat landings and trolley lines.

As one reads travel books published during the second half of the nineteenth century, one cannot help but wonder as to whether all the sacrifices of the Turkish government and the efforts of the officials interested in the development of roads had gone to nothing. Complimentary remarks as to the state of the highways are few, while there is agreement as to their deficiency.

We hear that the few practicable roads in the European provinces cannot be used extensively because they are fragmentary and isolated from each other, and that repairs being unusual along Turkish roads, the better highways are becoming as bad as the rest. (150) We are informed that in 1872 the neighbourhood of Monastir abounded with bad roads and broken bridges. (151) In 1876 a traveller complains that the highway through the Shipka Pass, on the route from Bulgaria to Roumania, "breaks up every winter, and needs remaking each spring". (152) Another tourist observes in 1881 that most carriage roads in European Turkey are "heaven-made" the hand of man having had nothing to do with them: (153) that the Metzovo-Jenina, once a much frequented highway is now merely a track blocked up constantly by snow and storm; (154) com-

(150) Rousset, Op. Cit. p. 5

(151) Blunt, Lady Fanny My Reminiscences p. 129

(152) Boyle, Frederick The Narrative of an Expelled Correspondent
p. 160

(153) Chirol, Valentine Twixt Greek and Turk p. 13

(154) Chirol, Op. Cit. p. 171

munication being thus interrupted between Epirus and Thessaly. In 1887 the road Pirot - Sofia was so narrow in spots that a carriage (155) with three horses could not make its way through it. There was (156) no road for vehicles between the most important cities of Albania.

Even later in the century the Turkish administration is described as incapable of making and keeping up roads. The existing highways were allowed to fall into ruin, and the money allotted to their repair was pocketed by the officials in charge. (157) In 1898 it took four days to ride from Plevlje to Metrovitza the terminus of the Macedonian railway. The road had not been repaired after the inundation of 1896. (158)

The Asiatic provinces fared no better. In 1878 the back of bridges, the numerous swamps, narrow mountain passes, rocks and boulders, rendered many of the roads impracticable. (159) Vehicles made their way with difficulty on the Brousa roads. They were full of holes (160) and covered with stones of all sizes. Bridges had fallen into streams. The road Argana-Maden, originally well laid out with regular gradients and thinly balasted, had not been repaired since 1873. In 1878 it was nearly covered up with earth crumbling down the mountains. (161) Parts of the Erzeroum-Trebizond road were swept away by torrents, and trenches were worn by mules and other pack animals everywhere. Some of

(155) Laveleye, Emile de The Balkan Peninsula pp. 236-244

(156) Miller, Op. Cit. p. 209

(157) Ibid. p. 107

(158) Ibid. p. 196

(159) Barkley, Asia Minor and Armenia p. 157

(160) Barkley, Op. Cit. pp. 25-26, 45

(161) Ibid. p. 294

its bridges were missing. And yet this highway had been built at enormous expenses, deeply metalled, and provided with excellent bridges and culverts. (162)

It is reported that during the last years of the nineteenth century no roads in Asia Minor, except the Erzeroum-Trebizond, and the Samsoun-Sivas would pass for such in the West. (163) And even of these the Erzeroum-Trebizond was in 1895 "a road that required much care, and,.... had received none.... in some places the mountain had slid down upon it, and in others had fallen away from it..... very careful steering was wanted to avoid disaster". (164) Of the lesser roads only those leading to railways, or those in the neighbourhood of cities were practicable for carriages. (165) The remaining highways were nothing more than tracks.

The main routes of Syria and Palestine were badly kept, while the caravan tracks were determined mainly by the wells and reservoirs of the country. (166) The Tigris and Euphrates continued to be the chief highways of communication in the Mesopotamian valley. (167)

Another century dawned upon the Ottoman Empire and still no effective measures were taken to improve its highways. The practicable roads were not enough to meet the demands of the country, and to contribute effectively to its economic development. Few of them were

(162) Ibid. pp. 341-342

(This road was thoroughly repaired later in the century, and for a time was in perfect shape in winter and in summer. Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 22-23)

(163) Keane, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 327

(164) Scudamore, Op. Cit. p. 151

(165) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 401-402, v. 4, p. 613

(166) Keane, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 402-403, 447

(167) Ibid. v. 2, p. 366

completed throughout their length, and nearly all were badly in need
(168) of repair. In certain districts a journey after a rain was almost hopeless. It was not seldom that a rider's feet suddenly touched the ground, and he realized that his horse had "sunk above
(169) his knees in the middle of the track". Even the most important highways suffered from this neglect. In 1915 the Tchataldja-Constantinople section of the Constantinople-Adrianople road was reported
(170) impassable in winter, and marshy in summer. The bridge over the Kizil Irmak having not been completed, the Vezir Keupru-Sinope road could not be utilized for continuous traffic. Grass was growing all
(171) along its course, and its culverts were falling into ruin. The route followed by pilgrims to Mecca was scarcely practicable, and a
(172) source of danger to the traveller.

Even as late as 1926 we read that "roads in Turkey are relatively few and, in general, in poor condition". Of the 7,000 to 10,000 miles of highways about 3,000 miles were metalled, and in general in
(173) poor repair.

(168) Official Report of the Vilayet of Salonica for the year 1906,
p. 108

Monroe, Op. Cit. p. 158

Aflabo, Op. Cit. pp. 65, 249

Elliot, Sir Charles, Turkey in Europe, pp. 322-324

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 83

(169) Ibid. p. 60

(170) A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, p. 193

(171) Sykes, Op. Cit. p. 377

(172) Ibid. p. 473

(173) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 43

The condition of bridges during the last sixty years of the Turkish Empire was as deplorable as that of roads. With the exception of the steel and stone structures along the most important highways and railroads, bridges were sources of danger to the traveller, and serious obstacles to transportation. A great number of the older spans had tumbled into rivers, the more recent wooden structures, if spared by fire, were ready to collapse under the least pressure. (174) Some bridges, even though in good shape, were not practicable to vehicles. For example one of the Kizil Irmak bridges (175) could be reached only by a steep road made in steps. The bridge at Solali, broad enough for wheeled traffic, could not be thus (176) utilized because there was no road leading to it.

In certain districts old bridges had never been restored. Tree trunks thrown into the water, often served the purpose. In their absence the stream had to be forded or crossed in crude and dangerous boats. (177)

(174) Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 234-236

Elliott, Op. Cit. p. 156

Cholet, Comte de. Arménie, Kurdistan, et Mésopotamie, pp.67, 242

Barkley, Op. Cit. pp. 45-, 324

Chirol, Op. Cit. pp. 119, 171

A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, pp. 196-196

Sykes, Op. Cit. pp. 362-363

Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 150, v. 4, p. 70

Abbot, G. F. The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia pp. 112, 288

(175) Barkley, Op. Cit. p. 140

(176) Sykes, Mark The Caliph's Last Heritage, p. 362

(177) Chirol, Op. Cit. p. 119

Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 235-236

Textier, Charles Asie Mineure, p. 583

See also references

Travellers who had observed the bridge over the Tigris, made of boats chained together, during the 16th century, would find themselves at home in Mesopotamia three centuries later. A similar bridge (178) was still being used.

The various attempts at road making during the second half of the nineteenth century have been outlined in the preceding pages. Mention has been made of a number of government officials who considered it their duty to provide the empire with a system of modern highways, and of the support they received from the government. It has also been pointed out that in spite of the financial sacrifices of the state, and the efforts of far sighted leaders the constructions and repairs were slow, insufficient, and in many cases unsuccessful.

It is the contention of most authorities that the corruption of the officials supervising the works was mainly responsible for (179) their failure. This charge is, undoubtedly, well directed. An administrative system that has been declining for several centuries cannot be reformed within a few years. The men intrusted with the constructions were derived from such a system. In mispending the

(178) Keane, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 362

Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8

Fitch, Op. Cit. pp. 466-467

Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 369

(179) Moustafa, Op. Cit.

Miller, Op. Cit. p. 107

Barkley, Op. Cit. pp. 341-342

A Handbook of Turkey in Europe. pp. 193-195

Official Report of the Vilayet of Salonica for the year 1906,
p. 107

Townsend, Op. Cit. p. 61

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 93

funds placed under their care, they were merely imitating the majority of their superiors. Abuses had penetrated into the very heart of things and could not be wiped away easily. It was merely a matter of time, patience,... and continued drains upon the Ottoman treasury.

The lack of experienced native workmen was also a serious obstacle to the development of roads. It was a long time since the peasants and the poorer classes had been employed on highways. They were not only ignorant of the necessary technique, but also disinterested. Causeways had ceased to be necessities to them. Their needs were few, and easily satisfied. They had no other aim than to provide for the daily meals of their family, and trusted in Allah's bounty for the bread of the morrow. Many of them had no notion as to what their neighbours in the nearest districts were doing, because it was hard to get access to them. Neither were they anxious to venture beyond their own villages or towns. What good would it do to them? And yet, these were the men who were subjected by the government to compulsory service on the roads. Was it any wonder that their work left much to be desired?

It is true that later in the century workmen were imported from Europe to work on the roads, and yielded comparatively better results. But even this system had its disadvantages. Men who had left their country to earn their living could not be expected to work heartily and earnestly for the prosperity of another nation. They could be induced to do anything for the sake of money. Hence abuses perpetuated.

The successive wars of the nineteenth and early twentieth cen-

turies were also detrimental to the development of roads. The Ottoman treasury was exhausted, and the attention of the progressive elements at the Porte was directed towards the protection rather than the improvement of the country. The funds allotted to highways were often spent on guns and rifles, and road projects deferred to a future that never came. Thus although the Chamber voted L. 2,000,000 for the making of roads during the years 1910-1912, and a contract with a French company was drawn, it was never put into execution. (180)

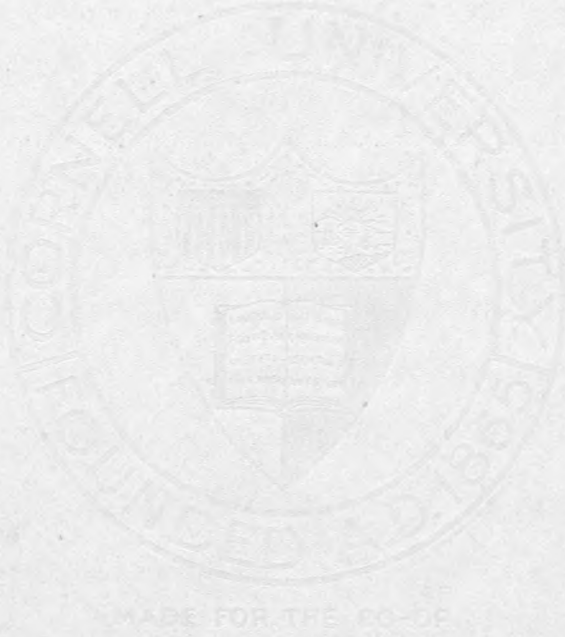
The consequence of the absence of roads was the economic backwardness of the country. The interior produced much more than was needed for local use. But there was no means of disposing of the surplus of product. Hence the agricultural districts of Asia Minor and Syria languished for want of communication. Anatolia is rich in minerals and forests. Large quantities of these natural products might have been exported to other districts and countries. But there were no transportation facilities.

A peasant who had no market for his product could not be anything but poor. Having not stepped out of his village he was unaware of the existence of new methods of agriculture. He could not therefore improve his land, and raise more than a certain amount of crop. Being ignorant of the worth of minerals and forests, he neglected the mines, and burned the forests. And yet, this same man was taxed heavily for the up keep of roads that did not exist.

It is the ambition of the new Turkish Republic to remedy the

(180) Woods, H. C. The Danger Zone of Europe, p. 36
A Handbook of Turkey in Europe pp. 193-195

evils, and fill up the deficiencies created by the corrupt officials of the Ottoman Empire. It means a great deal of sacrifice and hard work. But years of suffering have hardened the nation. Every Turk is ready to do his best, and build up a prosperous country out of the ruins of a degenerate empire. The necessity of a modern system of communication is felt by the republican government. Hence a large sum of money is being set apart yearly for the building and repair of roads.



Mode of Travel and Transportation

The traveller felt himself in a new world as soon as he stepped into the Ottoman dominions. Not only did the people dress and talk differently, but they journeyed in a fashion that was unknown to him. He missed the good old coaches that had conveyed him all along the Western roads. But he understood quite well that they could not be used along the half finished, and bumpy Turkish highways. The vehicles he espied here and there in the country were anything but inviting, even though they seemed to be doing almost incredibly well on the stony paths. "Des espèces de chariots tartares, non suspendus",⁽¹⁾ provided a diligence service between Constantinople and Gallipoli. Those in the neighbourhood of Silistria were "a species of four-wheeled cart."⁽²⁾ Carriages "à train bas"... or "à bancs quelquefois couvertes",⁽³⁾ were being used in Serbia. The Wallachians and the Moldavians contented themselves with vehicles "not unlike a very small crate for earthenware, fastened to four small wheels by the means of wooden pegs, and altogether not higher than a common wheel-barrow.... Four horses (were)... attached to it by cords, which (formed)..... the whole harness."⁽³⁾⁽⁴⁾ As late as 1872 "springless, uncomfortable" talicas were the only carts obtainable in Thessaly.

(1) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 136

(2) Spencer, Op. Cit. p. 193, v. 2

(3) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 87

(3) Wilkinson, Wallachia and Moldavia, pp. 92-93

(4) Blunt, Op. Cit. p. 129

"A rough kind of two-wheeled carriage drawn by oxen or buffaloes..... (running) upon trucks.... formed of six pieces of solid wood, three in the center, and three in the outside.... the whole kept together by an iron felloe and by fastenings connecting the outer pieces with the inner," (5) was for a long time the only vehicle obtainable in Asia Minor, and is still used extensively in most provinces.

The horse drawn araba with which the Westerner became acquainted in Asia Minor was "at once the most uncomfortable and most useful of vehicles. It certainly has springs" wrote a tourist in 1903, "but they are necessarily so strong that they might almost as well be non-existent; the inside of the carriage is like that of a wagon with a loose plank stretched across to sit upon... Overhead is an awning of painted calico stretched on thin rods." "A better kind of araba, built longer and narrower, with a cushioned seat was used along the better roads. (6) It travelled faster, and did not shake as much as the rougher vehicles.

Up to the later years of the 19th century, city streets throughout the Empire were so narrow as to make the use of vehicles impossible. Transportation was sustained by hamals, horses, mules, and donkeys. But in the suburbs of Constantinople, ladies enjoyed a morning or afternoon ride in "gaily painted and gilded arabas drawn by oxen", (7) or horses, comfortably seated on mats, or reclining on cushions, protected

(5) Leake, Op. Cit. p. 94

See also: Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 55-56

Textier, Op. Cit. p. 113

Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 549-550, v. 3, pp. 401-402. v. 1, p. 812

(6) Townsend, Op. Cit. pp. 23-24

(7) Boulden, Op. Cit. p. 68

from the sun....and indiscreet eyes, by latticed windows. (8)

Had he visited the Ottoman Empire long enough, the tourist might have met somewhere or other, Turkish ladies, a rich pasha, a molla (clerical official), or an ambassador lounging upon soft cushions in a litter supported by two or four mules. (9) Or, had he chosen to travel during winter, he might enjoy a sledge ride (10) in Wallachia, Bosnia, Serbia, and north eastern Asia Minor. But what he was most likely to see was files of horses, mules, donkeys, camels, conveying fellow travellers, merchants, and goods from one corner of the country to the other ... and after a trial ride in an araba, he was very happy to join them himself.

The 'ship of the desert', as the camel was called, was a most desirable beast of burden in many parts of the Ottoman Empire. It carried the heaviest burdens, and required the least care, one driver being enough to take care of six camels. These patient animals were content to brouse on thorns, should barley be scarce, and the more these weeds made their mouths bleed, the more they seemed to enjoy them. (11) They could go two or three days without water. The (12) least cooling breezes were enough to make them slow and lazy. Hot

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- (8) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 136
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 195
Handbook, 1840, Op. Cit. p. 151
Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 86
(9) Covert, Op. Cit. pp. 171-190
Leake, Op. Cit. pp. 3-4
Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 86-87
(10) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 191
Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 87
Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 549-550
Varthema, Op. Cit. p. 174
Moryson, v. 4, p. 121

Tchihatcheff, Op. Cit. p. 140
Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 453

weather was what they wanted. They then became energetic, and trotted along with apparent pleasure..... provided the heat was not excessive. (13) Camels, in fact, seemed to be able to cope with all situations, with, perhaps, the possible exception of travel along slippery roads. For as a traveller explains, "they seem destitute of the strength of muscle which should keep the legs together; their hinder feet slip away from each other in soft ground, and the poor animals fall with their bellies on the earth, while the joints of (14) the thighs are dislocated if the burden be considerable".

But in spite of its sterling qualities, the camel was seldom used for riding purposes, by travellers. Its pace was "very harde, and shaketh the body of the Ryder, the hinder parts of the Cammellbeing higher than the fore parts". (15) The double hunched dromedary was preferrable. It walked "with long regular steps, and the rider, of consequence, feels the motion no otherwise than if he were rocked in a cradle". (16) It was further known to surpass the (17) horse in swiftness and the camel in patience.

For the convenience of those who found the camel's back too hard to ride on, wooden box-like structures, wide enough

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- (11) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 218
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8
(12) Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 453
(13) Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 4
(14) Gell, Op. Cit. p. 60
(15) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 475
(16) Niebuhr, Op. Cit. p. 3
(17) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 121
Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 453

for two persons, were often attached to the sides of the beast, and proved to be comfortable enough when people got accustomed to sitting in them. (18) Or, as a protection against sand storms, and the heat, travellers made themselves at home in small wooden chambers, fixed on a back of a camel, and large enough for more than two persons to eat and sleep in. The taht ravan, was usually covered up with rich silks, (19) and curtains hanging all around, down to the ground, so that people had every reason to feel they were the lords of the desert.

