

ΤΟ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ 1796-1840

(Σύμφωνα μὲ ἀνέκδοτες ἐκθέσεις Εὐρωπαίων προξένων)

Τὰ γαλλικὰ ἀρχεῖα περιλαμβάνουν, ὅπως εἶναι ννωστό, πολύτιμα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ γενικὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας κατὰ τοὺς τελευταίους αἰῶνες τῆς τουρκοκρατίας καὶ ἐπομένως παρουσιάζουν μεγάλο ἐνδιαφέρον γιὰ τὴν ἴστορια τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ εἰδικότερα γιὰ τὴν οἰκονομικὴ ἴστορια τῆς πόλης αὐτῆς. Στὸ ὑλικὸ τῶν ἀρχείων αὐτῶν βασίζεται κυρίως ἡ συνθετικὴ μελέτη τοῦ Νικ. Σβορώνου, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle*, ὅπου μπορεῖ νὰ βρῇ κανεὶς ἀρκετὲς διαφωτιστικὲς λεπτομέρειες γιὰ τὴν τελευταία δεκαετία τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα, ἀλλὰ γιὰ τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 19ου δὲν ἔχει γίνει μέχρι σήμερα ἀξιόλογη ἐρευνητικὴ προσπάθεια.

Σκοπὸς τῆς μελέτης μου αὐτῆς εἶναι νὰ διερευνήσω καὶ ἀπλῶς νὰ σχολιάσω σ' ἔνα πρῶτο μέρος τὶς ἐμπορικὲς συναλλαγὲς καὶ τὴν κίνηση τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὴν μεταβατικὴ περίοδο 1796-1826 στηριζόμενος στὰ γαλλικὰ ἀρχεῖα καὶ κατόπιν σ' ἔνα δεύτερο μέρος, μὲ βάση κυρίως τὰ ἀγγλικά, νὰ ἔξετάσω τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης μεταξὺ 1826-1840. Στὸ προσεχὲς μέλλον προτίθεμαι νὰ συνεχίσω τὴν ἀρχειακὴ ἐρευνά μου γιὰ τὸ ἕδιο θέμα προσκομίζοντας τὶς μέχρι τοῦ 1878 (δηλαδὴ μέχρι τῆς συνθήκης τοῦ Ἀγ. Στεφάνου καὶ τοῦ Βερολίνου συνεδρίου) νέες μαρτυρίες. Ἀπότερος σκοπὸς μου εἶναι ἡ ἀντίστοιχη συνθετικὴ μελέτη τῆς ἴστορίας τῆς Μακεδονίας μεταξὺ 1833-1878, μὲ τὴν χρησιμοποίηση ὃχι μόνο τῶν σύγχρονων ἀρχειακῶν στοιχείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄλης τῆς σχετικῆς ἐκδομένης βιβλιογραφίας γιὰ τὴν ἐλάχιστα ἐρευνημένη αὐτὴ περίοδο τῆς ἀκριτικῆς ἐλληνικῆς χώρας. Γιὰ μιὰ ὅμως τέτοια μεγάλη προσπάθεια ἀπαραίτητη προϋπόθεση εἶναι ἡ συλλογὴ καὶ ἡ δημοσίευση τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἀνέκδοτου καὶ ἄγνωστου ἀρχειακοῦ ὑλικοῦ, ποὺ ἀπόκειται στὰ ἀρχεῖα τῶν εὐρωπαϊκῶν κρατῶν, τὰ ὅποια εἶχαν στενὲς ἐπαφὲς μὲ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ διατηροῦσαν σ' αὐτὴν προξενία.

Α'. ΝΕΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΚΗ ΚΙΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΑ ΓΑΛΛΙΚΑ ΑΡΧΕΙΑ (1796-1826)

Τὰ διάφορα πολιτικὰ γεγονότα ποὺ εἶχαν διαδραματιστῆ στὴν Εὐρώπη κατὰ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα, ὅπως ἡ συνθήκη τοῦ Κιουτσούκ-Καΐναρτζῆ (1774), ἡ γαλλικὴ ἐπανάσταση τοῦ 1789, οἱ ναπολεόντειοι πόλεμοι, ἡ διά-

σπαση τοῦ ἀγγλικοῦ ἀποκλεισμοῦ ἀπὸ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ καράβια καὶ ὁ ἐπισιτι-
σμὸς τῆς Γαλλίας, καθὼς καὶ τῶν κατεχόμενων ἀπ’ αὐτὴν ἐδυφῶν συνετέ-
λεσαν, ὥστε ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη νὰ γίνη τότε «ἡ μεγάλη ἐμπορικὴ ἀποθήκη δῆλης
τῆς Κεντρικῆς Εὐρώπης»¹. Μὲ τὴν ἔναρξη ὅμως τῶν ναπολεόντειων πολέ-
μων (1792 κ.ἔ.) τὸ γαλλικὸ ἐμπόριο ὑφίσταται σημαντικὲς ζημιές καὶ τὸ ἐμ-
πόριο τῆς Ἀνατολῆς θὰ περιέλθῃ στὰ χέρια τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν Ἐβραίων.
Ἡ τοπικὴ παραγωγὴ ὑφασμάτων τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἐβραίους,
παρακμάζει, γιατὶ ἀδυνατεῖ ν’ ἀντέξῃ στὸν εὐρωπαϊκὸ συναγωνισμὸ².

Στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ νέου αἰώνα τὰ ἑλληνικὰ πλοῖα κυριαρχοῦν πιὰ στὸ Αἰ-
γαῖο καὶ στὴν Μεσόγειο καὶ μεταφέρουν, μαζὶ μὲ τὰ ἀγγλικά, ποικίλα ἄλλα
προϊόντα, ὅπως θὰ δοῦμε στὴν συνέχεια τῆς μελέτης μου. Ἡ Βιέννη ἐξυπη-
ρετεῖ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῶν γερμανικῶν χωρῶν καὶ ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη παραμένει ἡ
κυριότερη ἀγορά τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐτοῦ. Ἀπὸ τὸ 1819 ὅμως διαγράφεται κα-
θαρὰ ἡ σταδιακὴ μείωση τοῦ ἔξαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου καὶ ἡ παράλληλη αὔξη-
ση τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν. Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐπανάσταση τοῦ 1821 ἔχει δυσμενῆ ἀντί-
κτυπο στὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Κάθετη πτώση ὑφίσταται τὸ ἔξαγω-
γικὸ ἐμπόριο ιδίως μεταξὺ 1823-1825. Ὁ ρόλος τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πλοίων εἶναι
φυσικὰ μηδαμινός.

Στὴν πρώτη ἐνότητα τῆς σπουδῆς μου αὐτῆς δημοσιεύω τέσσερα μέχρι
σήμερα πολὺ ἐνδιαφέροντα καὶ ἀνέκδοτα ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Félix Beaujour
γιὰ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ τέλη τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα, τὰ ὅποια κα-
λύπτουν ὄρισμένα κενὰ τῆς περιόδου αὐτῆς, καὶ κατόπιν ἐπισημαίνω ὄρι-
σμένες εἰδήσεις ἄλλων ἐκθέσεων ἀπὸ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 18ου αἰ. ὡς τὰ 1826.

1. ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑ ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ FÉLIX BEAUJOUR
ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΜΕ ΤΟ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΤΑ 1796

Τὰ τέσσερα ἀνέκδοτα ὑπομνήματα ποὺ παραθέτω στὸ τέλος τῆς εἰσα-
γωγῆς μου αὐτῆς, περιέχονται στὸν 15ο τόμο τῆς προξενικῆς ἀλληλογρα-
φίας τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ ὄρχεια τοῦ Quai d’Orsay³. Εἶναι γραμμένα ὀπὸ
τὸν Beaujour στὰ 1796 καὶ ἀποτελοῦν μιὰ ἐπισκόπηση τοῦ γενικοῦ ἐμπορίου

1. Βλ. σχετικά N. Voronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1956, σ. 349-353, πρβλ. Νίκου Γ. Σβορώνου, ‘Ἐπισκόπηση τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Ιστορίας’, Αθήνα 1976, σ. 52, Βασίλη Κρεμμυδᾶ, *Εἰσαγωγὴ στὴν ιστορία τῆς ἑλ-ληνικῆς κοινωνίας*, Αθήνα 1976, σ. 26-27.

2. Βλέπε εἰδικὸ κεφάλαιο γιὰ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτὴν στοῦ ’Αποστόλου Ε. Βακαλοπούλου, *Ιστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας 1354-1833*, Θεσ-σαλονίκη 1968, σ. 487-504, στοῦ ιδίου, *Ιστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, Τουρκο-κρατία 1669-1812, Ἡ οἰκονομικὴ ἀνοδος καὶ ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ Γένους, Θεσσαλονίκη 1973, τ. 4, σ. 477-504.

3. M A E (Ministère des Affaires Etrangères), Correspondance Consulaire et Commer-
ciale, Salonique, vol. 15, ff. 81-88, ff. 111-118, ff. 130-133.

της Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ τέλη του 18ου αιώνα, μὲ ίδεες καὶ παρατηρήσεις, οἵ ὅποιες συμπληρώνουν ἡ ἐπαναλαμβάνουν τὰ ὅσα ἀναφέρει ὁ ἴδιος στὸ δίτομο ἔργο του *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce*¹, καθὼς καὶ σ' ἕνα ἄλλο χειρόγραφό του μὲ τίτλο «*Mémoire sur le commerce de Salonique (1797) par le citoyen Félix*», τὸ ὅποιο ἔφερε στὸ φῶς τῆς δημοσιότητας ὁ M. Lascaris στὰ 1939². Γενικὰ ὅμως, τὰ οὐσιώδη προβλήματα ποὺ ἀνακύπτουν ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτη τῶν ὑπομνημάτων αὐτῶν ἔχουν ἐρευνηθῆ καὶ ἐξετασθῆ διεξοδικὰ ἀπὸ τὸν N. Σβορώνο στὴν προμνημονευμένη μελέτη του γιὰ τὸ έμποριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν 18ο αἰώνα.

Στὸ πρῶτο του ὑπόμνημα μὲ τὸν τίτλο «*Mémoire sur le commerce actuel de Salonique et sur l'état moral de cette échelle*» ὁ Beaujour ἀναφέρεται στὶς ἐμπορικὲς συναλλαγὲς τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη, καὶ στὴν συνέχεια παραθέτει δύο κεφάλαια γιὰ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τὸ βαμβάκι τῶν Σερρῶν, γιὰ τὰ ὅποια μιλεῖ ἐκτενέστερα στὸν πρῶτο τόμο του «*Tableau de la Grèce*»³. Ἀξιοπρόσεκτα εἶναι ὅσα σημειώνει στὸ Résumé του ὑπομνήματός του, ὅπου διαπιστώνει τὴν παρακμὴ του γαλλικοῦ ἐμπορίου, τὴν ἐλάττωση τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τῆς δραστηριότητας τῶν γαλλικῶν ἐμπορικῶν οἰκων στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ τὴν βαθμιαίᾳ ἀνοδο τοῦ αὐστριακοῦ ἐμπορίου, τὸ ὅποιο τείνει νὰ ὑποκαταστήσῃ τὸ γαλλικό⁴.

Στὸ δεύτερο ὑπόμνημα, «*Second Mémoire du Cit. Félix sur le commerce de Salonique*», ὁ Beaujour προτείνει ὄρισμένες λύσεις γιὰ τὴν ἀναζωογόνηση του γαλλικοῦ ἐμπορίου στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη, ὅσον ἀφορᾶ κυρίως τὶς ἐμπορικὲς συναλλαγὲς στὸν τομέα τῶν βαμβακιῶν καὶ τῶν ὄριων τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ ὑπενθυμίζει στὴν γαλλικὴ κυβέρνηση ὅτι πρὶν ἀπὸ τοὺς ναπολεόντειους πολέμους οἱ ἐξαγωγές τῆς Γαλλίας στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη ἔφθαναν τὰ 3.000.000 φράγκα, ἐνῷ οἱ εἰσαγωγές τροφοδοτοῦσαν τὴν βιομηχανικὴ παραγωγὴ της. Εἶναι ἀνάγκη λοιπὸν τώρα νὰ ἀναλάβῃ τὸ γαλλικὸ ἐμπορικὸ ναυτικὸ καὶ πάλι τὴν πρωτοβουλία στὴν Ἀνατολή.

Στὸ τρίτο ὑπόμνημα ποὺ τιτλοφορεῖται «*Mémoire du Citoyen Consul de Salonique sur les cotons de la Macédoine*», ὁ Beaujour ἐπαναλαμβάνει ἐν μέρει τὰ ὅσα ἀναφέρει στὸν πρῶτο τόμο του ἔργου του «*Tableau de la Grèce*», ὅπου ἀφιερώνει ἔνα ἐκτενέστερο καὶ ἀναλυτικότερο κεφάλαιο γιὰ τὴν καλλιέργεια, τὶς ποιότητες καὶ γενικὰ γιὰ τὸ έμποριο του βαμβακιοῦ καὶ τῶν

1. Félix - Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, formé d'après une année moyenne, depuis 1787 jusqu'en 1797*, Paris 1800, τ. 1-2.

2. M. Lascaris, *Salonique à la fin du XVIIIe siècle d'après les rapports consulaires français*, Athènes 1939, σ. 42-73.

3. Beaujour, *Tableau de la Grèce*, τ. 1. σ. 25-54.

4. M A E, vol. 15, f. 88.

νημάτων τῆς Μακεδονίας¹. Γι' αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς τὸν λόγο, ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα ὁρισμένα σημεῖα τοῦ χειρογράφου του συμπίπτουν ἀκριβῶς μὲ τὰ γραφόμενά του σχετικά στὸ δίτομο ἔργο του, προτίμησα νὰ τὰ παραλείψω καὶ νὰ παραθέσω μόνο ἐκεῖνα ποὺ εἶναι πραγματικὰ πρωτότυπα.

Τὸ τέταρτο ὑπόμνημα ἐπιγράφεται: «*Mémoire du Citoyen Louis-Auguste Félix Consul de la République française à Salonique sur la liberté du commerce en Levant*». Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον αὐτὸν χειρόγραφο ἦταν φυσικὸ νὰ παραμείνῃ ἀδημοσίευτο, ἐφ' ὅσον, ὅπως θὰ διαπιστώσῃ ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἀπὸ τὴν προσεκτικὴ μελέτη του, περιέχει βαριές ἐκφράσεις ἐναντίον τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν τοῦ γαλλικοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐμπορίου στὴν Ἀνατολή, Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἐβραίων. 'Αξίζει ν' ἀναφερθοῦμε σὲ ὁρισμένα βασικὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ὑπομνήματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Beaujou, τὸ ὄποιο θεωρεῖται σημαντικὸ ὑπόσταγμα τῶν παρατηρήσεων καὶ διαπιστώσεων τοῦ Γάλλου προξένου καὶ συμβάλλει ἀναμφισβήτητα στὴν πληρέστερη γνώση τῶν προβλημάτων ποὺ ἀντιμετώπιζε τὴν ἐποχὴ ἐκείνη τὸ γαλλικὸ ἐμπόριο. Ἡ παρακμὴ του πλήγωνε βαθιὰ τὸν Beaujour μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ καταφέρεται μὲ πάθος—χρησιμοποιῶντας ὑβριστικές ἐκφράσεις—ἐναντίον τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν τῶν Γάλλων, Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἐβραίων.

'Ο Beaujour θεωρεῖ ὅτι οἱ ἐμπορικὲς συναλλαγὲς ποὺ πραγματοποιοῦνται στὰ λιμάνια τῆς Ὁθωμανικῆς αὐτοκρατορίας εὐνοοῦν περισσότερο τὸ γαλλικὸ ἐμπόριο παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα εὐρωπαϊκὰ κράτη. Τὴν ἀποψή του αὐτὴ στηρίζει στὸ γεγονός ὅτι ἡ παραγωγὴ τῆς γαλλικῆς βιομηχανίας καὶ τῶν ἀποικιῶν τῆς στηρίζεται στὶς πρῶτες ὕλες τῆς καὶ ὅ,τι εἰσάγεται ἀπορροφᾶται ἀπὸ τὰ γαλλικὰ ἐργοστάσια, πράγμα ποὺ δὲν συμβαίνει μὲ τὸ ἵταλικὸ ἐμπόριο, τὸ ὄποιο δὲν διαθέτει ἀποικιακὰ προϊόντα καὶ ἡ ἵταλικὴ παραγωγὴ εἶναι κατώτερη ἀπὸ τὴν γαλλικήν. 'Επίσης οἱ Ὁθωμανοί ὑπήκοοι, Ἑλληνες, Ἐβραῖοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, δὲν μποροῦν νὰ ἀνταγωνιστοῦν τὸ γαλλικὸ ἐμπόριο, ἐπειδὴ πληρώνουν ὑψηλότερους φόρους, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὶ χρησιμοποιῶντας ἄλλα μέσα τείνουν νὰ ὑποσκελίσουν τοὺς Γάλλους ἐμπόρους. Χαρακτηριστικὰ σημειώνει ὅτι οἱ "Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ Ἐβραῖοι «ce sont dans toute la rigueur de l'expression les deux pestes morales du commerce»² καὶ τονίζει τὰ παρακάτω: «La base de notre commerce en Turquie est dans les Draps et les Galons. Les Grecs et les Juifs les rélaterons. On nous inondera de faux-galons de Lyon. On débitera des Londrins transparents comme de la Serge. On aurait du se contenter d'un gain honnête mais continu. On voudra faire rapidement de grands pro-

1. Beaujour, Tableau, τ. 1, σ. 54-76.

2. Πρβλ. Ἀπ. Βακαλόπουλον, Ἰστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, τ. 4, σ. 502, στοῦ ἴδιου, Ἰστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, σ. 503.

fits; la fraude alterera la confiance; les Turcs se dégouteront. Les Nations comme les particuliers ne sont pas longtems dupes des infidélités»¹.

Σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν ἄποψη τοῦ Beaujour, οἱ Ἔλληνες ἔμποροι τοῦ ἑξωτερικοῦ εἶναι τολμηροὶ στὶς ἐπιχειρήσεις τους, πειστικοὶ στὰ λόγια τους καὶ γοητευτικοὶ στὶς ὑποσχέσεις τους. Μόλις ὑποσκελίσουν τοὺς Γάλλους ἐμπόρους, προβλέπει ὁ Γάλλος πρόξενος, οἱ Ἔλληνες, Ἐβραῖοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, θὰ ἐπιστρέψουν στὶς πατρίδες τους, ἀφοῦ προηγουμένως ἀποκτήσουν μεγάλες περιουσίες. Ἡδη τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτήν, σημειώνει ὁ Γάλλος πρόξενος, ζῶν στὴν Θεσσαλίᾳ ὁρισμένοι Ἔλληνες, οἱ δόποιοι χαίρονται τὰ πλούτη τους ποὺ ἀπέκτησαν στὴν Ρωσία καὶ στὴν Γερμανία².

Παρὰ τὴν σημαντικὴ δραστηριότητα τῶν Ἔλλήνων καὶ Ἐβραίων ἐμπόρων στὴν Ἀνατολὴ, ὁ Beaujour διαπιστώνει ὅτι τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Τουρκίας βρίσκεται στὸ στάδιο τῆς παρακμῆς του ποὺ διφείλεται βασικὰ σὲ δύο αἰτίες: στὴν ἐρήμωση τῶν χωρῶν της καὶ στὴν ἀνάπτυξη τῆς βιομηχανίας ἀπὸ τὴν Βόρεια Εὐρώπη ὡς τὴν Ρωσία. Κάνοντας μιὰ ἀναδρομὴ στὴν τελευταία δεκαετία 1780-1790 ἀναφέρει ὅτι ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν τῆς Γαλλίας στὴν Τουρκία ὑπολογίζεται σὲ 8 ἑκατομμύρια λίρες tournois (ἀνὰ τέσσερα ἑκατομμύρια στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη, 500.000 στὴν Ἀδριανούπολη, 2½ στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη, Βόλο καὶ Σέρρες καὶ ἀνὰ ἔνα στὴν Πελοπόννησο (Κορώνη, Πάτρα) καὶ στὴν Λιβαδιά καὶ Ἀρτα), ἀλλὰ οἱ παραπάνω ἔξαγωγὲς δὲν εἶναι πάντοτε σταθερές. Ἐτσι π.χ. ὅταν οἱ εἰσαγωγὲς τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης λιγοστεύουν, αὐξάνουν στὴν Ἀδριανούπολη καὶ στὴν Ἀρτα³.

Τελειώνοντας τὸ ὑπόμνημά του ὁ Beaujour ἐπισημαίνει ἀκόμη μιὰ φορὰ τὸν κίνδυνο νὰ πέσῃ στὰ χέρια τῶν Ἔλλήνων τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ συμπεραίνει ἐπιγραμματικὰ τὰ ἔξης: «Notre commerce du Levant est perdu sans ressource s'il passe dans les mains des Grecs et si on le livre à une liberté illimitée»⁴. Στὴ συνέχεια δημοσιεύω τὰ τέσσερα ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Beaujour διατηρώντας αὐτοτρόπη τὴν δρθογραφία τους.

I. MÉMOIRE SUR LE COMMERCE ACTUEL DE SALONIQUE ET SUR L'ÉTAT MORAL DE CETTE ÉCHELLE

Le commerce du Levant a toujours été regardé comme une des principales branches de notre industrie. Marseille lui doit sa richesse, et tous nos départements méridionaux lui doivent la prospérité de leurs manufactures. Parmi les divers établissements que la république possède dans les échelles, celui de Salonique φ. χφ. 81

1. M A E, vol. 15, f. 131.

2. Ἀ π. Β α κ α λ ο π ο ύ λ ο ν, Ἰστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, σ. 504.

3. M A E, vol. 15, f. 132.

4. M A E, vol. 15, f. 133.

mérite par son importance de fixer l'attention du gouvernement. Les productions que notre marine marchande tire de cette échelle, sont une des mines les plus fécondes du commerce de nos provinces voisines de la Méditerranée et cette exploitation est susceptible d'un tel degré d'accroissement, qu'avec des soins et des encouragemens on peut espérer d'en voir doubler le produit dans l'espace de quelques années.

Tous nos objets d'échange avec les différentes isles de l'Archipel sont à peu près les mêmes qu'avec l'échelle de Salonique. Nous portons dans cette capitale de la Macédoine des draps, des bonnets, des galons, de la soyerie et dorures de Lyon, de la grenaille, quincaillerie, fayence et coraux, du cocô, de la canelle et cochenille, du café d'Amérique et de l'indigo de St. Domingue: et nous extrayons des bleds, des laines, des cotons crus or filés, de la cire, du suif, du goudron, de la soye crue, peaux de lievre, des cuirs bruts et tannés, des cuivres et du vermillon. Mais parmi ces derniers articles d'importation en France il en est deux qui méritent de fixer plus particulièrement notre attention parce qu'ils sont les plus importants de tous ce qu'ils paroissent d'ailleurs susceptibles d'être exploités avec le plus de fruit. Ces deux articles sont les laines et les cotons, qu'on peut regarder comme le fonds et l'essence de notre commerce dans la Turquie d'Europe.

Laines de Macédoine

La situation de la basse Macédoine depuis l'Olimpe jusqu'aux environs de la Cavalle est de nature à fournir des paturages abondans aux troupeaux des pays et à ceux d'une partie de l'Albanie. Des plaines fertiles et immenses, coupées par de grandes rivières et par des lacs, sont couvertes pendant l'hiver de nombreux troupeaux de brebis. C'est vers le mois d'Octobre que les neiges obligent les bergers de quitter les montagnes pour venir établir leurs bergeries dans les belles plaines qui avoisinent Salonique. Ces bergers ont besoin pour leur hivernage d'emprunter des sommes considérables; ils s'adressent ordinairement pour cela à diverses compagnies de janssaires qui leur font des avances φ. χφ. 82 sur une obligation de les rembourser en laines de la prochaine toute. Ces marchands janissaires se nomment moutafis, et c'est auprès des moutafis de Salonique que nos natiōnaux avoient coutume autre fois de se fournir de laines. Ces achats étoient assez économiques, peu embarrassans et convenoient sur tous les rapports à nos négocians établis sur l'échelle: il suffisoit pour cela de faire des avances aux moutafis qui se chargeoient de tous les détails de l'approvisionnement et du transport en ville; mais cette méthode facile pour nos achats n'existe plus en ce moment, ou du moins elle a prouvé de grands changemens; et voici comment.

La facilité de se procurer des laines aux environs de Salonique engagea la porte il y a quelques années, d'établir dans cette ville une manufacture de draps grossiers teints en bleu pour l'habillement de la milice de Constantinople. Le janissaire a gagné de cette capitale fut chargé de l'inspection de cette manufacture.

On nomma pour la diriger un Tchahous de l'odgial des Janissaires qui réside à Salonique. Celui-ci eût sous ses ordres un juif qui fait l'office de souss-directeur et qu'on nomme Tchikha - Dekili. Les priviléges de cette manufacture s'étendent sur toutes les qualités de laines, et consistent dans le droit de prélever vingt pour cent en nature sur toutes les aines dont on trafique à plus de 50 lieues, depuis la rivière de Verdac jusqu'aux environs d'Andrinople.

On sent que la concurrence des officiers turcs qui dirigent cette manufacture doit avoir écarté celle de nos négocians, et il faut avouer que depuis l'époque de son établissement nos achats en laines ont baissé considérablement. Nos manufactures établies dans le ci-devant languedoc ont été privées par là des matières premières qui les alimentoient, et la fabrication de nos londrins dont tout le monde connoit au Levant le debit prodigieux, a souffert un échec considérable.

Il s'en faut pourtant de beaucoup que les besoins de la manufacture de Salonique aient absorbé toutes les laines du pays, mais comme la cupidité est très ingénue dans les états Ottomans, le Tchahous et son lieutenant ont su tirer partie de leurs priviléges pour acheter toutes les toisons, et le monopole le plus odieux s'est établi sur les ruines de notre commerce. Dès lors il a fallu traiter avec ces monopoleurs pour avoir des matières premières, dont les demandes multipliaient à Marseille parceque le besoin s'en fesoit vivement sentir en Languedoc, et les officiers turcs nous ont alors rançonné sans pitié dans les achats et nous ont vraiment traité comme on dit de turc à...¹.

La hausse des matières premières a causé la cherté des draps que nous importons dans les lieux du grand-seigneur; les retours ont été dès lors comme les achats, et les étrangers ont avantageusement concouru avec nous dans cette partie principale de notre industrie: le mal n'est pourtant pas sans remede. En environnant nos négocians de Salonique de toute la protection nationale et en les dirigeant dans leurs opérations mercantiles d'après des bases sûres et économiques, on peut établir de nouveau la balance du commerce en leur faveur, et leur redonner les négocians étrangers cette supériorité qu'ils obtenoient dans tous les marchés avant l'établissement de la manufacture macedonienne.

φ. χφ. 83

Deux moyens se présentent à nos négocians pour acheter avantageusement les laines de macedoine et pour reprendre en cette partie leur supériorité sur les étrangers: le premier, c'est de s'établir en ligne, et d'acheter de concert des officiers turcs, du moins tant que durera leur monopole; les rivalités accoutumées ne feront point alors hausser la marchandise; la masse de leurs avances ecartera la concurrence des étrangers, dont les foibles moyens ne pourront se mesurer avec les leurs mis en commun, et tous nos commercans pourront alors acheter les laines à un prix raisonnable.

1. Ἡ μικροταινία δὲν περιέλαβε τὴν λέξη.

Ce moyen que ne peut s'exécuter que sous la direction d'un Consul habile a cependant un incovenient; c'est qu'il suppose un concert parfait parmi nos nationaux, et on sait combien il est difficile de réunir entr' eux des négocians que l'avidité du gain aveugle et qui croient voir des ennemis dans tous leurs concurrens. Le second moyen dont l'exécution paroît plus facile est d'engager nos negotians à faire immédiatement leurs achats dans les villages de la Macédoine, à multiplier leurs facteurs dans les campagnes, et à traiter directement avec les bergers macedoniens. On pourroit pour l'acquis du droit réservé au Tchihiaous s'abonner avec cet officier, et je présume que cet homme seroit d'autant plus traitable sur cet article, qu'il ne seroit pas obligé de partager ses profits clandestins avec les grands du pays qui paroissent avoir des fonds considerables sur l'espece de compagnie manufacturière établie par le ministre Ottoman à Salonique. Il est vrai qu'il faudroit alors des mises plus considerables de la part de nos nationaux, mais il leur seroit aisé de faire entr' eux des sociétés partielles ou d'établir des commandites, et de mettre ainsi leurs avances et leur profits en commun. Cette méthode serait plus lucrative que toutes celles qu'on a adoptées jusqu' aujourd'huy parceque l'on pourroit économiser sur tous les détails des achats, sur les frais de transport, et que les facteurs prenant les laines aussitôt après la toute, ils pourroient plus aisement s'avantager sur le prix des balles et sur la qualité des laines.

φ. χφ. 84

Cotons de Cères.

Les cotons sont encore une des branches principales de notre commerce à Salonique.

Le coton que nous désignons vulgairement en Europe sous le nom de coton de Salonique, se recueille dans une grande plaine éloignée de deux journées de cette ville, dans laquelle on compte plus de trois cent soixante villages, dont les habitants grecs ou turcs, sont presque tous employés à la culture de cette production, ou à en faire le voiturage. Au milieu de cette plaine est la ville de Cères, très considerable par son commerce, par ses manufactures, celles d'indiennes surtout, qui le disputent de lustre et de beauté à celles d'Allemagne.

Cères, sans être l'entrépot du coton, est devenu successivement celui des espèces qu'on porte de toutes parts pour l'achat de cette précieuse production de la Macédoine. Les jours de Dimanche on voit régulièrement se rassembler à Cères les vendeurs et les acheteurs. Ceux ci après avoir traité et être convenus du prix, font aux premiers des avances considérables, sans exiger d'eux ni billets ni déclaration quelconque; la bonne foi fait toute la solidité de cette espece de transaction, qui rappelle aux étrangers des souvenirs bien doux, en les reportant aux temps voisins d'homere. Il est moins que ces avances aient été perdues mais il arrive quelquefois, surtout lors qu'on traite avec les Turcs, qu'elles sont rendues,

quand, après la conclusion du marché, le coton hausse de prix. Cette infidélité pуреment turque pourtant rare, et la sécurité avec laquelle les francs confient à des Janissaires des sommes immenses, que ces derniers transportent de Salonique à Cères, est presque incompréhensible, surtout si l'on considère que les routes sont souvent infestées par des voleurs et que la police du pays sévère à la vérité, mais mal dirigée, est peu propre à garantir les voyageurs de leur brigandage.

On fait monter année commune, à soixante mille balles la récolte du coton qui se fait aux environs de Cères. Quinze à seize mille balles passent en Allemagne, huit à dix mille en France, deux mille en Angleterre et quatre à cinq mille en Italie. Le surplus reste dans les états du grandseigneur.