Camels made themselves useful to their owners in more than the above mentioned ways. When the caravan settled for the night, they were made to kneel down in a circle about their resting place with their faces pointing outwards and their load and saddle piled up behind them, and being naturally so wakeful as to be roused from sleep by the least noise, they served their master instead of a guard". (20)

In the same way as the camel had come to be treasured by the Arab in the desert, the horse had come to occupy a very important place in the life of the Turk. As the result of the kind treatment they received from their owners, Turkish horses had developed into "the gentlest creatures in the world, and also the most capable of attachment to its master or groom". (21) This was as true

(18) The Prefetto of the Franciscans in Egypt, A Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, p. 387

Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 446

(19) Varthema, Op. Cit. p. 177

Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 370

(20) St. John, Op. Cit. p. 26

(21) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 215

of the later centuries, as it was of the 16th. "There is no place", writes a traveller in 1700, "where Horses are more valued than in Turkey".⁽²²⁾

Another tourist writes in 1810 that Turkish horses "bear no mark of ill-treatment, but are in general sleek... and spirited.... the kind usage they receive from their grooms renders them exceedingly tractable and free from vice".⁽²³⁾

Still another Westerner remarks in 1830 that he has seen "no horses... so healthy as Turkish horses". They were provided with "spacious well-ventilated stabling, with plenty of body clothes", and were never allowed to "stand on straw, but on the earth or sand". They were "kept very clean... always tethered"... and fed on "little less than chopped straw".⁽²⁴⁾

But, even though they were so well taken care of, horses were by no means overfed, or kept idle. Their owners believed that keeping their weight down rendered them "fitter for travelling and work of every kind".⁽²⁵⁾ They were therefore given food in small quantities and, from their earliest age, trained to make the longest distances in the shortest time. As a result, they were "finely shaped, full of mettle, and very swift".⁽²⁵⁾

The European traveller, may have found Turkish horses "easie enough to ride upon",⁽²⁷⁾ and admired their built, and swiftness, but he could not become accustomed to the saddles with which they were

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- (22) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 250
(23) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 86
(24) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 174-175
(25) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 216-217
(26) Boulden, Op. Cit. p. 103
(27) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 475

provided. They were "hard in the seate". (28) According to an early 19th century tourist these saddles were "raised as much as possible from the back of the horse, by means of a highly arched tree". To this were "attached several thick thongs; and these, tied in knots to a very short stirrup-leather", which continually irritated the legs. These stirrups were made short to suit the natives who rode (29) "in the shape of the letter N, with the knees as high as possible". But the Westerner could not reconcile himself to having his knees brought "nearly into contact with his chin". (30) Neither could he learn how to use the rope halter, which being tied over the horse's nose, "left the choice of the road very much to the discretion of the (31) beast". He was therefore obliged to bring his own saddle along with his luggage. And even then, he never knew, when a fanatical guide would take it to his head to object to its use, calling it "a heathenish invention, expressly calculated to give horses their death with colds", and oblige him to ride a Tartar saddle "broad as (32) a cradle".

It was not hard for the traveller to procure horses in Turkey. He found it both cheap and safe to buy them in regions where their use was not extensive. They could easily be bought for 8-12 L, and

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- (28) Moryson, Shakespeare's Europe, p. 48
(29) Gell, Op. Cit. p. 34
See also, Laurent, Op. Cit. pp. 162-163
Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 218
Townsend, Op. Cit. p. 25
(30) Hughes, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 336
(31) Ibid.
(32) Mac Farlane, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 280

sold for approximately two thirds of the amount, at the end of the
(33)
journey.

Horses could also be hired, at very low rates, from the
surudji. The owner usually accompanied the traveller to take care
of the beasts, and because of his knowledge of the country roads,
made an excellent guide. The only disadvantage to this arrangement
was that the same horses had to be used all the way, and naturally,
could not make more than 20-25 miles a day without succumbing to
fatigue. The tourist found it therefore preferable to obtain per-
mission to use post horses, which, because they could be changed at
halting places every few miles, enabled him to travel as much as 60
(34)
miles a day.

Post horses were available only to travellers who were pro-
vided with a bouyourdou, a travelling order, issued by the Sultan,
or one of the highest officials of the Empire. This order required
all postmasters to place the necessary number of horses, and whenever
requested, a tatar (courier), at the disposal of the tourist. It also
entitled the bearer to free food, and lodging, and protection, during
(35)
his journey.

Around 1840 post horses could be obtained along all postal

(33) Handbook, 1854, p. 18

(34) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 4, pp. 443-444
Handbook, 1840, pp. I, 258

(35) Hughes, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 173
Spencer, Op. Cit. p. 71
Boue, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 446, v. 3, p. 383
Handbook, 1854, p. 17
Cell, Op. Cit. p. 162
Townshend, Op. Cit. p. 21

roads upon the payment of 1 piater (25 centimes) per hour per horse, except along the Adrianople-Constantinople road where the charges were 1½-2 piasters. (36) Whenever possible the traveller was given

an extra horse, free of charge, to be used in case one of the horses died on the way. In case of such an accident he was held for payment only if he was responsible for the death. (37) A surudju accom-

panied the tourist from post to post. He took charge of the luggage, and was pleased with a tip of 2½-5 piasters at the end of each 6 or 10 hours. (38)

No horse was allowed to carry more than 100 okes (about 400 pounds), and should more than 6 horses be needed for the journey, (39) the traveller was required to use two postillions.

The number of horses at each menzilhane (station) varied in accordance with the importance of the halting place. One found 100 horses at the post house at Adrianople, 150 at Sofia, and only 4-10 (40) along the little frequented roads of Bosnia. Post masters were known to be very polite and accommodating. They made arrangements with innkeepers along the roads for the feeding of horses at the expense of the menzilhane, and were ready to help the traveller in every possible way. (41)

Whenever it was requested by the tourist, the postmaster was

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- (36) Handbook 1840, p. 133
Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 69-70
Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 383
(37) Ibid.
(38) Ibid.
Handbook, 1840 p. 133
(39) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 384
(40) Ibid. v. 3, p. 385
(41) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 387

glad to appoint a tatar to accompany him throughout his journey. The courier often undertook "to provide horses, food, and lodging at a fixed price", to protect the traveller in case of an attack, and lead him safely to his destination. He was bound to give an adequate account of any calamity, should it occur while he was on duty. Any carelessness on his part was punishable with death. Tatars ordinarily received 25 piasters per day for their services. Their presence usually added to the consideration of those under their charge, and made it possible for them to obtain horses without delay. (42) But there were places, where their extortions had antagonized the peasants against them. The tourist then, found it more advantageous to keep his tatar in the background, and his bouyourdou in his pocket, (43) and try personally to obtain horses from the head of the community. There were also times when nothing he could produce had power enough to create horses. We thus read about the governor of a town who upon reading the sultan's order was quite ready to provide lodging for his guests, and forage for their beasts, but possessed no horses or camels (44) which he could place at their disposal.

Post horses did not seem to fare as well as their privately owned brothers. They were "small and ill-looking". (45) And yet, these "wretched animals covered with sores, and almost skeletons" had a

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- (42) Handbook, 1840, p. 134
Handbook, 1854, p. 19
Boué, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 449, 446-447
Slade, v. 2, p. 9
(43) Gell, Op. Cit. p. 162
(44) Leake, Op. Cit. p. 108
(45) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 69

"very easy and rapid pace", and "performed a journey of ten hours... with only a few short halts, and arrived at ... (the) konak... ap-
(46)
parently in better travelling condition than when they set out".
They managed very well indeed, "in the steep rocky paths" they were
(47)
"obliged to traverse". Long practice had taught them the "diffi-
cult art of stumbling in all directions, and picking themselves up
(48)
again without sustaining any injury". Their efficiency may better
be grasped if it is known that stages were at unequal distances, very
few being less than at 12 hours, and a great many at 16-20 hours dis-
(49)
tances from each other. Couriers made about 36-45 Lieux (70-100
miles) a day by changing horses as frequently as possible. But
travellers, because of their luggage, could make only 12-16 Lieux
(50)
(30-40 miles).

Travel by post horse would have been considered the most con-
venient mode of travel in Turkey had the tourist a choice of routes.
But he was bound to follow the postal roads so long as he used the
government horses, and, should he venture along other highways, he was
obliged to give up his privilege, and content himself with what he
(51)
could obtain from the peasants, or the surudjus.

The traveller might perhaps have overlooked the mentioned in-

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- (46) Leake, Op. Cit. pp. 16-17
See also, Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 173
(47) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 45
(48) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 2
(49) Handbook, 1840, p. 134
Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 173
Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 387
(50) Ibid.
(51) Ibid. v. 4, p. 442

convenience, had the postal system been present, or had it been equally efficient in all parts of the Empire. Post horse service existed only in certain districts of Asia Minor, and even then, left much to be desired. (52) European Turkey fared comparatively better.

In 1820 the post establishment in Wallachia and Moldavia was "well organized", there were menzilhanes everywhere, and they were well supplied with horses. (53) As much could be said of the service in (54)

1840. But the Constantinople-Kirkilisse road, and the districts east of Silistria, knew no post houses. (55) The postal service be-

tween Constantinople and Belgrade via Adrianople and Sofia was reported to be very well organized. Horses could be obtained regularly every 12-18 miles. (56) The system in Bulgaria was passably good. (57)

But Serbia was not so fortunate. Menzilhanes were found along few roads, and horses were hard to procure. (58)

Thus the post horse service which was not equally efficient, and equally distributed in all parts of the Ottoman Empire failed to facilitate travel, and added to the grievances of the traveller rather than relieved them.

Whether obtained from an inefficient postal organization, or from a kiradji, horses were nevertheless the best means of conveyance

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- (52) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 386, v. 4, p. 442
Textier, Op. Cit. pp. 113-115
Scudamore, Op. Cit. p. 151
(53) Wilkinson, Op. Cit. p. 92
(54) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 385
(55) Ibid. v. 3, p. 386
(56) Ibid.
Handbook, 1840, p. 215
(57) Blanqui, Op. Cit. pp. 104-110
(58) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 385

in most parts of the country. But they could hardly be utilized along the narrow and winding city streets. In Constantinople, therefore, as in other leading cities of the Empire, transportation was monopolized by porters. Around 1845 more than 8500 hamals were registered in the books of the two hamal bashis (head porters) in the capital alone. (59)

The majority of hamals are Kurds from the vilayet of Van and the surrounding districts. They are strongly built, and can carry very heavy weights on their backs. The burden is laid on a "thick leather pad... fastened by straps crossing the shoulders. This pad hangs low down, and its projection forms a rest for the load. When in motion the body is bent nearly horizontal, and thus the weight rests principally upon the loins". (60) When the object is too heavy for one hamal, two, four, six, and even eight of them, carry it together. The load is then suspended to the center of poles the ends of which rest on the hamals' left shoulder. "The bearers advance with a quick short step.... Each rests the right hand on the shoulder of him at his side ... and by keeping exact time and pace, eight of these sinewy men carry nearly a ton weight up the steepest and most tortuous alleys". (61)

Porters who carry burdens on their back are called yuk hamali and those who work in a group are known as sirik hamali.

During the previous century the Constantinople hamals were organized into a union, with the sultan for their protector. Each

(59) White, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 324

(60) Ibid. v. 3, p. 324

Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 116

(61) White, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 324-325

district of the city had its own hamals and vekil (deputy), whose duty was to see that the porters caused no mischief, and worked only within their limits at the trade union rate of wages. Every member of the organization was expected to contribute a certain sum (62) per year for government taxes, and living expenses.

In spite of the strict discipline under which they lived, porters were apt to revolt under the least provocation. They often disturbed the peace of the city, and retarded through their machinations the introduction of more efficient methods of transportation.

A survey of the means of transportation in the Orient would hardly be considered exhaustive unless tribute is paid to the donkey and the mule which for centuries helped the merchant and the tourist across many a rugged mountain, and dangerous precipice. Was there ever a sight more picturesque than that presented by a file of donkeys or mules, trotting slowly, and easily, along stony paths, unconscious of their "pannels in stead of saddles, ropes for bridles, and ropes laid crosse the pannels and knotted at the ends in stead (63) of stirrups".

But the picturesque is seldom condusive to prosperity. The consequence of the use of primitive means of transportation was the economic backwardness of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish territories produced more than was needed for local use. A large percentage might have been exported to less productive districts of the country,

(62) Ibid. v. 3, pp. 324-325
Castellan, Op. Cit. part II, p. 221
Miller, Op. Cit. p. 402
(63) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 464

or abroad. But the peasant could not afford the expence of conveying his surplus to the seashore. The cost of transportation was such that in 1891 a ton of wheat worth 40 frs. at Sivas was sold for (64) 140-160 frs. at Samsoun after having travelled a distance of 346 kms.

The situation was greatly relieved in certain sections of the Empire upon the building of railways. A discussion of this modern means of transportation shall be undertaken in the next chapter. We shall, therefore, now pass on to a survey of conditions of travel in Turkey, during the previous centuries, and of the circumstances that accounted for them.

People seldom travelled alone in Turkey during the past centuries. The fear of being attacked by brigands and disbanded soldiers forced them to seek the company of strangers, and set out together in varying numbers, their belongings loaded on "Camels, Horses, Mules, Asses"... well supplied with "Tents and Pavillions; under which, instead of houses, they... (sheltered) themselves in open fields"... and with "all necessary provision, and convenient implements to dresse the same." (65)

Of all the caravans that traced the routes of the Levant, the pilgrims' caravans were perhaps the most interesting. Every year, at a given time, two caravans set out for Mecca, from Damascus and from Cairo, and meeting at a short distance from their destination,

(64) Guinet, *Op. Cit.* v. 1, pp. 643-644

(65) Coryat, *Op. Cit.* v. 3, Letter to his Mother.

See also, Moryson, v. 2, p. 53. v. 3, pp. 474-475

Blount, *Op. Cit.* p. 262

entered the Holy City together under the leadership of the Emir Hadj,
(66)
the governor of Damascus. This caravan often consisted of
40,000-50,000 men, women, and children, 30,000-40,000 camels, and
(67)
about a hundred horsemen and guides. The Emir Hadj had his personal
escorts and guards. The rest of the party were protected by
mounted soldiers. This precaution was absolutely necessary because
of the presents sent by the Sultan to the Kaaba, and of the silks and
other articles taken to Arabia by merchants for commercial purposes.
According to a 16th century writer there were even six pieces of cannon
(68)
drawn by camels, to terrify the Arabs on the way.

Caravans of Christian pilgrims were of a similar nature. For
centuries, the consul general of France at Tripoli lead the faithful
to Jerusalem, and received a certain amount of money from each participant
for the protection he extended to them. Like the Emir Hadj
of the Muslims, he had his own footmen and soldiers, and as the representative
of all Christians, both Eastern and Western, his prestige
was unequalled by any other consul. This custom was discontinued by
the middle of the 18th century. Pilgrims refused to join a caravan
which diminished their personal liberty, and increased their expenses.
They preferred to travel in smaller groups, and thus avoided elaborate
preparations and ceremonies, as well as exposure to the
(69)
rapacity of brigands.

(66) Peyssonnel, Op. Cit. pp. 265-266

Hakluyt, Op. Cit. v. 5, p. 340

(67) Varthema, Op. Cit. p. 173

Hakluyt, Op. Cit. v. 5, p. 340

(68) Ibid. v. 5, pp. 341-346

(69) Peyssonnel, Op. Cit. pp. 274-276

But pilgrims' caravans were not the only groups of individuals that crowded the routes of the Ottoman Empire. In fact the greater number of caravans, were made up of merchants leading their camels, horses, or mules, loaded with merchandise, from one part of the country to the other. Such companies, varied in number. We read about a caravan of 110 horses and mules, (70) of another of "about two hundred men, mounted on about half the number of camels and dromedaries", (71) and others of 4000 camels "laden with spices and other rich merchandises", (72) of 600 people, (73) and of "400 Armed Men.... mameluks on Horseback, and the Archers on Foot," all ready to defend themselves. As "soon as they smelt any danger, (they) did so dispose themselves on all hands, that ... (the merchants etc.) with the Goods and Baggage march'd on as fast as ... (they) could under their shelter." (74) When this company entered the Arabian desert, the number increased to such an extent, that the crowd "look'd like an Army consisting of several thousands". (75)

A large caravan usually had a captain, elected from among the merchants present. Great care was taken to select a rich man whose honesty was known to all. His duty was to guide the company, decide all quarrels, and negotiate with nomadic chiefs, or government officials for the privilege of crossing a particular territory, without being deprived of all their cash, in terms of tolls. He also reg-

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- (70) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 86
(71) Collins, Op. Cit. p. 65
(72) Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8
(73) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 78, 260
(74) Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 457
(75) Ibid. p. 446

(76)

ulated, the hour of departure, and the rest periods of the caravan.

Smaller caravans had no caravan bashi. The man owning the greater number of beasts, assumed the leadership and regulated the course of the journey.

(77)

To most Europeans, it was "a Novelty... to see Horses and Mules mingled with a great number of Camels. The Women..... in Litters terminating like a Cradle, the Top cover'd with Oil-cloth, the rest.... lattic'd on all sides more carefully than the Parlours of the austere Nuns". Every Man "arm'd his own way", and ready to defend himself.

(78)

(79)

Caravans were as much a feature of the 19th as of the preceding centuries. Strings of camels loaded with merchandise, lead by a man riding a donkey were to be met with everywhere within the Asiatic provinces of the Empire, and in certain districts of European Turkey. Even during the early years of the present century, this mode of travel and transportation prevailed in Eastern Asia Minor, and the lands bordering the Arabian desert. As late as 1915 a pasha is pictured travelling across the desert "riding a young white dallul (trotting camel) at the head of the caravan, (which numbered about 2,000 animals) accompanied by 50 horsemen of his private staff, and a pack of 15 couple of

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- (76) Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 446
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 76
Niebuhr, Op. Cit. p. 3
(77) Ibid. p. 3
(78) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 78
(79) Ibid. v. 3, p. 76
(80) Stephens, Greece, Turkey, Russia, v. 1, pl 165
Skene, Op. Cit. p. 127

(81)
gazelle dogs".

A caravan at rest in the evening was one of the most attractive sights the traveller had ever seen... "the camels arranged around on their knees in a circle, with their heads to the center, and the camel drivers with their bales piled up within", (82) or merchants and their muleteers gathered around a fire in the center, smoking and telling stories; horses, camels and mules making a circle (83) around them chewing their meals out of bags tied over their heads. But as all things pleasant to the sight, the caravan had its inconveniences. In Arabia, because of the heat, in other parts of the Empire, for the purpose of reaching a halting place in good time, the caravaners were often called to order between two and four o'clock (84) in the morning, and in the hotter regions, settled down to rest at two in the afternoon. (85) When the heat was so excessive as to make travel impossible during the day, the company started around four in the afternoon, and marched the whole night till eight in the morning. The tents were then pitched, and meals prepared, everybody then indulged in a few hour's rest. (86) The caravaners made about 20-24

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- (81) Sykes, Op. Cit. 326
(82) Stephens, Greece, Turkey, Russia, v. 1, p. 165
(83) Malta Protestant College, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 542
(84) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 101
Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 445
Leake, Op. Cit. p. 12
(85) Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 445
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8
(86) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 63-64
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 212

(87) miles (30-35 kms.) a day. It took them 30-40 days to cross the
(88) desert from Basra or Bagdad to Aleppo. The journey from Damascus
(89) to Aleppo was performed in 11 days, and from Aleppo to Constantinople
(90) in 15 days by the pace of horses, and in 30 days by that of
camels. 35 days were necessary for a journey from Erzeroum to
(91) Aleppo, 3 months from Erzeroum to Smyrna with stops at Tocat,
(92) Angora, Brousa, and Manissa, and 25 days from Smyrna to Aleppo. (93)
(94) Travel from Angora to Smyrna was an affair of 14-20 days, and from
(95) Angora to Constantinople 12-13 days. The distance between Belgrade
(96) and Constantinople was made in 20-25 days during the 17th century,
(97) and in 12 days in 1840. That between Salonica and Constantinople
(98) was made in 15 days in 1739, and in 107 hours in 1840. (99)

Thus during the past centuries the citizens and the guests of the Ottoman Empire were obliged to travel in groups for purposes of protection, against brigands. Outlawry was at its worst in the early days of the Empire, when the sultans were constantly at war with their

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- (87) (87) Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 445
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8
Cholet, Op. Cit. p. 21
(88) Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 527
(89) Ibid. p. 515
(90) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 62
(91) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 102
(92) Ibid. v. 3, pp. 258-332
(93) Ibid. v. 3, p. 334
(94) Ibid. v. 3, p. 300
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 685
(95) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 300
(96) Mundy, Op. Cit. p. XXIX
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. pp. 199-214
(97) Handbook, 1840, p. 215
(98) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 742
(99) Handbook, 1840, p. 253

neighbours. The roads were then infested with disbanded soldiers who continued to exercise in times of peace the habits which they had contracted on the battlefield. (100)

Unfortunately, soldiers were not the only bandits which disturbed the peace of the Ottoman citizens. One could hardly expect order within an Empire whose population was as heterogeneous as that of Turkey. The greater part of these races had been subjugated by force, and showed no disposition to assimilate the customs and religion of their conquerors. They had to be ruled by an iron hand, if they were to be ruled at all. And yet, has an unwilling majority ever been subjected by force? The least submissive among these peoples preferred the freedom of the mountains, to the limitations imposed upon them in towns and villages, and flocked there in noticeable numbers. But rocks do not produce food, and human beings cannot live on water and air for any length of time. Necessities had therefore to be obtained by raiding nearby villages, and attacking travellers. Woe to him who raised a hand against the banditti, or attempted to protect himself.

Such conditions were not of a nature to render the Ottoman highways pleasant to travellers. When they "entered Mountaines, deserts and thick woods, where usually repaire Troops of robbers to the spoyle of Passengers..... every one (went).....on foote with

(100) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 445
Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 92, 169, 199, 200

their Armes, to bee the more ready if occasion should offer..." (101)

The banditti were specially dangerous when they joined together "in a state of rebellion against the Porte, ravaging the country, and plundering all travellers who fell in their way", (102) and when guards and peasants refused to deliver them to the government because of the gratuities they received. (103)

In Asia Minor, the Kurds were "constantly upon the catch for an opportunity to plunder.... Caravaneers"... from Mousoul to the Sources of the Euphrates. (104) "As unmanageable to the Turks as to anybody else", they stripped all "to the skin without any Ceremony" ... obeyed "neither Beylerbey nor Bassa", and studied nothing but (105) how to "riffle Passengers, and follow the Caravans by the Scent". They penetrated the tents at night and pulled out bales of goods with hooks; they mingled with those whom they intended to rob during the day, and walked away with a few mules loaded with merchandise in the evening. (106) The Turcomans were known to be even more thievish than the Kurds, for while the latter slept during the greater part of the night, the former robbed "both Night and Day". (107)

The brigands in Asia Minor were very wise. For they chose

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- (101) Mundy, Op. Cit. p. 61, 66
See also, Blount, Op. Cit. p. 226, 225
St. John, Op. Cit. p. 85
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 742
An Itinerary, Op. Cit. pp. 35, 46
- (102) An Itinerary, Op. Cit. p. 46
- (103) Ibid. p. 66
- (104) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 103
- (105) Ibid. v. 3, p. 105
- (106) Ibid. v. 3, pp. 102, 262
- (107) Ibid. v. 3, p. 277

their particular seasons for robbing, and raiding: The "Months of June, July, and August... (were)... the most favourable Season" for them. They were then sure to find sufficient food everywhere "to keep their Horses nobly". The care of their horses was one of their chief worries, for these gentlemen did not like to "go a foot like Beggars".
(108)

The traveller received no better treatment from the Arabs.
(109)
They robbed the boats on the Euphrates at night, and attacked
(110) (111)
the pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, or to Mecca. The
Jaffa - Jerusalem road was in fact considered one of the "most dangerous roads in Turkey".
(112)
Europeans found it advisable to leave their cash with the superior of the monastery of Rama before proceeding any further towards Jerusalem "because, if the Arabs should chance to find it, it would often expose the pilgrims to be searched and ill used for the same end".
(113)
Muslims on their way to Mecca had even less chances to protect themselves against the wandering tribes of the desert. During the 18th century a caravan of Mohammedans was cut to pieces by the, in spite of the efforts of the pasha and his soldiers
(114)
to prevent the calamity.

The 19th century was not any different from the preceding cen-

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- (108) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 116
(109) Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 368
Fitch, Op. Cit. p. 466
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 4
(110) Moryson, Shakespeare's Europe, p. 18
Baumgarten, Op. Cit. pp. 448, 449, 453, 474
(111) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 311
(112) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 410
(113) Ibid. p. 408
(114) Tott, Op. Cit. part 1, p. 127

turies so far as brigandage was concerned. In 1840 many of the roads of European Turkey were avoided because they were known to be infested with bandits. A highway that had once been the scene of a murder, or the repair of outlaws was doomed thereafter. (115)

The "haidoods" of European Turkey were for the most part rebels against the government, and as such, members of the subject races. Their attacks were usually directed against the Muslim population. Their presence in those provinces was due to the political and social disorder which prevailed in the Balkans. The sultans had never been able to subjugate the various peoples of the peninsula, and the growing weakness of the Empire had rendered this task the more difficult. The provinces were determined to win their independence. The risk of lives, and bloodshed were secondary matters. Small bands of patriots which later came to be known as comitadjis roamed about the country pestering the Turkish peasants, and government officials, and out of necessity, the travellers who fell within their grasp. (116) But their chief aim was not plunder. They were primarily "patriots and only incidentally robbers". (117)

(118)

The highwaymen of Asia Minor were decidedly after booty.

(115) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 294

(116) Ibid. v. 2, p. 156

Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 200

Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 445

Chirol, Op. Cit. pp. 80-81, 31, 171-172

Scudamore, Op. Cit. p. 261

Elliot, Op. Cit. p. 358

Curtis, Op. Cit. pp. 217-240

(117) Townshend, Op. Cit. p. 34

(118) Townshend, Op. Cit. p. 34

One might refer to almost any travel book for accounts, often tragic, occasionally amusing, of encounters with brigands. These obstreperous creatures were at times so powerful as to command sections of the country. (119)

The government had no friendly feeling towards brigands. The measures taken against them were enough to frighten all the outlaws of the world. (120) Few of the 16th and 17th century travellers were courageous enough to continue their journey when they were told that a group of horsemen were coasting up and down the country, arresting all those who could not give an acceptable reason for being at some particular place. Suspects were put to death on the spot. The principle guiding these men was that it was better to "cut off two innocent men, (121) than let one offender escape". Bandits took to flight as fast as they could when they heard that a Pasha was in the neighbourhood. They knew that "so many Robbers taken (would mean) so many Heads off in an instant". (122)

But no matter how strict, the measures taken by the government were not effective enough to do away with outlawry. The political bandits of European Turkey had the support of their own people throughout the provinces, and found a ready welcome in towns and villages,

(119) Howard, Op. Cit. pp. 100, 184

(120) Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 469
Mundy, Op. Cit. pp. 55, 71, 78
Pouqueville, Op. Cit. pp. 64-65
Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 448
Blount, Op. Cit. p. 226

(121) Ibid.
See also, Pococke, p. 707

(122) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 77

whenever they thought it wise to hide themselves for a while. It was therefore next to impossible for the police to fight them down successfully. The situation was even more complicated in Asia Minor and Arabia. The brigands not only had the support of their tribes, but also, being accustomed to the exigencies of the climate, were in a better condition to protect themselves against the soldiers, than the soldiers were to subdue them.

Unable to do away with brigandage, and eager to protect travellers against them, the government found itself obliged to establish guard houses at the highest points on mountains, at the entrance of dangerous passes, and along the important public highways. Early in the 17th century drummers were seen at regular intervals along the roads, stationed there for the purpose of telling the passer by whether there were robbers on the way or not. (123) There were also soldiers ready to accompany people through doubtful places without demanding any compensation. (124)

One does not hear of drummers during the following centuries, but the guards were still there ready to help and warn tourists. In times of unrest the dervents (guard houses) were filled with soldiers, and all passerbys were strictly examined. No one who could not produce a permit signed by the governor of the district was allowed to pass, and all suspicious characters were arrested. In peaceful days, travellers were met by the guards and invited to the guard house

(123) Mundy, Op. Cit. pp. 61,62
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 209
Blount, Op. Cit. p. 228
(124) Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 209

(125)

where they were offered water, or a cup of coffee.

From the earliest days, the Turkish authorities considered it their duty to provide armed escorts to those who placed themselves under their protection. Yenitcheris were famous all over Europe for the security they offered to the travellers whom they accompanied. No Westerner could trust himself on the Ottoman highways, and even in the streets of Constantinople, without an escort of soldiers. (126) Europeans believed at the end of the 16th century that "one Janizarye of the least is sufficient to guard a man against a thousand Moors, or Arabians or Plebeian Turkes in respect of his awfull authority over them, as also against all other soldiers or Janizaries in respect of their brotherly agreement, and feare to break their law by fighting or quarrelling among themselves". (127)

Yenitcheris were obtainable at the rate of 8 aspers per day at Constantinople and other important cities through the mediation of ambassadors and consuls. Members of the diplomatic service often placed their own guards at the disposal of travellers. (Ambassadors at Constantinople were allowed 6 yenitcheries, and consuls 2 yenitcheris for guard for protection) (128) "It is wonderfull", wrote

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- (125) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 747
Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 150
Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 242
Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 480
(126) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 131
Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 233
Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 84
Chirol, Op. Cit. p. 188
(127) Moryson, Shakespeare's Europe, p. 54
(128) Ibid. pp. 54-55
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 406, v. 1, p. 446

an Englishman in 1596, "how faithfull and affable they wilbe to a Christian thus hiring them... how readily they will serve him, doing his business, buying, and (if needed) dressing his meat, especially if they have taken this charge from an Ambassador or Consul, to whom (129) they must give account of his safety, and bring back letters".

In fact they easily saved "a man more than (their)... wages, in governing his expences, and keeping him from exortions... as also from (130) all... injuries".

Yenitcheris continued to make themselves useful to travellers (131) during the 17th and 18th centuries, and even at the beginning of the 19th century. But they gradually declined in efficiency. The soldiers who escorted groups of tourists, upon the payment of 5 piasters a day in 1800 could hardly be associated with their famous predecessors. Even though to insult any one protected by a yenitcheri was still considered an offence against the state in large cities like Constantinople, (132) their presence had become obnoxious in villages and out of the way districts, specially among the non-Turkish elements of the population. They insulted the peasants, and were known to pocket part of the money owed to them for their services. These people were nat-

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- (129) Moryson, Shakespeare's Europe, p. 55
See also, Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 443
- (130) Ibid. v. 1, p. 446
- (131) Mundy, Op. Cit. pp. 43, 65, 66, 69, 67
Blount, Op. Cit. p. 223
Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 333
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 158
St. John, Op. Cit. p. 85
Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 515, 656
Wood, Op. Cit. p. 182
Tott, Op. Cit. part 4, p. 125
- (132) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 233

usually reluctant about opening their houses to strangers escorted by
(133)
soldiers.

They were so unpopular in Kurdistan, that tourists
found it necessary to secure armed natives to protect their guards
(134)
during their sejour in the province.

The yenitcheri organization was dissolved in 1828, and the
government undertook the training of zaptiehs (guards) for the various
posts along the roads, and for the protection of travellers. These new
guards replaced the yenitcheris as escorts, and accompanied tourists
(135)
throughout the 19th century.

In Turkey as in other countries legitimate means of protection
were not always the best means that could be utilized. Travellers
often found it more convenient to come to an agreement with an Arab
chief before they risked themselves on any dangerous road in Arabia.
A chief who promised not to molest him, and to compensate for all his
losses, was bound to revenge the stranger's wrongs against all other
(136)
men. The least risky way of travelling in a region abounding in
Turcomans was to place one's self under the protection "of the great-
est rogues among them". For once a man was entitled to this privilege,
(137)
he was sure of his safety thereafter.

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- (133) Laurent, Op. Cit. pp. 135-136
(134) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 566
(135) Chirol, Op. Cit. pp. 32, 35, 132, 188
Townshend, Op. Cit. pp. 23, 261
Elliott, Op. Cit. p. 324
Sykes, Op. Cit. p. 528
(136) Hakluyt, Op. Cit. v. 5, p. 348
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 8
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 18
(137) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 572

A European visiting Constantinople during the first half of the 19th century found it more advantageous to apply to the Zindan Hassekisi for the restitution of his losses than to the police. The Zindan Hassekisi, an important member of the Constantinople community, was the head of a corporation to which all men arrested for theft were eligible. Whenever requested by their owners, the Hasseki sent his man after stolen articles, and returned them upon the payment of a bakshish equal to one fourth of their value. This money was divided between the thieves, the chief receiving the largest share. The office of Hasseki carried much prestige, and brought handsome returns. (138)
It was therefore sold at a very high price.

The police system of Constantinople could hardly be compared in efficiency to that of thieves. All branches of the government had their own police forces, working independently of one another. The confusion was so great that it was impossible to obtain satisfactory service. (139)

(138) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 179-180

(139) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 175

The Turkish Railways

Of all the western innovations that have made their way into the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, the railway has received the warmest welcome on the part of the government, and has eventually proved to be the most beneficial to the country.

The steam-engine has taken the Ottoman citizens almost by surprise. Within a few decades of its introduction, the locomotive has relieved thousands of camels and other pack animals, and replaced the caravans along the historic highways of the Near East. In vain did the fanatical elements of the population protest against the use of the so-called 'infernal machine'. The Porte was set upon strengthening its control over the unruly provinces of the empire. Railways were the only means of rendering this control effective. They not only gave access to the remotest corners of the country, but also provided for the rapid mobilization of the army to the various fronts.

Foreign capitalists were as anxious to establish railway communications in Turkey as the Turkish government. Here was an empire on the verge of ruin. Why not take advantage of its weakness and extend a political-economic control over its richest provinces?

Railways in European Turkey

The Oriental Railways

Baron de Hirsch, an Austrian Jew, was the first to realize the political and economic importance of railways between Turkey and the rest of Europe. In 1869, shortly before the Balkan Crisis, he applied for the concession of certain railways in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. His proposals were made at the right moment. The Porte was then at a loss as to how to strengthen the position of the Sultan in the Balkans. A railway would facilitate the transport of troupes, and render governmental control more effective. The Baron's request was therefore granted, and the Oriental Railway Company formed shortly after. (1)

Two conventions settled the question of funds. By the agreement of April 1869 the society undertook the construction of 2,700 kms of railway for an annuity of 22,000 frs. per km. to be paid in 99 years, 14,000 frs. by the government, and 8,000 by the society that was to exploit it. These terms were modified in May 1872. The state substituted itself for the company of exploitation, and promised to pay the whole of the 22,000 frs. per km. But the extent of the line was reduced to 1,250 kms. A contract was then signed with the Société Vitali of Place Vendôme, Paris in 1870, and constructions

(1) Woods, Op. Cit. p. 187

(Information about the Oriental Railways may also be obtained from: Caston, Alfred de La Turquie en 1873 et 1874 pp. 457-487

A Handbook of Turkey in Europe pp. 276-306

(2)

started in several sections of the railway.

The Constantinople-Adrianople section of the mainline, and the branches Salonica-Nish, Uskub-Metrovitza, were completed in 1872. The Adrianople-Dede Agatch, and the Tirnova-Yamboli branches were opened in 1873. The rest of the mainline from Adrianople to Tzaribrod, and the Serbian section were ready by 1888. The first express train from Paris to Constantinople reached the Turkish capital on the 12th of August 1888.

(3)

In 1889 the Deutsche Bank acquired a controlling interest in these railways when she purchased Baron Hirsch's shares. The bonds were then turned over to the Bank für Orientalischen Eisenbahnen at Zurich.

(5)
A short branch from Baba Esiki to Kirklar Ili was built in 1912.

The greater part of the Oriental Railways were appropriated by the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Greek governments at the end of the Balkan Wars. Only the Constantinople-Adrianople section was left to Turkey.

At present the Oriental Railway runs through Turkish soil to a point south east of Kuleli Burgaz, then passes into Greek territory. It runs again within Turkey from Boshnak Keuy to Kara Agatch, and then continues into Greece and Bulgaria.

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(2) Caston, Op. Cit.

(3) Ibid.

Woods, Op. Cit. pp. 187-188

A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, Op. Cit.

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 29

(4) Ibid. p. 32

Ravndal. Op. Cit. p. 49

(5) Ibid. p. 49

(6) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 48

The Turkish section of the railway is exploited at present by a group of financiers the majority of whom are French, in accordance with the terms of the agreement reached between Baron de Hirsch and the Ottoman government in 1869.