Les Grecs qui fréquentent l'Allemagne sont dans une rivalité presque continue avec les facteurs des négocians francs établis à Salonique, et ils ont ordinairement la supériorité sur eux, à raison de la connaissance qu'ils ont des localités et des frais qu'ils épargnent en achetant de la première main. Il serait aisément de leur enlever cet avantage en invitant nos négociants à envoyer des facteurs à Cères et dans ses environs du temps de la récolte, et il ne seroit pas plus difficile, en employant la méthode économique adoptée par les Grecs Allemands, d'épargner les frais de la commission qui sont toujours très dispendieux dans la main des Janissaires. On pourroit même acquérir sur les Grecs une espèce de supériorité, parce que les frais de leur transports qui se font à dos de mulets jusqu'à Sèlim, étant très couteux et leurs envois par conséquent très embarrassans il seroit aisément à nos négociants d'enlever sur les lieux tous les cotons avant qui ils eussent eu le temps de les transporter dans l'intérieur des terres. La concurrence de nos négociants leur seroit d'autant plus préjudiciable, que les mises de ces Grecs allemands ne peuvent pas être considérables étant obligés, pour leur charroir, d'entretenir un grand nombre de Mules et de chevaux.

R esumé

Le Commerce des laines et des cotons fesant le fonds principal de notre commerce à Salonique, il importe au Gouvernement français de l'alimenter par tous les moyens qui sont en son pouvoir. Le besoin de ces deux articles se fait vivement sentir dans toutes nos manufactures et on peut juger de leur rareté en France par leur excessive cherté. Ne négligeons donc pas les ressources précieuses que nous pourrons tirer pour cet objet de notre commerce avec Salonique; mais il faut pour cela rétablir la facture, que la République a sur cette échelle, dans cet état respectable d'où elle est déchue, depuis l'absence du dernier consul. φ. χφ. 85

L'état moral de cette échelle est des plus affligeans. La plupart des maisons françaises qui sont établies à Salonique, se voyant privées de puis quelque tems de la présence d'un consul, ont passé sous protection étrangère, et par la défection imprévue de tous ces nationaux, nos établissements français dans cette partie des

états du Grand Seigneur se trouvent réduits aujourd’hui à cinq ou six maisons. Cette reduction a fait la plus vive sensation sur les gens du pays et particulièrement sur les négocians étrangers, notre crédit peut en être ébranlé et le petit nombre de nos frères restés fidèles, dénués aujourd’hui de tout appuis et exposés, par la même a de fréquentes avanies de la part de leurs ennemis, n’osent plus se livrer à leurs spéculations commerciales. Les négocians autrichiens qui font le commerce de Salonique par Semlin et par Trieste, se démènent d’ailleurs de toutes les façons pour supplanter nos nationaux, et il est à craindre qu’ils se reunissent dans leurs tentatives, si le gouvernement de la République ne se hâte de fixer son attention sur notre établissement de Salonique, et d’environner les négocians qui trafiquent sur cette échelle de toute la protection d’une nation Puissante, généreuse, et naturellement chérie des turcs.

Que le gouvernement français jette donc un rigoureux propice sur l’échelle de Salonique, et le commerce français y refleurira. Qu’il s’y fasse représenter par un Consul digne de lui, et la France aura bientôt repris dans ces belles contrées, son crédit et sa Puissance.

II. SECOND MÉMOIRE DU CIT. FELIX SUR LE COMMERCE DE SALONIQUE

φ. χφ. 86

Après l’agriculture qui nourrit l’homme; L’industrie qui le vêtit et sème sur ses par tous les agréments de la vie, est l’objet le plus digne de la sollicitude du gouvernement. Perfectionner le premier de ces arts, vivifier l’autre, tel est son premier devoir et telle doit être sa principale occupation.

La plupart des nations de l’Europe étaient avant la guerre tributaires de notre industrie; le produit de nos manufactures circulait partout, soldait tous nos retours et établissait chez presque tous les peuples, la balance du commerce en notre faveur. Si nous aimons la prospérité de la République, nous devons donc nous attacher à donner plus d’activité à nos manufactures actuellement languissantes et s’il est possible à en créer des nouvelles.

De toutes nos manufactures les plus utiles sans contredit et celles qui par leur importance ont toujours parmi nous tenu le premier rang, ce sont manufactures de laines et de coton, et c’est aussi que celles que j’ai dirigé mes vues dans mon mémoire sur Salonique, en indiquant à nos négociants chez l’étranger les moyens les plus faciles de les alimenter.

Je ne connais pas de moyens plus efficaces pour acheter avantageusement les cotons de Macédoine que la méthode que j’ai indiqué et qui paraît conforme en dernière analyse aux vues de tous les gens habiles qui ont voyagé dans cette partie de la Grèce. C’est le seul moyen d’écartier la concurrence des Grecs d’Allemagne et même de donner au commerce de Macédoine une direction nouvelle.

Quant au commerce de laines, deux méthodes se présentent à nos négociants pour le faire avec avantage. La première, est d'envoyer des factures pour acheter les toisons dans les villages aussitôt après la toute et de traiter directement avec les bergers Macédoniens. Cette Méthode qui paraît la plus économique, mais elle est due à des incovénients, parce qu'elle heurte à la cupidité des officiers turcs φ. χφ. 87 qui sont intéressés dans les manufactures de Salonique.

La seconde méthode que je n'ai fait qu'indiquer et que je me propose de développer ici, est d'établir des Ligue s.

Qu'on se rappelle ce que j'ai dit dans mon memoire sur le privilège de la compagnie manufacturière établie par le Ministère Ottoman à Salonique. Les officiers turcs qui la dirigent se sont servis de leurs priviléges pour acheter toutes les laines de Macédoine et établir sur les ruines de notre commerce le monopole le plus odieux. Dès lors il a fallu traiter avec eux, ou renoncer aux Riches Ressources que nous a toujours fourni notre commerce avec Salonique.

Il s'agit donc de traiter avec ces monopoleurs de la manière la plus avantageuse et de nous garantir s'il est possible, d'être par eux rançonnés sans pitié. Il n'est pas de moyens plus simples pour éviter cet incovénient que de ne leur offrir pour chaland qu'une seule et grande Comm�ndite. La Concurrence ne fera plus alors rencherir la marchandise, et n'y ayant d'un côté qu'un acheteur comme il n'y aura de l'autre qu'un vendeur, l'un et l'autre seront obligés de déhansiger ensemble et de se faire des conditions. Mais, dirat' on, les négocians étrangers peuvent concourir avec nous dans cette partie importante de commerce Levantin et ouvrir aux laines macédoniennes de nouveaux débouchés en Italie. Il est bon à discuter cette objection qui est la seule raisonnable au fonds, qu'on puisse faire contre l'état de Ligue.

Plusieurs négociants achèterent il y a quelques années, la plus grande partie de laines de macédoine dans la persuasion que Trieste, Livourne et Gênes offroient un débit pour eux à ce genre d'exportations. Les commercans instruits furent d'abord surpris de ce nouveau débouché, ils ne pouvaient concevoir les motifs d'une marche aussi inusitée pour la consommation des laines macédoniennes dans notre pays ou cette consommation n'existaient auparavant que pour des parties peu considérables. Mais ils ne tarderent pas d'être detrompés. Les speculateurs Grecs qu'n'avoient en d'autre objet dans ce manège que de leurrer les français, et qui ne s'étaient substitués aux intéressés de la compagnie manufacturière que pour faire sur eux d'immenses profits dans la revente, furent du eux mêmes de leur avidité. On fit dans les ports d'Italie peu de demandes. Nos négociants d'accord entreux eurent le bon esprit de differer leurs achats; les laines demeurèrent entassées dans les magasins, faute de débouchés; le prix en diminua, et si nos négociants pressés par leurs commettans de Marseille ne se fussent empressés alors d'en faire passer en france des parties considérables, elles seroient presque de- φ. χφ. 88

meurées sans valeur. Cette leçon doit avoir dégouté les marchands Grecs de leurs spéculations.

Il est donc sûr que nous ne pouvons avoir à Salonique de concurrens étrangers. Jamais l'italie n'a consommé des parties considérables de laines et les spéculateurs qui avaient tant vantés les débouchés dont ils se flattaient en apparence, ont témoignés le plus vif empressement de vendre leurs laines à la Nation; en même temps on s'est apperçu de la crainte qu'ils avaient que ces laines ne leur restassent.

Or si la nation est ici la seule qui puisse faire de grands achats de laine, si elle n'a à craindre que sa propre concurrence, si le monopole de la nouvelle compagnie qui a tout envahi, qui fait la banque; par quoi toutes les affaires des grands du Pays se font, est bien avéré, si enfin nous sommes forcés de subir la loi d'une espèce de société financière, qui court tous les risques et prend toutes les peines de l'exploitation des laines, quel pourra être le motif puissant et victorieux qui oblige la nation de la livrer à une concurrence intestine, alimentée par la funeste rivalité? Et pourquoi offririons nous à la cupidité turque une concurrence qu'elle sait si bien attiser et qui présente dix à douze acheteurs, au lieu d'un seul. Ceux qui demandent la liberté dans ces portes voudroient insinuer que la concurrence augmentant le nombre des acheteurs, il en resulteroit pour le commerce une plus grande quantité de laines, comme si les avances réunies de la nation higuée, étoient moindres que celles de divers particuliers, comme si la nation ne pouvait acheter en gros tout ce que des marchandes privés pourroient acheter en détail.

Il est donc prouvé que nous sommes les seuls consommateurs des laines de Macédoine, que l'autre ne peut en consommer qu'une très petite partie et que la φ. χφ. 89 cupidité des spéculateurs ne peut avoir que les frais pour objet. Est il conséquent sous cet aspect de vouloir livrer ce retrait à la concurrence nationale il n'en sauroit résulter que la cherté progressive de l'article est une source intarissable de haines?

Le Gouvernement de la République à qui tous les genres de Prospérité nationale ne sauroient être étrangers ne négligera sûrement par le moyen que je lui présente d'exploiter avec avantage les laines de Salonique. Il se souviendra que la masse de nos exportations avec cette échelle était avant la guerre de trois millions et que celle de nos importations alimentait toutes nos manufactures méridionales, que ce commerce étoit tout à notre avantage, parceque nous ne portions à Salonique que des marhandises ouvrières et que nous n'en coetrayons que des matières brutes. Le gouvernement Français n'oubliera pas que le commerce de la Turquie entretient notre marine dans tout le midi, nourrit nos matelots et leurs familles, et qu'il importe à la prospérité commerciale de la République ainsi qu'à notre influence politique en Europe, de retenir en nos mains le commerce du Levant, et de conserver par là notre supériorité dans la Méditerranée.

*III. MÉMOIRE DU CITOYEN CONSUL DE SALONIQUE
SUR LES COTONS DE LA MACÉDOINE*

Les cotons de la Macédoine forment une des principales branches de notre φ. χφ. 111 commerce à Salonique. Le País qui les produit est le canton de Cérès.

On a cru Cérès Cheraklea-Sintica des Anciens. On s'est trompé. Cette ancienne ville était bâtie sur l'emplacement qu'occupe aujourd'hui un méchant village appelé heracli, situé à 12 lieues, Nord-Nord-Est de Salonique. Des médailles trouvées sur les lieux et où se lit le nom d'heraclé, la conformité des noms, la situation d'heraclée sur un faible ruisseau nommé Pontus, qui ne peut être la grande rivière qui serpente dans la Plaine de Cérès, tout concourt à prouver que Cérès est une ville moderne, dont l'origine ne peut pas même rencontrer aux premiers tems du Bas-Empire, puisqu' aucun écrivain Grec jusqu'à Meletius n'en a parlé.

Cérès est une colonie de Vallaques mêlée d'Albanais, fondée vers le 13ème siècle et augmentée depuis que les Turkmans venus dans la Grèce à la suite de hagi Pavrinos conquérant de la Macédoine et général d'Amurath 2. Elle est aujourd'hui peuplée de 35 mille habitants. Dans cette population, on compte 15 mille Turcs, autant de Grecs, trois mille Juifs, mille à douze cents Arméniens, et trois à quatre cents Facteurs de différentes nations, dont la plupart sont Allemands. Cette ville est renommée dans toute l'Europe par ses riches faires, et elle mérite d'être distinguée de toutes les villes de la Turquie Européenne par ses manufactures de coton, celles d'Indiennes surtout, qui le disputent de lustre et de beauté avec les indiennes d'Allemagne.

La ville moderne de Cérès est située à 15 lieues Nord-Est de Salonique, dans une plaine superbe qu'arrose le Strymon. Cette rivière naît au Nord de Cérès au pied d'une haute montagne coupée à pied, que les Turcs appellent dans leur langue Montagne noire, parcequ'elle est couronnée de roches petites et grisâtres. Il paraît que c'est le Mont que les Anciens connaissaient sous le nom de Scomius, et qui était une des chaînes du Rhodope. Le cours du Strymon en droite ligne est d'environ dix-huit lieues. Il vu se jette dans le Golfe où jadis était située Amphipolis, ce qui le fit quelque fois appeler des Anciens la Rivière d'Amphipolis-Torrent impétueux ou ruisseau paisible c'est la différence des saisons, le Strymon monte la plaine chaque printemps et la couvre des matières végétales qui se détachent des monts voisins; l'été il semble se trainer avec peine dans un lit profond et tortueux. La plaine qu'il arrose forme un beau bassin d'environ quarante lieues de tour. Le bassin est fermé de tous côtés par de hautes montagnes qui sont comme de bras de Rhodope et qui ne lui laissent un midi qu'une ouverture de deux lieues, par où la rivière s'échappe. La montagne qui est à l'est et qui sépare la Macédoine de la Roumelie propre, est le Pangeus Mons, celle à l'ouest est le Mont Cercina, le Scomius au Nord est une continuation du Pangée. Toutes ces Montagnes sont connues aujourd'hui sous le nom de Monts Castagnatz. On a préten-

du que les troupes d'Octave qui avaient tardé trop de tems à se réunir à celles d'Antoine avant la bataille de Philippes s'étaient imprudemment engagées dans cette vallée sans issue. Ce qui donne de la vraisemblance à cette opinion c'est qu'on a trouvé dans ces lieux des trophées romains où se lisait le nom d'Octavius Cesar.

La plaine de Cérès est peuplée d'environ trois cents villages, qui cultivent le coton dans des terres grasses et fertiles, situées près de leurs habitations. Ces φ. χφ. 112 villages sont soumis à des Agas ou Seigneurs Féodaux, qui sont presque tous indépendans. La servitude du paysan est réelle; elle n'est point personnelle, et moyennant au cens plus ou moins fort, il est quitte dans le droit de toute redevance. Pour tout service, l'Aga est obligé de mener à l'armée un certain nombre d'hommes en tems de Guerre; mais comme il ne peut les contrôler de force, il est obligé de les engager et de les nourrir à ses frais. Ces Seigneuries s'appellent Agalicks, et chaque Agalick a dans sa dépendance un nombre de villages déterminé. La plaine de Cérès renferme une douzaine d'Agalicks dont les principaux sont ceux de Zigna et de Drama, qui sont deux bourgades situées au Sud-Est de Cérès, distantes de cinq à six lieues de cette ville, et peuplées chacune d'environ trois mille paysans. L'Aga de Cérès est le plus puissant de tous, et il entretient plus de quatre mille hommes à son service.

Les Agas vivent indépendans dans leurs Donjons. Ils sont toujours environnés d'une quide d'Albanais, et ils se font la guerre entr'eux comme nos anciens Seigneurs. Il y a mieux parmi ces gens une espèce de trêve de Dieu, qui revient de tems en tems, et pendant laquelle les hostilités sont suspendues. On ne se bat pas non plus durant les Solemnités du Bairam qui sont les grandes Pères des Musulmans. Ces usages féodaux qu'on retrouve jusques dans le beau climat de la Grèce, confirment le système qui fait descendre la féodalité des déserts de la Tartarie.

La Porte fomante les divisions des Agas, et d'ordinaire elle envoie le cordon au plus faible, et quelque fois les queues au plus fort. Les Agas enhardis par l'impuéné, pittent les paysans; et quand ils ne sont pas dissipatans, ils amassent en peu de tems d'immenses fortunes. Le Divan cherche alors à les attirer dans les grandes villes, sous l'appât de quelque exploit brillant; et quand les Russes qu'ils ne lui échapperont pas, il leur envoie demander par un Cupidgi à la tête ou la bourse. Ainsi les relations des grands vont se perdre à la fin dans les coffres du Sultan.

Culture du Coton

Le Coton se sème dans le Canton de Cérès depuis la Mi-Ventose jusque la Mi-Germinal. La Sémence doit être légèrement humectée, et la terre doit être prête à la recevoir préparée par un bon labour. On l'y jette comme le blé, mais à plus petites poignées. Elle se place ensuite d'elle même dans les Sillons, au moins d'

une planche épaisse que traînent les bœufs, et sur laquelle monte le paysan qui les dirige. Il est essentiel de choisir des beaux jours pour semer, et même de les attendre. Les douces playes du printemps mettent bientôt après le germe en fermentation, et le font éclore. Si elles sont trop fortes et contiennent graisse et pourrit, surtout dans les terreins bas, et il faut resemcer. Dans ce cas, on en est quitte pour voir retarder la récolte.

Dès que les plantes ont acquis quatre ou cinq feuilles, elles ne demandent φ. χφ. 113 plus que d'être soignées, et éclaircies avec économie. Il faut laisser de l'une à l'autre au moins la distance du cinq ou six jours. Les tiges prématuées qui s'élèvent trop en donnant eux une croissance qu'elles refusent à leur fruit, se coupent à leur extrémité pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes. En général dans ce pays, où la nature est prodigue, on doit châtrer les plantes et les corbuttes, ou bien ils sont étouffés par la force de leur sève et menent par eux abondance de vie. Les deux procédés indiqués sont ceux que les Macédoniens emploient dans la culture du coton. La nature fait tout. Les beaux jours de l'été, la chaleur active d'un soleil brûlant, les rosées abondantes où les plages douces qui viennent tempérer les ardeurs de la canicule, donnent un coton soyeux, nourri et blanc. Les orages de l'automne le tachent, le jaunissent, et les vents impétueux le remontent avec sa coque et sa tige.

Chaque plante de coton portent jusqu'à 40 ou 50 gousses: elle n'en donne dans les mauvaises jours que quinze, vingt ou vingt cinq. Ces gousses ou coques sont de forme sphérique, et on reconnaît qu'elles sont mures, quand elles s'ouvrent, jaunissent et se séchent. C'est alors l'époque de la cueillette. Elle commence en Vendémiaire et dure jusqu'en brumaire, environ 40 jours. S'il reste à la fin de la cueillette des plantes chargées de coques qui ne soient pas ouvertes, on ne laisse pas que de les cueillir; et corrigeant la nature par l'art, on les expose au soleil, ou plus communément on les étend dans les fours chauffés d'une chaleur douce. Mais le coton qui en sort, n'est jamais d'une bonne qualité.

Le coton est une herbe à fleur d'une seule pièce et en forme de cloche, dont les étamines sont réunies, et dont le pistif devient un fruit à plusieurs loges. Guinée le nomme Gossipium herbaceum et le classe dans la Monodelphie polyandrie.

La fleur se divise en cinq lobes; son culier est double, et l'extérieur composé de trois feuilles comme dans les Mauves.

Le fruit est pointu dans le haut, formé par une capsule, obronde à quatre loges, à quatre buttrins renfermant plusieurs semences ovales, enveloppées d'un duvet plus ou moins blanc. Ce duvet est si serré dans chaque loge qu'après l'en avoir retiré, il serait impossible de le remettre tout entier dans la même place: le fruit s'ouvre de lui même dans sa maturité.

Les fruits sont découpés en cinq lobes et soutenus par de longs pétiotes.

Leur racine est immense, la tige herburee et cylindrique; la fleur naît et les feuilles sont placées alternativement sur les tiges.

Un terrain meuble, gras sans être compact, est le plus propre à la plante du coton. Elle aime aussi les terres un peu humides.

Quand le coton se vend bien, une quantité de terrain donné semé en coton produit un tiers de plus que s'il était semé en grains; et l'une et l'autre ces cultures exigent à peu près les mêmes préparations. Aussi la culture de coton se propage-t-elle de proche en proche, et depuis quelque tems elle a gagné jusqu' environs de Salonique.

Le coton peut être acclimaté dans nos départemens méridionaux. On a fait plusieurs essais dans ceux de Languedoc, et ils ont tous réussi. J'ai vu plusieurs variétés de cette plante qu'on a cultivées à Montpellier et qui ont donné des gains enormes et un coton d'une blancheur éblouissante.

Le climat de ces départemens n'est pas plus froid que celui de Macédoine. Quelque différence qu'il y ait dans la latitude des deux païs, le voisinage de Monts de Rhodope et de l'Olympe, apporte ici des fréquentes variations dans la température. L'air qui environne ces montagnes et qui circule dans les plaines de la Macédoine y refroidit considérablement l'Atmosphère. Le Thermomètre marque à Salonique à peu près le même degré de chaleur qu'à Nice, et il y fait certainement de plus grands froids.

Il est vrai que la plaine de Cérès qui produit le coton est entourée d'un cercle des montagnes; et qu'elle est à l'abri de tous côtés. Mais on trouve des abris et des sites aussi beaux dans le païs qui s'étend depuis Nice jusqu'à Marseille, et φ. χφ. 114 depuis Nîmes jusqu'à Perpignan. Je suis persuadé que la plante de coton mise en culture réglée dans ce païs réussirait parfaitement et qu'on pourrait ainsi la naturaliser en France.

Préparation du Coton

Les mains seules arrachent le coton de la coque. C'est un travail dont la famille s'occupe dans les veillées et dans les heures de loisirs. Un métier de plus simple construction sépare le coton de la graine. Il est composé de deux couleurs, l'un de bois, l'autre de fer, que l'on fait tourner sur eux-mêmes, au moyen d'une manivelle. Le métier est très léger; on le tient sur les genoux: d'une main on tourne la manivelle, de l'autre on approche le coton, qui passe en se déroulant entre les deux cylindres; la graine n'y saurait passer, parcequ'ils sont très rapprochés l'un de l'autre.

Le second procédé que l'on emploie pour la préparation du coton, est d'éplancher le duvet, et de le séparer de la terre et des feuilles qui s'y sont mêlées. Ce procédé est également simple et facile. On met le coton brut dans un crible de roseaux, fait comme une cage ronde et oblongue; on le bat, on l'agit, on le retour-

ne: et les parties hétérogènes s'échappent à Anvers les interstices des barraux.

On garde pour semence la graine des coques les mieux nourries. Les tiges arrachées de la terre après la cueillette servent pour le four, pour le feu du ménage, ou se donnent aux boeufs et aux moutons qui en sont très freuds. Il ne faut pas laisser trop longtems le coton dans la coque. Le dubet jaunit et l'on remarque que le coton le plus frais est toujours le meilleur.

Diverses Qualités du Coton

L' O u c h o u r. Les Agas ont la dîme du coton dans toute l'étendue de leur fief. Le décimé comme sous le nom d'Ouchour, est toujours le plus beau. Et comment ne le serait-il pas? C'est un tribut que paye la faiblesse de la force.

Le C a n t a r. Il est d'autres qualités de coton. Le Cantar est celui que les Agas recueillent dans leurs terres propres. Il est presque aussi beau que le l'Ouchour, parceque le champ que le produit appartenant à des propriétaires aisés, est cultivé avec de soin, et le coton préparé avec plus d'attention.

Le T a x i l i. On nomme Taxili celui qui provient des taxes imposées par la communauté du village, pour les dettes qu'elle a contractées envers l'Aga. Le Taxili est d'une qualité fine, parcequ'il est choisi parmi les meilleurs cotons du paysan; on le dépose dans un magasin public et il se vend pour compte de la masse.

Le C h e z m é. Le Chezmé est arraché du cœur de la coque; c'est la fleur du coton; aussi est-ce la plus belle de toutes les qualités, la moins abondante et la plus chère.

Le C i r a. On confond le reste sous le nom de Cira ou coton ordinaire.

Manière d'acheter le coton

Ces diverses qualités de coton se vendent toutes à tops. Les tops des masses liées avec deux longues pailles qui se croisent, ils renferment 700 quelque fais 800, rarement 900 Draguces de coton net. La paille ne doit peser que 20 Dragmes: mais par une mauvaise foi qui préside à la formation des tops, on la choisit souvent plus pesante, et la quantité du coton est alors diminuée à raison de l'excédant. La ville de Cérès est un marché commun où se rendent chaque dimanche les paysans de tous les côtés d'alentour. Les uns viennent offrir les cotons de leurs champs; d'autre côté les monopoleurs obscures, connus sous le nom de Matrapas, viennent des dupes, pour les colons qu'ils ont achetés à parties brisées de divers possesseurs, et qu'ils veulent revendre avec bénéfice, après les avoir manipulés à leur manière et avoir employé dans cette manipulation tous les procédés fraudules qui peut suggérer la cupidité. Les acheteurs sont des marchands commissionnaires établis à Cérès, ou des facteurs envoyés par les négociants Francs de Salonique. φ. χφ. 115

Ces facteurs ont besoin d'être munis de gros fonds, parce qu'ils leur faut payer les trois quarts des cotons Arrhés; ils achetent la marchandise, sans la voir, et ils ne vont dans les villages que pour la faire emballer et voiturer. C'est ainsi que se commencent des affaires immenses, qui se terminent sans courtier, sans écrit, sans garantir, mais seulement par des accords verbaux, toujours assez fidellement tenus. Il est vrai que l'on a à Cérés, auprès du Voivode, dans des jugemens sans appel, des moyens aisés de faire punir les infracteurs, et qu'au defaut de la probité la mauvaise foi est entrainée par la crainte.

Les droits du Grand-Seigneur sur le coton se bornent à un Bédéat qui se paye à Salonique lors de l'exportation par mer. Les cotons qui passent par terre en Allemagne ne payent que le Bédéat. Il faut remarquer, que l'oque est de 50 ouces ou 400 dragmes, et que la piastre qui vaut de trente à 40 sous de France se divise en 40 paras et 120 aspres.

Evaluation de la Récolte des Cotons.

On évalue la Récolte du Canton de Cérés de 60 à 70 mille balles de Coton. La balle est composée de deux tengs qui renferment 60 tops de 700 Dragmes, moins, quand les tops sont plus pesants; et en somme, environ 100 oques de coton net.

Le prix de l'article varie, selon que la récolte est plus ou moins abondante, la demande plus ou moins vive, le commerce plus ou moins animé, depuis 100 jusqu'à 150 aspres et en sus. En prennant un prix moyen de 120 aspres qui sont la piastre on voit que c'est un objet de six à sept millions de piastres. Les cotons de Cérés alimentent une grande partie des manufactures orientales de l'Europe. Les Allemands seuls en exportent annuellement 30 mille balles, les Français 12 milles; il s'en expédie le mille à Venize, 15 cents à Gênes. On en fait deux chargemens pour Londres et un pour Trieste.

En prennant la somme de ces exportations, on voit que les Européens seuls versent toutes les années en Macédoine plus de 5 millions de piastres, environ 10 millions de livres tournois, pour le seul article des cotons en Macédoine.

Tout ce qui n'est pas envoyé dans les états commercans de l'Europe, se rend en Turquie. On se fait quelque fois des chargemens pour l'Egypte et pour des Provinces Ottomanes. Il s'en emploie, partie dans les couvertures piquées qui sont à Cérés et à Salonique; partie dans cet usage où sont les Turcs, par principe de Religion, debouchés non du coton, à leurs morts des deux sexes, toutes les couvertures, tous les conduits naturels, tout le reste se file. On file aussi tout le coton qui se recueille dans les environs de Salonique et dans toute la Thessalie, et qui peut se monter à environ dix à douze mille balles. Ce coton a le loinage moins fin, moins soyeux, moins léger que celui de la France, mais il est aussi propre à la filature et il prend mieux la teinture, en absorbant moins de matière. Les champs

qui se produisent, sont eux de Panomi et de Vasilica dans la Macédoine, et eux de Pharsale et de Larisse dans la Thessalie.

*IV. MÉMOIRE DU CITOYEN LOUIS-AUGUSTE FELIX
CONSUL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE À SALONIQUE
SUR LA LIBERTÉ DU COMMERCE EN LEVANT*

La liberté du commerce en levant, donnée aux Etrangers, aux Capitaines, φ. χφ. 130 à tout le monde enfin, est elle avantageuse à la République, ou non? Voilà la question qui doit tirer l'attention du Gouvernement, dès qu'il voudra rétablir notre Commerce en Turquie. Je soumets à la sagesse de nos Législateurs quelques réflexions qui peuvent servir à la solution de ce problème, et qui sont le fruit de mon expérience et de mes observations.

C'est une vérité de fait que plus le commerce se traite avec économie, plus il acquiert d'étendue. Moins la marchandise est chère, plus grande est la production. Entre le producteur et le consommateur le Négotiant est une main accessoire, qui n'a de droit qu'au salaire de son tems. Ce salaire acervissant le prix de la Marchandise, elle devient d'autant plus chère et le consommation d'autant moindre, que le salaire l'élève d'avantage. Alors on achète moins, on rend moins, les Manufactures travaillent moins, et le commerce languit.

Je suis de ces maximes que la manière d'exploiter le commerce du levant la moins dispendieuse est aussi la plus avantageuse. Examinons donc dans quelle hypothèse le commerce du Levant se fait avec le plus d'économie.

Les Etrangers qui peuvent concourir avec nos facteurs à l'exploitation du commerce de Turquie, sont les Italiens, les Grecs et les Juifs. Enfin les Capitaines français qui naviguent dans le Levant. Or ni les uns, ni les autres ne peuvent employer dans ce commerce la même économie que nos facteurs.

Les sujets non-ottomans ne peuvent pas lutter avec nous dans le Commerce du Levant. Nous sommes la nation étrangère la plus favorisée dans l'Empire Ottoman. L'objet de nos envois est le produit de notre industrie et de nos colonies, et celui de nos retours ne peut être consommé que dans nos manufactures. Les Italiens n'ont point de marchandises coloniales et tout le monde sait qu'ils fabriquent mal et qu'ils fabriquent peu. On a bien cherché dans ces derniers tems à ouvrir aux laines et aux cotons en Levant des débouchés en Italie, mais on n'a pû y réussir. Les Italiens ne peuvent donc faire ce commerce que de la même manière que nous, et alors ils sont obligés d'employer plus de mains accessoires; ils paieront de plus que nous des frais de Commission. Ils ne peuvent donc pas avoir dans l'exploitation de ce commerce les mêmes avantages que nous.

Les sujets ottomans ne peuvent pas non plus soutenir la Concurrence. Ils payent cinq pour cent de Douane, tandis que nous n'en payons que trois sur l'an-

cien tarif, ce qui le rend deux. Nous ne payons que ce seul droit et dès qu'il est acquitté, nous pouvons librement transporter nos marchandises d'une Echelle dans l'autre. Les Ottomans au contraire payent une Douane à chaque déplacement de la Marchandise; ensuite dans toutes les villes de grande consommation, de Port qui sont très onéreux, et dont nous sommes entièrement exempts.