The Salonica-Constantinople Junction Railway

In 1892 the concession of a railway from Salonica to Dedeagatch,⁽⁷⁾ was given to a French Syndicate for a period of 99 years. A kilometer guarantee of 15,500 frs. was promised by the government, and the capital of the company was fixed at 15,000,000 frs.⁽⁸⁾

The railway, 510 kms. 589,⁽⁹⁾ was built parallel to the coast very near the foot of the Rhodope Alps. A short line run thirty miles behind the hills from Feredjik on the Oriental railway to Yeni Keuy on the Salonica-Constantinople Junction.⁽¹⁰⁾ It was an emergency line to be used in case the Dedeagatch section, which lay close to the shore, was rendered useless during a war.

The Salonica-Constantinople Junction railway was appropriated partly by the Greek government and partly by the Bulgarian government after the Balkan Wars.

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- (7) La Jonquière, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, v. 2, p. 625
See also: A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, pp. 276-306
Official Year Book of the Vilayet of Salonica for the Year 1904, pp. 508-518
Official Report of the Vilayet of Salonica for the Year 1908 pp. 606-613
- (8) See above, mentioned official reports.
- (9) La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. p. 625, v. 2
- (10) A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, Op. Cit.

The Salonica-Monastir Railway

The concession for a railway from Salonica to Monastir, 220 kms., was given in September 1890 to the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, for a period of 99 years, with the permission to extend it to Durazzo or Avlona on the Adriatic. (11) The capital of the railway company was fixed at 20,000,000 frs. and the kilometric guarantee at 14,400 frs. (12)

After the Balkan Wars, the northern section of the line was taken over by the Serbian government, and the rest by the Greeks.

The Salonica-Monastir completes the series of railways built in Roumelia during the Turkish occupation. They were primarily of military importance to the Empire, and have changed hands before they have proved themselves of great economic value.

(11) La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 625
See also:

A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, pp. 276-306

Official Report of the Vilayet of Salonica for the Year 1904,
pp. 508-518

Official Report of the Vilayet of Salonica for the Year 1908,
pp. 606-613

(12) See the above mentioned Official Reports

Railways in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia

The Smyrna Aidin Railway

The concession of a railway between Smyrna and Aidin was given in September 1856 to a group of British capitalists for a period of (13) 50 years. The government guaranteed an interest of 6% on the capital, 1,200,000 L. sterling. According to the terms of the later conventions of 1861, and 1863, the company and the state agreed to raise the capital to 1,784,000 L. The guarantee was fixed at 112,000 L. at the end of 1909 the line could be appropriated by the government (14) upon the payment of the expenses of initial construction.

The main line Smyrna-Aidin, 130 kms., and the branches Paradise-Boudja, 2 kms. 400, Gazi Emir-Seid Keuy, 1 km-600 were completed (15) in 1866, 1870, and 1876.

A misunderstanding between the government and the company as regards the question of guarantees, resulted in the convention of 1879. The parties concerned agreed upon the following terms: To extend the line to Seraikeuy 101 kms., and add a branch to the main line from Torbali to Tireh, 47 kms. 900. To end the concession in 1910 at the same time as the previous concessions, and lower the guarantee to a

(13) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 393

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 46

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 30

Jastrow, Morris, The War and the Bagdad Railway..... p. 86

La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 626

(14) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 393

La Jonquière Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 626

(15) Official Report of the Vilayet of Aidin for the Year 1908, p. 186

maximum of 34,000 Ltqs. per year. The state reserved itself the right to buy back the newly conceded lines upon the payment of 650,000 L. Sterling. (16) The extensions were opened to traffic in 1882 and 1883. (17)

In 1888 a new convention was agreed upon by Zihni pasha minister of Commerce and Public Works, and Mr. John Eliasco of the Smyrna-Aidin Company. Concessions for several branch lines and further extensions were granted. The mainline was to be extended from Seraikey to Dinar, 145 kms. 500, and branches to be built from Tchatal Kara Agatch to Eudemish, 25 kms. 300, from Baladjik to Seuke, 22 kms., from Bondja Ali to Denizli, 9 kms., and from Sudludje to Tchivril 30 kms. 600. The original concessions were extended for 25 years. In return, the government was freed from future guarantees. (18)

The principal line to its terminus at Dinar was opened in September 1889, its length being 376 kms. 509. The branches Tchatal Kara Agatch-Eudemish, Sudludje-Tchivril, Baladjik-Seuke, and Gondja Ali-Denizli were ready in 1888, 1889, 1891, and 1892 respectively. (19)

The directors of the Smyrna-Aidin railway hoped for a time to extend the line to Kohia, and eventually, to the Persian Gulf, but were met with opposition. They were, however, allowed in 1906 to extend the mainline to Egerdir, and to build a brand to Bordour. The extension

(16) Guinet, *L'Asie Mineure* v. 3 p. 393

(17) Official Report of the Vilayet of Aidin for the Year 1908, p. 186

(18) Guinet, *L'Asie Mineure*, v. 3, p. 393-394
La Jonquière, *Op. Cit.* v. 2, p. 626

(19) Official Report of the Vilayet of Aidin for the Year 1908, p. 186
Guinet, *L'Asie Mineure* v. 3, p. 394

(20)

was completed in 1912. The total length of the railway is 592 kms.

The advent of the Bagdad railway made things hard for the Aidin Company. The further extension of the line was almost impossible. The directors felt that the encroachment of the Germans into what they thought was their own territory, had to be stopped. They objected specially to the agreement between the Anatolian and the Smyrna-Cassaba companies providing for the junction of the two lines at Afiun Kara Hissar, and tariff regulations satisfactory to both sides. They also resented the kilometric guarantee paid by the government to the German

(21)

railways. The British government was appealed to, to protect their rights-. The consequence of this interference was an agreement between the Anatolian and the Smyrna-Aidin companies in June 1914. The English Company was allowed an extension of 200 miles, a junction with the Anatolian railways at Afiun Kara Hissar, and was promised protection against tariff discrimination on the part of other railways. (22)

However, war broke out soon after the agreement, and the scheme could not be carried out.

The Smyrna-Cassaba Railway

A few years after the granting of the concession for the Smyrna-Aidin railway, in July 1863, a new group of British capitalists was allowed to build a line from Smyrna to Cassaba. (23) The government guar-

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- (20) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 87
Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 47
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 91
La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 626
(21) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 189-190
(22) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 260

anted a yearly interest of 5% on the capital, 800,000 L. sterling. (24)

The construction was started soon after and the line Smyrna-Cassaba, 93 kms. 250 was ready for traffic in 1866. The branch (25)
Smyrna-Biron Abad was opened in 1865.

The extension Cassaba-Alashehir, 75 kms., was built by the government between 1872 and 1875, when it was opened to traffic. (26)

The state then handed it over to the Smyrna-Cassaba company under terms that did away with the 5% guarantee, and stipulated the return of the whole line to the Turks in 1891. Unfortunately, the second part of this agreement could not be carried out. In 1885 the state borrowed 500,000 Ltqs. from the firm, conceding to the company the right of exploitation until the money was paid back. The revenues of (27)
the operation were to represent the interests on the loan.

A third convention in 1887 provided for a branch line Manessa-Soma, with the understanding that it was to belong to the company as long as it held the existing lines. In case the government paid the 500,000 Ltqs., it was to have the right to purchase the new branch up- (27)
on payment of 11,250,000 frs.

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- (23) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 47
Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 395
Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 87
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 90
La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 626
(24) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 395
(25) Official Report of the Vilayet of Aidin for the Year 1908, p. 190
(26) Ibid.
Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 47
(27) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 395

The line Manessa-Soma was completed and opened to traffic in
(28)
1890.

In 1893 a group of French financiers applied for the purchase
of the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway. The government was favorably disposed,
(29)
and agreed to cede the whole line to the French firm. Its rep-
resentative George Nagelmackers promised the payment of 36 millions
(30)
frs. to the old company.

The terms of the new concession provided for an extension from
(31)
Alashehir to Afiun Kara Hissar, 252 kms., the exploitation of the
whole line for a period of 99 years, a kilometric guarantee of 19,137
frs. for the extension Alashehir-Afiun Kara Hissar. The tithes on
cereals of the sandjaks of Sarouhan, and Denizli were to be turned
(32)
over to the company to make up the amount guaranteed.

The extension Alashehir-Afiun Kara Hissar was begun in 1895,
and by 1897 the whole line from Smyrna to Afiun Kara Hissar, a distance
(33)
of 420 kms., was ready for traffic.

In 1889 as a result of an agreement between the French Company
and the Anatolian Railway, it was decided to connect the two lines at
Afiun Kara Hissar. There was to be no rate war between the two firms,

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- (28) Official Report of the Vilayet of Aidin for the Year 1908, p. 190
Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 47
(29) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 83
La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 626
Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 47
(30) La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 626
(31) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 84
Earle, Op. Cit. p. 34
La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 626
(32) Guinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 84
(33) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 87
Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 47

and a joint commission was to decide upon a uniform tariff for the
(34)
two railways.

Unfortunately the war in rates could not be prevented. Each company tried to revert the trade of Asia Minor to the port at the terminus of its own line. The trains were scheduled in such a way as to render connections impossible. It was only in 1908 that a friendly
(35)
agreement made through traffic possible.

In 1910 the concession for an extension from Soma to Panderma was given to the French Company. A km. guarantee of 18,800 was prom-
(36)
ised. The branch line was completed and opened to traffic in 1912. It is of great economic and strategic importance. It allows the transportation of the products of the vilayet of Aidin to Constantinople in a short time, and at a low price. In case of war it may be of great use to the army for the defence of the Dardanelles.

The Brousa Moudania Railway

The construction of a railway between Brousa and Mousania was
(37)
decreed by the Sultan in 1871. The building was undertaken by the government, and carried out according to the plans of Wilhem Pressel, from 1874 to 1881. The result was a narrow gauge line, 1 meter 10 in
(38)
width, and 41 kms. 780 in extent. But the line could not be made use of for a long time because of steep gradients, and sharp curves. The engines that had been purchased were too large for the rails. The

(34) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 59-60

(35) Woods, C. H. The Cradle of the War, 1918, p. 280

(36) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 245

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 47

La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 626-627

(37) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 90

(38) Guinet, L'Asie Mineure, v. 4, pp. 80-81

locomotives and other necessities were locked up in hangars, and allowed to rust.

After a waste of 10 years, a French company purchased whatever was left of the line, for 30,000 Ltqs. and obtained the right of exploitation for 99 years. The expenses of reconstruction amounted to (39)
145,650 Ltqs.

(40)
The railway was opened in June 1892. It has no km. guarantee.

The Mersina-Adana Railway

The Mersina-Adana railway was conceded in 1883 to Mehmed Nahid Bey, and Mr. Costaki Theodoridi, for 99 years. These men unable to undertake the constructions ceded their rights to baron Evain de Vandœuvre, who in turn formed an Ottoman Company for the building and exploitation of the line. The Tarsus-Taurus & Adana Railway Company possessed a capital of 165,000 L sterling, divided into 8,250 shares of 20 L. each. Obligations of 100 L each, representing a total of 165,000 L. were issued later. This sum was raised eventually to (41)
185,000 L.

(42)
The railway, 67 kms., was completed in 1886, and run with-

(39) Official Report of the Vilayet of Hudavendigâr for the Year 1908, pp. 276-277

Guinet, L'Asie Mineure, v. 4, p. 80

(40) Ibid. v. 4, p. 81

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 48

Official Report of the Vilayet of Hudavendigâr, p. 276

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 90

La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 627

Woods, The Cradle of the War, pl 280

(41) Guinet, L'Asie Mineure, v. 2, p. 18

(42) Ibid. v. 2, p. 18-20

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 87

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 91

La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 627

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 49

out success for three years. A famine in the spring of 1887, followed by an inundation, caused a decrease in production, and damaged the line. The company was on the verge of bankruptcy. At a meeting of directors held in 1890, a decision was taken in favor of changing the composition of the administration committee. In June, the same year, the board of directors, residing in London, ceded its place to a new board whose seat was to be at Constantinople. This new arrangement proved satisfactory. The costs of exploitation were reduced, and the service was made more regular. (43)

The state has never been in favor of the further development of the railway. When the directors applied in 1892 for an extension from Adana to Eregli, a distance of 92 kms., it was refused to them. (44)

An Anglo-French group bought the line in 1896 and exploited it till 1906, when all its shares were appropriated by the Deutsche Bank. The railway was formally added to the Bagdad system in 1908. (45)

The Anatolian Railways, and the Bagdad Railway

In 1871, Edhem Pasha, Minister of Public Works, in conformance to an irade of Abdul Ariz, ordered the building of a railway between Haider Pasha- and Ismid. (46) The constructions were undertaken under the direction of Wilhelm Pressel from 1871 to 1873, when the line was

(43) Guinet, v, 2, pp. 18-20

(44) La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 627

(45) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 49

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 118

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 87

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 91

La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 627

(46) Guinet, L'Asie Mineure, v. 4, pp. 336-338

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 95

ready for traffic. The government exploited the railway for seven years, then leased it to the English company that controlled the Mersina-Adana Railway for 20 years, reserving itself the right of taking it back at any time. (47)

In 1886, the minister of Public Works suggested to the lessees, the extension of the line to Angora, and eventually to the Persian Gulf. The proposal was renewed in 1888, with the promise of financial support from the Sultan. (48) The exploiters having failed to meet the demands, and the government, in accordance with the terms of the contract, assumed control of the railway, and handed it over to a company (49) financed by the Deutsche Bank of Berlin.

The German firm was required to extend the line to Angora, through the north eastern part of the vilayet of Brousa, and the Poursak valley, touching the cities of Adabazar and Eski Shehir. A km. guarantee of 10,300 frs. for the section Haidar Pasha-Ismid, and of 15,000 frs. for the extension Ismid-Angora was promised by the government. These subsidies were to be provided by the tithes of the sandjaks crossed by the railway, and handed over to the company under the supervision of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. The new exploiters were also given to understand that the Sultan would favor the further extension of the line to Bagdad via Samsoun, Sivas, and Diar- (50) bekir.

(47) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 50

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 31

(48) Ibid. p. 31

(49) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 96

Woods, H. C. The Cradle of the War, p. 277

(50) Guinet, L'Asie Mineure, v. 1, p. 271; v. 4, p. 79

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 96 (continued on next page)

The Société Ottoman du Chemin de Fer d'Anatolie was formed soon after. With the intention of securing British help and the co-operation of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration Sir Vincent Caillard was elected to the board of directors. The Bank für Orientalischen Eisenbahnen was founded at Zurich, and a loan of 80,000,000 frs. was floated in the European securities market. (51)

The constructions were inaugurated in June 1889, and were undertaken by the Société Vitale. (52) The 577 kms. 718 to Angora were completed and opened to traffic in 1893. (53)

In 1893 the company obtained the concession of an extension from Angora to Kaiseri 410 kms. with a km. guarantee of 17825 frs. and a line from Eski Shehir to Konia, 444 kms., with a km. guarantee of 13,892 frs. to be paid under the supervision of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration. (54)

The branch Eski Shehir-Konia was completed in 1896, and in 1908 connected to the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway at Afiun Kara Hissar. (55) The extension Angora-Kaiseri was rendered impossible partly by engineering

Woods, The Cradle of the War, pp. 277-278

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 31

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 50

(51) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 32

(52) Guinet, v. 1, p. 271; v. 4, p. 338

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 831

(53) Guinet, L'Asie Mineure, v. 4, p. 340

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 32

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 83

(54) Guinet, v. 4, p. 83

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 83

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 33

(55) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 97

Woods, The Cradle of the War, p. 279-280

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 33

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 83

Ravndal, p. 51

(56)

difficulties and lack of funds, and partly by Russian opposition. Russia then the mistress of north eastern Europe, considered northern Asia Minor her future property, and reserved to herself the right to build railways within that district. Furthermore, it was evident that the line would be continued as far east as Diarbekir, and she could not tolerate a German built railway so near her Trans-Caucasian border.

The success of the Anatolian railway, and the friendly attitude of the Kaiser's government, strengthened the position of Germans within the Ottoman Empire. They soon received most favored nation treatment. In 1899 a German Commission left Constantinople to survey the possibilities of a line from Konia following the ancient highway across the Taurus mountains, the Cilician Gates, and the Amanus range to Aleppo and Mousoul, and from Mousoul to Bagdad. Their reports and plans were approved of by the Sultan; a preliminary agreement was reached between Dr. Siemens of the Deutsche Bank, and the Turkish government. (57)

The undertaking involved tremendous responsibility and expenses. The Anatolian Railway Company did not feel itself equal to the task. International support, both political and financial, was absolutely necessary. A new company had to be formed, to carry out the scheme in cooperation with the Anatolian Company. La Société du Chemin de Fer de Bagdad thus came into being, and was incorporated as an Ottoman Company

(56) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 96
Woods, p. 278

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 51
(57) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 83-84
Earle, Op. Cit. p. 34, 92
Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 52
Woods, The Cradle of the War, p. 282
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 97

(58)

in 1903. Its capital was fixed at 15,000,000 frs.

The internationalization of the railway was not an easy task. Every Power invited to participate in the enterprise had her particular grievances against Germany, and found it necessary to oppose her schemes. It was a long time before all differences were settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

The Russians were the first to settle their accounts. The Black Sea Basin agreement signed by the representatives of the Turkish Government in 1900, involved the promise that the railway scheme from Angora to Bagdad via Diarbekir would be given up, and no railway concessions in northern Asia Minor would be granted without the approval of the Tzar. Thus Russian opposition to the German railway, via south-
(59)
ern Asia Minor, was eliminated for a time.

England and France were not easily pacified. Even though they were favorably disposed at the start, and showed willingness to participate in the enterprise, they grew suspicious as soon as the terms of the convention of 1903 were made known. According to this convention a trunk line was to be built from Konia to the Persian Gulf, with branches in Syria and Mesopotamia. The concession for the Bagdad railway was to last 99 years, and that of the Anatolian railway to be extended so as to end at the same time. The new line was to be built in sections of 200 kms., and to be completed within 8 years. The company

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- (58) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 84, 93
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 97
Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 70, 92
(59) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 90
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 103

was to receive 275,000 frs. in Imperial bonds for every kilometer built. 350,000 frs. were to be reimbursed within thirty years to the Anatolian Company for any improvements she might undertake to initiate a through express service from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf. Beginning with the opening of the mainline to Aleppo the express service was to be subsidized at the rate of 350,000 frs. per

(60)

year. The Bagdad Railway Company was to receive an annuity of 4,500 frs. per kilometer to meet the expenses of exploitation, and a km. guarantee of 11,000 frs. for every kilometer completed and ex-

(61)

ploited. The excess of profit up to 10,000 frs. was to go to the state, and that over 10,000 frs. to be divided between the government and the company, 60% going to the state, and 40% to the firm. Loans amounting to 54,000,000 frs. were to be issued by the government for each section of the line, and interest on these loans was to be pro-

(62)

vided by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration.

Necessary lands were to be turned over to the railway company free of cost and taxation; wood and timber to be cut from state forests without compensation; mines within a zone of 20 kms. on each side of the line to be operated by the exploiters; material for constructions, and operation to be imported free of customs duties; factories, ware-

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- (60) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 71, 77, 78
Jastrow, Op. Cit. pp. 85, 86, 92
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 97
Woods, Op. Cit. p. 283
La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 630
(61) La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 635
Woods, Op. Cit. p. 284
(62) Jastrow, Op. Cit. pp. 92-93
Earle, Op. Cit. p. 77

houses, and all necessary buildings to be erected along the line, and ports at Bagdad, Basra and the Persian Gulf terminus. The concessionaires were also to have the right of navigation on the Mesopotamian rivers during the period of construction. (63)

In return for all the enumerated promises, permissions, and concessions, the Turkish government stipulated the return of the line and everything connected with it, at the end of 99 years, free of all debt and liability; required the employment of Turkish citizens in all, but the highest posts; supervision of constructions, the maintainance, and operation of the line by the Ministry of Public Works. The company was further bound not to transport foreign mail, or enter into any sort of contract with foreign post offices without the approval of the government; to take all disputes in which she was involved before the Turkish courts; to carry on all correspondence with the state in the Turkish language. As a guarantee of the execution of these engagements the firm was to deposit L. 30,000 at an appointed bank. (64)

When the British realized that the convention of 1903 provided no compensation for encroachment upon their rights, they forced Mr. Balfour to give up negotiating as regards British participation. (65) (66)

(63) Ibid. pp. 78-81

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 95

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 97

Woods, Op. Cit. p. 283

(64) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 95

Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 81, 82, 84

(65) The British had a right of priority on railways in south eastern Asia Minor, their lines being there first, and a monopoly of navigation on the Mesopotamian rivers.

(66) Jastrow, p. 102

Accordingly the agreement which provided for equal ownership of the line together with the Germans and the French was given up. (67)

The French assumed a neutral attitude at the beginning, because the Imperial Ottoman Bank was invited to participate in the enterprise, and they were assured of as much control over the railway as the Germans. To win the favor of French financiers, the Anatolian Railway Company entered into an agreement with the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company in 1899, promised to stop the war in rates, to agree upon a uniform tariff, and undertake the junction of the two lines at Afium (68)

Karahissar. But the convention of 1903 was received in France with distrust in spite of all attempts at friendship. Delcassé was accused of having helped the Germans to obtain concessions unfavorable to his country. The Chamber refused to include the Bagdad Railway stock in the list on the Bourse. (69) But public opinion in France was divided.

On the one side the patriots were strongly opposed to any cooperation with the Germans, their enemies, and looked at the railway scheme as a menace to their own interests in the Near East. On the other side a number of financiers felt that opposition to the German enterprise would be detrimental to their own investments and institutions in the Levant, while cooperation, or at least a friendly neutrality might bring handsome returns. This last view was also shared by far sighted students of foreign affairs. Consequently, a French syndicate sub-

(67) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 93

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 104

(68) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 59-60

(69) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 102

Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 94, 159

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 104

scribed to a large percentage of the Bagdad bonds in spite of the
(70)
national opposition.

The Bagdad Railway Company was not disheartened by her failure to obtain British financial cooperation. An international syndicate headed by the Deutsche Bank subscribed to 80%, and both the Turkish government, and the Anatolian Railway to 10% of the stock. The Board of Directors of eleven members was increased to twenty seven members, of which eight were Germans elected by the Deutsche Bank, three Germans representing the Anatolian Railway Company, eight French appointed by the Imperial Ottoman Bank, four Ottomans, two Swiss, one Austrian, one
(71)
Italian.

The loan of 54,000,000 frs. necessary for the first section of the line were underwritten in spite of international opposition, and
(72)
constructions started in 1903. The railway from Konia to
(73)
Boulgourlou was completed in October 1904. Out of the 54,000,000
(74)
frs. the company was able to save 3,697,000 frs. However works had to be stopped. The allowance for the next section was not enough to defray the costs of construction across the Taurus Mountains and the
(75)
Amanus range, and under the terms of the convention of 1903 loans were to be floated for one section at a time.

(70) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 157-169

(71) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 93

(72) Ibid. p. 94

(73) Ibid. p. 94

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 107

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 52

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 98

Woods, Op. Cit. p. 284

(74) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 94

(75) Ibid. p. 94

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 98

Woods, Op. Cit. p. 286

It was only in 1908 that the government found itself in a position to subsidize the constructions. The second and third series of the Imperial Ottoman Bagdad Railway Four Per Cent Loans, amounting to 127,000,000 frs., were issued by the state, and underwritten by a (76) Franco-German Syndicate in 1909. The extension of the line from Bulgurlu to El Helif was authorized, and works resumed shortly after.

In 1910 an agreement was reached between Russia and Germany. In return to Russia's promise not to oppose the building of the Bagdad Railway, Germany bound herself to respect the terms of the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, which provided for peaceful relations between the two empires in Persia. Russia was to build a railway from Teheran to Hanikin, the terminus of a branch of the Bagdad Railway. Through international traffic was to be established along both lines, and tariff discriminations to be strictly discouraged. In case Russia failed to construct the Teheran-Hanikin Railway, German financiers was to be entitled to its concession. (77)

Financial difficulties within the Empire, the refusal of the European Powers to sanction the increase of Ottoman customs duties from 11 to 14% ad valorem, and the impossibility of a foreign loan, necessitated a new convention in 1911. The Turkish government announced that she could grant no more railway concessions carrying guarantees. The Company made no objections. She agreed to build the branch line

(76) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 96-97

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 52

(77) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 239-240

La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 651

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 105

Woods, Op. Cit. p. 298

Osmanieh-Alexandretta, and the extension El Helif-Bagdad without any subsidy from the state. She also renounced the extension of the line from Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, and the privileges having to do with ports at Basra and the Persian Gulf. But if the construction of the renounced section was ever desired in the future, its concession was to be given only to an Ottoman Company, owned and controlled by an International Syndicate, in which the Deutsche Bank was to have a share equal to that of any other foreign group. The government also promised the exclusive right for port and terminal facilities at Alexandretta, to the Haidar Pasha Port Company, for a period of 99 years. This German firm was to appropriate necessary public and private lands (78) free of costs and taxes.

The last obstacles on the way of the Bagdad Railway were removed during the years that followed the agreement with Russia. At the Anglo-Turkish and the Anglo-German conventions of 1914 the British promised to withdraw their opposition to the German enterprises, to undertake no railway construction in competition with the Bagdad Railway, and to authorize the increase of the Ottoman customs duties from 11% to 15% ad valorem. Germany and Turkey recognized British supremacy in the Persian Gulf, and their monopoly of navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates. But the Shatt el Arab was to be open to ocean going ships of all nations. The German railway was to have its terminus at Basra, and no discrimination was to be made by the company against

(78) Woods, Op. Cit. p. 295
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 105
Ravndal, Op. Cit. pp. 52-53
Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 111-112, 228-229
La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 649-650

British subjects, and goods. Two British members were to be added to the board of directors of the Bagdad Railway. In return the economic rights of Germany in Anatolia, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia were to be admitted.
(79)

The Franco-German convention of 1914 was not less fruitful. Northern Anatolia and Syria were recognized as spheres of French influence and the districts traversed by the Bagdad and Anatolian railways spheres of German influence for purposes of railway development. Each power agreed to respect the existing concessions of the other, and not to interfere in any way within the sphere of the other. The Turkish government was allowed to increase her revenues sufficiently to finance in equal proportions projected French and German railways. The Deutsche Bank promised to pay 69,400,000 frs. for the shares of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in the Bagdad Railway and subsidiary enterprises.
(80)

Unfortunately for the European Powers, but fortunately for Turkey, war broke out before the agreements of 1910-1914 wiped the Turkish state from the map of the world.

In the meantime constructions were progressing slowly, but steadily. During 1910 and 1911 rails were laid from Adana west to the Taurus Mountains, and east to the Amanus range. Sections east of Aleppo reached the Euphrates River the following year, and the branch line to Alexandretta was ready for traffic in 1913. To eliminate

(79) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 262-264, 255-256
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 107
(80) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 248
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 107

financial difficulties, the Deutsche Bank sold its shares in the Macedonian and Oriental Railways to an Austro-Hungarian Syndicate. (81)

At the outbreak of the war the line ran continuously from Konia to Karabounar 300 kms. Then came a break of 42 kms. at the Taurus Mts. Between these mountains and the Amanus, the railway ran through Adana to Osmanieh, 114 kms., with two branches Adana-Mersine, 67 kms., and Toprak Kale-Alexandretta, 60 kms. The Radjous-Aleppo-Djerablous section, 202 kms., between the Amanus range and the Euphrates, was completed; that of Djerablous to a point between the Tigris and the Euphrates, 110 kms., and the Samara-Bagdad sections, 120 kms. were nearly finished. A bridge was thrown across the Euphrates, and the Amanus tunnels were begun. The line was thus nearly finished except for two short mountain sections, and 300 miles down the Tigris and Euphrates valley to Bagdad. (82)

Constructions were carried on during the war. The Bagtche Tunnel was pierced in 1915. Mountain sections between Bulgurlu and Adana, and those across the Amanus were completed in 1918. Through service from Konia to Aleppo was inaugurated in October the same year. (83)

The Konia-Adana line ran as far as Nisibin, and Bagdad-Samara as far as Tikrit. (84)

(81) Ibid. p. 98

Earle, Op. Cit. p. 113

(82) La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 630-631

Cheyney, Op. Cit. pp. 98-99

Earle, p. 113

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 53

(83) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 289

Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 53

(84) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 99

At the end of the war the Allies constituted themselves the heirs of all German enterprises in Turkey. But it was hard to divide the spoils, specially the Bagdad Railway. Age long jealousies were revived, and diplomatic conflicts darkened the pacified horizon. Happily the parties concerned were not in a position to fight over the lion's share, and reluctantly sanctioned the treaty concluded at Angora between France and Turkey in 1921. The Konia-Nisibin section (85) of the railway was to remain within Turkish territory, and the line as far as Bozanti to be operated by the Turkish government. A French group was to exploit the railway and branches from Bozanti to Nisibin. The rest of the line, the Mesopotamian section, was to be (86) operated by the British Civil Administration for Irak.

In 1922, the Bozanti-Nisibin section was handed over for exploitation to La Société d'Exploitation de Chemins de Fer de Cilicie- (87) Nord Syrie.

The Kemalist government assumed control of the Anatolian Railway at the end of the Turco-Greek war. In 1924 the National Assembly voted its purchase from the Germans and its exploitation without the employment of any foreign agency. The final transactions have not taken place as yet. But repairs and improvements are under way. A sleeping car service between Constantinople and Angora was inaugurated

(85) With the exception of a short section through Aleppo which lies within the French Mandate for Syria. (Earle, Op. Cit. p. 352)

(86) Earle, Op. Cit. pp. 325-326

(87) Ibid. p. 326

(88)
in 1923. Two daily train services were established between the two capitals in 1924, and the journey reduced first from three days to twenty six hours, and later to fifteen hours. (89)

The Erzeroum-Kars Railway

The Turkish government came into possession of the Erzeroum Kars railway at the end of the Great War. The line consists of two sections.

The Sari-Kamish-Kars-Kizil Tchaktchak-Russian frontier section was built by the Russian government when these districts were part of the Russian Empire. The Sari Kamish-Erzeroum-Kara Biyik section was built during the war by the Russians.

The first section of this railway is of the Russian type, 1.55 meter wide, the second is a narrow gauge line, 75 centimeters in width. (90)

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- (88) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 51
(89) Current History Magazine edited by the New York Times Sept. 1924, p. 1047
(90) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 55

RAILWAYS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway

A Franco-Belgian company was given the first railway concession in the Arabian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In 1888 the firm obtained permission to connect Jaffa and Jerusalem by a narrow gauge railway, 86 kms. 630 in extent. The constructions were begun in 1890. In 1892 the line was completed and opened to traffic, under the admin-
(91)
istration of Turkish officials.

This railway is joined to the Syrian system by a branch line
(92)
from Lydda to a point on the Haifa-Deraa line.

The Beyrut-Damascus Railway

The concessions for the Beyrut-Damascus railway, 130 kms. were obtained in 1891 by a French society. It was built by the Société
(93)
des Batignoles from 1892 to 1894.

In 1891 a Belgian company was allowed to build a line from Damascus to Mezrib. This firm then combined with the Ottoman Beyrut-
(94)
Damascus Railway company, and the constructions were undertaken
(95)
from 1892-1894.

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- (91) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 30
La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 631
Guinet, Syrie, Liban et Palestine p. 609
Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 104
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 92
(92) Ibid. p. 92
(93) La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 631
Guinet, Op. Cit. p. 42
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 91
(94) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 92
(95) Guinet, Op. Cit. p. 42
Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 105

Both the Damascus-Beyrut and the Damascus-Mezrib lines are
(96)
narrow gauged, being 1.05 meter in width.

The Rayak-Hama-Aleppo Railway

The Rayak-Hama-Aleppo railway 550 kms. was conceded to a
French company in 1893, and was opened to traffic in 1906. The line
(97)
carries a kilometric guarantee of 13,600 frs.

This railway is connected to the Damascus-Beyrut line at
Rayak. A short line from Tripoli to Homs on the Aleppo-Rayak line
(98) (99)
was completed in 1908. It carried no kilometric guarantee.

All the above mentioned lines except the Jaffa-Jerusalem were
(100)
exploited by the Chemin de Fer Damas-Hamah et Prolongement.

The Haifa-Deraa Line

(101)
The Haifa-Deraa line was chartered by the government in 1880,
and foreign companies were invited to apply for its concession.

A British Company obtained concessions for the building and ex-
ploitation of the railway in 1891, and built some of its sections in
(102)
1892-1895.

A British firm known as the Syria Ottoman Railway Company was

(96) La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 631

(97) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 34
La Jonquière, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 631, 634

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 92

Woods, Op. Cit. p. 303

Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 105

(98) Cheyney, Op. Cit. pp. 91-92

(99) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 106

Woods, Op. Cit. p. 304

(100) La Jonquière, v. 2, p. 631

(101) Cheyney, Op. Cit. 92

(102) Guinet, Op. Cit. p. 43

Cheyney, Op. Cit. 92

authorized to establish a system of navigation on the Tiberiade Lake for the transport of railway passengers and merchandise, and to build ports and quays at Haifa or Acre within a period of four years. But the company was slow in its constructions, and failed to give satisfactory reasons for this retard when questioned by the government in (103)

1895. The works were then taken over by the state and completed in 1905. The line was opened to traffic administered by a French (104) syndicate.

Upon the advent of the Hedjaz Railway the Haifa-Deraa line was (105) taken back by the government and considered part of the new railway.

The Hedjaz Railway

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Abdul Hamid, the last of the despotic Sultans, conceived the brilliant idea of strengthening his position in Syria, Palestine and Arabia by means of a railway. The enormous sums necessary for such an enterprise were not readily available, and the treasury was overburdened with foreign loans. Why not advertize the railway as a necessity to the millions of pilgrims who visited the tomb of the prophet every year, and request Mohammedans all over the world to contribute towards its building? As their spiritual leader the Calif, then, appealed to all the Muslims. He opened the campaign with 250,000 \$ from his personal allowance, and subjected all the civil and military officials of the empire to a 10% levy on their salary. Special medals of nickel, silver and gold were ordered

(103) Guinet, Op. Cit. p. 43

(104) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 105

Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 92

(105) Ibid. p. 92

(106)

and later distributed to all subscribers.

Strange to say, the Muslim world responded with enthusiasm.

Three and a half million dollars were received by 1914. The contri-
(107)
butions eventually amounted to almost fifteen million dollars.

The railway was built under the direction of Meissner Pasha
(108)
from 1901 to 1908. Italian engineers were invited at the beginn-
ing to take charge of the constructions, but were later replaced by
(109)
Muslims trained for the work. The army provided the workmen.
(110)

The line Damascus-Medina was opened to traffic in 1908.
Unfortunately constructions had to be discontinued shortly after on
account of the Young Turk revolution.

The railway had two small branches running from Bosra to Deraa,
(111) (112)
22 miles, and from Amman to Sault, 25 miles.

The Syrian railways and the Hedjaz Railway suffered greatly during the war. The Tripoli-Homs line, part of the Jaffa-Jerusalem, and the extension Damascus-Deraa were dismantled by the Turkish government, the rails being used for urgent military railways such as the El-Fule-Lydd-Jerusalem-Beersheba. These in turn were destroyed by the British

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- (106) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 27
La Jonquiere, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 631
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 94
(107) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 27
(108) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 94
Woods, Op. Cit. p. 305
(109) Earle, p. 27
(110) Ibid. p. 27
(111) Woods, Op. Cit. p. 305
(112) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 94

(113)

army. The southern section of the Hedjaz Railway was partly demolished by the Arab tribes who had always been hostile to the building of the line. (114)

At present, the Syrian railways are run by the French syndicate that exploited them during the Turkish administration. The Hedjaz Railway is operated jointly by the British and the French. (115)

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- (113) Jastrow, Op. Cit. p. 105
Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 93
Woods, Op. Cit. p. 305
(114) Cheyney, Op. Cit. p. 94
(115) Earle, Op. Cit. p. 302

As has already been suggested, the underlying motives that lead foreign capitalists to apply for the construction of railways in Turkey, and the Sultan to grant the demanded concession were primarily political. It was in the interest of Abdul Hamid to favor the building of a line from Constantinople to Bagdad, for such a railway would facilitate the suppression of rebellions in eastern Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia. It was also in his interest to propose the Hedjaz Railway, that would give him control not only of his own subjects, but also of the Muslim world. The railways in Roumelia were necessary, if the Balkan provinces were to be subjected. The Young Turks encouraged railway development with the same intentions.