Les sujets du Grand-Seigneur qui s'adonnent plus particulièrement au Commerce sont les Juifs, les Grecs et les Arméniens. Diverses nations sont exposées à de fréquentes avanies de la part des Turcs. Elles ne peuvent se présenter aux Pachas dans les plus petites affaires, que la bourse à la main. Elles se régissent par elles-mêmes sous l'inspection des officiers de la Porte, outre les charges publiques, elles en supportent encore particulières. Partout les Communautés perçoivent sur chaque individu une taxe proportionnée à ses facultés réelles et dans certaines villes de la Grèce comme à Livadie, à Larissa, Salonique, on a mis un droit particulier sur l'industrie, qui prélève dans les Marchés publics. Il est vrai que ces diverses Nations emploient dans leur vêtement et dans leur nourriture un parcimonie qui leur est propre; mais cette économie domestique ne peut pas compenser les dépenses que leur ordonnent les extorsions des Grands, et ces extorsions sont un résultat nécessaire de leur existence politique.

Ces Nations ne peuvent donc concourir avec les français dans le Commerce du Levant, qu'en employant ces moyens odieux qui leur sont propres, et qui les ont si fort décriés dans toutes les Marchés de l'Europe.

Les Grecs et les Juifs passent avec raison pour les plus Friponts de la terre. Ce sont dans toute la rigueur de l'expression les deux Pestes morales du Commerce. Le Cœur est indigne et on est obligé par état de scruter leur immoralité profonde bonne foi est bannie de toutes les places où ils trafiquent. Demandez-Vous pourquoi il y a si peu de probité dans les divers marchés de la Méditerranée? C'est qu'ils sont infestés de Grecs et de la malheur aux peuples qui ont avec ces nations dégradées au point de contact.

φ. χφ. 131 *Cette dégradation morale parmi ces Nations est l'effet du vice social. L'homme n'est ainsi fourbe et méchant, qu'il est mal dans la société; et la première cause de son mal être, est sa nullité civile et politique. Ainsi jusqu'à ce qu'on ait rendu aux Grecs et aux Juifs les droits qu'ils ont perdus, ces deux Nations esclaves et vieillies demeureront les peuples les plus corrompus de la terre.*

La base de notre Commerce en Turquie est dans les Draps et les Galons. Les Grecs et les Juifs les rélateront. On nous inondera de faux-galons de Lyon. On débitera des Londrins transparents comme de la Seuge. On aurait dû se contenter d'un gain honnête mais continu. On voudra faire rapidement de grands profits, la fraude alterera la confiance; les Turcs se dégouteront. Les Nations comme les particuliers, ne sont pas longtemps dupes des infidélités.

Qu'arrivera-t-il? C'est que le Commerce des Draps et des Dorures prendra

son essor vers l'Allemagne, et que nous prendrons nos Manufactures de Lyon et de l'Ancre Languedoc. Cette conséquence est tellement liée à son principe, qu'elle mérite quelque développement.

Les Draps sont dans le Commerce du Levant l'article essentiel et majeur. Ils forment la moitié de la valeur de nos importations. La nation qui fournit cet article, fournit nécessairement tous les autres, parce qu'un Marchand qui rend deux fois plus qu'un autre dans un Pays surtout où les marchandises d'entrée donnent le plus gros bénéfice, doit nécessairement écraser, tous ses concurrents. C'est une vérité de fait, que quiconque dans un marché fournit l'objet principal, fournira tous les objets nécessaires.

Voyons donc si le Commerce des Draps est compatible avec la liberté du Commerce.

Nos Draps n'ont acquis leur Supériorité sur les Draps étrangers que par la vigilance du Gouvernement sur leur fabrication. Ils la perdront dès qu'ils ne seront plus inspectés; et l'inspection n'est pas conciliable avec la Liberté du Commerce. Notre Draperie soustraite à une sage police se décréditera par la mauvaise qualité et par les Fraudes. Les Lipsicks néanmoins nos Londonians, et malgré la beauté de notre teinture et la variété de nos Assortimens, les Turcs préféreront des Draps forts et durables à nos Draps brillans mais légers. Alors le Commerce du Levant nous échappera, il passera des mains des Français dans celles des Autrichiens, comme il passa des mains des Anglais dans celles des français dès que nous eumes supplanté nos rivaux dans l'article important des laines.

Les vices que nous venons de remarquer dans le Commerce de Turquie rendre libre, découlent de la nature des choses. Ceux que nous allons indiquer, tiennent plus aux personnes, mais ils ne sont pas réels.

Tel est le caractere des Grecs: ils sont hardis dans leurs entreprises, persuasifs dans leurs discours, séduisants dans leurs promesses. Ils peindront à leur Correspondans Marseille, toutes les opérations mercantilles sous de leurs couleurs; ils les engageront dans des affaires périlleuses, finiront par les ruines.

Comme le régime des Pachalics est tortonnier, coupe souvent la tête au riche pour puiser dans sa caisse du trésor des riches marchands Grecs ira souvent grossir le...¹ et les banqueroutes de leurs amis se multiplieront à Marseille. Alors cette ville célèbre perdra les avantages de sa situation admirable: Trieste, Venise, Livourne, Gênes s'em...² de ses dépouilles et fleuriront par nos imprudences et nos malheurs.

Le Commerce de Turquie n'est plus dans son enfance. Nous l'avons porté

1. Σβησμένη λέξη.

2. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.

à son plus haut degré de prospérité. Tous les états du commerce depuis quinze ans nous prouvent que bien loin de croître, il ne fait que décliner. Les causes de son déclin sont dans la dépopulation du País et dans l'esprit manufacturable qui s'est répandu dans le Nord de l'Europe et qui a pénétré jusqu'en Russie: la concurrence des Etrangers ne semble donc lui donner plus d'étendue.

L'Expérience du passé vient à l'appui de cette assertion. On a vu les Etrangers jouir plusieurs années de la liberté du Commerce et le Commerce n'a point augmenté avec le nombre des établissements. On a vu sur cette Echelle le nombre des Etablissements français fixé en huit, réduit à six, porté à douze, et jamais le Commerce n'a suivi la même progression; il a toujours été le même. Cependant si le plus ou le moins de Concurrens avaient pu produire dans les ventes et les achats plus ou moins de consommation et de portation, ne l'aurait vu pas remarqué aux époques successives de ces variations.

Quest-il arrive? C'est que ces variations dans l'exploitation du commerce n'ont produit qu'une chose; elles ont affaibli le Commerce particulier de chaque Négotiant, et la proportion du nombre; plus il y avait des Commerçants tant ils faisaient d'affaires; ils en faisaient plus, lorsqu'ils étaient moins. Mais la masse du Commerce a toujours été la même. C'est ici une vérité qui est susceptible d'une démonstration dont les états du Commerce nous présentent les éléments.

En prenant un terme moyen dans les Etats du commerce de 1780 à 1790 (V.S.), on trouve que les exportations de France dans la Turquie d'Europe sont de 8 millions de livres tournois que se partagent les diverses Echelles de cette manière: Constantinople 4 millions—Andrinople 500.000 livres—Salonique avec ses agences de Volo et de Céres, deux millions et demie. La Morée avec ses échelles de Coron, de Naples, de Patras et ses dépendances d'Athènes, de Livadie et de l'Arta un million.

On trouve aux mêmes époques que les importations de la Turquie d'Europe en France sont-de Constantinople et d'Andrinople un million et demie—de Salonique et de ses agences, 4 millions—de Morée et de ses dépendances, un million et demi-en tout 7. millions.

Le restant du solde qui est d'un million, s'est payé durant ces dix années en sequins de Venise ou en talaris de Hongrie.

La division de cette masse de Commerce parmi les diverses Echelles de la Turquie Européenne n'est pas toujours la même. Quand les entrées diminuent à Salonique, elles augmentent à Andrinople et à Arta, elles augmentent à Salonique, quand elles diminuent ailleurs, parceque l'intérieur des Serres se fournit tantôt dans une Echelle, tantôt dans une autre. En un mot: les termes de la division varient d'après les circonstances; mais c'est toujours l'une des Echelles indiquées qui reçoit de plus ce que l'autre reçoit de moins; l'une gagne ce que l'autre perd

et les produits réunis forment toujours la même dividence. Le Commerce ne croit donc pas dans ces contrées en raison de la concurrence.

Deux mots encore vont ajouter à ma démonstration. Les Magasins des Négocians français établis en levant et ceux des Négocians de Marseille qui traffiquent avec eux, offrent en tout tems à l'acheteur un assortiment complet de toutes les marchandises. Les envois n'en sont pas établis seulement à raison de la Consommation, mais l'excèdent, toujours; et jamais on n'a vu la marchandise manquer à la demande. L'introduction des Etrangers dans le Commerce de Turquie ne produirait donc point un plus gros volume d'exportation; elle ne pourrait servir qu'à leur faire partager avec nous des profits, qu'il est d'une sage politique que nous nous réservions exclusivement.

Dans l'état actuel des choses (a) le Commerce du levant emploie un grand nombre de Français. Ce sont des Négociants qui s'expatrient, des Commis qui les suivent et qui les remplacent: les uns et les autres, après dix, douze ou quinze ans de séjour, retournent dans leur patrie, pour y jouir du résultat de leurs travaux; ils y portent leur richesse, qui se confondre avec la richesse de l'état qu'elle alimente et qu'elle...¹.

Si les Etrangers deviennent les agens de notre Commerce, le bénéfice que font maintenant les nationaux sera perdu pour l'état. Il ne recevra plus la fortune que nos facteurs qui versaient chaque année: Le Juif, le Grec, l'Arménien après s'être enrichis à nos dépens, retourneront dans leurs païs, ils y porteront leur fortune. Ce n'est point une hypothèse gratuite. On trouve dans les principales contrées de la Grèce, et surtout dans les Montagnes de Thessalie, une foule d'anciens Marchands, qui consomment tristement des Villages grecs, loin des regards des Beys, une fortune brillante, acquise en Russie et en Allemagne.

Et qu'on ne dise pas que les avantages politiques que nous leur offririons, pourraient être un appât pour eux et les restans à jamais parmi nous; qu'ils préféreraient le séjour de la vie plein de jouissances et de plaisirs, à celui de la Turquie, où ils éprouvent la Tyrannie perpétuelle du Gouvernement et...² l'opinion. On ne connaîtrait pas l'attrait invincible du païs natal, les charmes du plus beau climat du monde et la puissance des habitudes patriotiques (b). Le

a) Je parle toujours de notre situation en Levant avant la Guerre

1. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.

2. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.

b) Il y a dans mon consulat plusieurs Juifs répandus à Salonique et à Larissa qui sont sous la Protection française et qui jouissent d'énormes fortunes. Je les ai souvent invités à les réaliser et à les porter en France, leur promettant qu'ils trouveraient dans ce beau Païs une grande liberté et toute sorte d'agrémens. Ils m'ont constamment répondu que la France devenue libre, était bien le païs étrangers qu'ils aimait le mieux, mais qu'ils n'abandonnaient jamais les Sepulchres de leurs pères. Cependant le Juif a l'humour cosmopolite, et il est bien moins attaché à ce païs ce

Grec...¹ d'envoi là où il ne pourrait se livrer à ses gouts imp...² qui sont si différents des nôtres, et où il ne pourrait repa...³ ses yeux du spectacle d'une nature merveilleuse, sort par ses charmes, soit par son honneur.

Ce sont des causes locales et des circonstances particulières qui ont donné lieu aux Etablissements grecs de Livourne, de Trieste et de Vienne, et ces établissements ne seront pas permanens. Le grand Douanier d'Egypte qui végète l'Italie donnerait la moitié d'une fortune de plusieurs millions, pour aller mourrir en paix dans les Montagnes du Liban.

φ. χφ. 133 *On dira encore mais le commerce des Allemagnes fleurit en Turquie, et il est dans les mains des Grecs. Je réponds que l'esprit de Commerce était peu connu des Allemands, quand les Grecs ont fait leurs premiers essais; que le Commerce des Grecs est demeuré longtems dans un état de torpeur; mais que dès que l'industrie s'est éveillée dans les Etats héréditaires, les Autrichiens ont formé par eux mêmes des établissements en Turquie; et que c'est précisément depuis cette époque que le Commerce autrichien a fait des progrés vraiment alarmans pour nous.*

Il est donc démontré que l'admission des Etrangers au Commerce du Levant ne saurait être avantageux à la France.

Il est juste que tous les Français puissent participer au bénéfice du Commerce du Levant. Mais on a toujours pensé que ce commerce devait être limité dans les mains des Capitaines, et c'est ce qui a déterminé l'ancien gouvernement à fixer leur Pacotille à la somme de dix mille livres, et à leur interdire le Commerce des Draps.

L'achat et la Vente des Marchandises dans le Levant exigent des connaissances que les Capitaines n'ont pas et qu'ils ne peuvent avoir(c). Pressés de vendre parcequ'ils sont pressés de partir, ils donnent leurs marchandises au rabais et achettent celles du País au dessus du cours de la Place: par là, ils avilissent le prix de nos marchandises, et ils font hausser celui des marchandises étrangères. La facilité qu'ils ont de se soustraire à la police qu'un Consul peut exercer sur des Négocians à demeure; leur offre l'occasion de faire des versemens frauduleux dans les échelles. Ce Commerce interlope discrédite notre main d'œuvre, excite le courroux des Turcs et expose les Capitaines à des avanies, qui dégradent la

que le Grec, qui regarde la Grèce comme sa partie propre et le Turc comme une bête incomode mais passagère.

1. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.
2. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.
3. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.

c) Entr' autres choses ils ne savent les langues du País et ils ne peuvent servir pour Interprètes que de...Juifs qui...un...l'Italien et le Provençal: or la probité Juive. (Ἡ τελευταία αὐτὴ φράστη βρίσκεται στὸ περιθώριο τῆς ἔκθεσης τοῦ Beaujour καὶ παρουσιάζει δυσκολίες ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωση ὥρισμένων λέξεων).

Protection française. Ajoutter que l'intérêt de leur pacotille les retient trop de tems en Levant, et que ce séjour prolongé est aussi préjudiciable à l'activité de notre Navigation qu'aux avantages de leurs Nolisataires.

Il est donc essentiel qu'on fixe de nouveau une Pacotille aux Capitaines et qu'on les oblige à adresser leurs marchandises aux maisons françaises, à l'instar des autres Négocians, dès que ces marchandises passeront la valeur déterminée.

Ce n'est qu'en circonscrivant aussi le Commerce du Levant, qu'on pourra le rétablir, et l'élever au degré de prospérité où il était monté avant la révolution. Ce Commerce diffère autant des autres Commerces que la Turquie diffère des autres états par sa Constitution. On ne peut lui appliquer les maximes du Commerce Européen; il lui faut un régime particulier. Il en coute de se faire prophète de malheurs; mais on dit la vérité à son País. Notre Commerce du Levant est perdu sans ressource s'il passe dans les mains des Grecs et si on le livre à une liberté illimitée. Tous les principes théoriques ne démentiront jamais la pratique et l'expérience (d) est un...¹ pour nous.

A Salonique le 1er Frimaire l'an 5e de la République française.

2. ΟΙ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΚΕΣ ΣΥΝΑΛΛΑΓΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ (ΤΕΛΗ 18ου ΑΙΩΝΑ - 1817)

Στὰ τέλη τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα μὲν ἀρχὲς τοῦ 19ου τὰ ἐμπορεύματα τοῦ ἔξωτερικοῦ ποὺ παρουσάζουν μεγάλη ζήτηση στὴν ἀγορὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης εἶναι τὰ μάλλινα ὑφάσματα, τὰ μεταξωτὰ ἀπὸ τὴν Lyon, τὸ βελούδο, χαρτὶ καὶ οἱ τσόχες. Τὰ πλοῖα ποὺ φθάνουν ἀπὸ τὴν Τεργέστη εἶναι φορτωμένα μὲ σίδερο, χαρτί, γυαλικὰ Βοημίας, ὑφάσματα Γερμανίας, καθρέφτες, ἄργυρο, ρολόγια, μαντήλια, καφὲ καὶ μόλυβδο, ἀπὸ τὴν Βενετία μὲ μεταξωτὰ καὶ βιτριόλι. Ἐπίσης διάφορα ἄλλα προϊόντα συγκεντρώνονται ἐδῶ ἀπὸ τὴν Μασσαλία, Λιβύρνο, Γένουα καὶ Κάδικα. Σημαντικότερα ἔξαγωγικὰ προϊόντα προορισμένα γιὰ τὴν Γαλλία εἶναι τὰ βαμβακερὰ ὑφάσματα, σιτηρά, καπνὸς καὶ δέρματα. Ἡ τιμὴ τῶν παραπάνω ἐμπορευμάτων δὲν εἶναι σταθερὴ καὶ κυμαίνεται συνεχῶς².

Τὸ εἰσαγωγικὸ ἐμπόριο διακινεῖται μὲ ἀγγλικὰ πλοῖα ποὺ μεταφέρουν τὰ ἀποικιακὰ προϊόντα μέσῳ τῆς Μάλτας, τῆς Υδρας, τῶν Σπετσῶν καὶ τῶν

d) *Je ne citerai qu'un fait: en 1731 tous les négocians français qui traffiquaient en Levant, étaient ruines par l'activité de la Concurrence étrangère; le Commerce dépérissait. Maurepas, qui était alors à la tête du Ministère de la Marin e fit des réglements sages. On les observa, et le Commerce repris dans cinq ans tous ses avantages. On peut consulter à ce sujet les états du Commerce depuis 1725 jusqu'à 1740 qui se trouvent dans les Archives de la Chambre du Commerce de Marseille.*

1. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.

2. M A E, vol. 16, ff. 374-375.

Ψαρῶν. Ἡ μισὴ ποσότητα τῶν βαμβακερῶν ὑφασμάτων φθάνει ἀπὸ τὴν Σμύρνη καὶ ἡ ὑπόλοιπη ἀπὸ τὴν Μάλτα καὶ ἄλλα λιμάνια¹.

Στὴν περιοχὴ Θεσσαλονίκης παράγονται ἑτῆσια 380.000 κιλὰ σιταριοῦ ἄριστης ποιότητας καὶ 180.000 κιλὰ κριθαριοῦ, στὴν Κατερίνη 90.000 κιλὰ κριθαριοῦ καὶ 15.000 κιλὰ σιταριοῦ, στὸν Βόλο 350.000 κιλὰ σιταριοῦ καὶ 100.000 κιλὰ κριθαριοῦ. Μεγάλες ἀποθήκες σιταριοῦ κτίζονται τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτὴν στὴν Κασσάνδρα². Ἡ βιομηχανία τῶν χαλιῶν καὶ τῶν μάλλινων ὑφασμάτων ἀποδίδει πλούσιους καρπούς. Οἱ κυριότερες ἐμποροπανηγύρεις γίνονται κάθε χρόνο στὶς Σέρρες (τὸν Ἰανουάριο), στὴν Λαμία (τὸν Μάρτιο), στὸ Σέλιμνο (τὸν Μάϊο) καὶ στὴν Doglia (τὸν Ὀκτώβριο)³.

Μὲ τὸ ὄνομα Ντόλια ἡ Ντόλιανη ἀναφέρονται δύο κωμοπόλεις, στὶς οποῖες γίνονται ἐμποροπανηγύρεις, ἡ μιὰ κωμόπολη κοντὰ στὴν Βέροια καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κοντὰ στὴν Στρώμνιτσα στὰ σημερινὰ ἐλληνογιουγκοσλαβικὰ σύνορα. Ἐδῶ δῆμος εἶναι φανερὸς ὅτι πρόκειται γιὰ τὴν δεύτερη κωμόπολη, γιατὶ σ' αὐτὴν ἡ ἐμποροπανηγύρη γινόταν μετὰ τὸ 1750 κάθε Ὀκτώβριο⁴.

Στὰ 1810 τὰ ἐλληνικὰ πλοῖα ἔξυπηρετοῦν τὸ διαμετακομιστικὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ μεταφέρουν, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγγλικὰ προϊόντα, ζάχαρη, νήματα Ἰνδίας, μάλλινα ὑφάσματα, βαμβακερὰ ποὺ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τὴν Σμύρνη καὶ τὴν Μάλτα. Ἐξάγεται καφές, ζάχαρη. βαμβακερά, νήματα, σιτάρι, λουλάκι πρὸς τὴν Μάλτα, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ σιτάρι ποὺ προορίζεται γιὰ τὴν Αὐστρία. Μόνο κατὰ τὸ πρότο τρίμηνο τοῦ 1810 ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν ἀνῆλθε σὲ 2.000.000 φράγκα⁵. Μεταξὺ 1811-1814 οἱ ἔξαγωγὲς αὐξάνουν καὶ μεγάλες ποσότητες βαμβακιοῦ, ζάχαρης, σιτηρῶν, κανέλλας καὶ πιπεριοῦ κατευθύνονται σὲ διάφορα λιμάνια τῆς Μεσογείου, ὅπως στὴν Σμύρνη, Μάλτα, Κωνσταντινούπολη καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρεια⁶.

Μὲ τὸ τέλος τῶν ναπολεόντειων πολέμων τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης μὲ τὴν Μασσαλία ἀρχίζει καὶ πάλι νὰ ἀναπτύσσεται σιγὰ-σιγά. Στὰ τέλη τοῦ 1815 ἔφθασαν τέσσερα πλοῖα μὲ μικρὲς ποσότητες ἐμπορευμάτων, χωρὶς δῆμος νὰ μεταφέρουν βαμβακερὰ ὑφάσματα ἀπὸ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη⁷.

1. Μ Α Ε, vol. 16, ff. 137-138.

2. Μ Α Ε, vol. 16, f. 390.

3. Μ Α Ε, vol. 16, ff. 375-376. Πρβλ. Ἀ π. Β α κ α λ ο π ο ύ λ ο ν, Ἰστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, σ. 495.Βλ. καὶ Κ ω σ τ Ἡ Μ ο σ κ ώ φ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1700-1912, Τομὴ τῆς μεταπρατικῆς πόλης, Θεσσαλονίκη 1974, σ. 62.

4. Γιὰ τὶς δύο χωριστές ἐμποροπανηγύρεις μὲ τὸ ὄνομα Ντόλιανη βλ. Κ. Μέρτζιον, Ἐμπορικὴ ἀλληλογραφία ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης, «Μακεδονικά» 7 (1966-1967) 143-147. Πρβλ. Ἀ. Β α κ α λ ο π ο ύ λ ο ν, Ἰστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, σ. 275.

5. Μ Α Ε, vol. 16, ff. 108-110.

6. Μ Α Ε, vol. 16, f. 220.

7. Μ Α Ε, vol. 16, f. 210.

Πάντως ἡ ἀξία τοῦ ἔξαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν Μασσαλία εἶναι τριπλάσια ἀπὸ τὶς εἰσαγωγές¹. Σὲ σχετικὸ ἀναλυτικὸ πίνακα μὲ τίτλῳ «Tableau Général des marchandises qui ont été expédiées par mer de Marseille à l'echelle de Salonique et de Salonique à Marseille pendant le courant de l'année 1815» ἀναφέρονται ὡς βασικότερα ἐμπορικὰ εἴδη μεταξὺ τῶν δύο παραπάνω λιμανιῶν τὰ μαλλιά τοῦ Languedoc, καφές, σιρόπι, λικέρ, καπνός, γυαλικά σκεύη, βαμβακερά ύφασματα καὶ ἄλλα μικρὰ εἴδη ἐμπορίου².

Στὰ 1817 τὸ Ἰταλικὸ καὶ γερμανικὸ ἐμπόριο στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη παρουσιάζει ὁρισμένες αὐξομειώσεις. Ἡ συνολικὴ ἀξία τῶν ἐμπορικῶν συναλλαγῶν μὲ τὴν Γερμανία ὑπολογίζεται σὲ 5.000.000 φράγκα, ἀπὸ τὰ ὅποια τὰ δύο προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὸ ἐμπόριο μέσω Τεργέστης καὶ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τρία ἀπὸ τὴν διακίνηση τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων ἀπὸ τὴν ξηρά. Ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἐμπορικῶν συναλλαγῶν μὲ τὸ Λιβύρνο καὶ τὴν Γένουα κυμαίνεται σὲ δύο ἑκατομμύρια φράγκα, μὲ τὴν Μάλτα σ' ἕνα καὶ μὲ τὰ ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου συνολικὰ σὲ δύο. Γεγονός πάντως εἶναι ὅτι τὸ Λιβύρνο καὶ ἡ Μάλτα, ποὺ χρησιμεύουν σὰν ἐμπορικὲς ἀποθήκες γιὰ τοὺς Ἀγγλους, ἔχουν τώρα ὑποκαταστήσει τὴν Μασσαλία ὡς πρὸς τὶς ἐμπορικὲς σχέσεις τῆς μὲ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη³.

Σ' ἔκθεσή του, γραμμένη στὶς 16 Ἰουλίου 1817, πρὸς τὸ Ὑπουργεῖο Ἐξωτερικῶν ὁ Félix Beaujour ἐπισημαίνει τὴν κάμψη τοῦ ἐμπορίου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης⁴. Τὰ ἔξαγόμενα προϊόντα παραμένουν τὰ ἴδια γιὰ ὅλα τὰ κράτη: βαμβάκι, μετάξι, κερί, σφουγγάρια καὶ δέρματα λαγῶν, ἀλλὰ εἶναι διαφορετικὰ γιὰ κάθε χώρα: γιὰ τὴν Γαλλία προορίζονται βασικὰ τὸ μετάξι, γιὰ τὴν Γερμανία τὰ μαλλιά, γιὰ τὴν Ἰταλία τὸ χαρτί, μετάξι, γιὰ τὴν Ἀγγλία ὁ καφές, ἡ ζάχαρη, λουλάκι, ύφασματα καὶ νήματα. Κάποτε ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη ἔκαμε ἔξαγωγές νημάτων (καὶ θὰ ἐννοή ἀσφαλῶς ὁ Γάλλος πρόξενος τὰ νήματα τῶν περίφημων συνεταιρισμῶν τῶν Ἀμπελακίων καὶ τῆς περιοχῆς τῶν Τεμμυρῶν), τὰ ὅποια ὅμως σήμερα εἰσάγει, ἐπειδὴ τὰ νήματα τῆς Ἀγγλίας καὶ τῆς Γαλλίας εἶναι καλύτερα καὶ φθηνότερα. Μετὰ τὸ 1815 οἱ ἔξαγωγές τῶν βαμβακερῶν ύφασμάτων ἔχουν σταματήσει πλέον γιὰ τὴν Γαλλία καὶ τὴν Ἀγγλία καὶ προορίζονται γιὰ τὴν Γερμανία καὶ τὴν Πολωνία. Ὁ Γάλλος πρόξενος σημειώνει ἀκόμη ὅτι στὸ ἐμπόριο μὲ τὴν Μασσαλία τὸ βαμβάκι πρέπει νὰ ἀντικατασταθῇ τώρα ἀπὸ τὸν καπνό, ἐπειδὴ ὁ καπνὸς τῆς Μακεδονίας, ὅπως χαρακτηριστικὰ γράφει «nous convient mieux que celui de Virginie. Il faut donc ouvrir à ce tabac le marché de la France et chercher à em-

1. M A E, vol. 17, ff. 210-211.

2. M A E, vol. 17, f. 236.

3. M A E, vol. 17, ff. 323-324.

4. M A E, vol. 17, ff. 326-327.

pêcher qu'il n'y renchérisse trop: Or le seul moyen d'empêcher ce renchérissement, est de ne pas l'acheter en concurrence avec les Grecs»¹.

“Ας δοῦμε τώρα ποιοὶ ήταν οἱ σημαντικότεροι εύρωπαικοὶ ἐμπορικοὶ οἴκοι στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτήν. Ὁ ἐμπορικὸς οἶκος τῶν Αὐστριακῶν Vianelli θεωρεῖται ὁ πλουσιότερος τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ διατηρεῖ ἐμπορικὲς σχέσεις μὲ τὴν Βιέννη, Βρέμη, Φρανκφούρτη, Λειψία κυρίως ὡς πρὸς τὴν μεταφορὰ ἀποικιακῶν προϊόντων. Ἀλλοι σημαντικοὶ αὐστριακοὶ ἐμπορικοὶ οἴκοι εἶναι τοῦ Theodore Loëhley, τοῦ G. Coch, τοῦ G. Beyer, Werbeil καὶ Barahell. Ἡ Ἀγγλία ἀντιπροσωπεύεται ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐμπορικοὺς οἴκους τοῦ προξένου Charnaud, τοῦ Abbott καὶ Chassaud², τοῦ Graziani καὶ τέλος τοῦ Jean Fazi ἀπὸ τὴν Γενεύη, ὁ όποῖος εἶναι ἐγκαταστημένος στὸ Λονδίνο καὶ διεξάγει ἐμπόριο ρολογιῶν καὶ ἀποικιακῶν προϊόντων. Οἱ σημαντικότεροι ἐλληνικοὶ ἐμπορικοὶ οἴκοι εἶναι τῶν ἀδελφῶν Γούτα Καφαντζόγλου³, Πάϊκου, Ρογκότη, Κωνστ. Σκάμπαλη, Παπαθέου, Κάκου, Μπαλάνου, στοὺς όποίους ὁ Beaumour συγκαταλέγει καὶ τοὺς ἔβραικοὺς Μισραχῆ καὶ Fernandez. Συνεργάζονται στενά μὲ τοὺς ἀγγλικοὺς καὶ αὐστριακοὺς οἴκους εἰς βάρος τοῦ γαλλικοῦ ἐμπορίου μεταφέροντας βιομηχανικὰ προϊόντα καὶ ἔχουν σχηματίσει τεράστιες περιουσίες⁴.

Στὰ τέλη τοῦ 1816 καὶ στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 1817, ἡ δραστηριότητα τῶν Γάλλων ἐμπόρων στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη μειώθηκε αἰσθητά ἀπὸ τὸν θάνατο τῶν κυριοτέρων μελῶν τῶν γαλλικῶν ἐμπορικῶν οἴκων στὴν πόλη αὐτή, τοῦ Thomas Vailhen καὶ τοῦ François Tavernier. Ἀπὸ τοὺς Γάλλους ἐμπόρους ποὺ παραμένουν τώρα στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη οἱ Reboulet καὶ Fouquier δὲν ἔχουν καταβάλει ἀκόμη ἐγγυήσεις, ἐνῶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Antoine καὶ Louis Parsy δὲν ἔχουν καμιὰ σχεδὸν σχέση μὲ τὰ γαλλικὰ ἐμπορικὰ συμφέροντα. Ἀλλοι Γάλλοι ἐμποροὶ εἶναι οἱ François Masse καὶ François Auband⁵.

3. ΟΙ ΔΙΑΚΥΜΑΝΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΑΓΩΓΙΚΟΥ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟΥ (1818 - 1821)

Στὰ 1818 τὸ γαλλικὸ ἐμπόριο μὲ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη ἔχει πέσει σὲ μαρασμό. Παρουσ ἄζονται δρισμένες δυσκολίες ποὺ ὀφείλονται στὴν διακίνηση τῶν γαλλικῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, στὴν ἀστάθεια τοῦ τουρκικοῦ νομίσματος,

1. M A E, vol. 17, ff. 326-327.

2. Bl. Yves-Jean Dumon, Τὸ μητρῶν βαπτίσεων τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας Θεσσαλονίκης (1702-1727), «Μακεδονικά» 11 (1971) 42-45. Πρβλ. Constantin A. Vacalopoulos, Contribution à l'histoire de la colonie européenne de Thessalonique vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle, «Μακεδονικά» 12 (1972) 189-192.

3. Bl. σχετικὰ Κωνσταντίνου Δ. Μέρτζιον, Μνημεῖα Μακεδονικῆς Ἱστορίας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1947, σ. 288-289, 400, 447, 455.

4. M A E, vol 16, ff. 108-109.

5. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 17-20.

στὴν ἔλλειψη οἰκονομικῶν πόρων τῶν Γάλλων ἐμπόρων καὶ παράλληλα στὸν συναγωνισμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰδικὰ τοῦ ἐμπορικοῦ οἴκου Καφταντζόγλου, δό όποιος, δπως σημειώνει ὁ Γάλλος πρόξενος Bottu τὴν 1η Μαΐου 1818, ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν φόρτωση δλων τῶν γαλλικῶν πλοίων ποὺ κατευθύνονται πρὸς τὴν Μασσαλία¹.

Τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτὴν ἡ γενικὴ ἐξέλιξη τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ καὶ ἐξαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης δὲν φαίνεται νὰ εἴναι τόσο ἰκανοποιητική. Στὰ μέσα τοῦ 1818 ἡ ἀξία τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν εἶναι ἀρκετά μεγαλύτερη ἀπὸ τὶς ἐξαγωγές. Γὰ πρωτεῖα ὡς πρὸς τὴν διακίνηση τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων συνεχίζουν νὰ ἔχουν τὰ ἑλληνικὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἀκολουθοῦν τὰ ἀγγλικά, αὐστριακά, ρωσικά καὶ γαλλικά πλοῖα². Τὸ ἐξαγωγικὸν ἐμπόριο περιορίζεται στὴν ἀποστολὴν καπνοῦ στὴν Αἴγυπτο καὶ πουλερικῶν στὰ νησιά τοῦ Αἰγαίου καὶ στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη³. Ἡ παράλληλη αὐξηση τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς ὑποτίμησης τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἀποικιακῶν προϊόντων στὴν Εὐρώπη, μεγάλο μέρος τῶν ὅποιων εἰσάγεται καὶ στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη Προβλέπεται ὅτι ἡ συρροὴ σημαντικῶν ποσοτήτων ἀποικιακῶν στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη θὰ προκαλέσῃ μεγαλύτερη ὑποτίμηση στὴν ἀξία τους καὶ θὰ ἐπιφέρῃ σημαντικές ὑλικές ζημίες στοὺς κερδοσκόπους, οἱ ὅποιοι ἔχουν ἀκόμη ἐμπιστοσύνη στὴν σταθερὴν ἄνοδο τῶν τιμῶν τῶν ἀποικιακῶν προϊόντων⁴.

Στὸ δεύτερο τρίμηνο τοῦ 1819 ἡ ἀξία τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (1.114.350 πιάστρα) στὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης εἶναι σχεδὸν διπλάσια ἀπὸ τὶς ἐξαγωγές (599.500 πιάστρα)⁵. Σταδιακὴ αὔξηση τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου σημειώνεται ἐπίσης κατὰ τοὺς μῆνες Ἰούλιο-Σεπτέμβριο τοῦ ἵδιου ἔτους: τώρα οἱ ἐξαγωγές ἀποτελοῦν τὸ $\frac{1}{3}$ τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν. Τὰ ἐμπορεύματα δῆμως ποὺ εἰσάγονται μένουν ἀπούλητα στὰ μαγαζιά⁶. Γι' αὐτὸν καὶ στοὺς ἐπόμενους μῆνες διατηρεῖται μιὰ σχετικὴ ἴσοροπία ἀνάμεσα στὸ εἰσαγωγικὸν καὶ στὸ ἐξαγωγικὸν ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης (ἀξία εἰσαγωγῶν κατὰ τὸ τρίτο τρίμηνο: 753.092 πιάστρα καὶ ἐξαγωγῶν: 542.742). Ἀπὸ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη ἐξάγονται τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτὴν νήματα Ἀγγλίας, σαπούνι, μουσελίνες, βαφές, λουλάκι καὶ εἰσάγεται καφές καὶ ἄλλα προϊόντα ποὺ τὰ μεταφέρουν ἐδῶ 21 ἑλληνικὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἔνα αὐστριακό⁷. Ἡ συνολικὴ ἀξία τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου στὰ 1819 ἀνῆλθε σὲ 7.400.000 πιάστρα (ἐμπορεύματα ποὺ μεταφέρθηκαν μὲ πλοῖα). Ἡ ἀνοδικὴ αὐτὴ πορεία συγκρινόμενη μὲ τὰ προηγούμενα χρόνια, ἀντιστοιχεῖ βέβαια σὲ σημαντικὴ ἐπίδοση τοῦ ἐμπορίου, ἀλλὰ διφείλεται καὶ σὲ

1. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 40-41.

2. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 42-43, ff. 61-62, ff. 92-94, ὅπου καὶ οἱ σχετικοὶ ἀναλυτικοὶ πίνακες.

3. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 151-152.

4. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 153-154.

5. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 163-164.

6. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 217-218.

δύο άλλους λόγους: στήν αυξηση τῶν τιμῶν τῶν προϊόντων, δπως π.χ. τῆς ζάχαρης, τοῦ καφέ, τῶν δερμάτων Ἀμερικῆς καὶ στήν συνεχῇ ὑποτίμηση τῆς ἀξίας τῶν τοπικῶν νομισμάτων. Στὰ 7.400.000 πιάστρα, πρέπει νὰ προστεθοῦν ἐπιπλέον ἄλλα 1.200.000 ποὺ προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὸ εἰσαγωγικὸ ἐμπόριο ποὺ διακινεῖται μέσῳ ξηρᾶς μὲ τὴν Αὐστρία καὶ περιλαμβάνει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ὑφάσματα, μαλακὸ βελοῦδο καὶ ἄλλα βιομηχανικὰ προϊόντα. Η ἀξία τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν στὸ ἴδιο ἔτος ὑπολογίζεται σὲ 3.407.000 πιάστρα (ἐμπορεύματα ποὺ μεταφέρθηκαν μὲ πλοῖα), δηλαδὴ περίπου τὸ μισὸ τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν.¹ Η ἀξία τοῦ γαλλικοῦ ἔξαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου περιορίστηκε σὲ 1 767.000 πιάστρα καὶ τοῦ ἔξαγωγικοῦ σὲ 1.485.000 πιάστρα.

Ἐτσι φθάνουμε στὰ 1820, ἔνα χρόνο δηλαδὴ πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἔκρηξη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπανάστασης, δόποτε κατὰ τὸ πρῶτο ἔξαμηνο ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν ἀνέρχεται σὲ 1.679 000 πιάστρα καὶ τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν σὲ 2.477.280, δηλαδὴ παραμένει μιὰ διαφορὰ 797.780 πιάστρων. Τὸ γαλλικὸ ἐμπόριο ἔχει παραλύσει δλότελα, ἀφοῦ ἐδῶ καὶ ἔνα χρόνο ἐλάχιστα γαλλικὰ πλοῖα μετέφεραν ἐμπορεύματα ἀπὸ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη στὴν Γαλλία². Τὴν μεγαλύτερη ἐμπορικὴ δραστηριότητα τὴν ἔχουν ἀναλάβει οἱ Ἑλληνικοὶ καὶ ἑβραϊκοὶ ἐμπορικοὶ οἴκοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης³.

4. ΤΟ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑ ΠΡΩΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗΣ (1821-1825)

Ἡ ἔκρηξη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπανάστασης στὰ 1821 στὴν νότια Ἑλλάδα, καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἐπαναστατικὰ γεγονότα στὴν Κεντρικὴ Μακεδονία (Χαλκιδικὴ καὶ Ὄλυμπο) στὰ 1821 καὶ 1822, ἔπληξαν καίρια τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης. Στὸ τελευταῖο τρίμηνο τοῦ 1821 ἡ ἀξία τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν κυμάνθηκε στὰ 1.021.323 πιάστρα καὶ τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν στὰ 878 965 πιάστρα⁴. Στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 1822 ἡ πρωτοβουλία τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐμπορικῶν πλοίων στὴν διακίνηση τοῦ ἐμπορίου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης χάνεται πλέον ὅριστικά. Τώρα τὴν πρώτη θέση καταλαμβάνουν τὰ ἀγγλικὰ καὶ ἀκολουθοῦν τὰ γαλλικὰ καὶ τὰ αὐστριακὰ πλοῖα. Οἱ εἰσαγωγὲς (συνολικὴ ἀξία Ἰανουαρίου-Μαρτίου 1822: 756.505 πιάστρα) περιορίζονται σὲ λεμόνια, καφέ, πορτοκάλια, σαπούνι, πιπέρι καὶ οἱ ἔξαγωγὲς (ἀξία: 1.429.957 πιάστρα) σὲ βαμβάκι, καπνό, χαλκό, μετάξι, μαλλιά⁵. Στὰ μέσα τοῦ ἴδιου χρόνου ἡ ἀξία τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (1.009.868 πιάστρα) καὶ τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν (1.399.416) κυμαίνεται στὰ ἴδια περίπου ἐπίπε-

1. M A E, vol. 18, ff. 256-257.

2. M A E, vol. 18, f. 257.

3. M A E, vol. 18, f. 256, ff. 258-259.

4. M A E, vol. 19, ff. 33-34.

5. M A E, vol. 19, ff. 67-70.

δα¹. Τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς σημειώνεται κάποια ἀναζωγόνηση τοῦ γαλλικοῦ ἐμπορίου καὶ τῆς διακίνησης τῶν γαλλικῶν πλοίων², ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν διαρκεῖ γιὰ λίγο διάστημα, ἐπειδὴ στὰ τέλη κιόλας τοῦ 1822 τὰ ἀγγλικὰ καὶ τὰ αὐστριακὰ πλοῖα ἔχουν καὶ πάλι ἀναπτύξει μεγάλη δραστηριότητα³. Τὰ εἰσαγόμενα προϊόντα φθάνουν ἀπὸ τὰ λιμάνια τῆς Σύρας, Κρήτης, Λιβύρνης, Τεργέστης, Σάμου καὶ Μασσαλίας καὶ οἱ ἔξαγωγὲς γίνονται πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησο Λαμία, Σμύρνη, Κωνσταντινούπολη, Αἴγυπτο καὶ Μασσαλία⁴.

Ἀπότομη μείωση τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔξαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου παρατηρεῖται στὰ τέλη τοῦ 1823 καὶ στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 1824⁵. Ἐτσι, ἐνδικατά τὸ τρίτο τρίμηνο τοῦ 1823 ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν ἔφθασε σὲ 1.186.959 πιάστρα καὶ τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν σὲ 1.168.955 πιάστρα⁶, κατὰ τὸ τέταρτο τρίμηνο οἱ εἰσαγωγὲς κυμάνθηκαν σὲ 712.009 πιάστρα καὶ οἱ ἔξαγωγὲς σὲ 478.932 πιάστρα⁷ καὶ στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 1824 ἡ ἀντίστοιχη ἀξία τους ἦταν 932.442 πιάστρα καὶ 446.750 πιάστρα⁸. Η πτώση αὐτὴ τοῦ ἐμπορίου προϊλθε ἀσφαλῶς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀναστάτωση μέσα στὸ Αίγαοι ἐξ αὐτίας τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιχειρήσεων καὶ ἰδίως τῆς ἐντασῆς τῶν πειρατικῶν ἐπιδρομῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἐμπορικῶν συναλλαγῶν ἀπὸ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 1824 ὡς τὰ τέλη τοῦ 1825 παρουσιάζει τὶς παρακάτω διακυμάνσεις:

Ἐτος	Αξία εἰσαγωγῶν	Αξία ἔξαγωγῶν
3ο τρίμηνο 1824	1.103.541 πιάστρα	794.321 πιάστρα ⁹
4ο » 1824	1.435.672 »	1.047.735 » ¹⁰
1ο » 1825	1.130.040 »	387.922 » ¹¹
2ο » 1825	1.003.532 »	1.325.846 » ¹²
3ο » 1825	1.102.620 »	698.370 » ¹³

Ἄπὸ τὸν παραπάνω πίνακα παρατηροῦμε ὅτι κατὰ τὸ χρονικὸ διάστημα ποὺ ἥδη ἀνάφερα, ἡ ἀξία τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν κυμαίνεται σὲ σταθερὰ ἐπίπεδα,

1. M A E, vol. 19, f. 98.
2. M A E, vol. 19, f. 125.
3. M A E, vol. 19, ff. 122-123.
4. M A E, vol. 19, ff. 124-125.
5. M A E, vol. 19, ff. 150-151.
6. M A E, vol. 19, ff. 202-203.
7. M A E, vol. 19, f. 230, f. 201.
8. M A E, vol. 19, f. 217, ff. 268-269.
9. M A E, vol. 19, ff. 286-288.
10. M A E, vol. 20, ff. 9-10.
11. M A E, vol. 20, f. 46.
12. M A E, vol. 20, ff. 72-73.
13. M A E, vol. 20, ff. 87-89.

ἐνῶ οἱ ἔξαγωγὲς ἐμφανίζουν ἀλλεπάλληλες αὐξομειώσεις, γεγονός ποὺ ὀφείλεται κυρίως στὸν ἀντίκτυπο, τὸν ὅποιο εἶχαν τὰ πολεμικὰ γεγονότα ποὺ διαδραματίζονταν τὴν ἐποχὴ ἐκείνη στὴν Μακεδονία καὶ γενικότερα στὴν ἐπαναστατημένη Ἑλλάδα. Ἀκόμη βλέπουμε ὅτι ἡ μεγάλη διαφορὰ τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ καὶ ἔξαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου τῆς Θεσαλονίκης ποὺ ὑπῆρχε, ὅπως διαπιστώσαμε κυρίως στὰ τέλη τῆς δεκαετίας 1810-1820, ἔχει τώρα μειωθῆ αισθητά.

Β'. ΤΟ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΤΑ 1826-1840

1. Εἶναι γεγονός, ὅπως τόνισα καὶ στὴν ἀρχὴ τῆς μελέτης μου, ὅτι οἱ μέχρι σήμερα πληροφορίες γιὰ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης μετὰ τὸ 1827 καὶ κυρίως κατὰ τὰ πρῶτα μετεπαναστατικὰ χρόνια ὡς τὸ 1840 εἶναι ἔλλιπεῖς. Τὸ κενὸ ἀντὸ προσπάθησα νὰ τὸ καλύψω ἀναδιφώντας τὰ γαλλικὰ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Quai d'Orsay καὶ προπάντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐγγράφων ποὺ ἀπόκεινται στὸ Public Records Office. Οἱ ἀγγλικὲς προξενικὲς ἐκθέσεις ἀπὸ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη μεταξὺ 1830-1840, ποὺ δημοσιεύω στὸ τέλος, προέρχονται ἀπὸ δύο τόμους τῶν ἀρχείων τοῦ Public Records Office καὶ συγκεκριμένα τοῦ F.O. 195/100 καὶ F.O 195/176 στὴ σειρὰ «Embassy and Consul Correspondence»¹. Οἱ παραπάνω ἐκθέσεις σχετικὰ μὲ τὴν περίοδο αὐτὴ μᾶς διαφωτίζουν κυρίως ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐμπορικὴ κίνηση καὶ τὴν οἰκονομικὴ κατάσταση τῆς πόλης καὶ προωθοῦν σημαντικὰ τὶς ἱστορικές μας γνώσεις. Ἀπὸ τὸ σύνολο ὅλων ἀντῶν τῶν ἐγγράφων προτίμησα ὑστερα ἀπὸ προσεκτικὴ μελέτη νὰ δημοσιεύσω ὁρισμένα ἀποσπάσματα πού, κατὰ τὴν γνώμη μου, μποροῦν νὰ ἐλκύσουν περισσότερο τὴν προσοχὴ τῶν ἐρευνητῶν. Οἱ ἐπιστολὲς ἔχουν γραφῆ ὡς τὸ 1835 ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀγγλο πρόξενο John Charnaud² καὶ ἀργότερα ὡς τὸ 1840 ἀπὸ τὸν Ch. Blunt³. Ἀξιοσημείωτο εἶναι ὅτι περισσότερο ἐνδιαφέ-

1. Ἡ σπουδὴ αὐτὴ ἀποτελεῖ ἀρχὴ μᾶς προσπάθειας τοῦ συγγραφέα γιὰ μιὰ ἐμπεριστατωμένη ἔρευνα στὰ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ Public Records Office, στὶς προξενικὲς ἐκθέσεις ἀπὸ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη ὡς τὸ 1862, στὸν ἔξης τόμους: F. O. 195, «Embassy and Consular Correspondence», τόμοι ἀρ. 100, 176, 240, 293, 371, 435, 476, 526, 586, 649, 685 καὶ 723.

2. Γιὰ τὴν οἰκογένεια Charnaud βλ. N. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle*, σ. 166, 393.

3. Ὁρισμένες ἐκθέσεις εἶναι ἐπίσης γραμμένες ἀπὸ τὸν James Charnaud, Henry Chasseaud καὶ G. F. Abbott ὑποψήφιους προξένους τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης (Γιὰ τοὺς οἰκους Chasseaud καὶ Abbott βλ. N. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique*, σ. 166, 173, 180, 'Α γελικῆς Β. Μεταλλινοῦ (Π. Τσιώμου), Παλαιὰ Θεσσαλονίκη-Εἰκονογραφημένη Θεσσαλονίκη, ἢ.ε., τ. 1, σ. 46, σ. 170-181, Yves - Jean Dumont, Τὸ μητρῷον βαπτίσεων τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θεσσαλονίκης (1707-1727) σ. 50-51, Constantinos A. P. Vacaopoulos, *Contribution à l'histoire de la colonie européenne de Thessalonique vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, σ. 183-200).

ρον παρουσιάζουν οἱ ἐκθέσεις τοῦ Ch. Blunt, οἱ ὅποιες εἶναι γραμμένες μὲ μεγαλύτερη μεθοδικότητα καὶ μᾶς προσφέρουν πλῆθος στατιστικῶν στοιχείων γιὰ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ γενικότερα γιὰ τὴν Μακεδονία.

2. Ἐπειδὴ ὅμως οἱ εἰδῆσεις ποὺ προέρχονται ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγγλικὰ ἀρχεῖα γιὰ τὰ χρόνια 1827-1834 σχετικὰ μὲ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης εἶναι σχεδὸν ἀσήμαντες, ἀναγκάστηκα νὰ καταφύγω στὶς γαλλικὲς προξενικὲς ἐκθέσεις, δῆποι βρῆκα ἀρκετὰ ἐνδιαφέροντα στοιχεῖα. Ἐτσι στὴν ἀπὸ 16 Ἰανουαρίου 1827 ἐκθεσὴ τοῦ ὁ Γάλλος πρόξενος Adrien Dupré μᾶς πληροφορεῖ ὅτι ἡ ἀξία τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν κατὰ τὸ τελευταῖο τρίμηνο τοῦ 1826 στὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἔφθασε τὰ 1.766.210 πιάστρα, ἐνῷ τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν τὰ 2.013.345 πιάστρα. Τὰ γαλλικὰ πλοῖα μετέφεραν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν χρονικὸν διάστημα ἐμπορεύματα ἀξίας 407.166 φράγκων (ἢ 856.185 πιάστρα) καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἀπὸ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη μὲ φορτία, ποὺ ἡ τιμὴ τους κυμαινόταν στὰ 236.307 φράγκων (ἢ 502.163 πιάστρα), γεγονὸς τὸ ὅποιο μαρτυρεῖ ὅτι τὸ $\frac{1}{3}$ περίπου τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ καὶ ἔξαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου τῆς πόλης κατεῖχε τὴν ἐποχὴν αὐτὴν ἡ Γαλλία¹. Ἀπὸ τὸν Ὁκτώβριο-Δεκέμβριο 1826 προσέγγισαν στὸ λιμάνι 12 αὐστριακὰ πλοῖα, 3 γαλλικὰ καὶ ἕνα ἀγγλικὸν μεταφέροντας διάφορα προϊόντα, ὅπως π.χ. σαπούνι, δέρματα, χαρτί, σίδερο, καφέ, βαμβάκι, κατεργάσματα προϊόντα καὶ ἔφυγαν μὲ φορτία ἀπὸ κερί, μετάξι, μεταξωτὲς κάλτσες, καπνὸ καὶ ἄλλες μικρὲς ποσότητες ἐμπορευμάτων².

Μεταξὺ τῶν προϊόντων ποὺ εἰσάγονται ἀπὸ τὴν Μασσαλία συγκαταλέγονται τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἀποικιακά, ἐνῷ, ὅπως μαρτυρεῖται, τὰ κατεργάσματα γαλλικὰ προϊόντα δὲν ἔχουν καθόλου ἀπήχηση στὴν ἀγορὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, παρὰ τὴν χαμηλὴ τιμὴ τους σὲ σχέση μὲ τὰ ἄλλα εὐρωπαϊκά. Ἡ μείωση τῆς ἔξαγωγῆς τῶν Μακεδονικῶν μαλλιῶν ὀφείλεται στὶς κακές νομισματικὲς συνθῆκες ποὺ ἐπικρατοῦν στὴν Ὁθωμανικὴν αὐτοκρατορία. Ὁ Γάλλος πρόξενος παρατηρεῖ ἀκόμη ὅτι τὸ βαμβάκι τῆς Αἰγύπτου φαίνεται νὰ τὸ προτιμοῦν περισσότερο ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, ἐνῷ ἡ ἐπιβολὴ πρόσθετων τελωνειακῶν φόρων στὸ μετάξι καὶ στὸ κερί δυσχεραίνει τὴν ἔξαγωγὴν τους στὴν Μασσαλία. Μολαταῦτα τὸ μαλλί ἀποτελεῖ τὸ σημαντικότερο προϊόν τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ ἐμπορίου τῆς Γαλλίας ἀπὸ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκη, ἀν καὶ ἡ ἀξία του ἔχει αὐξηθῆ λόγω τῆς ὀπερισκεψίας ὁρισμένων Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόρων³.

“Ἄς ἔξετάσουμε τώρα τὴν κίνηση τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ κατοπινὰ χρόνια καὶ συγκεκριμένα ὡς τὸ 1831, σύμφωνα μὲ τὶς ἐλάχιστες πληροφορίες τοῦ Γάλλου προξένου. Στὰ 1827 ἔφθασαν ἐμπορικὰ πλοῖα ἀπὸ

1. M A E (=Ministère des Affaires Etrangères), Correspondance Consulaire, Salonique vol. 20, f. 193.

2. M A E, Correspondance Consulaire, Salonique, vol. 20, ff. 205-206.

3. Ἔ.ἄ., vol. 20, ff. 193-197.

τὴν Ἀγγλία, Γαλλία, Ρωσία, Τοσκάνη καὶ Σαρδηνία, τῶν ὁποίων ὁ ἀκριβὴς ἀριθμὸς δὲν εἶναι ἐφικτὸν νὰ προσδιορισθῇ, ἐπειδὴ λείπουν τὰ σχετικὰ στατιστικὰ στοιχεῖα. Πάντως τὰ ἐμπορεύματα ποὺ μετέφεραν ἐδῶ ἦταν σαπούνι, μέλι, πορτοκάλια, λεμόνια, καφές, ζάχαρη, βαμβάκι, χαρτί, κατεργάσιμα προϊόντα καὶ ἄλλα σὲ μικρὲς ποσότητες. Στὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης φόρτωσαν μετάξι, κερί καὶ δασικὰ προϊόντα γιὰ ἔξαγωγὴ σὲ λιμάνια τῆς Μεσογείου¹. Στὰ ἐπόμενα χρόνια πρωτεύοντα ρόλο ἀναλαμβάνουν τὰ ἑλληνικὰ πλοῖα², τὰ τουρκικά, τὰ αὐστριακά καὶ τὰ ἀγγλικά. "Ετσι στὰ 1831 κατέπλευσαν στὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης 203 ἑλληνικά, 44 τουρκικά, 26 ἀγγλικά, 24 αὐστριακά, 5 ρωσικά καὶ 4 γαλλικά³. 'Επίσης, ὅπως συμπεραίνουμε ἀπὸ πίνακα τοῦ 1829, ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἔξαγωγικῶν προϊόντων τὸ τελευταῖο τρίμηνο τοῦ ἔτους αὐτοῦ ἦταν τριπλάσια ἀπὸ τίς εἰσαγωγές⁴.

Στὴ χρονικὴ περίοδο 1830-1834 τὸ εἰσαγωγικὸ καὶ ἔξαγωγικὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἀποτελεῖ πλέον «σκιὰ μόνο τῆς παλιᾶς εὐημερίας τῆς πόλης», ὅπως σημειώνει ὁ νέος Γάλλος πρόξενος Ch. Ev. Guys σ' ἔκθεσή του τῆς 1ης Ιανουαρίου 1834, ἐπισημαίνοντας τὰ αἴτια τῆς παρακμῆς αὐτῆς: 1) ἡ φυγὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεγαλεμπόρων κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐπανάσταση τοῦ 1821· 2) τὸ νέο δημοσιονομικὸ σύστημα, ποὺ χαρακτηρίζεται ἀπὸ τὴν συνεχῆ αὔξηση τῶν φόρων. ("Ἀλλοτε οἱ κάτοικοι τῆς Μακεδονίας πήγαιναν στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη γιὰ νὰ προμηθευθοῦν προϊόντα διαφόρων εἰδῶν, ποὺ τοὺς ἦταν χρήσιμα γιὰ νὰ τὰ πουλήσουν στὶς περιοχές τους. Σήμερα ἡ ἐπιβολὴ ἐκτάκτων φορολογιῶν στὰ ἐμπορεύματα κατὰ τὴν εἰσαγωγὴ καὶ ἔξαγωγὴ τους ἔχουν σὰν ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ προτιμοῦν οἱ ἐμπόροι τὰ σύνορα τῆς Αὐστρίας, τὸ Δυρράχιο καὶ ἄλλα μέρη ὅπου δὲν ὑφίστανται τελωνειακοὶ φόροι· καὶ 3) ἡ σταθερὴ πτώση τῆς παραγωγῆς τοῦ μαλλιοῦ, τοῦ καπνοῦ, βαμβακιοῦ, σιτηρῶν καὶ τῶν προβάτινων δερμάτων⁵ (βλέπε εἰκ. 1-3 ὅπου καὶ οἱ τιμὲς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων στὰ 1834).

"Η μείωση τῆς παραγωγῆς τοῦ μαλλιοῦ εἶναι ἀνησυχητική, ἀν λάβουμε ὑπ' ὄψη ὅτι προγενέστερα παράγονταν ἐτήσια 350.000-400.000 ὁκάδες⁶, ἐνῶ τώρα μόλις φθάνουν τὶς 150.000-170.000, ἀπὸ τίς διποῖς κρατοῦνται ἐτήσια 70.000 ὁκάδες γιὰ λογαριασμὸ τῆς κυβέρνησης γιὰ τὴν κατασκευὴ σεντονιῶν, κουβερτῶν καὶ στρωμάτων γιὰ τοὺς στρατῶνες⁷. "Η παραγωγὴ τοῦ καπνοῦ,

1. ΜΑΕ, vol. 20, ff. 212-248.

2. Πρβλ. Κωστή Μοσκώφ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1700-1912, σ. 54.

3. ΜΑΕ, vol. 21, f. 54.

4. ΜΑΕ, vol. 20, ff. 335-337.

5. ΜΑΕ, vol. 21, f. 243.

6. Σνορόνος, *Le commerce de Salonique*, σ. 363-364, ὅπου καὶ μνεία γιὰ τὸ χειρόρραφο τοῦ Ch. Ed. Guys.

7. ΜΑΕ, vol. 21, f. 244 ὅπου τοί τὸ ξεῖνος: «La diminution si forte dans la production

Pri ^s Courant des marchandises.		248 11.
<i>Importation</i>		
Café	le quintal de 440 kgms.	R ^r 440.
Sucre en pain		250.
en poudre		250.
sucre		120.
Vitriol		65.
fernambouc		750.
Campêche		45 à 50
ft. Marbre		240.
fer en barres d'Angleterre		455.
de Russie		65.
fer-blanc des deux Canaries		450.
Cochonille	L'Orge	140.
Canille		17.
giriflu		17.
nous mireades		80.
judigo en lourou, p. r. g. t.		110.
en laine suivant la q. t.		110.
Etain		12.
Sel arménien		15.
poivre		9.
Rhubarbe moscovite		60.
ordinnaire		18.
Senne		8.
Miamme		25.
Racine de Courcouna		3.
violet		16.