The aim of foreigners was the introduction of their civilization, and eventually of their rule into different parts of the Ottoman Empire. This was true of the Germans when they obtained their concessions in Anatolia, of the Austrian in Roumelia, of the French in Syria, and of the British schemes concerning the Mesopotamian railways.

If the Turkish government, and foreign capitalists had considered the interest of the population rather than their own ambitions, the railways would have been extended into the interior of Anatolia, and been distributed in equal proportions all over the country. There are two railways that run parallel to each other in south western Asia Minor, while there are none in the eastern and the greater part of the northern districts of the peninsula. Railways built primarily for the economic development of the empire would have been constructed through inhabited districts rather than deserted country. There are stations along the Oriental line named after the villages of Buyuk Tchekmedje

and Kutchuk Tchekmedje. There is no habitation anywhere near the stations, the villages themselves lying at a distance. The same thing is true of Vulgurlu on the Bagdad Railway and various other stations. It might be said that the extension of the railway to these villages would have meant more expenses. But it would also have meant their development, and eventually more traffic.

It is the contention of foreign critics that kilometric guarantees are a burden to the state, and detrimental to the further development of the railways. It is their belief that only such railways as possess no guarantees are profitable to the state and to their shareholders. But are these statements true to facts? Will the directors of a company be lead to neglect their business because its receipts are guaranteed? Is there any financier who does not aspire for a greater income than that which he already possesses?

The conventions of guaranteed railways provide for the division of the surplus of gain between the state and the firm. Is it conceivable that a firm will keep down its receipts when higher returns are available? These same agreements further stipulate the return of subsidized railways to the state at the end of a certain period. The conventions of lines free of guarantee, such as those of the Smyrna-Aidin railway, have no such provisions. The state does not share in their receipts and has no hope of appropriating them for an indefinite period. Does this being of no burden to the state mean being a source of revenue to her?

Foreign financiers were reluctant about investing their capital in a country as unstable as 19th century Turkey. But the country was

in great need of foreign capital for her railways. Was it not in the interest of the Turkish government to offer European investors the most favorable terms possible?

The Turkish railways have been criticized by travellers as (116) slow, uncomfortable, and even unsuccessful. Mention has been (117) made of the single tracks, and simple station buildings, of the lack of landing facilities at port terminals, and the scarcity of (118) passengers. It has even been said that far from stimulating and developing industries, railways have destroyed roads and ruined villages in their vicinity. They have produced greater stagnation and (119) poverty in the remoter districts of the empire.

Such unfavorable reports might have been true of the years immediately following the building of railways. No enterprise is faultless when it is first started. But in the long run they have proved to be of utmost value to the state. They have introduced civilization into the backward districts of the empire. They have stimulated the peasants to use modern methods of agriculture in their farms. Production has increased, commerce and industry have developed. The fact that their yearly receipts have increased steadily, is an evidence of

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- (116) Woods, Op. Cit. pp. 299-301
A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, pp. 276-306
Walker, Mrs. Op. Cit. pp. 290
Reinach, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 151
Chirol, Op. Cit. p. 105
Blunt, Op. Cit. p. 286
(117) Walker, Op. Cit. pp. 290-129-131
A Handbook of Turkey in Europe, pp. 276-306
(118) De Launay, Op. Cit. p. 127
Walker, Op. Cit. pp. 129-131
(119) Elliott, Op. Cit. p. 355

the success of the Turkish railways.

(120)

Yearly receipts per km. of Ottoman railways

	<u>1897</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1906</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1914</u>
frs.					
Smyrna-Aidin	17522	15153	15847	16750	
Smyrna-Alashehir.....	13594	15442	15937	18670	
Alashehir-Karahissar..	3063	4754	5639	7295	
Oriental-Railways.....	8026	8846	11813	17507	
Moudania-Brousa	5070	6826	8626	11581	
Mersina-Adana.....		7043	9419	20509	
Haider Pasha-Angora...	13428	12946	12263	17103	
Eski Shehir-Konia.....	6100	5434	6156	11366	
Bagdad Railway			1368	3370	8177

The future prosperity of Turkey depends upon the perfection of her railway system. The country is poor, and therefore in need of foreign capital. But past experiences have proved that economic interests are often accompanied by political aspirations. It is the intention of the present government to make as little use as possible of non-Turkish capital, and whenever such funds are necessary, to eliminate the investors whose motives are dangerous to the peace and well being of the Republic.

(120) Rey, Alexis, Statistique des Principaux Résultats de l'Exploitation des Chemins de Fer de L'Empire Ottoman, (1899-1913)

ACCOMMODATION OF TRAVELLERS

Of all the problems which confront the traveller during his wandering in different parts of the world, none is as difficult to solve in advance as that of accommodations. Each nation has its own ideas of comfort, and its own standards of living, which it has developed in the course of time to meet its particular needs. These ideas and standards may or may not clash with those of other peoples, but they are never identical with them. The tourist, therefore, leaves his country with the understanding that he will have to adapt himself to new situations, to respect the customs, and so far as possible live the life of those with whom he comes into contact. These are the only means of insuring his happiness, and rendering his adventure a success.

The problem of accommodations and travel facilities, as applied to the Turkish Empire, was perhaps more puzzling than it was in other parts of Europe, because of the greater divergences in customs, and standards of living. But even there, as elsewhere, the human mind was capable of meeting the situation, with the result that the less exigent among the Western tourists, by meeting the Turks half way in their demands, discovered the means to comfort and safety, during their sojourn among them.

Among the various means, the possession of which rendered travel a comparatively pleasant experience in Turkey, the Firman was perhaps the most efficient. This order issued by the Sultan through the mediation of an ambassador, entitled the traveller to the protection of

governors and other officials, to escorts, travel facilities, board, and lodging throughout the Empire. He was therefore advised to obtain one, as soon as he reached Constantinople, and to be sure (1) to have his name and destination specified in it.

The firman was a most effective weapon in most parts of the Empire. Customs officials who threatened the stranger with the bastinado because he refused to pay superfluous tolls, permitted him to continue on his journey as soon as they saw the seal of the (2) Sultan. Governors applied the order respectfully to their forehead, then kissed it, and declared themselves the slave of the Sultan's slave. (3) Peasants who had been reluctant about opening their houses to travellers, changed their attitude almost instantaneously upon seeing the document. The newcomers were then "surrounded with (4) people offering ... all sorts of provisions, apologies."

But there are exceptions to every rule. There were places, even in the Ottoman Empire, where the Sultan's order was ineffective. Certain people found a way of refusing the demanded help, without committing themselves in the least. In 1700 a traveller was confronted with difficulty at Kars because the town was not mentioned

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- (1) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 445
Handbook, Op. Cit. 1840, p. 257
Boulden, Op. Cit. p. 99
Quétin, Op. Cit. p. 6
Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 69
(2) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 742
(3) Woods, Op. Cit. p. 203
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 757
(4) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 205

(5)
in his firman. In 1739 another traveller was given to understand, at Eski Hissar, that his papers were useless because they were issued by the Sultan and not by the governor of that particular province. The authorities of Eski Hissar were not, therefore, bound to
(6)
accommodate him. Fortunately, such occurrences were quite unusual, and a small sum of money was enough to smooth down all differences.

The European may have experienced all sorts of inconveniences during his journey in Turkey, but only under very unusual circumstances did he have to complain about the reception that was extended to him when he sought the hospitality of an Ottoman citizen. "In no instances", wrote a traveller during the 18th century, "do the Oriental manners shew these people in so amiable a light, as in their discharge of the duties of hospitablity... The great forget the insolence of power to the stranger under their roof, and only preserve a dignity so tempered by humanity, that it solely commands.....

(7)
grateful respect". The lesser individuals were as well disposed towards their guests as the great. The very best in their homes was
(8)
set aside for the use of their visitors.

The life of his guest was sacred to the Oriental. He was bound to protect him from all evils so long as he was sheltered beneath his roof. Any breach to this code was considered a sin. Whoever was accused of it was looked down upon by the rest of the com-

(5) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 128-132

See also, Slade, Op. Cit. pp. 118-119

(6) Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 671, 686

See also, Leake, Op. Cit. p. 16

(7) Wood, Op. Cit. p. 203

(8) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 32

(9)
munity.

It is true that Westerners failed to find in Turkey the inns which they were accustomed to meet at every step along the roads of Western and Central Europe. But they never had any difficulty about finding a place where they could spend the night. All along the Ottoman highways, even during the 19th century, the foreigner could not help but observe, and make use of, the magnificent hans, fountains, baths, and hospitals, erected by the Sultans, and by the richer families of the Empire for the comfort of travellers.

Hans were found in every part of the Empire, in large cities as well as in smaller towns and villages, along the most frequented highways, as well as along the lesser roads. In fact the Turkish government was commended even in 1800 "for the part it takes towards the building and furnishing of those hospitable inns for the comfort of the weary and benighted traveller; who would otherwise often perish on uninhabited and dangerous roads, and the more dangerous passages over trackless deserts".
(10)

Hans varied in size and architecture, according to the locality within which they were erected. The kervanserais in large cities, and along the postal roads were stately edifices built of cut stone under the supervision of the best architects of the time. They were usually constructed around a court in the center of which was a little mosque, or the loveliest marble fountains.

The 180 public hans were numbered among the most important in-

(9) Ibid. v. 2, p. 84
(10) Galland, *On the City*, p. 66

(11)
stitutions of Constantinople. Each of them was capable of accomodating from 50-1000 persons. Stables and warehouses surrounded their courts. Travellers had their special quarters in two or three ranges of galleries above the stables, partitioned into small rooms. Each merchant was allowed the sole possession of his room as long as he remained in the city. (12) Similar hans were also found in other cities of the Empire, like Adrianople, Damascus, Brousa, Jerusalem. (13) Even some of the smaller towns boasted of kervanserais built like cloisters, with small chambered galleries around a court, a fountain in the center, and perhaps a coffee house. (14) The structures at the mouth of dangerous passes and in Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia were also of the same nature. (15) All these buildings were provided with iron gates, which afforded protection against fire, and insurrections. (16)

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- (11) The Modern Traveller, Op. Cit. pp. 147-149
Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 339
Monroe, Op. Cit. pp. 226-227
- (12) Ibid.
The Modern Traveller, Op. Cit. pp. 147-149
Petridge, Op. Cit. p. 549
Boué, Op. Cit. pp. 282-283, v. 2
- (13) Ibid. v. 2, p. 282
Official Report Vilayet Adrianople, 1894, pp. 277-278
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 160
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 306
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 428
- (14) Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 214
Careri, Op. Cit. p. 819
Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 238
- (15) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 288
- (16) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 340
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 160
Modern Traveller, Op. Cit. pp. 147-149
Monroe, Op. Cit. pp. 226-227

But all hans were not of the above description. Some of them were merely rectangular or square buildings having no courts or stables. Travellers and merchants left their horses, camels, and merchandise in the center of a large hall. A ledge about three feet high, and four to five feet wide separated the men from the beasts. They cooked, ate, and slept on this platform. Ventilation was secured by means of chimneys built at eight feet intervals all along the walls. (17)

There was no privacy in these kervanserais, the only "curtain to shield one from people's eyes (being).... such as may be afforded by the darkness of the night". (18)

Even the largest hans lacked the comforts afforded by Western inns. They were devoid of furniture because Oriental merchants and travellers were in the habit of carrying their bedding and other necessities with them. Europeans were therefore obliged to follow their example, and learn how to cook their own meals. But kervanserais, unlike inns, were open to strangers from all parts of the world, of every religion, profession, rank, and quality. They lodged there gratuitously, as long as they wanted, and were never reproached, should they leave without recompensing the hankeeper with

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- (17) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 97
Careri, Op. Cit. p. 59
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 202
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 265; v. 2, p. 307
Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 526, 656
Hughes, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 174
Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 191
(18) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 98
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. pp. 202-203

(19)

a small present.

In the earlier days all classes of travellers were also entertained at institutions supported by charitable legacies, known as Imarets. These were "fine convenient buildings, with separate bedrooms", where no one "was refused admittance, whether he be Christian or Jew, whether he be rich or a beggar". All transients received free food and lodging in these establishments for three or more days.

(20)

Imarets still exist in certain parts of Turkey. But they are no longer used for the accommodation of travellers, and serve meals only to the poor.

(21)

In many parts of the Ottoman Empire coffee houses were almost as popular as hans and imarets as "the resting places of benighted travellers, of houseless poor, of all in short who choose".

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- (19) Hughes, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 174
Petridge, Op. Cit. p. 549
Modern Traveller, Op. Cit. pp. 147-149
Handbook, 1840, Op. Cit. p. 134
Handbook, 1854, Op. Cit. pp. 19-20
Careri, Op. Cit. pp. 59, 101
Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 339
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 307
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. pp. 203-203
Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 305
(20) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 98-99
Biddulph, William Part of a Letter, p. 281
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. P. 211, 212
Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 307
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 38; v. 2, p. 308
Gédoyn "Le Turc", Journal et Correspondance p. 125
Sonnini, C. S. Voyage en Grece et en Turquie, v. 2, pp. 329-330
(21) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 66
Official Report, Vilayet of Adrianople, 1901, p. 915

They were usually wooden buildings "covering considerable ground, with a large piazza, or, rather, projecting roof all around it. Inside and out there was a raised platform against the wall". (23)

People sat cross-legged on these benches, drinking coffee out of little cups, smoking their tchibouks (pipes), or their nargile. The nargile consists of "a leathern tube several yards in length and flexible as a snake, the one end of which is placed in a glass globe filled with water; above the globe is the pipe-head filled with tobacco, so that the smoke is drawn from the amber mouth-piece through the water, and thereby cooled, and made more agreeable to the taste." (24)

Coffee houses were built at the loveliest spots in towns and villages, usually near a brook or a sparkling fountain. They sometimes provided eggs, milk, and bread as well as coffee. But, ordinarily, these provisions had to be obtained elsewhere. (25) (26)

Europeans were very well received, when they chose a coffee house for their resting place. They enjoyed the quiet atmosphere. (27)

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- (22) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 5 also pp. 4, 179
See also, Careri, Op. Cit. p. 57
Stephens, Greece, Turkey, Russia, v. 1, p. 158
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 682
Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 280, 295-297
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 276
- (23) Stephens, Greece, Turkey, Russia, v. 1, p. 155
Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 395-297
Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 72
- (24) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 212
See also, Leake, Op. Cit. p. 3
- (25) Handbook, 1840, p. 135
Handbook, 1854, p. 20
- (26) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 297
- (27) Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 83

phere, and the friendly gossip. They got acquainted with ordinary people, which constitute the bulk of a nation, and had "a better opportunity of observing their humors and customs, than in any other place".⁽²⁸⁾ And when the cahvedji was wealthy enough to entertain his guests with music,⁽²⁹⁾ the stranger was sure he had learned more about the psychology of the Orient than he would have learned among the richer, and therefore, less representative classes.

Even though the broad-minded traveller had no scruple about sharing the han, the imaret, or the coffee house with the Turk, and to associate with him, he was naturally inclined to prefer the hospitality of those whose social and religious habits were more understandable to him. Embassies, consulates, monasteries, and Christian houses were, therefore, more to his liking, and he sought their shelter whenever he could.

Ambassadors and consuls were always glad to accomodate their countrymen, and the citizens of friendly nations, in their own homes,⁽³⁰⁾ or in guest houses attached to consulates. Consular agents were also eager to provide for the comfort of European travellers. But

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- (28) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 506
(29) Thevenot, Op. Cit. p. 89
(30) Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 1
Hakluyt, Op. Cit. v. 5, p. 272
Aldersey, Op. Cit. p. 45
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 59, 101
Careri, Op. Cit. p. 57
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 158
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 756
St. John, Op. Cit. pp. 37, 57
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 158
Handbook, 1854, p. 21
Chirol, Op. Cit. p. 80

they were for the most part, Christians, subjects of the Empire, and received no compensation from the country they represented. Tourists were therefore urged not to abuse their hospitality, and should they wish to recompense them for their services, to use "some degree of delicacy". (31)

Very few travellers left the Ottoman Empire without grateful memories of the kindly treatment they received from the monks whose hospitality was extended to them at monasteries. In the old days, when strangers arrived at the gate of Jerusalem, they made their presence known to the Franciscans residing in that city. An interpreter was then sent, to conduct them to a special building reserved for the use of European pilgrims. (32)

The Franciscans welcomed all travellers who placed themselves under their protection. The Father Guardian washed their feet and kissed them to show his humility. This was an honour extended to all respectable Europeans belonging to the Catholic Church. (33) (34)

Pilgrims received good service, and food so long as they were the guests of the monastery. Those who could afford it, con- (35)

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- (31) Handbook, 1840, p. 135
Handbook, 1854, p. 21
(32) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 414
(33) Sandys, Op. Cit. p. 196
Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 353
(34) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 415
(35) Baumgarten, Op. Cit. p. 460
Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 339
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 38
Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 414
Aldersey, Op. Cit. p. 209
Cuinet, Op. Cit. p. 543

tributed a few pounds the day of their departure, but the greater
(36)
number was entertained without charge.

The Franciscan monastery at Jerusalem was only one of many
scattered all over the Empire. There were 48 of them in Palestine
(37)
alone. The monks of European Turkey, Asia Minor, and Syria were
as eager to entertain travellers, as those of the Holy Land, and a
great number of them were specially noted for their kindness towards
(38)
strangers.

Similar hospitality was extended to strangers at Christian
(39)
houses. And though, with that perverseness of travellers which
makes them seek the familiar amid strange surroundings, those homes
were more frequented, still when circumstances sent them to Mohammedan
houses, they found a ready welcome.