Εἰκ. 1. Οἱ τιμὲς τῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν καὶ ἔξαγωγικῶν ἐμπορευμάτων στὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ 1834 (ἐκθεση τοῦ Γάλλου προξένου Ch. Ed. Guys, σ. 248) (βλ. καὶ εἰκ. 2, 3)

	12.
argent vif	15. 4' 25
Satin parme.	35
Etoiles en Sarme.	10. 56
Souffre.	6.
Indienme rouge à grande fleurs tinto à l'huile lapicée.	1.
Cambries fini blanc de la largeur de 2 pieds $\frac{3}{4}$ q 24.	34. 40. 03
Voile de Hollande largeur pied 1. 7800 d'huile 24.	
americaine largeur pied 1. 78.	
mousselines ordinaires d'Angleterre ^{l'assay} .	
doublé dites cestinième, largeur pied 1. 78.	
1 maddapollam lapicée de 53. pieds.	
ordinaires de	20.
Xanquin blanc simple drapé de différents couleurs tyroide.	
Etains files d'Angleterre N° 16 à 32. l'assay.	
Bonneti rouges de Savone N° 2. 24. 33. la 12.	
Shall d'Angleterre ordinaires l'assay.	
Drap. de Venise. Lepis.	
De France	
Brill.	
tiss ordinaires large	
étoiles	
De Hollande	
quinquina rouge	mangue
Sulfate de quinquine.	4
Castor perte	5
Sirups Capitaine de la Caine de 100 bouteilles.	10
Rhum ordinaire de la Caine de 50 bouteilles.	14
Poudre à fusil pour gte. l'assay.	24

Ειν. 2

	Exportation	249 £ ^{3.}
Ante p'm	Ble, le quintal de Salonicque, correspondant d'4. De Constantinople, le	40.045.
Le 8 ^e mai.		25.
Le 8 ^e org		16.417.
9. Seign		30.
7. Feves	Le quintal	30.
Coton		5.
Soirs filés à la Piemontaise		180.
Du pays suivant les q'té		150.
Cire jaune		15. $\frac{1}{2}$
Cuir-vieux		9.
Peaux de lievre d'hiver d'Asie		2. $\frac{1}{2}$
V' agneau		3. $\frac{1}{2}$
	Cours Des monnaies étrangères	
Sequin Venitien		50.
Hollandais		50.
quaduple d'Espagne		360.
Portugaise		192.
Calari d'Espagne		23. $\frac{1}{2}$
Imperial		22. $\frac{1}{2}$
Bavarois		21.
Saxons		21.
Léu de 5. franc		21.
Dragme Grec		19.
	Changes.	
Vienne flor. court d'angle		397. à 400 p ^m
France, pour un franc		153. à 154 p ^m
Constantinople		2. % député
Smirne		2. % —

ἀπὸ τὰ σημαντικότερα προϊόντα τοῦ τόπου, φαίνεται νὰ ἔχῃ ὑποχωρήσει αἰσθητά. Τὸ γεγονός αὐτὸ δόφείλεται στὴν ἔλλειψη φροντίδας γιὰ τὴν συστηματικὴ καλλιέργειά του, ποὺ τὴν ἔχουν ἀναλάβει τώρα ἀποκλειστικὰ οἱ Τούρκοι, καθὼς καὶ στὴ βαριὰ φορολογία (18 παράδες τὴν δοκὰ καὶ ἔνα πρόσθετο 10%), ἡ ὁποῖα ως ἀποτέλεσμα ἔχει νὰ μεταφέρεται καὶ νὰ πουλιέται ὁ καπνὸς σὲ ἄλλα ἐμπορικὰ κέντρα. Ἀντίθετα σταθερὴ ἄνοδο σημειώνει ὁ δείκτης παραγωγῆς στὰ δημητριακά, παρὰ τὸν βαρεῖς φόρους στὰ φορτία κριθαριοῦ, ἀραβοσίτου, ποὺ κατευθύνονται στὰ νησιά τοῦ Αἰγαίου, στὴν Ἀδριατικὴ καὶ στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη. Αὔξηση παρατηρεῖται ἐπίσης στὸ βαμβάκι, στὰ φορτία μὲ προβατίσια δέρματα ποὺ προορίζονται γιὰ τὸ Λιβόρνο, τὴν Γένουα καὶ Μασσαλία καὶ ὅπου χρησιμοποιοῦνται κυρίως γιὰ τὴν κατασκευὴ γαντιῶν, ἐνῶ ἡ παραγωγὴ τῶν δερμάτων τῶν λαγῶν σημειώνει συνεχῆ πτώση¹.

‘Ο Γάλλος πρόξενος τονίζει ὅτι τὸ κλῖμα τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης θεωρεῖται κατάλληλο γιὰ τὴν καλλιέργεια τοῦ μεταξιοῦ. ‘Η τιμὴ του δὲν εἶναι βέβαια σταθερή, ἀλλὰ ἡ συγκομιδὴ ἀποφέρει σχεδόν πάντοτε πλούσιους καρπούς. Τὸ 1833 κατασκευάστηκαν στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη διάφορα μηχανήματα γιὰ τὴ μεθοδικότερη ἐπεξεργασία του. Σὲ μικρὲς ποσότητες ἔχαγονται ὁ χαλκὸς πρὸς τὴν Γαλλία καὶ Ἰταλία καὶ τὰ καρύδια (ἐτήσια παραγωγὴ 100.000-150.000 δοκάδες). Στὴν ἀγορὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης παρατηρεῖται συναγωνισμὸς τῶν ἀγγλικῶν καὶ γαλλικῶν προϊόντων².

3. ‘Οπως μᾶς πληροφορεῖ ἡ ἀπὸ 12 Ιουνίου 1835 ἔκθεση τοῦ J. Charnaud, τὸ 1830 τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης διακινιόταν μὲ ἀγγλικὰ προϊόντα ποὺ τὰ ἔφερναν ἐδῶ ἀπὸ τὴν Σύρα, Κωνσταντινούπολη καὶ Σμύρνη, ἐνῶ τώρα μὲ ἀποικιακὰ προϊόντα, τὰ ὁποῖα μεταφέρονται καὶ στέλνονται ως ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον στὸ ἐσωτερικό, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη δὲν ἔχει πολλὴ ἀνάγκη ἀπ’ αὐτά³. Μέσα στὴν πόλη ὁ Ἀγγλος πρόξενος Ch. Blunt ἐπισημαίνει ἔνα χρόνο ἀργότερα τὸν κερδοσκοπικὸ χαρακτήρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόρων⁴.

Παρὰ τὶς καταστροφὲς ποὺ προκάλεσε ἡ πανώλης τὸ 1836 στὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἀγγλικῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα μεταφέρθηκαν μὲ ἐλληνικὰ καράβια ἀνέβηκε αἰσθητὰ ἀπὸ 64.686 λίρες στερλίνες στὸ 1835 σὲ 83.251, δηλαδὴ παρατηροῦμε μιὰ διαφορὰ ἀπὸ 18.835 λίρες ἀνά-

de la laine dérive de ce que la majeure partie des villageois et gardes troupeaux quittèrent le sol qui les vit naître fatigués de se voir tous les jours aggravés par des impôts, angaries et vexations, ainsi que sur le droit de dime qui est augmenté à volonté ce qui fait que le cultivateur perd tout le fruit de ses peines».

1. M A E, vol. 21, f. 245.

2. M A E, vol. 21, ff. 245-246.

3. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 180-181.

4. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 232-233.

μεσα στὰ δυὸ χρόνια. Ἡ ἔξαγωγὴ τοῦ βελούδου καὶ τοῦ βαμβακιοῦ αὐξάνει συνεχῶς καὶ τὰ ἀγγλικὰ ἀποικιακὰ προϊόντα συναγωνίζονται τὰ γερμανικὰ ἐφάμιλλά τους. Ἀπὸ τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἔξαγεται στὰ 1836 βαμβάκι, ἔριο, μετάξι καὶ καπνὸς πρὸς τὴν Γαλλία καὶ τὴν Τεργέστη. Ὁ Blunt ἐπισημαίνει τὶς καταστρεπτικὲς συνέπειες ποὺ πρόκειται νὰ ἔχῃ κυρίως στὶς οἰκονομικὰ ἀσθενέστερες τάξεις ἡ ἐκδοση ἐνὸς φιρμανιοῦ, τὸ διποτὸ οὐρανού τοὺς χριστιανὸς ραγιάδες νὰ στέλνουν ἐπιπλέον μετάξι στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη. Στὰ 1836 οὐρανού 14 ἑργαστήρια γιὰ τὴν ἐπεξεργασία τοῦ μεταξιοῦ καὶ προβλέπονταν νὰ ίδρυθοῦν περισσότερα, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὴν ἐκδοση τοῦ νέου φιρμανιοῦ γιὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴ μεταξιοῦ στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη ἔμειναν 2.000 ἄνεργοι¹.

Ἐνδιαφέροντα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν κίνηση τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ 1836 μᾶς δίνει ἔνας λεπτομερῆς πίνακας ποὺ ἔκαμε ὁ Ἄγγλος πρόξενος στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ ἐπόμενου ἔτους. Σύμφωνα μ' αὐτὸν 349 ἐλληνικὰ πλοῖα προσέγγισαν στὸ λιμάνι, συνολικῆς χωρητικότητας 17.975 τόννων καὶ μὲ ἐμπορεύματα ἀξίας 67.203 λίρες, ἀκολουθοῦν 26 τουρκικά, 7 ἀγγλικά, ἀνὰ 5 ἀπὸ τὴν Γαλλία, Αὐστρία, Σαρδηνία καὶ 4 ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐπτάνησο. Τὸν ἴδιο χρόνο ἀποπλέουν 346 ἐλληνικὰ πλοῖα χωρητικότητας 17.850 τόννων καὶ μὲ φορτίο ἀξίας 19.674 λίρες².

Αὔξηση τῆς ἀξίας τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν καὶ ἔξαγωγῶν παρατηρεῖται στὰ 1838 σὲ σχέση μὲ τὸν προηγούμενο χρόνο. Τὸ σύνολο τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἔξαγωγικῶν προϊόντων ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄγγλία στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη μὲ ἀγγλικὰ καὶ ἐλληνικὰ πλοῖα κυμάνθηκε γύρω στὶς 56.460 λίρες, ἐνῷ στὰ 1837 εἶχε φθάσει στὶς 28.335 λίρες. Τὸ ἔξαγωγικὸ ἐμπόριο τῶν ἄλλων κρατῶν φαίνεται νὰ δείχνη μικρὴ βελτίωση ἀξίας 2.214 λιρῶν (συνολικὴ ἀξία του στὰ 1837: 73.054 λίρες στὰ 1838: 75.268 λίρες). Τὸ μετάξι παραμένει ὁ σημαντικότερος ἐμπορευματικὸς τομέας τῆς πόλης, παρὰ τὸν ἔξαναγκασμὸ αὐτῶν ποὺ κατέχουν μεταξοσκώληκες νὰ συνεισφέρουν τὸ 25% τῆς ἀξίας των. Συνολικὰ στὰ 1838 ἔφθασαν στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη 340 ἐλληνικὰ πλοῖα χωρητικότητας 8.575 τόννων μὲ ἐμπορεύματα ἀξίας 23.455 λιρῶν, 32 τουρκικά, 23 αὐστριακά, 22 ἀπὸ τὴν Σαρδηνία, 8 γαλλικά, 8 ρωσικά, 6 ἐπτανησιακά, 3 ἀγγλικά καὶ ἔνα ἀπὸ τὴν Τοσκάνη. Ἀπέπλευσαν 336 ἐλληνικὰ πλοῖα χωρητικότητας 8.140 τόννων μὲ ἐμπορεύματα ἀξίας 40.705 λιρῶν, πράγμα ποὺ μαρτυρεῖ ὅτι ὁ δείκτης τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν μὲ ἐλληνικὰ πλοῖα ἀπὸ τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ 1838 διπλασιάστηκε περίπου σὲ σύγκριση μὲ τὶς εἰσαγωγές³.

Ἀπὸ τὸ λιμάνι τῆς Καβάλας τὸν ἴδιο χρόνο ἡ ἀξία τῶν ἔξαγωγῶν γε-

1. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 248-249.

2. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 272-273.

3. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 361-362.

νικά είναι δικταπλάσια άπό τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν (5.000 λίρες καὶ 40.000 λίρες ἀντίστοιχα). Κι ἐδῶ τὴν προτεραιότητα κατέχουν τὰ ἑλληνικὰ πλοῖα, 38, ἀκολουθοῦν 28 τουρκικά, 13 αὐστριακά, 4 γαλλικά, 3 ρωσικά καὶ δύο ἐπτανησιακά¹.

4. Στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 1839 ὁ Ἀγγλος πρόξενος ἔκαμε ἔνα πολὺ ἐνδιαφέροντα πίνακα τῶν μοναστηριῶν, παρεκκλησίων καὶ ἐρημητηρίων τοῦ Ἀγ. Ὁρους, τὸν ὅποιο παραθέτω στὸ παράρτημα τῶν ἐγγράφων, δῆπον δημοσιεύω τὰ ἀποσπάσματα τῶν ἀγγλικῶν ἐκθέσεων. Συνολικὰ στὴ βόρεια πλευρὰ τοῦ Ἀγ. Ὁρους ὑπάρχουν 9 μοναστήρια, 106 παρεκκλήσια καὶ 24 ἐρημητήρια μὲ 888 μοναχούς, ἐνῶ στὴν νότια πλευρὰ 10 μοναστήρια, 61 παρεκκλήσια καὶ 13 ἐρημητήρια μὲ 546 μοναχούς. Τὸ μοναστήρι τῆς Ἀγ. Λαύρας, σημειώνει δὲ Blunt, θεωρεῖται κρησφύγετο Ἐλλήνων πειρατῶν, οἱ ὅποιοι καταφεύγουν ἐκεῖ στὶς δύσκολες στιγμές².

Τὴν ἵδια χρονιὰ ἔνα χειρόγραφο τοῦ Ch. Blunt μὲ τίτλο «Statistics of Salonica, Seras and Cavalla» μᾶς προσφέρει πλούσιες καὶ σημαντικὲς πληροφορίες γιὰ τὴν σύνθεση τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ στὶς παραπάνω πόλεις, γιὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν καὶ θρησκευτικῶν ἰδρυμάτων καὶ τῶν προξενικῶν καὶ ἐμπορικῶν πρακτόρων.

Στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη ὁ πληθυσμὸς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔχει αὐξηθῆ ἀισθητὰ σὲ σύγκριση μὲ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπαναστατικὰ χρόνια. Σὲ τουρκικὸ φιρμάνι τῆς 23ης Ἀπριλίου 1825 ἀναφέρεται ὅτι «οἱ Ἐβραῖοι εἶναι καταφανῶς τετράκις καὶ πεντάκις περισσότεροι ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἐλληνες ραγιάδες...»³, τῶν ὅποιων ὁ ἀριθμὸς εἶχε μειωθῆ ἐξ αἰτίας τῶν περιπετειῶν, ἐνῶ τώρα εἶναι περίπου διπλάσιοι (25.000) ἀπὸ τοὺς χριστιανοὺς ραγιάδες (13.000) καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους (15.000). Οἱ Εὐρωπαῖοι ὑπολογίζονται σὲ χίλιους. Συνολικὰ οἱ κάτοικοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ 1839 ὑπολογίζονται σὲ 59.000. Ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτὸς ἴσοψηφίζεται περίπου μὲ τὸν πληθυσμὸ τῆς πόλης στὰ τέλη τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα, σύμφωνα μὲ τὶς πληροφορίες τοῦ Beaujour (60.000 κάτοικοι, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὅποιους 16.000 Ἐλληνες, 12.000 Ἐβραῖοι, 2.000 Εὐρωπαῖοι καὶ 30.000 Τούρκοι)⁴. Αξιοσημείωτο θεωρεῖται ἀκόμη ὅτι σὲ πέντε χρόνια, δηλαδὴ ἀπὸ τὸ 1834-

1. F. O. 195 (100) f. 360.

2. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 369-370.

3. Βλέπε σχετικὰ Ἰωάννον Κ. Βασδραβέλη, Ἰστορικὰ Ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας, I. Ἀρχεῖον Θεσσαλονίκης (1695-1912), Θεσσαλονίκη 1952, σ. 487-3488. Πρβλ. Ἀποστόλου Ε. Βακαλόπουλου, Ἰστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, σ. 606.

4. Félix de Beaujour, Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, τ. 1, σ. 53. Βλέπε ἐπίσης Γεωργίου Κ. Χριστοδούλου, Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη πόλις τοῦ ἐμπορίου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1933, σ. 230, τοῦ ἑδίου, Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐκατονταετίαν, Ἐμπόριον-Βιομηχανία-Βιοτεχνία, Θεσσαλονίκη 1936, σ. 50. Λεπτομερὴ πίνακα τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ ἑθνότητες ἀπὸ τὸ 1520 ὥς τὸ 1912 βλ. Κωστή Μοσκώφ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1700-1912, σ. 71-72.

1839, ὁ πληθυσμὸς τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης αὐξήθηκε κατὰ 20.000, ἀν λάβουμε ὑπ' ὅψη τὴν εἰδηση τοῦ Γάλλου προξένου Guyς ὅτι στὰ 1834 ζούσαν 40.000 κάτοικοι καὶ 100 Εὐρωπαῖοι¹. Ἡ ἔξαγωγὴ δμως ὑκριβῶν δημογραφικῶν συμπερασμάτων εἶναι προβληματική, ἐφόσον δὲν ὑπάρχουν λεπτομερῆ στατιστικὰ στοιχεῖα. Πάντως τὰ διδόμενα στοιχεῖα παρουσιάζουν κάποια διαταραχὴ στὴν πληθυσμιακὴ κίνηση, ποὺ ἀσφαλῶς πρέπει νὰ ἔχῃ σχέση, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ ἄλλους λόγους, καὶ στὰ αἴτια ποὺ ἀναφέραμε παραπάνω.

Στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη ὑπάρχουν 25 τζαμιά, 12 ἑλληνικὲς ἐκκλησίες, 56 συναγωγές, δύο ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα μὲ τέσσερεις δασκάλους καὶ ὀκτὼ τουρκικά. Τὰ εὐρωπαϊκὰ κράτη ἀντιπροσωπεύονται ἀπὸ προξενικοὺς πράκτορες τῆς Αὐστρίας, Ἀμερικῆς, Βελγίου, Δανίας, Γαλλίας, Ἑλλάδας, Νεάπολης, Ρωσίας, Σαρδηνίας, Ἰσπανίας, Τοσκάνης καὶ Σουηδίας², καθὼς ἐπίσης ἀπὸ Αὐστριακούς, Ἀγγλους, Γάλλους, Ἐλληνες, Ἐπτανήσιους, Ἐβραίους, Ρώσους καὶ Τούρκους ἐμπορικοὺς πράκτορες³.

Στὶς Σέρρες ὁ πληθυσμὸς ὑπολογίζεται σὲ 6.736 κατοίκους, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὄποιους 2.000 Τοῦρκοι, 3.200 Ἐλληνες, 800 Ἐβραῖοι καὶ 36 Εὐρωπαῖοι. Ἐδῶ παρατηροῦμε ὅτι τὸ ἐβραϊκὸ στοιχεῖο ἀποτελεῖ τὸ $\frac{1}{4}$ τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ τὸ $\frac{1}{9}$ περίπου τοῦ συνολικοῦ πληθυσμοῦ. Ὑπάρχουν 21 τζαμιά, 23 ἑλληνικὲς ἐκκλησίες, μιὰ συναγωγὴ καὶ 9 ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα. Ὁ ἑλληνισμὸς λοιπὸν ἐδῶ παρουσιάζεται σφριγγηλός. Τὰ εὐρωπαϊκὰ κράτη ἀντιπροσωπεύονται ἀπὸ προξενικοὺς πράκτορες τῆς Αὐστρίας, Γαλλίας, Ρωσίας καὶ Πρωσίας. Στὴν Καβάλα ζοῦν 4.000 Τοῦρκοι, 2.200 Ἐλληνες καὶ 10 Εὐρωπαῖοι. Ἡ πόλη ἔχει 4 τζαμιά, ἔνα ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο, μιὰ ἐκκλησία, δύο προξενικοὺς πράκτορες (ἔναν Αὐστριακὸ ὑποπρόξενο καὶ ἔναν "Ἐλληνα") καὶ ἐπτὰ ἐμπορικὰ καταστήματα⁴.

'Αναλυτικὸ διάγραμμα τῆς κίνησης τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ 1839 δίνει ὁ Ch. Blunt κατὰ προσέγγιση, ἐπεξηγώντας ὅτι ἡ πυρκαϊά τοῦ περασμένου Σεπτεμβρίου⁵ κατέστρεψε τὰ ἀρχεῖα πολλῶν προξενείων, καθὼς καὶ τοῦ τουρκικοῦ τελωνείου μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ χαθοῦν πολύτιμα ἔγγραφα. Τὰ πλοῖα ποὺ ἐφθασαν στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη τὸ 1839 ὑπολογίζονται σὲ 243, ἀπὸ τὰ ὅποια 220 ἑλληνικά, χωρητικότητας 11.820 τόννων καὶ μὲ

1. M A E, vol. 21, ff. 245-246.

2. Στὸ αὐστριακὸ προξενεῖο ἐργάζονται δύο διερμηνεῖς, στὸ ἀμερικανικὸ δύο, στὸ βελγικὸ ἔνας, ἀνὰ ἔνας ἐπίσης στὸ δανέζικο, τῆς Νεάπολης, τῆς Πρωσίας, τῆς Ἰσπανίας, Σουηδίας καὶ Τοσκάνης, ἀνὰ δύο διερμηνεῖς στὰ προξενεῖα τῆς Γαλλίας καὶ Σαρδηνίας καὶ ἀνὰ τρεῖς στὸ ρωσικὸ καὶ στὸ ἑλληνικό.

3. F. O. 195 (100) f. 370.

4. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 370-371.

5. Γιὰ τὶς πυρκαϊές στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη βλ. σχετικὰ P. Risal, *La ville convoitée Saloniique*, Paris 1914, σ. 211.

έμπορεύματα ἀξίας 188.090: 18¹/₂ λιρῶν, 9 αὐτοτριακά, 7 ἐπτανησιακά, 3 ρωσικά, 2 ἀγγλικά, καὶ 2 ἀπὸ τὴν Τοσκάνη¹.

5 Λεπτομερής πίνακας τοῦ φορολογικοῦ συστήματος στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη κατὰ τὴν δεκαετία 1830-1840 συμπεριλαμβανομένου καὶ τοῦ χαρατσιοῦ, βρίσκεται στὸν δεύτερο τόμο τῶν ἀρχείων τοῦ Public Records Office καὶ συνοδεύεται ἀπὸ ὅρισμένες παρατηρήσεις τοῦ Ἀγγλου προξένου, γραμμένες στὶς 10 Φεβρουαρίου 1840². Ἔκεῖ ὁ Ch. Blunt σημειώνει μεταξὺ ἄλλων ὅτι οἱ φόροι εἰσπράττονται ἀπὸ τὸν Shaire Khaiah (ἐννοεῖ τὸν zahire kâhya=προμηθευτὴ ἐφοδίων) μὲ τὴν βοήθεια δύο μελῶν, ἀντιπροσώπων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ἑβραϊκῆς κοινότητας, τὰ δόποια δῆμος δὲν ἔχουν καμιὰ ἔξουσία. Ἄνα ἔξη μῆνες ἡ ἐκκαθάριση τῶν λογαριασμῶν ἐλέγχεται ἀπὸ τὸν zahire kâhya, τὸν πασὰ καὶ τὸν μπέηδες καὶ ὑστερα ἀπὸ τὸν μολά, δ δόποιος ζητεῖ νὰ μάθῃ ἂν οἱ πράξεις ἔχουν γίνει σωστά. Πάντοτε σχεδὸν παίρνει καταφατικὴ ἀπάντηση καὶ τότε ὁ μολάς δίνει τὴν ἔγκρισή του καὶ ἐκδίδει τὸ ilâm (=ἀπόφαση), ἀντίγραφο τοῦ ὁποίου στέλνει στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη. Συνήθως ζητεῖ ὡς ἀμοιβὴ γιὰ τὴν ἔκδοση τοῦ ilâm 200 λίρες στερλίνες. Μετὰ ἀπ’ αὐτὸν ὁ zahire kâhya διαιρεῖ τὸ σύνολο τῶν ἔξόδων σὲ ροκούσια³, ἀπὸ τὰ δόποια οἱ Χριστιανοὶ πρέπει νὰ πληρώνουν κάθε χρόνο 760. Ἀνάλογο ποσὸ δοφείλουν καὶ οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ἀλλά, ὅπως συμπεραίνει ὁ Blunt, τὸ μέτρο αὐτὸν εἶναι ἄδικο, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἑβραϊκὸ στοιχεῖο στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη εἶναι πολυαριθμότερο καὶ οἰκονομικὰ ἴσχυρότερο. Ἀλλοτε ἡ κατάσταση ἥταν ἀκόμη χειρότερη γιὰ τοὺς Χριστιανούς. ὅταν πλήρωναν περισσότερους φόρους ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ἀλλὰ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μελέτιος πέτυχε τελικὰ τὴν ἔξισωσην τοῦ φόρου. Στὴν πόλη τὰ ροκούσια πληρώνονται ἀνὰ 5 ἄτομα, ἐνῷ στὰ χωριὰ ἀνὰ δύο⁴.

Ο Ch. Blunt ὑποστηρίζει ὅτι εἶναι ἀδύνατο νὰ προσδιορισθῇ τὸ σύνολο τῶν φόρων ποὺ πληρώνουν οἱ Τούρκοι, ἐπειδὴ θεωρεῖται μυστικὸ καὶ τὸ γνωρίζει μόνο ὁ zahire kâhya. Πάντως οἱ καταχρήσεις ἐκ μέρους τῶν Τούρκων εἶναι ἔνα συχνὸ φαινόμενο καὶ χαρακτηριστικὰ ἀναφέρονται οἱ δῆθεν ἐπιδιορθώσεις στὴ γέφυρα τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ, οἱ δόποιες δῆμος ποτὲ δὲν πραγματοποιήθηκαν, ἀν καὶ στὸν πίνακα ἔξόδων καταγράφηται τὸ ποσὸ τῶν 1.700 λιρῶν. Ὅπερβολικὸ θεωρεῖ ἐπίσης ὁ Ἀγγλος πρόξενος τὸν φόρο τῶν 120 λιρῶν ποὺ πληρώνουν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης γιὰ τὰ ἔξοδα τοῦ νοσοκομείου. Οἱ συνθῆκες διαβιώσεως στὸ ἵδρυμα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἄθλιες. Ως πρὸς τὴν βελτίωση τῆς κατάστασης αὐτῆς ὁ Blunt φαίνεται ἀπαισιόδοξος καὶ αἰτιο-

1. F. O. 195 (176) f. 25.

2. F. O. 195 (176) f. 26.

3. Ἡ λέξη μοῦ εἶναι ἄγνωστη.

4. F. O. 195 (176) ff. 16-17.

λογεῖ τὴν διαπίστωσή του αὐτὴ συμπεραίνοντας τὰ παρακάτω: «The reply is simple. What Rayjah has the power of inspecting the accounts, and should any one clandestinely arrive at the necessary information, who could protect him against the joint efforts of the Pacha, Shaire Khaiah, Beys, Bishop, and the community, to ruin him and his relations should be bold enough to take any steps?»¹. Τούτης ἀκόμη ὅτι ἡ συνεχῆς διαμάχη μεταξὺ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ραγιάδων, τῶν τσορμπατζήδων καὶ τῶν ἐσναφιῶν, δηλαδὴ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοινοτικῆς τάξης καὶ τῶν ἐκπροσώπων τῶν συντεχνιῶν ὡς πρὸς τὴν κατανομὴ τῶν τουρκικῶν φόρων καὶ τὴν συμμετοχὴ τους στὰ ἄλλα οἰκονομικὰ βάρη τῆς κοινότητας, δυσχεραίνει ἀκόμη περισσότερο τὰ πράγματα. Στὰ τέλη τοῦ 1840 τὰ μέλη τῶν ἐσναφιῶν, τῆς ἀσθενέστερης οἰκονομικὰ τάξης, ζητοῦσαν νὰ γίνη μιὰ αὐστηρὴ ἔρευνα στοὺς λογαριασμούς, γιὰ νὰ ἀποκαλυφτῇ στὸ τέλος, πράγμα ποὺ δὲν εἶναι γενικὰ γνωστό, ὅπως σημειώνει ὁ Blunt, ὅτι οἱ τσορμπατζήδες δὲν συνεισφεραν οὔτε ἔνα ἀσπρό στὰ ἔξοδα τῆς πόλης. Ἔτσι σχηματίστηκε μιὰ εἰδικὴ ἐπιτροπὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπρόσωπους τῶν ἐσναφιῶν γιὰ νὰ μελετήσῃ τὸ θέμα τῆς κατανομῆς τῶν φόρων στοὺς χριστιανοὺς ραγιάδες καὶ τῆς ἀποφυγῆς τῶν ἀδικιῶν. Χαρακτηριστικὸ εἶναι ὅτι οἱ βιοτέχνες καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπαγγελματίες τῶν ἐσναφιῶν, ἀναμειγνύονται ἐνεργῶς πιὰ στὰ κοινὰ καὶ ζητοῦν νὰ ἐλέγχουν τοὺς τσορμπατζήδες στοὺς λογαριασμούς τῆς αὐτοδιοίκητης χριστιανικῆς κοινότητας. Δὲν ἀνέχονται τὶς ἀδικίες καὶ τὶς καταχρήσεις τῶν κοινοτικῶν ἀρχόντων (τσορμπατζήδων)².

6. Βαθμιαία πτώση ἐμφανίζουν οἱ εἰσαγωγὲς καὶ οἱ ἔξαγωγὲς στὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ 1840. ἔξ αἰτίας τῆς πανώλης, τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς στὰ 1838-1839 καὶ τῆς ἀνώμαλης πολιτικῆς κατάστασης στὴν Εὐρώπη³. Ἀξιοσημείωτο ὅτι δὲν ἔπλευσε κανένα ἀγγλικὸ πλοιο, ἀντίθετα προσέγγισαν 245 ἑλληνικά, συνολικῆς χωρητικότητας 9.914 τόννων μὲ ἐμπορεύματα ἀξίας 13.302.18.2 λιρῶν, 100 τουρκικά, 12 αὐστριακά, 9 ἐπτανησιακά, 7 ὅπὸ τὴν Σαρδηνία, 5 ρωσικά, 4 ἀπὸ τὴν Νεάπολη καὶ ἀνὰ ἔνα ἀπὸ τὴν Τοσκάνη καὶ Σουηδία. Ἀπέπλευσαν 242 ἑλληνικά πλοια, χωρητικότητας 9.728 τόννων καὶ μὲ ἐμπορεύματα ἀξίας 3.093.3.5 λιρῶν, τὸ $1/4$ δηλαδὴ τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν⁴. Παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσία ἀγγλικῶν πλοίων στὸ λιμάνι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης στὰ 1840 ὁρισμένα ἀγγλικὰ προϊόντα μεταφέρθηκαν σ' ἑλληνικὰ λιμάνια ἀπὸ τὴν Σύρα καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη μὲ αὐστριακὰ πλοια.

1. F. O. 195 (176) ff. 18-20.

2. F. O. 195 (176) ff. 96-97.

3. Βλέπε παρακάτω σχετικὸ πίνακα τῆς συνολικῆς εἰσαγωγικῆς καὶ ἔξαγωγικῆς ἀξίας ἀπὸ τὸ 1836-1840.