(36) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 414

(37) Guinet, Op. Cit. p. 542

(38) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 37-38

Careri, Op. Cit. p. 9

Maundrell, Op. Cit. pp. 339, 362, 364, 368

Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 32, 34, 53. v. 2, p. 38. v. 3,
pp. 104, 105, 222, 226

Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 407, 408, 454, 490, 512

Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 194

Handbook, 1840, p. 135

Handbook, 1854, p. 21

The Prefetto of the Franciscans in Egypt, Op. Cit. p. 397

Malta Protestant College, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 284

Petridge, Op. Cit. p. 519

(39) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 51-52

Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 530, 749

Leake, Op. Cit. p. 46

Gell, Op. Cit. pp. 37, 55, 63, 202, 262, 395

Castellan, Op. Cit. part II, p. 19

Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 92, 103, 158

Handbook, 1840, p. 135

Handbook 1854, p. 21

Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 80-81

Chirol, Op. Cit. p. 140

Most villages had their guest house, or guest rooms, ready
(40)
at all times for the reception of travellers. Strangers were
received with "the hospitality so common in this country among
(41)
people of all ranks", and entertained in the evening by the
(42)
peasants. In 1738 Touaney a small Syrian village, boasted of
four houses for the accommodation of tourists, each taking turns at
the job, and the "people of the village supplying them with provi-
(43)
sions in an equal proportion". A hamlet in the neighbourhood
(44)
of Aleppo celebrated the arrival of a guest with a festival.
A "public spirited Turk" had built a house for the reception of
strangers at Lakena. He offered them board and lodging, and was
(45)
there personally to provide for their comfort.

Once in a while, in times of plague, an Aga refused to open
his house to strangers. Such was the case at a village in Lazistan
in 1836. But it did not take long to persuade the kindly peasants
that there was nothing to fear. The leading man of the community,
then, had the best beds in his house prepared for the travellers,
and far from receiving any gratuity the next morning, "ordered his

(40) Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 460, 695, 674, 676, 685

Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 95

Leake, Op. Cit. p. 94

Slade, Op. Cit. p. 175

Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 204, 209, 211

Boue, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 83

Spender, Op. Cit. p. 116

Chirol, Op. Cit. pp. 38, 49, 195, 198

Townshend, Op. Cit. p. 133

Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 561

(41) Wood, Op. Cit. p. 182

(42) Pococke, Op. Cit. p. 676

(43) Ibid. p. 511

(44) Tott, Op. Cit. part 4, p. 128

(45) Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 671-672

women to fill .. (their) bags with an ample supply of hot barley cakes, hard eggs, and other provisions, for ... (their) journey." (46)

The wandering Turcomans were no less hospitable to stranger. The following account by a French consul who was entertained at Sardis, by the mother of a Turcoman chief, is a good example of their attitude towards their guests: "I found an aged woman, of a noble figure, and commanding presence, who received me with a profusion of civilities, and entertained me with a dinner and a supper, which seemed prepared by one of the ancient Patriarchs. In the evening, she ordered a tent to be set up for me, in which I found an excellent bed, and the next day, when I went to take my leave, obliged me to accept three carpets, which she had sent early in the morning, (47) ready packed up, to my tent".

Even soldiers could afford to be kindly when strangers sought shelter among them. A tourist who spent several nights at a military camp at the Dardanelles at the beginning of the 19th century thought that "the hospitality of these men was such as would shame many Christian nations,... We were furnished with an abundance of fruit, and with whatever we required; nor would our new friends accept any remuneration for the trouble we gave them at different (48) times during our stay".

The traveller who found himself at a loss in sparsely populated, or uninhabited regions of the Empire, had little difficulty

(46) Spencer, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 75

(47) Peyssonnel, Op. Cit. pp. 279-280

See also, Spencer, Op. Cit. pp. 107-110

(48) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 52

about obtaining lodging at post, and guard houses, (49) along the roads, and in "solitary little huts.... built for the purpose of (50) protecting men and animals from any sudden storm", on mountains. In the absence of any of these shelters, he could resort to a ship (51) for the night, or to the tent which he always carried with (52) him. In fact he preferred this improvised roof to others, when- over the weather, and circumstances permitted its use. The tent was specially handy in hot countries like Syria and the Arabian desert, (53) to protect ones self from the scorching sun. The following is a description of the kind of tent used in the Levant: "They have only one Pole in the middle, which takes off in half when you fold up the Tackle; this supports a Pavilion of thick close-set Cloth, from which the Water runs off very easily; the Pavilion is fastened at the Border with Cords, hook'd on to Iron Pins, fix'd in the Ground; near the Top is also a Set of Cords which are fastened very firmly by another Row of Pins, at a wider distance from the middle

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- (49) Slade, Op. Cit. pp. 2, 173
 Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 384
 An Itinerary, Op. Cit. p. 53
 Gell, Op. Cit. p. 358
 Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 182
- (50) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 234
 Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 291
- (51) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 463
 Sandys, Op. Cit. p. 108
 Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 549, 655
- (52) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 98, 137
 Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 203
 Blount, Op. Cit. p. 231
 Mundy, Op. Cit. pp. 46, 47, 48, 53, 59, 70, 78, 80
 Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 278, 279, 280
 Townshend, Op. Cit. p. 31
- (53) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 63, 64, 65, etc.
 Coryat, Crudities, (Letter to his Mother)
 Tott, Op. Cit. part 4, p. 132

Pole than the former, and strain out the top of the Tent on the Outside, a quarter of an Hour suffices to erect this mighty Apartment, which has all sorts of Conveniences in it." (54)

Hotels made their appearance in the leading cities of the Empire only during the first half of the 19th century. Even though all travellers are not equally appreciative of their value, they solved to a great extent the problem of accommodations.

We read in 1810 of a very good hotel, with well furnished rooms, good meals, and a billiard room, kept by an European at Constantinople. (55) But the contrary opinion is advanced a few years later. We learn that the 2 or 3 hotels that have lately been established in the city "are excessively dirty; and, were it not for the civility of the ministers and consuls, who generally offer a home in their own houses to their countrymen, the traveller would have but little to say of the comforts of Constantinople". (56) It is reported in 1834 that the Italian Hotel d'Europe, is an "elegant domicile", (57) with a "good table, and moderate charges". But in 1836 this same institution is described as "a well-kept inn, but far too expensive in proportion to the price of provisions, which are extremely reasonable at Constantinople". (58) In 1835 the capital of the Empire was said to need hotels more than anything else, the existing ones being

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- (54) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 6-7
See also, Haight, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 300
(55) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 239
(56) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 62
See also, Frankland, Op. Cit. p. 125
(57) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 273. v. 2, p. 2
(58) Spencer, Op. Cit. p. 128

(59) undesirable. And yet, in 1840 two of the establishments in the city, the Hotel d'Europe at Pera, and the Hotel du Lion d'Or at Therapia, were clean enough for anybody, (60) and in 1853, the Hotel d'Angleterre was so good, that the tourist was "satisfied with the time spent there". (61) It was not long however before this report was contradicted, for in 1879 the same guest house is referred to as "unebicoque en bois d'un aspect tout à fait misérable". (62)

One of the chief complaints of a traveller in 1864 is that there are no inns or hotels along the Bosphorus except in two of the villages, and none in Constantinople or the nearby islands, outside Pera, and Prinkipo. The small inns scattered here and there in the city were filthy and uninviting. (63)

The Grand Hotel, the Hotel Royal and the Hotel Imperial in Constantinople, are mentioned in 1886 as well kept, and provided with Western comforts. Several lesser establishments are also favorably criticized. (64)

The other cities of the Empire, like Brousa, Smyrna, Salonica, Scodra, Belgrade, Viddin, Roustchouk, Silistria, Bucarest, and Adrianople, were also provided with hotels early in the century. (65)

(59) Stephens, Greece, Turkey, Russia, v. 1, p. 218

(60) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 280

(61) Howard, Op. Cit. p. 47

(62) Reinach, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 182

(63) Tchihatcheff, Op. Cit. pp. 333-334

(64) Rousset, Op. Cit. pp. 103-104

(65) Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 72

Handbook, 1840, p. 261

Howard, Op. Cit. p. 35

Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 280

But these establishments being of the same nature as those of Constantinople, naturally failed to satisfy the too particular tourist.

Better hotels have been established in Turkey during the later years of the 19th century, and at the present time, provide all the comforts to which the traveller is accustomed in Western Europe.

The diet was another problem which the Westerner had to solve during his travels in the Ottoman Empire. Guide books advised him to "conform to the customs, and mode of life of the most sober class of the inhabitants... Experience has taught people of all countries, which manner of living is the most wholesome in the climate they inhabit".⁽⁶⁶⁾

But such instructions are easy to give so long as one does not have to carry them out. The favorite dishes of one nation do not always please the taste of others. Turks lived mostly on pilav, "which is rice boiled with a pullet, a piece of mutton, beef",⁽⁶⁷⁾

or just with butter,⁽⁶⁸⁾ or on kebab, lamb "cut into small pieces, spitted upon a wooden skewer with bay leaves, and baked or roasted

on the embers". These could easily be obtained at Kebabdjis, and at restaurants.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The European was hardly satisfied with such simple food. He missed his steak, and other meats, he yearned for his whisky and mug of beer.

(66) Berschtold, Op. Cit. p. 53

See also Spencer, Op. Cit. p. 185

(67) Thevenot, Op. Cit. p. 88

See also, An Itinerary, Op. Cit. p. 64

Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 331

(68) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 73

(69) Quétin, Op. Cit. p. 9

Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 5

Handbook, 1840, p. VIII

The foreigner might have reasons to be dissatisfied with the kind of food he obtained at eating places, or at homes in Turkey, but he had no cause to complain of the lack of provisions, should he have desired to prepare his own meals. Even in sparsely inhabited regions of the country, and along the least frequented roads, he was met by peasants eager to sell their milk, cheese, butter and meat. (70) And eatables throughout the Empire were so cheap as to astonish the traveller. (71) A 17th century tourist wrote to his mother that he spent but three pounds sterling in ten months on his way from Aleppo to India "living reasonably well." (72) In 1634 one could obtain "as much roasted mutton as one man can eat" for a half a penny, and "a life fat sheep.... in places two hundred miles from any city," for 2 shillings and 3 pence. (73)

In places like the Arabian Desert, where one saw no sign of life for miles and miles, the caravaners found it necessary to carry along with them enough provisions for a month, and enough water for a few days. Springs were not very numerous in those arid regions, so scarce in fact, that the wells on the route to Mecca had to be closely guarded by Arabs and by Turks "so that the Caravan coming thither may

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- (70) Aldersey, Op. Cit. p. 208
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 465; v. 3. p. 475
Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 3
Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 516-517
(71) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 103, 165
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 38, 61
Sandys, Op. Cit. p. 108
Mundy, Op. Cit. pp. 73, 78
Des Hayes, Op. Cit. pp. 200, 205
Careri, Op. Cit. pp. 75, 87
Hobhouse, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 82
Spencer, Op. Cit. p. 128
(72) Coryat, Op. Cit. v. 3, Letter "To his Loving Mother".

(74)
have wherewithall to refresh it selfe". The eatables that were usually taken on those journeys, consisted of beans and other dried vegetables, cereals, olives, honey, drinks, and live sheep. A (75) shepherd, accompanied the party to take care of the live stock.

The Arabian Desert was the only part of the Ottoman Empire where the European had any difficulty about obtaining water. "In almost every street of the Turkish cities and even on the border of the roads, far distant from any town", he was sure to come upon one of the fountains erected by the Sultans, and pious individuals, for (76) the benefit of the passer by. They were in fact, one of the many "kindnesses for which the traveller (had) to thank the Turks", (77) during his residence among them. There were more than 500 fountains in Constantinople alone. (78)

The fountains which one met at shady spots along the roads, or on the mountains, were simple wooden or stone structures, with one or more bassins. The water ran through a hole in the wall, and a metal (79) cup attached to the side by a chain, extended its welcome to all.

(73) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 263

(74) Hakluyt, Op. Cit. v. 5, p. 347

(75) Eldred, Op. Cit. p. 7

Frederick, Op. Cit. p. 446

St. John, Op. Cit. pp. 26-27

(76) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 68

See also, Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 137-138

Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 65, 69

Des Hayes, Op. Cit. p. 211

Cuinet, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 340

Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 140, 141

Spender, Op. Cit. p. 160

(77) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 226

See also, Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 410

(78) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 64

(79) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 318

Fountains in the cities, and sometimes along the highways, were beautiful marble structures, with bas-reliefs, and inscriptions. (80) The following quotation from the Koran was found on many of the famous fountains. (81) "By water everything Lives".

It was also the custom in the Orient, "for persons desiring to perform a pious and charitable act, to select some point in a dry desert or on the summit of some arid mountain", and enclose a huge jar full of water in a small hut. The vessel was filled daily, or as often as necessary, by specially appointed persons. The water was often brought a long distance. A sum of money was placed in trust to defray the cost of upkeep and transportation. (82) Those who could not afford this expense placed pitchers of water at their door steps for the convenience of passengers. (83) Others, during the heat of summer, built sheds along the roads, and invited travellers "to come in and rest themselves, and take a Refreshment". (84)

As has already been shown in this chapter, accommodations in Turkey left much to be desired as compared with what other countries had to offer to travellers. But as the stranger was received with kindness and hospitality, wherever he decided to reside, he might have responded even to the undesirable with good grace, and made an effort

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- (80) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 319
(81) Handbook, 1840, p. 184
(82) Hamilton, Op. Cit. v. 1, pp. 141, 533
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 238
(83) Thevenot, Op. Cit. p. 92
(84) Ibid.
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 308-309

to adjust himself to circumstances, had it not been for a constant fear that clouded his horizon, the fear of the plague.

The plague was the most calamitous disease of Oriental countries. Its ravages were beyond imagination. About 1000-1200 persons died daily at Constantinople in 1561. (85) The sickness "consumed (86) above one thousand a day in that City" in 1617. The total number for the year 1625, in the capital, was 200,000. (87) 8,900 of (88) these having succumbed between the first and the third of August. Constantinople witnessed the death of 150,000 in 1755. (89) "One of the most dreadful visitations (of the illness) ever inflicted on any country", was inflicted upon the Empire in 1836. (90) At least 100,000 (91) people were carried away in 1837.

It was next to impossible to fight the plague, while it raged in Oriental countries. The fatalistic conception of life, entertained by the Mohammedan population, rendered them indifferent to the ravages of the disease. They believed that the time and manner of each man's death is inscribed by God on his forehead, and that they have no power of avoiding the fatal hour. Far from adopting preventive measures against the illness, they insisted upon the uselessness of fear, and went so far as to share their sick friend's bed, and to wear his cloth-

(85) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 341

(86) Mundy, Op. Cit. p. 40

(87) Roe, Op. Cit. p. 444

(88) Ibid. p. 437

(89) Tott, Op. Cit. part 1, pp. 37-38

(90) Spencer, Op. Cit. pp. 172, 70

Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 560-568

(91) Ibid. v. 3, p. 567

(92)

ing. There was no way of proving to them that their philosophy, when carried to such extremes, resulted in unnecessary calamity. In 1634 a traveller found himself obliged to make room in his carriage for a man shivering with fever. His objections were of no use. The yenitcheris who accompanied him pointed to their forehead, and explained that they could not become infected with anything unless it was written there. And should it be so written, they were not in a position to avoid it.

(93)

Gradually, however, the Ottoman citizens, who came into contact with Western travellers, or fell under the influence of European science, realized the need of sanitary precautions. They refused to leave their houses in times of plague, or hurried away to healthier regions. Many of them went to extremes in their eagerness to avoid the calamity. Bars were placed across the shop doors in the European quarter of Constantinople, and ware was taken to prevent direct communication with the clerks. Nothing was allowed in houses, before it was fumigated. It became a common belief that plague could be communicated by touch alone.

(94)

During the early years of the 19th century every stranger was

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- (92) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 341
Tott, Op. Cit. part 1, pp. 37-38
Slades, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 160
Tietz, Op. Cit. p. 35
Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 228
(93) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 255
See also, Niebuhr, Op. Cit. p. 170
(94) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 62
Spencer, Op. Cit. pp. 173-174
Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 160
Michaud, Op. Cit. v. 7, p. 295

considered a medium of infection, and was allowed to enter a house
(95)
only after he "had gone through a purifying ordeal". Hotels ad-
(96)
mitted no guests before they had "underwent a complete fumigation".
All letters were disinfected before they were opened, and documents
were signed by placing the hand on a pane of glass so as to prevent
(97)
contact with the paper.

According to a 19th century traveller people subjected to fumi-
gation were sent one by one "into a machine like a sentry-box, where
one stands upon a grating, under which is placed a pan of coals, with
a bunch of half-dried weeds, and the door is then shut. The whole in-
terior is immediately filled with a dense smoke. In order to prevent
suffocation, a hole is cut in the door large enough to permit the face
(98)
to be protruded through it". (The process lasted ten minutes).

The fatalistic Turks took a much longer time, to be convinced
that the writing on their forehead, if there was any, was not as in-
fallible as they imagined it to be. They were reluctant about con-
sidering themselves the most important mediums that shaped their des-
tiny. The clerical classes supported them in their obstinacy, because
their livelihood depended upon keeping the ignorant masses within their
clasp. Every attempt on the part of the government to remedy evils,
was therefore made impossible by the objections of the clergy, and their
(99)
supporters.

(95) Spencer, Op. Cit. pp. 115, 174

(96) Ibid. p. 128

(97) Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 197

(98) Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 228

(99) Richaud, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 177

During the frightful epidemy of 1836, the Sultan decided to take things in his hands. He summoned a Divan (assembly of the dignitaries of the state) in his palace, and in the presence of the Sheik-ul-Islam, and the most influential clergy of the day, announced his intention of instituting quarantine stations at the frontiers, and various other places within the Empire. Objections were raised on the ground that the Koran did not allow any such measure. But the monarch had made up his mind, there was no way of dissuading him from his project. It was therefore decided that the Kelif, as the head of the Mohammedan religion had a right to interpret the scriptures in the way that would best benefit the Muslims. The public was then notified that "it was the will of the prophet that quarantine laws should be established". Those in favor of the move hoped to reconcile the population to the idea, in this fashion. But they were mistaken. The announcement was met with the protest of the ulema throughout the country, and sanitary measures were put into execution only two years later. (100)

In 1838, when the plague raged again at Constantinople the Sultan issued a proclamation stating that quarantine was not contrary to the words of the Koran, and requested all governors to adopt European means of prevention within their provinces. (101) The Conseil Supérieur de Santé was organized to protect the frontiers against epidemic diseases, and to take suitable measures against them. This committee consisted of 8 Ottomans, and 13 delegates of the Powers. Expenses were met by a sanitary tax levied on all vessels entering the

(100) Spencer, Op. Cit. pp. 175-177

(101) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 570

(102)

Turkish ports.