4. F. O. 195 (176) f. 101.

I. Ἡ κίνηση τοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης (1830-1840). Ἀφίξεις τῶν πλοίων.

Έτος	Ἀριθμὸς πλοίων
1831	273
1836	408
1838	450
1839	243
1840	388

II. Διάγραμμα τῆς συνολικῆς ἀξίας τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν καὶ ἐξαγωγῶν (1836-1840).

Έτος	Αξία εἰσαγωγῶν	Αξία ἐξαγωγῶν
1836	130.061 λίρες	86.063 λίρες
1838	122.161 »	121.861 »
1839	211.036.18 ¹ / ₂ »	173.359.8 ¹ / ₂ »
1840	85.517.16.10 »	114.098.16 »

Κάμψη παρουσίασε καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριο τῆς Γαλλίας καὶ τῆς Αὐστρίας μὲ τὴ Θεσσαλονίκη σὲ σύγκριση μὲ τὰ προηγούμενα χρόνια, γεγονὸς ποὺ δφείλεται, ἀφ' ἐνὸς στὶς αἰτίες ποὺ ἀνέφερα παραπάνω καὶ ἀφ' ἔτέρου στὴν ἐλάττωση τῆς συγκομιδῆς. Σημειώθηκε ἀκόμη μείωση τῶν ἐξαγωγῶν τοῦ βαμβακιοῦ, σησαμιοῦ, καπνοῦ καὶ μαλλιοῦ. Ἀντίθετα ἡ ἐξαγωγὴ τοῦ μεταξιοῦ παραμένει σὲ ψηλὰ ἐπίπεδα. Ἡ βελτίωση τῆς καλλιέργειάς του συνέβαλε στὴν δημιουργία περισσότερων ἐργαστηρίων ἐπεξεργασίας στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη, τὰ ὅποια παλαιότερα ἦταν ἴδιοκτησία τῶν Ἐβραίων, ἔως ὅτου ἐνδιαφέρθηκαν καὶ οἱ Εὐρωπαῖοι ἴδιαίτερα γι' αὐτά. Ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων στὰ 1838 ἦταν 10, ἐξοπλισμένα μὲ 280 κουβαρίστρες καὶ 625 ἐργάτες. Στὰ 1839 ὑπῆρχαν 12 μὲ 346 κουβαρίστρες καὶ 739 ἐργάτες καὶ τὸ 1840 20 ἐργαστήρια, 439 κουβαρίστρες καὶ 1.167 ἐργάτες. Αὕξηση παρουσιάζει καὶ ἡ παραγωγὴ κρασιῶν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ κρασιὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας δὲν εἶναι ποιοτικὰ κατώτερα ἀπὸ τὰ ἀνατολίτικα, ὅπως παρατηρεῖ ὁ Ἀγγλος πρόξενος, πρέπει νὰ γίνουν σημαντικὲς ἐξαγωγές¹.

7. Βασικὸ ἐμπόριο γιὰ τὴν ὁμαλὴ διξαγωγὴ τοῦ ἐμπορίου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης θεωρεῖ ὁ Ἀγγλος πρόξενος τὴν ἐμφάνιση Ἑλλήνων ὁπλαρχηγῶν

I. F. O. 195 (176) ff. 126-130.

τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἥδη ἀπὸ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 1832 στὴν δυτικὴ Θεσσαλία καὶ κατηγορεῖ τὸν Ρῶσο καὶ Γάλλο πρόξενο ὅτι προσπαθοῦν νὰ προστατεύουν τοὺς πειρατές¹. Μὲ μεγάλη ἀκρίβεια παρακολουθεῖ, ὅπως συμπεραίνουμε ἀπὸ τὰ γραφόμενά του, τις κινήσεις τῶν τελευταίων Ἑλλήνων κλεφταρματολῶν, τοῦ Διαμαντῆ καὶ τοῦ Πιτσάβα² στὴν Θεσσαλία καὶ στὴν Μακεδονία καὶ τὴν δραστηριότητά τους στὸν Θερμαϊκὸ κόλπο³. Τὸν Μάρτιο τοῦ 1833 ἀναφέρει ὅτι καλὰ πληροφορημένη πηγὴ τοῦ ἐπιβεβαίωσε τὴν εἰδῆση ὅτι ἡ δύναμη τῶν πειρατῶν ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ ἀρκετὰ πλοῖα καὶ γύρω στοὺς 100-150 ὁπλισμένους ἄνδρες. Κρητσφύγετο καὶ ὄρμητήριο τους θεωρεῖται ἡ Ἀμουλιανὴ στὸ Ἀγιο Ὄρος⁴. Χαρακτηριστικὸ εἶναι τὸ ἐπεισόδιο, ποὺ συνέβηκε τὴν Ἱδια ἀκριβῶς ἐποχὴ στὴν Θάσο, ὅπου οἱ Τούρκοι μὲ τὴ βοήθεια αὐστριακῶν πλοίων συνέλαβαν τὸν Καρακίτσο, τὸν Βούλγαρη, τὸν Μιχάλη Βασίλη. Γιάννη Ὑδριώτη, Βασίλη Ζαγοριανὸ μὲ 120 ἄνδρες καὶ κυρίευσαν τὸν ὁπλισμό τους⁵.

Στὶς 2 Ιανουαρίου 1834 ὁ Ναμίκ Ἀλή πασᾶς φθάνει ἀπὸ τὴν Σκόδρα στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη μὲ ἰσχυρὲς ἐνισχύσεις⁶, ἐνῶ οἱ ἐπιθέσεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁπλαρχηγῶν συνεχίζονται στὴν Θεσσαλία ἐναντίον τουρκικῶν χωριῶν⁷. Τὸ Νοέμβριο τοῦ 1835 ὁ πασᾶς τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κάλεσε τὸν Ἀγγλο, Γάλλο καὶ Ρῶσο πρόξενο καὶ κατηγόρησε τὴν τακτικὴ τοῦ Ἑλληνα πρόξενου Θεόδωρου Βαλλιάνου⁸, ὁ δόποιος προστάτευε τὸν Τσάμη Καρατάσο, γιὸ τοῦ ὁπλαρχηγοῦ Καρατάσου. Σὰν ἀπόδειξη ἔφερε διάφορες σφραγίδες τοῦ Καρατάσου, ποὺ βρέθηκαν σὲ πτώματα Ἑλλήνων πειρατῶν. Ὁ Θ. Βαλλιάνος ἀρνήθηκε τὴν κατηγορία τοῦ πασᾶ καὶ ἴσχυρίστηκε ὅτι ὁ Καρατάσος ἦταν συνταγματάρχης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ στρατοῦ, ὁ δόποιος εἶχε ἔλθει στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη, γιὰ νὰ ἐπανακτήσῃ μέρος τῆς πατρικῆς περιουσίας του. «Δυστυχῶς», τονίζει ὁ Ch. Blunt, ὁ Ἑλληνας «καθοδηγεῖται ἀπὸ τὸν Ρῶσο πρόξενο»⁹.

Νέα ἐμφάνιση Ἑλλήνων πειρατῶν μαρτυρεῖται στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 1837 στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ συγκεκριμένα τοῦ Χαρίση¹⁰, τοῦ Πιτσάβα, τοῦ Νικ. Ζέρβα,

1. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 63-64.

2. Βλέπε γι' αὐτὸν J o h n V a s d r a v e l l i s, Klephths, Armatoles and Pirates in Macedonia during the rule of the Turks (1627-1821), Thessaloniki 1975, σ. 71.

3. F. O. 195 (100) f. 68, 69, 70, 85.

4. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 87-88.

5. F. O. 195 (100) f. 95.

6. F. O. 195 (100) f. 105.

7. F. O. 195 (100) f. 112

8. Βλέπε γιὰ τὸν διορισμό του Ἀ π. Β α κ α λ ο π ο ύ λ ο ν, Ἰστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, σ. 642-643.

9. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 240-242.

10. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 256-258.

και τῶν ἀδελφῶν Μελισόβα¹, ἐνῷ τὸν Μάϊο τοῦ 1838 οἱ Χαρίσης, Μπιγκιώτης, Τσόρας Μῆτσος, Χαιρόπουλος καὶ Γκουντρόβας μὲ 300 ἄνδρες κατευθύνονται στὸν Πλαταμώνα. Ἐνα μήνα ἀργότερα ὅμως ὁ Yelill ἀγάς συλλαμβάνει κοντὰ στὰ Τρίκαλα τὸν Πιτσάβα, Γκουντρόβα καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀδελφοὺς Κάπα. Ὁ Πιτσάβας μαζὶ μὲ 45 ἄνδρες πιάστηκε ύστερα ἀπὸ καταδίωξη 70 ώρῶν (une chasse de soixante-dix heures) καὶ στάλθηκε στὴ Λάρισα μαζὶ μὲ τὸν Γκουντρόβα, ὅπου καὶ ἐκτελέστηκαν. Οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Κάπα στάλθηκαν στὰ Ἰωάννινα².

ΕΓΓΡΑΦΑ

I.F.O. 165/100: EMBASSY AND CONSULAR CORRESPONDENCE: SALONICA

1

f. 39

Salonica 28th January 1832

Sir,

I beg leave to report to your Excellency that on Saturday last arrived in this town eight hundred Albanians, coming of Albania of the principal families there, and next day left again for Constantinople, sent to that capital as it is said; to remain as hostages for the future quite of their country.

Four thousand men of the regular troops of the Sadirasam are ordered to come to Salonica, and already a body of one thousand five hundred of them arrived this day, it is reported that these troops are to proceed from this to Constantinople.

I have the honour to be with respect and consideration

*Sir, Your Excellency's
Most obedient,
Most Devoted,
Humble Servant,
James Charnaud*

2

ff. 49-50

Salonica 15th April 1832

*Right honorable Sir,
As brother in Law of James Charnaud and at his Employ, I take the liberty*

1. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 260-261.

2. F. O. 195 (100) ff. 310-311.

to address to your Excellency the present and inform your Excellency that yesterday towards the evening the said James Charnaud passed to a better life after an illness of only three days.

However there will be many candidates for the vacant Poste, I beg leave also to be numbered among the same as a Man that figures in this country as British Merchant and having met with great misfortunes I have been reduced to distress. If I am so fortunate that your Excellency wants allow to act as British Consul till the pleasure of His Majesty's Governement shall be known, I beg to assure your Excellency that I will take upon me to support and maintain the numerous and very unfortunate family the deceased left behind of a wife and five children who are almost in misery.

Henry Chasseaud

3

f. 53

Salonica 16th April 1832

Sir,

I take the liberty of bringing under your Excellency's notice my humble petitions addressed to the late Right honorable George Canning, and to your Excellency at the demise of the late Consul M. Francis Charnaud, with an extract of my late Father's services —a recommandation in my favor signed by J.J.—formerly treasurer of the Levant Company and by several of the British Merchants in London for the appointment of Consul at Salonica, when this office may be reestablished by his Majesty's Government. A request to the same purpose and addressed likewise, since to his Excellency Sir Robert Gordon signed by several respectable Merchants of Smyrna.

Tusting that the good conduct of my late father Mr B.E. Abbott, and my qualifications and older in this place, with the recommendations of the respectable London and Smyrna gentlemen.

I have the honor to be very respectfully

*Your Excellency's
Very obedient
and humble servant*

G. F. Abbott

4

ff. 63-64

Salonica the 17th of May 1832

Right Honourable,

I had the honour to apply to your Excellency on the 17th April last for the

British Consulship in this place. Whatever chance my application may have considering that Your Excellency is entirely deprived for the moment of political news of this country, I think it my duty, as one of the H.B.M. subject and almost the only true Englishman in this place, and member at the late Levant Company to acquaint your Excellency with the most essential ones of this Province.

On the 10th instant an express arrived from the Grand Visir to the Governor of this place. I had occasion to learn, that a complete victory was gained over the Bosnacs by his troops at Yeni Bazar which place has been surrendered to Machmout Pashaw, and on the 11th instant these news have been confirmed by a hundred and thirty prisoners brought to this place with a number of flags. I am assured also that Machmout Pashaw left Yeni Bazar under the orders of his aid de camp and he himself proceeded to the straits of Bosna where is expected a single action will decide their fate. The above prisoners left Salonica on the 12th instant for Constantinople in sorrowful condition.

Vegihi Pashaw, Governor of Salonica is preparing in a hurry ten to fifteen thousand kinilals of biscuit, and fifty thousand killos barley, measure of Constantinople. In a conversation I had lately with him, he made me understand, that Bosnac's insurrection cannot last but few weeks more, and considering the advices we have here, of it's present situation of disorder in it's troops, I should think, shortly all the Chiefs will be obliged to yield to the force of arms, of the Grand Visir whose warlike exploits are well known to them.

The famous Robbers of Mount Olimpe, Diamandi, Pizzava, and many other leaders, who last year have been protected by the French and Russian Consuls, appeared again on the same spot, with four thousand men and many plunders, and murders have been committed in the western part of Thessaly. I have been told that Yussouf Bey of Salonica is appointed to fight them, and in a few days he shall leave this place. At the news of the arrival of these Robbers the two consulates have sensibly lost of their reputation towards the public opinion and ended their action at the time was vigourously criticised.

*The most obedient
humble servant
R. Abbott*

It is with regret that I have to acquaint your Excellency of the appearance of Greek pirate boats in this Gulf, who have already plundered two Austrian Ves-

sels and wounded one of the masters together with his crew.

John Charnaud

6

f. 68

Salonica 13th June 1832

It is reported that the pirates still continue to appear in this gulf but great hopes are entertained that an Idriot Vessel hired and armed by Government, and which sailed eleven days ago, may succeed in capturing some of them.

John Charnaud

7

f. 69

Salonica 25th June 1832

His Majesty's Fregate Belvedera, Captain Rich. S. Dundas arrived in this bay on the 17th from Napoli di Romania on a cruize after the pirates; her coming here principally was with the intention to obtain all possible information regarding the pirates, and fortunately bith of the Austrian Captains that were plundered some time ago by the pirates happened to be still here and details were communicated to Captain Dundas who sailed again from this on the 20th in order to look after the pirates.

John Charnaud

8

f. 70

Salonica 28th July 1832

It is also reported that the son of admiral Miaoulis has been sent by the Greek Government with a small fleet of Piramas to look after the pirates, and that he was seen in this gulf yesterday and intended to visit this place

John Charnaud

9

f. 75

Salonica 13th October 1832

On the 7th instant the Caimakam who was here resident for the course of

two years drilling the troops of a regiment of eight hundred eighty men supposed to be destined Jannina, and ordered to go to that place, under the supposition that Silichtar Pascha, one of the Chief Albanese, who took refuge in Egypt, should not come back again and introduce another revolt on Albania.

10

f. 77

Salonica 28th November 1832

The Greek pirate boats have again disappeared owing to the energetic measures pursued by our Pasha whose two armed Schooners returned a few days ago without having met with the pirates.

John Charnaud

11

f. 83

Salonica 28th January 1833

I beg leave to state that on the 15th instant the Pasha of this place who had received five hundred Albanian troops for Constantinople, decided that it would be more convenient for them to go by sea than by land, and therefore chartered three merchant Vessels, for their passage to the Capital.

John Charnaud

12

f. 85

Salonica 13th February 1833

Recently several Greek Vessels arrived here from different parts of the Archipelago, and they report to have seen in this gulf, four or five Greek pirate boats with fifty men each.

John Charnaud

13

ff. 87-88

Salonica 13th March 1833

I am informed from good authority that the present force of the Pirates consists of several boats containing of one hundred and fifty to hundred men, all well armed. The Chiefs of the party are «Chara Kitscho», «Chara Nicola», «Mucha-

rem» Chief and an Idiot Captain. The small island of Amuliani, in the gulf of Mount Athos is the rendezvous of these Robbers where they concert plans of committing depredations by sea and land between the gulf of Mount Athos and Cap Cassandra in the Gulf of Salonica

John Charnaud

14

ff. 93-94

Salonica 28th March 1833

On the 25th Instant the British Sloop «Raleigh» Captain Hopkins arrived here from Smyrna to look after the Greek pirates in consequence of my letter upon the subject to the Senior Commander of H. B. Majesty's Naval forces at Smyrna; I communicate the capture of the Greek pirates to Captain Hopkins, who sailed again for Smyrna on the 20th Instante.

John Charnaud

f. 95 *Enclosure :*

The Turkish-Governor of Cavalla through the medium of the Austrian agent there, requested Captain Copeland, in company with four armed Turkish boats to attack the Greek pirates in the vicinity of Thasso. The Pirates immediately on recognizing the British force surrendered on condition of not being given to the Turks. Upon this the English Commandor approached the Pirates, with two boats towards the island of Thasso, where he embarked. One hundred fifty of them, one hundred thousand piastres, all their arms and other effects together with six boats. The names of the five Captain Robbers are Carakizo, Bulgaro, Michali Vasili, Yanni Idriotti, Vasili Zagoriano, Greeks with one hundred twenty men.

The Turkish Governor of Cavalla made remonstrances to the Austrian Agent regarding the conduct of the English Commander for leaving Thasso, without giving notice of the prizes made of the pirates, knowing that four Greek and two Turkish Vessels were plundered, in the same places and were at Cavalla demanding restitution of their goods and money taken by the pirates.

15

f. 105

Salonica 14th January 1834

I now beg leave to inform your Lordship that the 2th Instant Namik Ali Pasha of Argos, arrived in this city from Scondra accompanied with three hundred

troops and ordered, so far as I can ascertain, to remain here until further instructions from the Turkish Government.

John Charnaud

16

f. 108

Salonica 28th January 1835

My father, brother and myself had the honor of holding the British Consulate of Salonica for upwards of half a century, now with deep regret I am informed that Government has named Mr Blunt Consul of this place. I beg leave to petition your Lordship through your powerful interest to represent my case to Government that with the salary of 250 per annum allowed to me the continual travelers passing through this country and to mentain the dignity of the post which was confined to me. I therefore earnestly solicit your Lordship to be pleased to recommend me to Government

John Charnaud

17

f. 112

Salonica 27th March 1834

I now beg leave to state the report that six hundred Greeks formerly in company with the Robbers who infested Thessalia have again commenced, their depredations extending from Mount Olympos to Agrafa and committing their usual cruelties towards the Turkish Villages and travellers in general. These Robbers usually make their appearence in spring and summer and frequent the forests which afford them shelter and the means of avoiding discovery during these seasons.

John Charnaud

18

ff. 124-125

Salonica 28th May 1834

I now beg leave to state that the few Ionian subjects established in this city since some years back have been lately accused by the Greek Community here that their origin is Raya and through the local authorities attempts were made to put them in prison and make them pay Haratch, on being informed of the cir-

cumstance I called upon the Pasha and proved to him by the credentials which each of these individuals hold, that they are Ionian subjects; the Pasha was fully satisfied and assured me that they should not be molested, and that it was the fault of the Greek Rayas who gave them to understand they were Rayas.

I take permission further to inform your Excellency that the Greeks seeing their unsuccessful attempts through the local authorities, the Bishop informed me by his Protosinghelo that he had orders from the Patriarch to demand from the Ionian subjects the taxe paid by the Rayas, and wished that I should recommend them to make no objection, and in case of objection they would not be considered by the Greek Church as Christian and would be deprived of the ceremonies of the Church which the Rayas enjoy.

John Charnaud

19

ff. 126-127

Salonica 28th July 1834

I am sorry to have to report to your Lordship the reappearance of the pirate boats between Capes Cassandra and Drepano. The French Consul of this city recently send his Dragoman and Janisary by sea to Mount Athos upon some business regarding his office in a small Greek Craft whose papers were endorsed by me. They were unfortunately captured by the Pirates who ill treated them but afterwards allowed the boat and crew to return to Salónica with the exception of the Janisary who may be put to death

John Charnaud

20

f. 134

Salonica 28th August 1834

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that an Austrian man of War Schooner recently arrived here from Smyrna, and that in going out from the gulf succeeding in capturing twenty five Greek Pirates in the vicinity of Cap Cassandra: it is supposed that the Pirates may be sent to Nauplia for judgment and punishment

John Charnaud

21

f. 140

Salonica 28th September 1834

I have the honor to inform your Excellency the recent arrival in the bay of the Austrian Admiral Dandolo, with a small squadron of three men of war, the nature of his visit is unknown; he officially announced his arrival through the Consul to the different Consuls here and a visit was made to him by them complementing him upon the occasion and each Consul was saluted. The Admiral will soon leave Salonica for Smyrna.

John Charnaud

22

f. 148

Salonica 13th December 1834

I beg leave to inform your Excellency that Omer Pasha received on the 10th Instant an order from the capital to cease his functions as representative of the Porte at this place, and that he will be replaced by Ibraim Pasha of Serres, who is expected to arrive daily.

John Charnaud

23

f. 152

Salonica 28 January 1835

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the Greek Pirates have reappeared again in this gulf; a Greek Schooner from Carvelia was attacked by them near Cassandra on the 25th ultimo and fought for about five hours... the master of the Schooner in question reports to me that one of the Chief Robbers Caramizo captured by Captain Capeland

John Charnaud

24

f. 160

Salonique 2/14 Février 1835

Monsieur le Consul,

Ayant reçu les ordres du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Grèce mon Auguste Maître, de déployer mon caractère de Consul en Macédoine et d'établir ma résidence à Salonique, j'ai l'honneur de Vous annoncer Monsieur le Consul

que dès aujourd'hui je vais me charger des fonctions qui me sont imposés et dont la direction était jusqu'à ce moment confiée à Vos soins.

Avant d'entreprendre ma tâche, je crois de mon devoir de Vous exprimer ma plus profonde reconnaissance, pour le noble zèle, et la grande assistance, que conjointement avec Mrs Vos Collègues, Vous avez bien voulu déployer avec autant d'honneur que de probité, dans la protection des intérêts des sujets de Sa Majesté Hellénique, ainsi que de Vous prier de vouloir bien faire part de mes remerciemens les plus flatteux, à tous Mrs Vos officiers et employés, qui par leur conduite louable, avaient aussi contribué au bien des Hellènes.

Th. Valliano

25

f. 162

Salonique 16 Février 1835

Monsieur le Consul,

J'ai l'honneur de recevoir Votre lettre de 14 Courant avec laquelle Vous me faites part que Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grèce, Vous a nommé Consul en Macédoine pour établir Votre résidence à Salonique et qu'à partir de ce jour Vous deviez prendre la charge de Vos fonctions.

John Charnaud

26

f. 178

Salonica 29th May 1835

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that on the 16th Instant two Greek men of war gun boats arrived in this bay, for the purpose to look after the Greek Pirates. The Commanders of these Gunboats visited the English, French and Russian Consuls and on their returning the visit each Consul was saluted with nine Guns.

John Charnaud

27

ff. 180-181

Salonica June 12.1835

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform to your Lordship of my arrival here on the 5th Inst. and having received from Mr Charnaud the archives of the Consulate I have commenced my official duties.

I have not yet had time, My Lord, to go minutely into the trade of this place, however I find that it is greatly on the mercade as regards imports from England four years back, what goods of British manufacture and produce, were sold here, were supplied from Syra, Constantinople and Smyrna, now there are nearly from five to six vessels arrive from England (and some of them with entire cargoes), with manufactures from Colonians, these goods the fews send into the interior, for the place itself requires but a small portion of the imports.

Ch. Blunt

28

f. 182

Salonica July 14.1835

A Firman has been received by the local authorities for the immediate purchase of one thousand hundred killoes of Barley at 4 killoe Constantinople measure and all the wheat not acquired for the consumption of the town at 10 killoe Constantinople measure, these prices, My Lord, will pay the cultivator, but leave no profit. As far as I have been able to learn, the crops this year, about Salonica have been abundant giving an average of 8 killoes for one, the usual average as 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ -7 for one

Ch. Blunt

29

f. 184

Salonica July 20.1835

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that on the 16th Instant thirteen Turkish transports arrived at this Port, having on board two thousand three hundred Infantry, and this morning three other transports arrived with troops the whick are, I am informed, a part of an army of ten thousand men, the whole of which when arrived, are to march for Albania, where the disturbances are now very serious it being reported here, that Khufus Pascha has been killed and the Sultan troops, under his command, totally defeated.

Ch. Blunt

30

ff. 232-233

Salonica April 19th 1836

My Lord,

I have the honour to enclose your Lordship copy of a report upon the com-

merce of Salonica regretting that I have not been able, to collect sufficiently correct information, relative to the trade of the dependancies of this consulate at Cavalla, Volo, Larrissa, and Seres, but hope to be able to transmit them, by a future occasion.

Your Lordship will remark at page 4 in the commercial report, that I have mentioned the «speculative and precarious» trade carried on by the Jews of Salonica, the effects of which are beginning to be felt, by two extensive failures amongst these Jew speculators within the last few days. I regret to acquaint your Lordship, that the flocks of sheep have suffered considerably during the winter and that the loss, in the immediate vicinity of Salonica, is estimated at one hundred thousand sheep. The grain crops are unusually backward, and fears are entertained that they will be heavy rains which have fallen without intermission for the last ten days.

Ch. Blunt

31

ff. 236-237

Salonica May 2 1836

I beg to assure your Lordship that the situation of Salonica offers real advantages for the establishment of quarantine which few ports in Turkey can boast of I have also the satisfaction of being able to state, that from the various interviews I have had, with the influencial Beys, and other Turks here, that I have invariably found them all, much in favour of quarantine, and perfectly alive to it's advantages; the same feeling is expressed by the Jew and Christian communities.

At the close of last year, when some reports were spread of accidents of plague at Seres, the Pacha gave us permission, to make use of two Khans near the town, for the performance of quarantine of all goods and passengers arriving from Seres, but your Lordship can imagine our surprise and dissapointment, when we found that these two Khans were under Russian protection!

Ch. Blunt

32

f. 238

Salonica June 29 1836

My Lord,

I have the honour to report to your Lordship that two Turkish Schooners of war have arrived within the last few days to blockade the small bays in the gulf

for the purpose of crudicuting the Pirates. These Schooners have taken the Eastern coast, and Emir Pacha of Larissa is upon the Western in active pursuit by land of these depredators.

Ch. Blunt

33

ff. 240-242

Salonica November 17 1835

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, a few days since, when with the Pacha in company with the French and Russian Consuls upon quarantine affairs, His Excellency said, he was glad he had the opportunity of seeing us together, as it ena bled him to call our attention, to the Greeks, who were very irregular, and gave very just cause for complaint,—that a certain Capa, was forming bands of robbers within the district of his Pachalick,—, that a certain Zaiem Karatasso, the son of a noted robberchief, had been received and protected here, by the Greek Consul that the general conduct of the Greeks was such, as made it difficult to understand, whether they were at war, or peace with Turkey.

The day after this interview with the Pacha, I sent for Mr Valliano the Greek Consul, and requested the French and Russian Consuls to be present, (the latter did not come), when, together with the French Consul, I communicated to Mr Valliano the complaints of the Pacha giving my opinion of the necessity of his avoiding all disputes with the Turks and how expedient it was, that he should endeavour, to put himself upon the best possible footing with the local authorities; that he should abstain from giving protection to Rayjahs, and endeavour if possible, to prevent such persons as Karatasso, from coming to Salonica. The Greek Consul replied, that the complaint of the Pacha was unfounded, and that Karatasso was a Colonel in the Greek army, who had come here, to recover some property and was not the person the Pacha represented him to be.

This morning My Lord, the Pacha sent for me, as he did for the French, Russian and Greek Consuls and to our surprise, presented us some letters, and the seal of Karatasso, which had been found upon some robbers, lately taken in the act, of attacking the Caravan, going to the Fair of Luca a few hours from hence. These letters together with the seal, the Pacha has sent to Constantinople. The Greek Consul assured the Pacha, he would give immediate intelligence, to Greece, in order that Karatasso should be seized. I advised the Greek Consul to dispsatzch one of the gun boats (there are two here) in order that Karatasso might be caught on the frontiers, but Mr Valliano, the Greek Consul, is unfortunately much guided by the advice of the Russian Consul, who I fear does not always ad-

vise him for the best, and has latterly induced the Greek Consul, to take into his service an interpreter, who is entirely under the influence of the Russian.

.
Ch. Blunt

34

f. 244

Salonica November 10 1836

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, the following circumstance, reported by a Vessel from Sciathos.

Some of the Greek Insurgents, natives of Tricalla, Domaco + Aimero, after being defeated in their late attacks at Furca, and various other places on the Greek boundaries, took refuge in the Turkish Territory, and a short time since claimed, the protection of Emin Pacha, Pacha of Larissa, who either from suspicion, that some of the party belonged to the refractory chiefs of Olympus, or acting upon instructions from the Porte, ordered them all (forty) to be bound, and put on board a Turkish man of war cutter off Platamona, with instructions to the captain to sail immediately for Constantinople. After leaving the gulf of Salonica the cutter met with a heavy gale of wind, when the Greeks assisted by an Albanian, one of their party, released themselves, and after a small resistance on the part of the Turcs, took possession of the cutter, the Turkish captain and some of the officers being killed. The Greek have two killed and nine wounded. The crew of the cutter, forced by the Greeks, took her to a small port called St Anna of Sciathos, where they anchored, and the Greeks left the Vessel for Sciathos taking with them their killed and wounded.

.
Ch. Blunt

35

ff. 246-247

Salonica December 26 1836

My Lord,

I have the honour to report to your Lordship, that a short time since, Mr Valliano, the Greek Consul, acquainted me that the Pacha of this place, had sent to give him notice, that he could no longer acknowledge, the Greek Interpreter, and justified his so acting, upon instructions received from Constantinople. Upon a full investigation I found there did exist, more than sufficient cause, for the dismissal of the Interpreter and of this, I took an early opportunity of acquainting the Greek Consul, who immediately discharged his Interpreter and took another: the Pacha however refused receiving any Interpreter of the Greek Consul, and

all relations were broken off, upon Mr. Valliano's application, I sent to the Pacha and I induced him, to renew his relations with the Greek Consulates, and accept the Interpreter.

I have considered it my duty my Lord to be thus particular, in the statement regarding the Greek Interpreter, as it is a part of a system of intrigue, carried on here, purposely to interrupt all amical relations between the Greek Consulate and the local authorities; these intrigues, I have attempted to put a stop to, but have found it impossible, to make Ibraim Pacha comprehend the fallacy of all, that is reported to him, and this may be credited, from the well known fact here, that it is difficult to find a Turk, so much opposed to the Greeks, as Ibraim Pacha.

I regret to say that all the bad feeling which exists, between the local authorities and the Greek Consulate emanates, from the French Consulate, I cannot take upon myself to say, that this by order of the French Consul, but I can state, without fear of contradiction, that the second Interpreter, of the French Consulate is the cause of all, indeed Ibraim Pacha has more than once told me «Sig. Varda (the second Interpreter of the French Consulate) is my informant». The Russian Consul in all affairs relating to the Greeks, is excessively cautious, in fact I may say, never acts, either for or against them.

Ch. Blunt

36

ff. 248-249

Salonica Febr. 3. 1837

My Lord

I have the honour to transmit your Lord ship, the returns of trade of the port of Salonica, for the year ending the 31th Dec. 1836. Although the trade of Salo-nica during the year 1836, suffered considerably from the prevalence of plague in the interior, which prevented the usual attendance at the fairs, I'm happy to be enabled to call your Lordships attention, to the enclosed return which shows an increase upon the gross value of British goods imported, to the return, there ap-pears a falling off, upon the amount of goods imported direct, but when it is considered that fall, it's not more than, $\frac{2}{3}$ nds of the value of the cargoes, by the Greek vessels, are in British manufactures, the result is in favour of British im-ports, thus value of British goods imported direct

in 1836: £ 38.719

Value of British goods by Greek Vessels in 1836: £ 44.802

£ 83.521

<i>Value of British goods direct in 1835:</i>	£ 44.060
<i>Value of British goods by Greek vessels 1835:</i>	£ 20.626 (both: 64.686)
<i>Increase of value of imports 1836</i>	£ 64.686
	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
	18.835 £

I have the pleasure of being able to state to your Lordship, that British manufactures daily increase, and particularly cotton velvets, which have been, but latterly introduced, I am of opinion, that were if not for the Demie Bâton of German manufacture; that Cotton velvets, would become an article of import of some consequence. In my report, upon the commerce of Salonica, which I had the honour to transmit your Lordship, last year, I stated that the German manufacture called Demie Bâton, which has put the British Nankans out of the markets in Turkey, was of such general consumption, that it would probably, be worthy the attention of the manufacturers in England, to immitate them, I am still of that opinion, from the daily increase of the consumption. The exports of the 1836, from the part of Salonica, were principally in silk, wool, cotton and tobacco, to France and Trieste.

The Firman lately arrived, which obliges the Rayjahs, to send their silk to Constantinople, will cause considerable distress amongst certain classes in Salonica; in 1836 there were fourteen factories for the drawing of silks Façon Piedmontese, in Salonica, this year, there would have been more, thus by this late Firman, nearly two thousand women and children were be thrown out of employ in the town only; and the injury it will cause to those minor classis, in the country who depend more or less, upon the results of their mulberry grounds is incalculable. The fuel required for the silk factories, gives employment to numerous small boats, for the transport of wood from various parts of the coast, in the gulf of Salonica, these will be thrown out of employ, and I do not advance too much in saying, that many will turn to piracy, for existance.

Ch. Blunt

My Lord,

I regret having to acquaint your Lordship, that the plague, has again appeared in this town, which I attribute to the obstinacy of the Pacha, who will not accede to the desires of the whole population, for the establishment of quarantine, it is true that a quarantine Nazier has been appointed, but the measures adopted are,

if I may use the term, ridiculous. For when a cause of plague occurs amongst the Christians, which is very rarely, they are obliged, to leave the town and perform quarantine, but the Jews, amongst whom there is the most plague, are allowed to remain in the town and compromise the rest of the population. In my dispatch No 4 of May 2. 1836, I had the honour to communicate to your Excellency, the sentiments of the Beys of Salonica, regarding the adoption of sanitary measures. They are all, now so disgusted, with the opinion of Ibrahim Pacha, that they have left the town.

I'm happy to inform your Lordship, that Ibrahim Pacha has latterly adopted a new regulation regarding Teskerées and Bouryouldis, which is, that none will be delivered, unless upon a written application from the consuls . . .

Ch. Blunt

38

ff. 256-258

Salonica March 24 1837

From information I have obtained it would, my Lord, appear that it is the intention of the Porte, to adopt measures for the abolition of the powers of the Chiefs or Capitani of Olimpus, one of them came here, a short time since under the disguise of a merchant, the Pacha heard of his arrival and he was persuaded, under the assurance of perfect security, to visit the Pacha, when the Pacha aided by the Greek Archbishop, induced this Chief or Capitani, to go and fetch his family and come and reside at Salonica. Should the Pacha act with sincerity and treat him upon his return as he has promised, it is more than probable that the rest will follow his example; for this means of gain or I might more properly say, plunder are to reduced... One of these men named Carissi with eighty followers were chased by the troops of Emin Pacha of Larissa, who came as far as the river Varda in search of them, in December last, but the troops never even got sight of them, and Carissi and his followers are supposed to have crossed the Greek frontiers.

One circumstance, however, My Lord, may induce some of these Chiefs not to accede to the proposals made them which is, that many of them have been led to suppose that the Greek frontiers will be extended, and that a new track of country as far at the river Varda is to be added to the Greek territory.

Ch. Blunt

ff. 260-261

Salonica May 30 1837

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that the Greek Gunboats have captured one of the Robber Chiefs or Capitani of Olimpus, with eighty of his followers and a Schooner laden with plunder. From all I have been able to learn this Chief, named P i t z a v a with one hundred and twenty men have for sometime past, been the terror of the villages near Volo, and have succeeded hitherto, in evading all the efforts of Emin Pacha, finding however that greater forces were in pursuit of them, they seized a Greek Schooner, embarked on board of her all their plunder, and obliged the Captain to put to sea; shortly after leaving the coast the Greek Gunboats fell in with the Schooner, captured her, and took her to a new town called Mizella near Volo, where the captured will perform quarantine, prior to their being taken to Greece for trial. The amount of plunder found on board the Schooner is said to be considerable.

Emin Pacha has appointed some of the rebel Chiefs to posts of importance, particularly those known as Nicolo Zerva, and the brothers Melissova; one of these Melissova is Aga of Domoco and Zimero, and avail of the situation to follow up their deeds of plunder, another noted Chief named Callamata, entered the service of Emin Pacha, but again fled and joined the hords of bandits.

This system of plunder by these rebel Chiefs or Capitani of Olimpus, is more felt, my Lord, by the Rajah Class, than any others; they are first plundered by the Capitani, and are as forwards obliged to maintain the Turkish troops, sent in pursuit of them.

Ch. Blunt

ff. 262-263

Salonica June 14 1837

A few days since, My Lord, an ancient tomb was discovered in this town, the sculpture on it represents two full-length figures in marble, male + female, the male has the right hand reposing on the mans shoulder. It is supposed to be Roman. The authorities under the impression that the tomb contained a treasure were present at the opening, I was also there, the Turks in their anxiety, to satisfy their curiosity, in raising the sculpture which is 12 feet by 4 feet unfortunately broke it, which has some reduced it's value, nothing of any great value was found in the tomb, a few gold rings and a necklace only, the latter of very rude workmanship.

Near this tomb were found two small marble sarcophagi, and a small tablet, with the enclosed inscriptions very rudely engraved upon it.

Ch. Blunt

41

ff. 264-266

Salonica June 27 1837

Last week a Greek Priest of Yennige upon the river Vardar, arrived here and requested an audience with the Pacha, when he reported, that some of the influential inhabitants of Yennige were on the point of revolt and that the surrounding villages, were ready to join them, and that this projected insurrection, was to be added by the Greek Government. The Pacha immediately sent and arrested the parties named by the Priest, but upon examination found the Priest's report to be a mere fabrication of his own imagination.

Ch. Blunt

42

ff. 268-271

Salonica July 20 1837

Tartars from Constantinople have brought the intelligence of the nomination of Mustapha Nourie Pacha, Pacha of Adrianople, to the sandjack of Tricalla, including the towns of Salonica, Seres, Larissa, Tricalla, Ioannina and all the lower part of Albania from Berat, together with the Derbents. That portion of the revenue of the Derbents, which formerly belonged to the Pachalick of Roumelie, being now taken from it, has led to the supposition that the sandjack of Roumelie, will afterwards be included, in that of Tricalla. All the Derbents, being by the late changes, subject to jurisdiction of Mustapha Nourie Pacha, would justify the supposition of the Porte's having felt the necessity of establishing some more efficient authority, and thereby clearing the country, between this and the confines of Greece of the bandits, which infest all the forests and passes. The Agalicks of the Derbents are usually sold, and the highest bidder, whoever he may be, has the preference, thus, those two well known Robbers, the brothers Melissova, obtained the Agalicks of Domoco and Aimero.

The sail of these Derbent Agalicks of Domoco Aimero, under the present system is one of the greatest causes, of the ruin of the commerce of Macedonia and Thessaly. These Aga's (generally supposed to be leagued with, or receiving from the Bandits tribute) levy contradictions on all goods passing the Derbents,

these levies being arbitrary, it is impossible, that the merchant can calculate the extent of such exactions, or venture the transport of Specie, hence my Lord, that commercial intercourse which I may say, the country requires is frustrated. I'm firmly convinced, that were the line of country, between Salonica and the boarders of Greece (towards the coast particularly) safe, for the transport of goods and Specie, that the commerce of Macedonia and Thessaly, would considerably increase, with England particularly, as the importers of Salonica (the only commercial city in this part of Turkey) would then have, a more widely extended outlet for their British manufactures.

The appointment of Mustapha Nourie Pacha, has caused, I am happy in being able to announce to your Excellency, universal satisfaction, not only here, but as far as I am informed, throughout Thessaly and Macedonia, and there exists a general, and I trust well founded hope, that under his able Governance, there will be a speedy and general amelioration. I have found that all the well disposed, and right thinking Turks, entertain great expectations, from the nomination of Mustapha-Nourie Pacha, and foresee, it would appear, that it will lead to the abolition of the arbitrary powers of the Beys, who now, to satisfy their unbounded expences, do very great injury to the country. Formerly (and I might say up to the present moment) any Pacha of Salonica who possessed sufficient nerve to remonstrate with the Beys did not long remain in power; for being united, the Beys by their joint means, were enabled to offer such Bribes to some of the parties in power at the Sublime Porte, as insured, the speedy repulsion of their obnoxious Pacha, in order, however, to give their friends at the Porte, legitimate cause for complaint they Bribe the Mollah, who immediately furnishes them with an Ilam or complaint which Ilam, contains any falsities the Beys may choose to invent. These Beys, My Lord, are for the most part extensive landproprietors, and they cultivate the greater part of these lands, by angarie or impressement of the labourers, of the Minor farmers, who are thereby severely injured, and in some instances ruined: These labourers if paid at all, receive wages barely adequate, to one half, of what they would have received, from the minor farmers; the produce of the lands go in part payment of debts incurred, in the support of their immense expences, and in thus paying their debts, it is well known that they force their grain upon their creditors, at a rate above the market price, and when these Beys are called upon by the Pacha, for their portion of grain, necessary to complete the quantity required by the Porte, they excuse themselves by reporting to the Pacha, the names of the creditors, to whom they have given the grain.

Ch. Blunt.

(Συνέχεια τοῦ ἐγγράφου ἀποτελεῖ ὁ πίνακας Α' τῆς σελ. 138).

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ Α'

Return No 1

Return of the British Trade at the principal Port of the Consulate of Salonica during the year ending 31 Dec. 1836

Name of Vessel	Arrived			Port of Salonica			Departed			
	Date of entry	Ton- nages	num- ber of crews	where from	nature of cargo	Invoices va- lue of cargo	date of clearance	Ton- nage	where bound	nature of cargo invoice of cargo
Arab	22 Feb.	108	7	Liverpool	general	£ 8,585	2 March.	108	Smyrna	Lundry goods £ 220
Bezalul	14 Ap.	109	7	Liverpool	manufactures	7,645	22 Ap.	109	Smyrna	Lundry goods 272
Levant Steamer	15 Ap.	64	17	Liverpool	passangers	21	18 Ap.	64	Smyrna	passanglers 12
Vibilia	11 Jul.	121	8	Liverpool	manufactures	9,300	20 Jul.	121	Smyrna	Lundry goods 200
Exquisite	10 Sep.	90	7	Liverpool	manufactures	4,500	17 Sep.	90	Smyrna	Ballast —
Lapwing	17 Oct.	93	7	Liverpool	manufactures	2,300	20 Oct.	93	Smyrna	Ballast —
Feeary Queen	18 Dec.	103	5	Liverpool	manufactures	6,368	24 Dec.	103	Smyrna	Ballast —
		688	58			£ 38,719		688		£ 704

Gross return of British and Foreign Trade at the principal ports within the Consulate of Salonica during the year ending 31 Dec. 1836

Nation	Arrived			Port of Salonica			Departed		
	Number of vessels	Tonnages	number of crews	Invoice of value cargo	number of vessels	Tonnages	number of crews	Invoice value of cargo	Remarks
British	7	688	58	£ 38,719	7	688	58	£ 704	
Ionian Islands	4	143	29	786	3	45	20	107	
Turk	26	1,532	312	2,521	51	3,283	680	20,165	The greatest part of
French	5	750	45	993	4	596	37	31,195	the goods imported by
Austrian	7	1,441	68	1,349	7	1,441	68	7,906	Greek Vessels are British
Russian	5	1,000	65	2,440	5	1,000	65	2,932	either from Syria, Smyrna
Sardenian	5	1,005	53	6,050	2	379	24	3,380	or Constantinople
Greek	349	17,975	2,689	67,203	346	17,850	2,666	19,674	
	408	24,534	3,319	£ 130,061	425	25,282	3,618	£ 86,063	

ff. 274-277

Salonica January 20 1838

I have now to inform your Lordship that various complaints have been made within these few days, by the inhabitants of Yennige, a town of a few hours distance from here, against the Beys of this place, named Akmet Bey and Usuff Bey, who have appropriated lands, the property of Rayjahs and have, during the fair held there a short time since, put that small town, to very heavy expences. The Rayjahs, in their appeal to Izet Pacha, stated, that if it was not in the power of the Pacha, to give them justice, they demanded their Jeskeries, for Ioannina. Izet Pacha assured them, that he should make a point of immediately sending a Tartar to the Vizir, and that he could assure them, that they would shortly receive a favourable reply from Mustapha Pacha.

The duty called Y e d i c k a kind of property tax, raised by a centage (10%) upon the valuation of shops, warehouses and baths (a duty of long standing in Turkey) has latterly been put in force here, and the Firman sent to the Escaff Nasiersi Rhumill Bey who immediately put it in force. The Beys of Salonica attempted indirectly to corrupt the Eskaff Nazier, who withstood all temptation and commenced the valuation; the Beys finding all their efforts thwarted, declared themselves opposed to the new tax and sent off a Tartar to Ioannina to complain against the Eskaff Nazier, producing by their united efforts, sufficient, as they suppose, proofs, for the condemnation of Khamil Bey. I firmly hope my Lord, that Mustapha will not be influenced by the abominable reports of these Beys, indeed, I do not see how he can, for the Eskaff Nazier has but acted up to the instructions contained in the Firman, knowing all the circumstances, and wishing to avail of every act of these Beys, that will further establish what I have reported of them, to the Pacha. I wrote privately to Ioannina, expressing a hope to the Pacha, that he would fully investigate the matter, and not allowed himself to be hurried into any hasty conclusions.

Ch. Blunt

ff. 278-281

Salonica January 30 1838

Since what I wrote your Lordship on the 20th No 1, other villages have risen against the Beys of Salonica and I am inclined to think, that the Rayjahs have been advised to take these measures, under the assurance of assistance and redress, for their language is much changed; they make their complaints they said boldly

before the Beys «We know it to be the wile of the Sultan that we should enjoy our rights; we have suffered much, too much, from your oppressions, and as subjects of the Sultan we demand justice». Such language, My Lord, would not have been permitted formerly the which, may I hope be considered as evidence, that the Porte, is giving more of its attention to the state of the Rayjahs, and if not the Porte, at least Mustafa Pacha is attempting, to ameliorate their unhappy situation.

In my dispatch No 23 I had the honour to acquaint your Excellency that the father in law of the Russian Consul here, a certain Hadji Dobrodosco, had been appointed Vice Consul to the Greek Consulate, at Salonica, and that I fore-saw, that much trouble and vexation would come from this nomination; my first were not groundless, for I have been informed that complaints against the abuses of this individual were sent by the last Tartar to the Porte! Others will I much fear, follow for this man has been foolish enough to confine a Rayjah in the prison of the Greek Consulate! Any remarks made to the Greek Consul upon such matters are perfectly useless for he will not, I will not say, he can not, comprehend the necessity of being particularly circumspect, and of avoiding any acts that will cause outrage to the local authorities.

I have been informed, My Lord, that the Russians are about appointing a Vice Consul at Volo, the Cancellier of the Russian Consulate here, is to have the appointment. At Volo there are no British subjects, Ionians or Protégés, and there is little or no commerce, that interests England. Hence I have not seen the necessity of recommending to Her Majesty's Government, the appointment of a Vice-Consul there, but should the Russians appoint an agent there, perhaps a similar appointment by Her Majestys Government would be advisable, but upon this, your Lordship will be able to decide. An able agent at Volo would be great check upon the local authorities both there and at Larissa, and would at the same time, throw some light upon all those intrigues regarding the Klefti.

Ch. Blunt

I have, My Lord, been informed from Ioannina, that Mustafa Pacha, has taken measures, for the protection of the Derbents; he has appointed an Albanian Chief named Vehis Vashan with 1.500 men, to guard the Derbents, from the Pin-dus to Olimpus and another Albanian Chief named Chelio Pitzaris, with 1.500 men, to the Derbents upon the Turkish Confines of Greece; both these Chiefs, as also Amet Dino, refused at first to acknowledge Mustapha Pacha, but particu-

larly the latter. The Pacha afterwards employed Amet Dino, to terminate the sanguinary quarrel between the families, of the Kalapothe, mentioned to your Lordship in my dispatsch No 17, of November 6. 1836, which he did, bringing back with him from Delvino, the Chiefs Kalapothe, who remain at Ioannina.

I have been informed, My Lord, by letters from Mr Robertson, of the Episcopal Protestant Missionary Society, in America, at Syra, that it is the intention of that society, to send Missionaries to Salonica, should they be sent, I might by my influence in this part of the country further their views, provided always they avoid strictly, attempting to make converts, in which case, their schools would be instantly closed. The Greek Archbishop of Salonica fully understands the great advantages that would accrue to the poor Rayjahs, by affording them the facilities of instruction; but he is fearful that Russian influence might cause, the issue of some Edict from the Patriarch, which would prohibit, the children of the Rayjahs, of the Greek Church, from availing of the schools.

Ch. Blunt

46

ff. 296-297

Salonica March 15 1838

My Lord,

I have just received the following information, regarding the Klefti, which, I have the honour to transmit your Lordship. Capt. Carissi with 650 Klefti has left the mountains, upon that part of the borders of Greece, about Agraffa and Badratschick, and has entered the Derbents, or passes, of Armero upon the coast, near Volo. I have not yet of any acts of plunder.

I have thought it my duty, my Lord, to inform the Greek Consul here, of the movements of the Bandit Carissi, and to urge him, to give immediate intelligence to the commanders, who are with the Gunboats at Sciathos. I should think, My Lord, that the Turks would be well, to send some naval force to the gulfs of Salonica and Volo, directing the commanders to keep, a good look out towards Mount Athos, where these Klefti, can always find shelter, in the caves under the coves, when hard pressed.

Ch. Blunt

47

f. 302

Salonica April 6 1838

My Lord,

I regret having to inform your Excellency, that the Klefti have descended from the mountains upon the confines of Greece, and destroyed a village called Porta near Tricalla. The Klefti amounted to 600, they were attacked by the Dernert Agha Chellio, with 1.200 men; the Turks however, were obliged to retreat having one hundred sixty killed, the loss on the part of the Klefti amounted to fifty... The village of Porta remains in the possession of the Klefti. It is to be feared, My Lord, that much damage will be done to the flocks by these desperadoes.

Ch. Blunt

48

ff. 304-306

Salonica May 6 1838

I have been informed, that five of the Capitani named Charissi, Bigiotti, Panniotti Choras, Yannikis Cheropulos and Laco Goudovas have, with three hundred men, embarked with arms, in boats upon the coast and sailed, it is supposed for Platamona and Catterine. Izet Pacha Kaimakam of Salonica, immediately took up two small Schooners, put arms and men on board, and sent them to cruise upon that part of the coast.

I am sorry to have to acquaint your Lordship that the newly arrived Molla of Salonica gives much cause for complaint, all classes, Turks as well as Rayjahs, have to submit to him gross abuse, and exactions. The most trifling affair cannot be terminated without paying heavily for the justice demanded.

Ch. Blunt

49

ff. 308-309

Salonica May 18 1838

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that Izet Pacha, Kaimakam of Salonica, left this yesterday for the interior to enrol troops for the Radiffe. Latterly, My Lord, many small detachments of Ispachi have arrived here from Albania and various parts of the interior; they remain but a short time in the town, and then continue their route to Constantinople.

Last week two Turkish Vessels of war arrived in this port, one brig of 20 guns and one Schooner, they have been sent to this station at the request, I am told, of Mustapha Pacha, they sailed again yesterday to visit the small ports in the gulf.

Ch. Blunt

50

ff. 310-311

Salonica June 1 1838

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that the last advices from Ioannina, of the 25th May, communicate the happy intelligence of the capture of some of the most noted Klefti Chiefs, by one of the Derbent Aghas, Yelill Agha, in the environs of Tricalla. The Chiefs taken are Pitzaris, Laco Goudovas and the two brothers Chappa of Mezzova, together with another of the Chiefs, relation of the Chappas, whose name I am not acquainted with. Pitzaris with forty five of his hand was taken after, (as my correspondent states), «un chasse de soixant-dix heurs». Pitzaris and Goudrovas have both been executed at Larissa. The Chappa's have been sent to Ioannina. The captures, My Lord, of the Chappa's of Mezzova, is important for they have done much injury to country; last autumn, they destroyed about five hundred sheep.

Ch. Blunt

51

ff. 318-319

Salonica August 3 1838

My Lord,

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that I have been given to understand, that the Porte has send Teptils or Spies, to this and other cities and towns, in the Sultan Dominions to ascertain the feelings of the inhabitants generally, regarding Mehemet Ali. In my dispatsch No 9 May 6 I reported to your Lordship, that as regards Salonica the sentiments of the Turcs generally are decidedly against Mehemet Ali; in Cavalla however, the native place of Mehemet Ali, the Turcs here, would require little to induce them to join him, but the number is very limited.

It is reported here, My Lord, that the revenues of the different quarantine establishments, will be made Intiams, and sold to the best bidder, as is the case with the customs etc. and that that of Volo has been already disposed of for £ 800. I am told that that of Salonica has also been disposed of, but for what amount I have not been able to ascertain.

The usual yearly demand for grain for the government has been received, but the Beys in conjunction with Izet Pacha have made Ilams, stating that owing to the deficiency of the crops, it will not be possible to supply the quantity required by the Porte; that the crops are less abundant than last year, is true, but no means to that extent which the Beys and Izet Pacha woul'd lead the Porte to suppose. The lands and crops along the banks of the river Vardar, have been very considerably injured, by the overflowing of the river, but in other parts of the country, the harvest may be considered, the not extraordinary, abundant, still, good.

Ch. Blunt

52

ff. 326-327

Salonica September 7 1838

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that by the last Steamer a Boum-baschier arrived from Constantinople, and left immediately for Ioannina, to arrest the Greek Archbishop of that Diocess, who is disgraced, and is to be sent to one of the couvents of Mount Athos; I have been given to understand that his disgrace has been occasioned, by the discovery of his embezzlement of the monies left to the churches of Ioannina, for charitable purposes.

Ch. Blunt

53

ff. 328-330

Salonica 28 September 1838

My Lord,

I regret having to report to your Lordship that piracy increases in the gulf of Salonica; few of the small class of vessels enter or leave the gulf without being visited and plundered. The pirates appear to be well informed of all vessels leaving Salonica, and I am under the impression that they gain their information from the small boats, which supply the town with firewood, from various parts of the coast. The vessels of war, my Lord, as yet sent in search of these pirates, French, Austrian, Greek and Turkish, have all of them pilots on board, of the Greek religion, who deceive the commanders and do not, and will not, point out those small Inlets, which are the haunts of the Pirates.

Many of the small class of vessels coming to Salonica, under the Greek flag, are laden with British manufactures from Syra, left there by vessels, from London and Liverpool, bound for Smyrna and Constantinople; hence these piracies are

greatly detrimuntal to what commerce there is, between this port and England.

In the month of July last, when some Vessels of war appeared off Mount Athos, some of the pirate sank their boats and took refuge in the couvent of Lavra. A Greek vessel was plundered off Thassos two months since of coffee and other articles. The coffee was taken to Mount Athos. The Turkish vessels of war chased two Pirate boats, and had certain intelligence that the Pirates took refuge in the couvents. The very existance of some of these couvents, My Lord, are, as I have before stated, a disgrace to Modern Europe!

Ch. Blunt

(Συνέχεια τοῦ ἐγγράφου ἀποτελεῖ ὁ πίνακας Β' τῆς σελ. 146)

*Report upon the Trade of Salonica for the year
ending 31st Dec. 1838.*

The returns upon the trade of Salonica for the year 1838 show an improvement in the value of imports and exports compared with 1837.

<i>n</i> 1837 value of imports direct:	£ 17,765
<i>in</i> 1837 by Greek vessels	<u>10,570</u>
	28,335

in favor of 1838 £ 28,125,10

It must at the same time be taken into consideration that the plague which it may be said, raged, at Salonica during 1837, and the commercial crises in Europe put a stop to all trade.

The silk trade which might be rendered a most important branch of commerce to this part of Turkey, has not been any means answered expectations in 1838 owing to the vexations proceedings of the collectors of the duties upon cocoons, the duty fixed by Firman is 10% but the rearers of the silk worms, Rayjahs for the most part, have been forced to pay 25%, and in some cases obliged to pay that rate upon silk worms they never either reared or possessed, this duty or Intezam is

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ Β

Return of the British trade at the principal ports within the Consulate of Salonica during the year ending 31 Dec. 1838

Arrived			Port of Salonica						Departed		
Name of Vessels	Date of entry	Number of crew	Tonnages	where from	cargo	Invoice value	Date of Clearance	Ton-nages	where bound	nature of cargo	Invoice value
Tomleson	26 June	8	125	Liverpool	manufactures	£ 16,638	3 July	125	Constantinople	—	—
Rebel	23 August	7	103	Liverpool	manufactures	9,775	28 August	103	Smyrna	—	—
Pilot	31 December	8	128	Liverpool	manufactures	18,320	—	—	—	—	—
		23	356			£ 44,733		228			

Gross Return of British and Foreign Trade the Principal Port within the Consulate of Salonica during the year 31 Dec. 1838

Arrived			Port of Cavalla						Departed		
Nation	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Number of crew	Invoice value	Number of vessels	Tonnage	Number of crew	Invoice value	Number of crew	Tonnage	Invoice value
British	3	356	23	£ 44,733	3	228	23	—	—	—	—
Malta	4	522	43	160	4	522	43	3,585	—	—	—
Ionian	6	570	49	1,190	6	570	49	1,325	—	—	—
Turks	32	2,320	480	2,400	30	2,110	460	24,000	—	—	—
French	8	1,251	75	7,753	8	1,252	76	30,731	—	—	—
Austrian	23	4,466	265	25,000	27	5,068	308	7,000	—	—	—
Russian	8	1,200	85	9,000	8	1,100	70	1,800	—	—	—
Sardinian	22	4,420	230	7,570	25	5,039	260	12,555	—	—	—
Tuscan	1	196	12	900	1	194	12	160	—	—	—
Greek	340	8,575	3,430	23,455	336	8,140	3,350	40,705	—	—	—
	450	23,874	4,692	£ 122,161	£ 448	24,223	4,651	£ 121,861	—	—	—

*Return No 3
Port of Cavalla*

Arrived			Port of Cavalla						Departed		
Nation	Number of vessels	Tonnage	Number of crew	Invoice value	Number of vessels	Tonnage	Number of crew	Invoice value	Number of crew	Tonnage	Invoice value
Ionian	2	167	15	£ ...	2	167	15	£ 300	—	—	—
Turks	28	1,350	310	700	28	1,350	310	1,400	—	—	—
French	4	617	40	600	4	617	40	8,500	—	—	—
Austrian	13	2,800	160	2,000	13	2,800	160	23,000	—	—	—
Russian	3	347	36	500	3	347	36	800	—	—	—
Greek	38	2,500	450	1,200	38	2,500	450	6,000	—	—	—
	88	7,781	1,011	£ 5,000	88	7,781	1,011	£ 40,000	—	—	—

sold at Constantinople the same as other duties, all of which are collected in the same ruinous manner in the out Ports of Turkey, and considering the population of Macedonia and Lower Albania, the trade of Salonica would be ten fold what it now is, where the holders of Intizams obliged to conform themselves to the very litter of their Firmans, but unfortunately it but too often occurs that the Governors of the towns are interested directly or indirectly in most of the Intizams, withing their jurisdiction the consequent result is that the Rayjahs can seldom have reduss.

*The demand for wool, cotton and tobaccos has been more active than in 1837.
The amount of the value of exports is cheifly for these articles.*

Salonica 25th January 1839

Ch. Blunt

54

ff. 363-366

Salonica 21th March 1839

Since I last had the honour to address to your Lordship, I have been to Serres, a days journey from Salonica, where I learned many particulars regarding the Mustapha Bey. Will your Lordship credit that this man has so oppossed the Rayjahs that the women cutt off their hair to raise money to pay the demands of this monster! A very few years back, my Lord, Menelick could boast of possessing the families of thirty wealthy Rayjah merchants, each having a fortune of be 7.000 £. There do not remain three now, the rest have either been ruined or have fled! Many instances occur that this Bey has sent for the wives of absent merchants and demanded money, and because they were not able to pay the amount, they were put in prison and kept in irons for fifty or sixty days.

This Mustapha Bey and his relations have held the Aiyanlick of Menelik for the last 30 years, and of late years the chief assistant in all his iniquity is a certain Constantine Carrithi a Greek Rayjah Primate of Menelik. This my Lord is one of the numerous proofs we have in Turkey, that the Rayjahs suffer more from the inquisitions instigations of the Rayjahs themselves, than from the Turks and you will invariably find my Lord that where there exists a cruel, brutal and rapacious Governour, that he is aided by some of the Tchorbargis or Rayjah Chief (or as they are termed by some writers upon Turkey Elders), and I will also add, My Lord, that the Greek Bishops are by no means less active in such iniquitous proceedings when they have a chance of sharing the plunder; and will further take upon myself my Lord to assert, that the venality of the Greek Church is a great protection for such of the Politeas or Communities who may be

badly disposed. The first act my Lord of a Greek Bishop after his arrival at his post, is plunder! I beleive my Lord that I do not advance what can be subject to the slighest taxation as to veracity, when I state, that the present system of the Greek Church does far more injury to the Rayjahs, than all the real and supposed oppressions of the Turkish Authorities. A Greek Bishop has his Zabitlick or Zithe, for the first year it is perhaps justly exacted, the second year it increases and so on till complaints of the plunder are loud on all sides; money is then paid by the Bishops themselves, to the Turkish authorities and all is hushed! Then my Lord come the yearly visits to the villages, when the Bishop plunders all he can! The rate of Zabitlick or title is fixed by measure, the Bishop taking so many measures according to the quantity of produce; should the measure the first year contain 5 Okes the second year it will give 6 or 7 okes, and so on increasing and hence arise the complaints of the poor Rayjahs.

Passing through the villages, My Lord, on my way to Serres I heard numerous complaints against the Archbishop of Serres, who has lately made the first visit, to all the villages within the district of his Diocess, villages which have hitherto, on such occasions, given the Bishop £ 5 have been forced to pay him £ 20! Being fully convinced my Lord of the truth of what I had heard, I immediately after my arrival at Serres, called upon the new Kaimakam of Mustapha Pacha, Ariffe Bey to acquaint him, of the proceedings of the Greek Archbishop and found my Lord, that Ariffe Bey had already taken steps to prevent the repetition of such abuses; The Bey told me that the moment he had obtained proofs of the reports against the Archbishop he immediately sent for him, and told him, that he had heard of more than he wished to beleive, still, it would be well for the Archbishop to bear in mind, that not very long since, the Bishop of Ioannina had been sent into exile for oppressing the poor and that it was his duty to protect the poor.

When at Serres, my Lord, I visited the spot, a few hours from the town where coal has been found, I took some of this coal to make a trial, and the result in my humble opinion is, that the discovery is valuable, the distance from the mine of the river of Karra Asmack, in the plain of Serres is three hours, from whence it might be taken by boats to Orfano, the calculation I make of the cost of this coal, in the present state of things, without roads or any, than the present humble means of transport, would be just about what it now coasts from England with charges 2 £ a ton.