One of the first measures adopted by the new committee was to place guards all around Constantinople, at a quarter of an hour intervals, and to require ships to keep the rules of quarantine upon their arrival into the Bosphorus, or the Dardanelles. Travellers arriving overland were stopped at Kutchuk Tchekmedje. (103)

The first Turkish Lazaretta was established at Tchengel Keuy, on the Bosphorus, in 1838. It was provided with fumigation rooms, and two hospitals of 20 beds each. All boats provided with a certificate of health were permitted to pass through the Bosphorus without stopping. The rest were subjected to a 10, 15, or 20 days quarantine (104) at Tchengel Keuy.

Westerners considered quarantine "the greatest annoyance to which travellers in the East are exposed on their return to Europe". (105) The quarantine laws varied in different countries. In 1840 people were detained 15 days at Odessa, in Greece, and Wallachia when there was no epidemy, and 25 days in time of crisis. The minimum period of quarantine was 10 days in Austria, and the maximum period was 20 days for travellers and 40 days for merchandise. A detention of 7 days was thought to be sufficient in France and Egypt for those arriving from Algiers, while 21-40 days were required at Malta, and other Mediterranean and Atlantic ports. The length of the journey was not taken into

(102) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 33

(103) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 371-372

(104) Ibid.

(105) Handbook 1840, p. X

See also, Quétin, Op. Cit. p. 10

consideration, and the period spent at Lazarettos in Greece and Serbia was not counted. Quarantine at Wallachia was not recognized as complete by Austria. Ships from the Black Sea ports were stopped at European ports because they had crossed Turkish waters, and had (106) stopped long enough to obtain a transit permit.

The above mentioned regulations were happily modified later in the century. Travellers arriving from Turkey with clean bills of health were rarely subjected to more than a 24 hour quarantine. (107)

The Conseil Supérieur de Sante, was replaced in 1924 by the Direction Général du Service Sanitaire, entirely under Turkish supervision. 25 quarantine stations were established at the leading ports, (108) and 10 smaller quarantines took charge of the service on the mainland.

A survey of accommodation facilities offered to travellers in the Ottoman Empire during the past centuries would never be complete without reference being made to the postal service, which more than anything else was conducive to their happiness. For is there anything more appreciated in a strange country, than letters from home, and is there a greater joy, than the assurance that one can correspond with far away friends, and relate them one's new experiences?

The Turkish Empire once prided herself with one of the best postal systems in Europe. The tatars (couriers), as the proverb says, could carry messages from one end of the Empire to the other in a wink. They could be trusted with valuable packages, and important state

(106) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 579-580

(107) Handbook, 1854, p. 16

(108) Ravndal, Op. Cit. p. 33

papers.

Tatars changed horses at regular intervals along the roads, and rarely lost more than a few minutes doing so. For their reputation and advancement in the service depended upon their record in speed.

The decline of the system of communications was detrimental to the postal service. Tatars could not live up to their old standards, along rocky or swampy roads. Nevertheless, they continued to serve the state and private individuals in an honest if not speedy fashion.

At the beginning of the 19th century every province of the Empire had its postal establishment under the supervision of a Tatar Agassi (chief courier). The tatars, were chosen by the Aga, and trained in his house for two years before they entered the regular service. They had an excellent knowledge of the country, and often spoke more than one language. Couriers were so much respected in all parts of Turkey, that even officials of high rank were ready to give up their horses should the messengers be in need of them. (109) "Their fidelity", wrote a traveller in 1829, "is at all proof; and should any money be lost, it is made up to the owner by the body corporate" (110)

Up to 1840 the 2,000 couriers of the Empire, served only the government. (111) The postal service was not open to the public. Private individuals had to hire private messengers to dispatch their

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- (109) Boué, Op. Cit. v. 4, pp. 446-447
Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 9
Textier, Op. Cit. pp. 77-78
Barkley, Op. Cit. pp. 260-262
(110) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 8-9
(111) Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 239

letters, or else bribe a tatar to convey them to their destinations. (112)
Foreign post offices had to take charge of the European mail. (113)

During the first half of the 19th century, the Austrians, the French, and the Russians maintained post offices at Constantinople. The Austrian post was under the protection of the Austrian Embassy. Messenger service was sustained between the Turkish capital, Belgrade, and Semlin, via Sophia, and between Larissa, Salonica, Seres, and Semlin. Letters were despatched twice a week from Constantinople, and every two weeks from Salonica. Tatars made the distance to Belgrade (114)
in five days.

The Russians dispatched their tatars every week, via Wallachia, and Moldavia; and the boats of the Russian Steamship Company carried mail from Constantinople to O dessa, and vice versa, every 15 days. (115)

The French post office was established in 1837. A weekly service was sustained by means of steamers, between Constantinople, Greece, Syria, Egypt, and Mediterranean countries. (116)

The Turkish postal service was opened to the public in 1840. Tatars left Constantinople twice a week, with letters and packages for the different parts of the Empire. The following were the principal postal lines: In European Turkey: 1) Constantinople, Adrianople, Sofia, Belgrade, Travnik (In Bosnia). 2) Constantinople, Salonica, Janina, Scutari (in Albany). In Asia: 1) Constantinople, Samsoun,

(112) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 388

(113) Ibid.

(114) Ibid. v. 3, pp. 388-390

(115) Boue, Op. Cit. v. 3, p. 390

(116) Ibid.

Amasia, Tokat, Sivas, Harpout, Diarbekir, Mousoul, Bagdad. 2) Constantinople, Eski Shehir, Seid Ghazi, Ak Shehir, Konia, Adana, Syria, Arabia. 3) Constantinople, Ghemlik, Brousa, Smyrna, Satalia. (117)

Arrangements were made for the conveyance of packages and each post house was provided with at least 7 horses. 14 post masters were appointed to the European, and 23 to the Asiatic provinces. (118)

The efforts of the Ottoman government to reorganize the postal service were never appreciated by the European powers. Instead of helping the Turks to reform the system, they persisted in maintaining their own post offices, using their own stamps, surcharged with value in Turkish currency. By the end of the 19th century, the Italians, the British, and the Germans were doing about as much business as the French, the Austrians, and the Russians. (119) The British even established a camel post across the desert from Bagdad to Damascus, but were obliged to give it up because of Turkish competition. (120)

One of the first moves of the new Turkish Republic was to abolish foreign post offices, and assume the control of the postal service. Turkey is a member of the international postal union, and is doing her best to despatch her local and foreign mail with efficiency and speed.

Many of the Ottoman citizens received the telegraph service with

(117) Heischling, Op. Cit. pp. 239-242

(118) Heuschling, Op. Cit. pp. 239-242

(119) Miller, Op. Cit. pp. 395-397

Monroe, Op. Cit. pp. 159-160

Casten, Op. Cit. p. 526

Woods, Washed by Four Seas, pp. 29-30

Aflabo, Op. Cit. pp. 254-256

(120) Encyclopedia Britannica

(121)
suspicion. It was nothing more than a devilish invention to them.
But the government went ahead in its work in spite of all objections.

The first telegraph line was laid between Adrianople and Constantinople in 1853. (122)

By 1859 the Empire possessed five sub-marine cables running: 1) in the Danube between Rutchouk and Guirgevo, 2) in the Black Sea from Varna to Kilia, 3) in the Adriatic from Antivari to Castel Lastova, 4) in the Dardanelles from Tchanak Kale to Siti il Bahir, 5) in the Bosphorus between Ahir Kapou and Ayasma Iskelessi. (123)

The telegraphic system was very much improved, and extended during the second half of the 19th century. By 1900, postal offices all over the country received telegrams in the native and European languages. Up to 1899 two British companies, the Eastern Telegraph, and the Indo Europeans, had the monopoly of telegraph service between Turkey, and other countries. They owned the Constantinople-Tenedos-Syra-Malta, and the Constantinople-Odessa cables. In 1899, as a result of a convention between Germany and Roumania, direct telegraph service was established between Berlin and Bucarest. The possibilities of an extension to Constantza and Constantinople, were also discussed. The Turkish government favored the idea, and granted the concessions for a cable between the two ports to the Osteuropaische Telegraphen Gesellschaft, in spite of the protest of the British firms. The new line was inaugurated in 1905. (124)

(121) Elliot, Op. Cit. pp. 99, 158-159

(122) Official Report, Vilayet Adrianople, 1894, pp. 239-242

(123) Heuschling, Op. Cit. p. 244

(124) Pinon, Op. Cit. p. 324

CONCLUSION

The history of the means of travel and transportation in the Ottoman Empire, is a good example of the fact that no nation can hope to survive at the present time, unless it conforms to the world-wide standards set up by the so-called "progressive nations". It is useless to discuss the pros and cons of uniformity in all phases of human behaviour. That we are headed towards such a goal cannot be denied. The days of individualism and isolation are nearing their end. Sooner or later, even the most reluctant among the peoples of the earth will have to follow in the footsteps of the Turks, and submit themselves to the necessity of things.

It has already been suggested in the introductory chapter that one of the main causes of the backwardness and downfall of the Ottoman Empire has been her scornful attitude towards Western civilization. The Turks have survived as an independent nation, to day, chiefly because they have shown willingness to adapt themselves to the ideals and customs, which their ancestors had repudiated. And yet, is it fair to throw all the blame for the past on the Ottoman Turks? Were they really wholly responsible for the state of things? Was their attitude towards the Western World occasioned solely by their racial, and religious prejudices?

It is a universally acknowledged truth, that it always takes two sides to develop an attitude. All human behaviour, whether offensive, defensive, or friendly, is some sort of a response to ex-

ternal stimuli. If so, was not the attitude of the Turkish citizens, a reaction to the attitude of the West, towards themselves, and the Muslim world as a whole?

As it has been emphasized over and over again, by the intelligent, and occasionally, by the narrow minded traveller, there was nothing offensive in the Ottoman Turk. His hospitality, and his honesty, ⁽¹⁾ were beyond reproach. "The Turkish disposition is generous, loving, and honest", wrote an Englishment in 1634 "... if I had an hundred lives I durst venture them upon his word, especially if he ⁽²⁾ be a natural Turk" ...

The Turk was persuaded that whatever purifies the body, purifies also the soul. He was therefore very particular about his personal cleanliness. ⁽³⁾ A Muslim was known to pay "three Pence a time to two Mariners, to take him down by the Ship's side, and plunge him thrice into the Sea, as cold as it was." ⁽⁴⁾ Turks were seen to leave the Caravan in the coldest days of winter "to throw themselves.... into the Brooks... after which, they came and join'd the Company again

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- (1) Handbook, 1840, pp. 137-138
Handbook, 1854, p. 25
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 91
Curtis, W. E. The Turk and his Lost Provinces, p. 289
Townshend, Op. Cit. p. 260
Wood, Op. Cit. p. 204
Elliot, Op. Cit. p. 95
(2) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 262
(3) Handbook, 1840, p. 139
Handbook, 1854, p. 25
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 4, p. 125, v. 3, p. 441
Bates, Op. Cit. p. 190
Elliot, Op. Cit. pp. 93, 95, 152
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 290
(4) (5) Ibid. v. 2, p. 291

with such an air of Tranquillity, as is seen in the Face of Persons
(5) whose conscience is at peace". They had no sympathy whatever with
the Christians on this score. The story is told of an Englishman who
fell over board during a journey, "Now God has washed you," said the
(6) Turks.

The Ottomans were also praised for their temperance both in
(7) their manner of living and of dressing. "There is no such thing
as making great Feasts with them; they are satisfy'd with a little, and
(8) you never hear of a Turk's being undone by feeding too high". No one
(9) was "so prodigall or ridiculous, as to weare any lace," or append-
(10) ages which cost a great deal of money, and are worn out in three days.

Few travellers were insulted in Turkey on religious grounds.
In fact, at a time when innumerable crimes were being committed in the
name of religion, the Ottoman Empire was the only country in Europe,
where several religions were tolerated. There has never been anything
like the Inquisition in Turkey. Contrary to what is often rumored in
the West, the conversion of Christians, was the last thing that concern-
ed the average Ottoman, for as the proverb goes: A poor Christian will
not make a good Turk.

And yet, Europeans seldom left the Empire, thoroughly satisfied

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- (5) Ibid. v. 2, p. 291
(6) Bates, Op. Cit. p. 190
(7) Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 380
Elliot, Op. Cit. pp. 88, 176
Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 146
Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 4, pp. 126-128
Sandys, Op. Cit. p. 145
(8) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 330
(9) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 4, pp. 225-226
(10) Busbecq, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 155

with their visits. Few of them stopped to analyze the situation, or to question their own conduct. For example, in the earlier days, the traveller felt safe and free to go around in the country, only after he had provided himself with a Turkish costume. The Western attire, especially the short cloak was offensive to the Turks. (11) This peculiarity was naturally attributed to their religious fanaticism. It rarely occurred to the stranger that his own behaviour, or that of foreigners as a whole had anything to do with it. Their hosts were known to be very tractable when they were well used. (12) Kind words, and a humble attitude accomplished wonders with them. But they had no patience with arrogant tourists. Their "haughty disposition.... makes the fashions of other countries rather despised than imitated". (13) As all self-conscious nations, the Ottomans respected only those who respected them. There was no better friend than a Turk to one who was considerate towards him. (14)

How could a traveller expect to be well received in Turkey when he paid "for a Cabbin a-part, that" he "might be separate from those Scoundrels". (15) What right had he to find fault with the natives when he never made an effort to know them? "Their conversation ... (is) not in the least entertaining", wrote a 17th century pilgrim. "Our delights are among ourselves; and here being more than forty of

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- (11) Moryson, Op. Cit. v. 1, p. 449
Blount, Op. Cit. pp. 260-261
Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 159, 327, v. 3, p. 7
(12) Pococke, Op. Cit. pp. 684, 727
(13) Blount, Op. Cit. p. 261
(14) Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 59-60
(15) Careri, Op. Cit. p. 55

us, we never want a more friendly and pleasant conversation". (16) Even during the 19th century, when they enjoyed a greater freedom in the Ottoman Empire, than they did at home, (17) the greater number of tourists, spent months among the Turks, without seeking the friendship of those who provided for their comfort. They thought that they could behave in Turkey as they were accustomed to behave in other Eastern countries..... and they suffered for "their imprudence or their price". (18)

The Europeans who paced the streets of Constantinople "proud of their superiority over the Osmanlis", (19) were very much mortified when they became conscious of the Turkish attitude towards them. Centuries of contact with the West had taught the average Ottoman to tolerate the Westerner, and to appreciate the commodities he brought along with him. But he had never gone so far as to admire, or respect the stranger as racially his superior. The foreigner, whose pride was hurt, was therefore prejudiced against him.

The following extract from a 20th century publication is a very fair description of the attitude, which more than anything else, antagonized the European against the Turk. The English sahib who considers himself a sort of a god in India and other Asiatic countries, "finds the tables completely turned", as soon as he lands in Turkey. "He finds that to call the people "natives" is the highest compliment he can pay them, and he cannot call them "niggers" as they are as fair-

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- (16) Maundrell, Op. Cit. p. 380
(17) Castellan, Op. Cit. part II, p. 21
Stephens, Op. Cit. p. 207
Tietz, Op. Cit. v. 2, pp. 59-60
(18) Slade, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 478
(19) Laurent, Op. Cit. p. 76

skinned as himself. He is treated with outward respect and toleration and on terms of perfect equality by the humblest peasant, he who has been accustomed to the idea that he is rather a good fellow for tolerating "natives" finds that they tolerate him, and are proud of themselves for doing so! that they look upon him as a sort of curiosity, a thing to be studied with interest and amusement, but not copied - God forbid, an infidel, a poor benighted Christian, who cannot for one moment be considered superior to a True Believer. But, owing to their innate politeness, they will try to conceal these facts from him,"⁽²⁰⁾ Is it a wonder, then, that so few Westerners were able to pass an unprejudiced judgement on the Ottomans?

The relations between the Turks and the West were then characterized by a series of misunderstandings, which for centuries prevented cooperation in the face of common difficulties, and retarded progress in the Near East. Both sides were equally to be blamed: Western Europe, for her arrogance, and selfish imperialism; the Near East, for her foolish pride, and suspicion of everything connected with Western Europe. Had the European peoples been less eager to dominate and exploit the other races of the world, those among them who were only after scientific and historical knowledge might have been received without any suspicion⁽²¹⁾ in the Ottoman Empire. Had the Ottomans retained their earlier characteristics and made an effort to meet the West half way,

(20) Townshend, Op. Cit. p. 36

See also, Elliot, Op. Cit. pp. 94-95

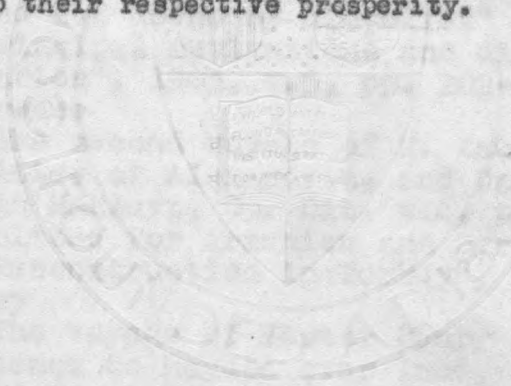
(21) Tournefort, Op. Cit. v. 3, pp. 117, 130

Leake, Op. Cit. p. V

Haight, Op. Cit. v. 2, p. 211

they might have kept pace with European civilization, and prevented the encroachments that were fatal to their Empire.

Turkey has at last turned her face Westward. She is eager to remodel her institutions, among the, her means of travel and transportation, along European lines. It is impossible to foresee the consequences of her revolutionary changes. One can only hope, that lack of good faith on the part of the West will not frustrate her efforts. If the new Republic is willing to meet Europe half way, is it not only fair for Europe to reciprocate in the same manner? Both sides must realize that no good can be done by remembering the harm done in the past. The world holds a brighter future for those alone who can cooperate, and help to build up their respective prosperity.



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