I am sorry to say, my Lord, that the fair of Serres, has proved very bad this year, I found the shops glutted with British manufactures, but no buyers. I observed but few German goods, excepting clothes and these in quantity not equal to former years, it must however, my Lord, be taken into consideration, that the

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ Γ'

*List of the Convents of Mount Athos, together with the Chapels
and Hermitages Priest and Monks belonging to each and the total of religious inhabitants*

NORTH SIDE

SOUTH SIDE

Names of Couvents	Chapels	Hermitages	Number of Priest, Monks, Hermits	Total of religious inhabitants to each convent	Names of Convents	Chapels	Hermitages	Number of Priest, Monks, Hermits	Total of Religious inhabitants to each convent
HILLINDARI									
Esfagmeno	I.St. Basilio		75	82	Xenofondo	10		60	
Vatopedhi			7	25	Russo			18	78
1			81					28	
Pandocrator		1	13	15	Xeropotami	7		14	42
			15	109				32	
			48					8	40
I Prof. Elia			48					8	
Stavronikiti			12	60	Semopetra			8	19
Iviro			53		Gregorio			20	
Karacalo			12	103	Dionissio			44	
Feloteo			48	168	St. Paulo	21		48	
Lavra			5	12	Zograffo			37	121
			5	60				29	
			28					12	41
			6	9	1. Mavroniro			14	
			6	37	Kastamonita			22	
			81		Koslomusa			9	
			62					20	51
			181					15	
								61	76
9	106 Chapels	24 Hermitages	Total of the religious inhabitants	888	10 Couvents	(28 Chap. and Houses 30)	Total of religious inhabitants	546	
Couvents					61 Chapels	13 Hermitages			

oldest inhabitants have never experienced a winter equal to this year, hence the approaches to the fair have been impassable for marchandise.

I found the merchants at Serres, my Lord, very warm in their expressions against the late commercial convention terminated by your Lordship, because cotton, the chief article of export they paid little or no duty upon formerly. This cotton, my Lord, was for the most part exported at Orfano or Tchiassi, where the exporters paid but a few piastres, this was arranged by the agent of the customer at Tchiassi.

Ch. Blunt

(Συνέχεια τοῦ ἐγγράφου ἀποτελεῖ ὁ πίνακας Γ' τῆς σελίδος 149)

19 Couvents

167 Chapels

37 Hermitages

1434 Priests, Monks and Hermits.

ff. 369-370 *The Couvent called «Russo» on the south side belong to that named «Pandocrator» on the north side, and is strictly speaking rented by Russian priests, who pay yearly 3 ducats or $10^{1/5} \frac{3}{4}$ fr. head to the couvent of Pandocrator. These Russian priests have at various periods, offered considerable sums of money of any couvent chapel or hermitage on Mount Athos, but have never yet been able to possess an inch of ground there.*

The Inhabitants of the couvents of Mount Athos are generally speaking a most inquietous class of individuals, robbers, Pirates, and any thing for money, that named Lavra is however the worst, and is well known to be the retreat of Pirates when vessels of war enter the gulf of Salonica.

Altho most of the couvents of Mount Athos were plundered during the Revolution they are some of them very rich, they do not however possess as is supposed many valuable manuscripts.

Salonica 25. January 1839

Ch. Blunt

Statistics of Salonica, Seras and Cavalla

SALONICA

Population:

<i>Turcs</i>	<i>15.000</i>
<i>Dummies</i>	<i>5.000</i>
<i>Greeks</i>	<i>13.000</i>
<i>Jews</i>	<i>25.000</i>
<i>Franks</i>	<i>1.000</i>
	<i>59.000</i>

<i>Mosques</i>	: 25	<i>Dervish Jekies</i>	: 8
<i>Imaums</i>	: 48	<i>Shuck</i>	: 1
<i>Ulemas</i>	: 60	<i>Dervishes</i>	: 100
<i>Schools</i>	: 8		
<i>each school masters</i>	: 1		
» <i>Scholars</i>	: 30		
 <i>Greek Churches</i>	: 12		
<i>Arch Bishop</i>	: 1		
<i>Bishops</i>	: 8		
<i>Priests</i>	: 27		
<i>Monastery</i>	: 1	<i>named Plato-Monks</i>	: 10
<i>Monastery</i>	: 1	» <i>St. Anastasia</i>	: 12
<i>Schools</i>	: 2		
1. for letteral Greek - 2 masters, 40 £ per year, scholars 35			
1. » Common » 2 masters, 2 £ per month, Scholars 60-70.			
<i>Synagogues</i>	: 56		
<i>Hight Priests</i>	: 3		
<i>Ord. Priests</i>	: 400		
<i>Schools</i>	: 21		
1. School the principal 10. masters and 800 Scholars			
20. Minor I. Master each. Average of scholars to each 15-20			

Catholics

<i>Churches</i>	: 1
<i>Priests (Lazaristo)</i>	: 2
<i>Schools</i>	: 1
<i>Masters</i>	: 2
<i>Scholars</i>	: 20

The castle of Salonica mounts in all 250 guns, the lower guns of the castels which command the port are in all 21. Each requiring a charge of 20½ lbs of powder, these guns are supposed to be Venetian.

1 Post House with 120 horses

Foreign Consulates

<i>Austrian</i>	<i>1 Cancellier</i>	<i>2 Interpreters</i>	<i>2 Janissaries</i>
<i>American</i>	1	2	1
<i>Belgian</i>	1	1	1

<i>Dutsch agent</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>Danish</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>French</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Greek</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>I</i>
» <i>V. Consul</i>			
<i>Napolitan V. Consul</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	
<i>Prussian agent</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	
<i>Russian</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>3</i>	
<i>Sardinian Pro. Consul</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Spanish</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>Sweedish</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	
<i>Tuscan V. Consul</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>I</i>	

Commercial Establishments

<i>Austrian</i>	: 3	<i>Ionian</i>	: 3
<i>English</i>	: 5	<i>Jews</i>	: 10
<i>French</i>	: 3	<i>Russians</i>	: 3
<i>Greek (Rayjah)</i>	: 8	<i>Turks (dummus)</i>	: 10
<i>Greek (Hellene)</i>	: 3		

*S E R E S**Population;*

<i>Turks</i>	: 2.700
<i>Greeks</i>	: 3.200
<i>Jews</i>	: 800
<i>Franks</i>	: 36
	<hr/>
	6.736

<i>Mosques</i>	: 21
<i>Imaums</i>	: 35
<i>Ulimas</i>	: 27
<i>Schools</i>	: 13 1 master and 25 Scholars to each.

<i>Greek Churches</i>	: 23
<i>Bishops</i>	: 1
<i>Priests</i>	: 60
<i>Schools</i>	: 9
<i>Masters</i>	: 11 }

average of scholars : 23

<i>Synagogues</i>	:	1
<i>Priests</i>	:	20
<i>Schools</i>	:	1
<i>Masters</i>	:	2
<i>Scholars</i>	:	74

1 Post House with 100 Horres

Foreign Consulates

<i>Austrian</i>	—	<i>Consul agent</i>
<i>French</i>	—	“
<i>Russian</i>	—	“
<i>Prussian</i>	—	“

Commercial Establishments

<i>Greek Rayjah:</i>	25
<i>Russian</i>	: 1

CAVALLA

Population;

<i>Turks</i>	:	4.000
<i>Greeks</i>	:	2.200
<i>Franks</i>	:	10
		<u>6.210</u>

<i>Mosques</i>	:	4
<i>Imaums</i>	:	8
<i>Ulemas</i>	:	15
<i>Schools</i>	:	1 with 300 Scholars
<i>Greek Churches</i>	:	1
<i>Priests</i>	:	5

Foreign Consulates

<i>Austrian</i>	:	<i>V. Consul</i>
<i>Greek</i>	:	<i>Agent</i>

Commercial Establishments

<i>Greek (Rayjah)</i>	:	3
<i>Austrian</i>	:	2
<i>French</i>	:	2

} during summer and autumn

II. F.O. 195/176 : EMBASSY AND CONSULAR CORRESPONDENCE : SALONIKA

1

ff. 10-13

Salonica February 5.1840

My Lord,

The last steamer from Constantinople brought intelligence of important changes to be made in the local governement of Salonica, and several towns in Macedonia. Hassan Pacha, the present governour of Salonica is recalled to Constantinople! Emin Pacha, son of the once Ladarazani Retschid Mehemet Pacha is to be commander of the troops of Salonica, Cavalla, Serres, Tricalla, Larissa and Volo. Usuf Bey of Salonica, mentioned in my last dispatsch, to your Excellency, is appointed to an important situation in the local government — a situation equal, I am given to understand, to that of Kaimakan!

• • • • •
Usuff Bey, I have frequent occasions to mention to you, not in the most flattering terms, and will now further acquaint your Excellency, that the appointment of this man to any post in the local government of Salonica, may be productive of the most unfortunate results. Since the arrival of the news of his nomination, there is a general murmer of discontent, from all classes of natives, but the Rayjahs in particular tremble!

Ch. Blunt

2

ff. 16-20

Salonica 10th Febr. 1840

*Observations upon the note of taxes as paid
by the Rayjahs of Salonica*

For some time passed the underdesigned Her Majesty's Consul, has given much of his attention, in the hopes of being able to arrive at some certain basis, upon which he might frame a report upon the system of taxation in this part of Turkey, the might be considered as a general view of that department of the government, throughout the country, but both at Adrianople and at Salonica, he has found the difficulties in very great, and such infamous plundering staring him in the face, at every enquiry, that he has upon his experience, declared it, as impossible to obtain that kind of information, which is required for a certain guide; and in forwarding the present «note of taxes paid by the Christian Rayjahs» and «The gross amount of taxes paid by Rayjahs generally» is with the view of proving the difficulties of the case, more for the transmission of it, as statistical in-

formation; but it will however bear evidence, that the hitherto system of taxation in Turkey, is and has been, far more ruinous than advantageous to the country.

The amounts of he town (the specification of which it is impossible to obtain) are kept by the Shaire Khaiah or Mayor, who is attended at his office by two members of the Politeas or Communities, the one from the Christian, and the other from the Jewish; whatever the Shaire Khaiah directs, the members of the Communities pass into the accounts; they have no power to make any observations, indeed they find their situation by far too lucrative one, to hazard any remarks. Every six months the accounts are made up by the Shaire Khaiah, the Pacha and the Beys, they are the presented to the Mollah, who puts the simple question to the Shaire Khaiah the Beys, and the two members of the Communities «are these amounts correct!». The reply of course, is always in the affirmative, the Mollah then gives his Illam or certificate, a copy of which together with the copy of the accounts, are sent to Constantinople. The Mollah however never gives his Illam without the fee of about 200. The Shaire Khaiah, then divides the gross amount of the mastaff or expenses, into Rokussia, of which the Christians have to pay three hundred and eighty making in all seven hundred and sixty Rokussia in the year, and the Jewish Rayjahs pay the same, but this division is unjust for the Jewish population of Salonica, is more than double that of the Christian, and further the Jews oblige all classes, of their persuasion, to contribute according to their means—a Jew being a foreigner by no means exempts him, and should he refuse to pay the portion demanded by the Jewish Community, he is deprived by excommunication of his religious and social rights as a Jew! The division of the Rokussia is the more unjust when it is considered that the Jews are the far more wealthy class of the two. Formerly the division was even more onerous to the Christians, for they had to contribute more than the Jews, but the Greek Arch Bishop Meletious, so far relieved the Christians, by making the division of tax equal. The Rokussia ought to be paid by every five persons; and this is adhered to in the town, but in the villages and on the farms, it is often, indeed it may be said the more generally, extorted from every two persons, and this by no means at the rate established according to the accounts certified by the Mollah, but at twice the real amount!

The actual amount of taxes paid by the Turks it is impossible to ascertain, that being a secret known only to the Shaire Khaiah.

It may very naturally be supposed that it is not to the interest of the Communities, to report all those defalcations of which they are so well aware, for no steps are taken, neither are remarks made, two examples will suffice. In 1837, the sum of about £ 1700 was asked in the mastraff or expences for repairs done to the bridge over the Vardar-altho everyone in Salonica well knows that no reparations were made-this year according to the accounts rendered the Rokussia

is at 160 fr., still the Rayjahs of Salonica are paying 194 fr. May it not be allowed then to immagine upon the face of such facts, that the Communities as they are now, have been conducted, are far more condusive to the ruin of the Rayjahs than a protection? and under such a system can it be wondered, why so many Rayjahs do, by advancing no incosiderable sums and otherwise obtain Foreign protection? By far too many writers of the present day appear to endeavour to leade the world to suppose that the system of internal taxation in Turkey is most admirably directed, and perhaps they are in some sense correct, as far as they assertions go considering the source, from whence they gain their information. Strangers of any appearance of respectability, when travelling in the interior of Turkey are generally, in consequence of their travelling Torman or Boryouldi either quartered upon the Christian Bishops, or at the houses of the Tchonargi or Rieh Rayjah, if at the house of the latter, his host is in all probabillities a member of the Community. Will he give the requisite information and compromise himself? And if he remains a day or two with the Bishop all the information he will obtain, will most certainly mislead him, a passage through Turkey or a year or two in the country will not afford the necessary opportunities for obtaining the requisite information, and the underdesigned further takes upon himself to state, that the Sublime Porte even, is ignorant of the real state of things, the underdesigned after a residence of nearly twenty years in the country and having much of his attention during that time to the subject, and particularly during the last eight years, can by no means flatter himself that he has obtained all the requisite information—far very far from it!

*So arrive at any degree to certainty as to what is, or ought to be, the actual amount of taxes paid is impossible, but one thing is perfectly clear, that the Rayjahs of the Sultan, in the interior of Turkey generally, pay fully $\frac{2}{3}$ more taxes than is just, and in many cases, even more than what is inserted in the m a d e u p accounts sent to Constantinople, and in stating this, the underdesigned wishes it clearly to be understood, that he refers in no ways to the taxes on lands etc. His remarks have referred only to those taxes extorted for the support of the local governments. Can it be credited that the Sublime Porte is aware, that the item of *S a m m a n P a r r a s i* is year lypassed in the Salonica accounts, the which is a fee for some of the Rayjahs of Constantinople and varies from £ 400-600 and how is it to be ascertained, if a like sum is not passed in the accounts of the mastraff or expences of other towns?!*

That item in the accounts the most correctly passed perhaps is the expense of the Radiff Askeir, or volunteers.

As regards the accounts of the Politea or Community of the Christian Rayjahs, the yearly charge of £ 120 for the expense of the hospital is to say the least of it a most gross imposition, there is, it is true a house in Salonica which is de-

nominated the Greek Hospital, there are window-frames, but no glass, and there are three matrasses, the which however are not fit for any human being to be put upon; there is no medical man attached to the establishment either for salary or otherwise-little or no rent is paid, the latter the more probable, as there does not appear any specific item in the accounts for the rent of the hospital, the wretched state of this so necessary an establishment, is so well known that the poor will not enter it, except when forced, and should anyone be so unfortunate as to enter its walls, he is certain to die through neglect!!

Prison fees, this item is for the liberation of Christians, imprisoned by the Turks, for pitty acts, or unjustly and liberated upon the guarantee of the Arch Bishop.

Sundry expenses for the Politea is for the rent of Bishops Palace, paving the streets and salaries of persons employed by the Politea.

Interest of money, this is for sums of money raised by the Politea at an interest of from 12%-18% per annum, for the payment of taxes; so said to be, but who can arrive at the fact!

It may be observed upon the present observations that although from certain evidences of bad faith, in the members of the Communities, the real state of the case is not brought to light, still in so large a population can no Rayjah be found with courage enough to take the matter up?. The reply is simple. What Rayjah has the power of inspecting the accounts, and should any one clandestinely arrive at the necessary information, who could protect him against the joint efforts of the Pacha, Shaire Khaiah, Beys, Bishop, and the community, to ruin him and his relations should be bold enough to take any steps?.

(Συνέχεια τοῦ ἐγγράφου ἀποτελοῦν οἱ πίνακες Δ' καὶ Ε' τῶν σελ. 159 καὶ 160-161)

3

ff. 40-42

Salonica April 9th 1840

My Lord,

I am happy to be enabled to report your Excellency, that the new Governor of this town, Namick Alli Pacha, gives universal satisfaction. The meetings of the Saurat are held twice a week, and the people in general as far as I can learn are satisfied with it's administration.

The Rayjahs in the interior have no confidence in the new system, not understanding it, they are still fearful that it is but a different mode of plundering them, and they will not understand it, till they feel its effects.

Yesterday the 8th Inst. Namick Pacha called a meeting of all the Beys, and principal inhabitants Rayjahs, as well as Turks, and in a very able speech, explained to them the sense of Statti Shereffu of Gulhumné, and the Firmans issued

in consequence of the same, the assembly were very attentive, and the Rayjahs appeared particularly pleased, the Beys, on the contrary, shewed that the idea of their having to pay taxes the same as Rayjahs was anything but agreeable to them.

Ch. Blunt

4

ff. 44-48

Salonica April 23 1840

My Lord,

I have felt it my duty on various occasions to report to Your Excellency the impolite conduct of the Greek Consul of Salonica, Mr Theodore Valliano, and in my last dispatch particularly mentioned that your Lordship would be surprised to learn, that many of those Rayjahs whom, according to the instructions of Her Majestys Government, I had abandoned, to their natural protection had been placed under that of the Greek Consulate, which had greatly irritated the local authorities.

I am now under the necessity of reporting more officially, a recent case, to your Excellency, connected with which, Mr. Valliano the Greek Consul, has so far forgotten himself as to officially accuse me, as Her Majesty's Consul of intrigue and immorality in a protest against His Excellency Namick Alli Pacha, attacking the latter also so unjustly and with so little dicorum, that he has been under the necessity of forwarding the document containing these accusations to the Sublime Porte.

Although Her Excellency Namick Pacha read me the protest of Mr Valliano and his reply, (in which he warmly reproaches the Greek Consul for the manner in which he has presumed to attack me), still I have not taken any notice of it, feeling it to be my duty to report the case to your Excellency...

5

ff. 51-54

Salonica May 5th 1840

My Lord,

Since I last had the honour to address your Excellency on the 23th Ultimo, advices have been received from Serres, that some Jews of that place, had reported to the local authorities, that it was the intention of the Christian Rayjahs to revolt agaist the Turks; however absurd such a report must have appeared, to everyone having any knowledge of that class of people, in that town, still the local authorities took immediate mesures to investigate the matter, and advices by Tartars were sent in all directions. The revolt was to take place on Easter Mon-

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ Δ'

Return No 1

Return of the British trade at the principal Port of the Consulate of Salonica during the year ending 31 December 1839

Arrived

Port of Salonica							Departured				
Name of vessels	Date of entering	number of crews	Tonnages	Where from	Nature of cargo	Invoice value	Clearence	Tonnage bound	Where cargo	Invoice value	Remarks
Pilot	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22 Jan.	128	Smyrna	—
Guilleme	30 Jan.	7	118	Liverpool	Manufactures	14,358	18 Feb.	118	»	Ballast	—
Troughon	30 Jan.	13	282	New Castle	coals	164	27 Feb.	282	Constantinople	»	—
			400			£ 14,522		528			—

Return No 2

Gross return of British and Foreign trade at the principal port withing the Consulate of Salonica during the year ending 31 Dec. 1839

Arrived

Port of Salonica							Departured		
Nation	Number of vessels	Tonnages	Number of crews	Invoice value	number of vessels	Tonnages	Number of crews	Invoice Value	Remarks
British	2	400	20	£ 14,522	3	528	28	£ —	It must be observed that the present return can not be considered as correct as regards the Foreign Trade for the Archives of many of the Consulates together with those of the Turkish Custom House were destroyed by the fire in September last, those of the nations in the Blank were entirely so and the others have lost so many papers and registers that no correct information as to returns can be obtained from them.
Ionian	7	466	59	2,517	7	466	59	920	
Turkish	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
French	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Austrian	9	1,770	102	3,387	8	1,562	91	3,920	
Russian	3	275	28	580	3	275	28	1,100	
Sardinian	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Tuscan	2	392	25	1,940	2	392	25	2,144	
Greek	220	11,820	1,682	188,090.18½	220	11,640	1,713	165,275.8½	
	243	15,123	1,916	£ 211,036.18½	243	14,863	1,944	£ 173,359.8½	

PINAKAS E'

A note of the amount taxes as paid by the Christian Rayjabs of Salonica for the years ending the 31th December 1830 to the 31th December 1839, including the various charges, excepting the Kharatsch, to which they have been subject during that period in support of the local Government, according to the accounts kept by the Christian Community of Salonica in currency in sterling money according to the rate of exchange at the end of each year

Years	Rokussia or Radifff-Askeer or Volunteers	Expences of the Radifff-Askeer			Hospital Expen- ces and Fees			Prison Fees and Expenses			Sundry Expences at the Community			Interest upon money raised by the Community			Total amount at the end of each year		Rate of exchange at the end each year	
		Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Sterl.	Curr.	Sterl.
1830	115.376	1.488.14. $\frac{5}{4}$	—	—	—	12.000	158.	1.31 $\frac{1}{4}$	3.000	38.14.2 $\frac{1}{4}$	14.696	189.10.5 $\frac{1}{2}$	25.887	334 - 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	170.959	2.205.15.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{1}{2}$		
1831	77.310	948. 9. $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—	»	147.	5.4	3.200	39.	5.31 $\frac{1}{4}$	13.889	170.	8.4	25.887	321.	5.9	132.286	1.626.14	
1832	101.552	1.085.13. $\frac{9}{4}$	—	—	—	»	128.	5.11 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.800	29.18.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	13.594	145.	6.8	25.887	275.	6.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	155.833	1.607.16.8 $\frac{1}{2}$	93 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1833	74.707	774. 3. $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—	»	124.	7. $\frac{1}{2}$	2.500	25.18.11 $\frac{1}{2}$	10.341	109.	16. $\frac{1}{2}$	25.887	268.5.2	125.435	1.302.	9.8 $\frac{1}{4}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1834	94.130	965. 8. $\frac{8}{2}$	21.178	217.	4.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	»	123.	1.6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3.000	30.16.4 $\frac{1}{4}$	17.462	179.	1.11 $\frac{1}{4}$	25.800	287.13.10	173.570	1.787.12.9	97 $\frac{1}{2}$		
1835	104.719	1.036.16.5	11.128	110.	3.6	»	118.16.2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3.150	31.3.9	16.317	161.11	25.800	255.	8.10 $\frac{3}{4}$	173.114	1.713.19.11	101			
1836	111.592	1.078. 3.9	18.373	177.10.4 $\frac{3}{4}$	»	116.	1.8 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.000	19.6.5 $\frac{1}{2}$	16.465	159.	1.8	25.800	249.	5.5	186.230	1.798.	7.2	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1837	116.174	1.117. 1. $\frac{1}{4}$	18.373	176.12.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	»	115.	7.8 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.790	26.16.6 $\frac{1}{4}$	15.511	149.	2.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	25.800	248.	1.6 $\frac{1}{4}$	190.648	1.832.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	104	
1838	101.438	975. 7. $\frac{3}{2}$	18.706	179.12.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	»	115.	7.8 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.970	28.11.1 $\frac{3}{4}$	15.750	151.	8.10	25.800	248.	1.6 $\frac{1}{4}$	176.644	1.698.13.9 $\frac{1}{4}$	104		
1839	121.870	1.171.15.6 $\frac{3}{4}$	18.213	173.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	»	115.	7.8 $\frac{1}{4}$	3.000	28.16.11	14.022	134.16.6 $\frac{1}{4}$	28.864	277.	9.10		207.624	1.996.7.	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	104
																9.655	92.	12 $\frac{1}{4}$		

Gross Amount of Local Taxes for Rokussia and Radif as paid by the Rayjahs of Salonica for the years ending the 31th December 1830 to 31 December 1839 in currency and in sterling money according to the rate of exchange at the end of each year.

	1830		1831		1832		1833		1834	
	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.
Christian	115.376	1488.14.5½	77.310	948.9.3¾	101.552	1.085.13.9	74.707	774.3.3¾	115.308	1.182.12.10¾
Jews	115.376	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Totals	203.742	2.877.8.10½	154.620	1.896.18.7½	203.104	2.171.7.6½	149.714	1.548.6.7½	230.616	2.365. 5. 9½

	1835		1836		1837		1838		1839	
	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.	curr.	sterl.
Christians	115.847	1.146.19.11¾	129.865	1.255.14.1	134.547	1293.13.5¾	120.144	1.154.19.7	149.708	1.437.12.10
Jews	115.847	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Totals	231.694	2.293.19.11½	259.730	2.511. 8.2	269.094	2.587.6.10½	240.288	2.309.19.2	299.416	2.875. 4.10

Salonica 18 February 1840

Ch. Blunt

day of the Greek Church, the 27th of April; as is generally the case in this country, My Lord, the report became prevalent, and the Turks began to arm themselves—but nothing has accured—the Greek Easter festivals have passed over with the quatest tranquillity.

From the information I have my Lord, I am given to think that the whole of this affair is the working of the agents of Mehemet Alli, for they are all over the country, and so active that, tho it is my duty to obviate spreading unnecessary alarm, still it is an equal duty to state to Your Excellency, that I am fearful there may be unfortunate results-discontent is also prevalent here altho His Excellency Namick Pacha will not admit the fact; however he finds it necessary to be out almost every night with the police in the streets, till day light!

The Greek Archbishop of Salonica who is generally well informed, assures me that the agents of Mehemet Alli are disseminating discontent largely in the interior. It will be easy your Lordship to be convinced, that the Beys generally are by no means contented with the new system of paying taxes equally, and that the Sultan has decreed the hence for the Rayjah and the Turk shall be upon an equal footing, the angry feelings of the Beys emanating from these changes are worked upon by the agents of Mehemet Alli, who would had the farmer to suppose, that the Pacha of Egypt will not admit of this new system of taxation. The Beys also by the Staffi Sherife of Gulkhumné, are deprived of the very easy means they so long enjoyed of supporting their enormous expenses by the plundering of the Rayjahs-and as amongst these people true patriotism does not exist it will not be difficult for Your Excellency to credit, that this class of people would willingly see revoked, the late Firmans of the Sultan.

I have received advices from Volo that the Klefti are again out upon the frontiers of Greece, and that nine of them have been taken near Agraffa, the same advices state the Pirates are again afloat.

I mentioned to Your Lordship in a former dispatch that Usuff Bey was much changed for the better, but there does not appear to be much sincerity in him, and altho his returns may appear correct, still he is so well versed in the art of plundering the Rayjahs, that he continues to do so unknown to the authorities, I should say also, that the Moolah goes hand in hand with him. It is to be regretted My Lord, that those in whose power these appointments are, sould sell them, to such individuals as this Usuff Bey, for it is more well known that he paid largely for his present situation.

Ch. Blunt

ff. 55-57

Salonica May 13 1840

My Lord,

I feel it my duty to report to your Excellency, that a serious missintelligence exists between Namick Pacha and the French Consul of Salonica, Mr Gillet, which has been carried to some extreme, that the Pacha has broken off all intercourse with the Consul, telling the French Cancellier, that by doing so, he did not lose sight of his duty to the interests of French subjects, but with the Consul («qui veut traiter les affaires avec des soufflets et des 'coups de bâton'») he could hold no kind of the misintelligence be judged by the Sublime Port, and the French Ambassador.

The French Consulate withall the surrounding houses, was burned to the ground in the fire of September last, a Jew Banker, a Rayjah, named Farassi, whose house before the fire was joined to the Consulate, commenced rebuilding some months back, and latterly a dispute arose, as to the limits of the former site of the Jews house; the affaire was referred to the Pasha, who after many interviews with the French Consul, was invited by the latter, to visit the spot himself in the presence of the French Consul and the Jew, and when in the latters house, the Jew maintaining that he had not exceeded the old son, his son, Abram Farassi, placed his hand upon the arm of the Consul in a manner, which according to the usages of the country cannot be considered as offensive, and requested him to come to another part of the house to examine more clearly, the point in dispute, the French Consul took this as an insult and struck the Jew on both side of the face. The Pacha intervened and placed himself before the Jew, to defend him, the Consul still endeavouring to strike him with his stick, this was considered by Namick Pasha sufficient insult for him to retire, which he did, and particularly as he was invited there expressly by the French Consule, and the assault made in his presence in the house of the Rayjah the French Consul maintains, that as the Jew is under French protection the Pasha need not feel offended, the Pasha on his part knows, as indeed every one in Salonica does, the Jew to be a Rayjah—but what appears still more singular My Lord, the French Consul demands satisfaction and that the Jew shall be excled!

Ch. Blunt

ff. 62-65

Salonica July 9th 1840

*My Lord,**In my dispatsch No 10 of 5th May, I had the honour to intimate to your Lord-*

ship my opinions, founded upon general observations, that I belt rather fearful at the state of the interior of this part of Turkey. I regret having more to acquaint your Excellency, that the roads to all parts of the interior are infested with bandits, and that there is at present a very considerable band of these outlaws, headed by an individual named Osman Pecklivan, who have committed dreadful excesses in the towns of Menelick and Strumza: at the latter place, it is reported, that they have attacked the palace of the Greek Archbishop, and that several people have been killed-upon the mountains between the town and Serres, there are some Albanian bandits, who have plunder various persons, these latter wile, I trust shortly be taken, since Namick Pasha has sent a strong guard, from hence, against them, with orders to shoot them all if they offer the least resistance. I regret much to inform your Lordship, that the accounts of these depredations in the Interior, have been received, by certains classes, with very evident mark, of satisfaction, many of the Turks whispering that the olden days of the D e r é e B e y s will return, such remarks my Lord bear with them evidence of the bad feeling existing amongst certain classes, of the Sultans subjects, and I therefore trust that your Lordship will pardon my repeating that the presence of one of Her Majesty's vessels of war at Salonica, would be a chick upon the existing feelings of discontent.

The Albanian troops are still here, waiting for vessels to convey them to Constantinople, and I am happy in being able to assume your Lordship, that I have no knowledge of a single cause for complaint against them, although they are walking about armed, I must at the same time state, that great credit is due to the chief Mehemet Arob Bey who is very severe, though at the same time much beloved by his troops. Evel disposed persons here, have latterly been spreading the most disgraceful reports of the depredations murders committed by the Albanian troops, and these reports being generally believed, Namick Pasha invited all the interpreters of the consuls, telling them to assure the consuls that since the arrival of the Albanian troops he had not received one single complaint against them, and that he thought it just to make them the communication officially owing to the injust and unfounded reports that had been spread concerning them.

I am happy in being able to inform Your Lordship that the harvest is far more abundant than generally report permitted one to expect; some of the new grain has been brought to market and there is in consequence a very considerable fall in the price from 80/40 the oke = 39/7 the sack to 40/40 the oke = 19/9½ the sack. the abundance of the crops wile prove a great blessing to the inhabitants generally of this town, who have been greatly distressed by continued misfortunes.

Your Lordship will doubtless be surprised to learn, that all the returns for taxes etc; in this part of Turkey, are no longer to be remitted direct by the Mo-

hasils, but these latter have been directed by the Porte, to pay them over to Messieurs Fernandez, Jews of this place (under the Austrian protection) and they again have to remit these funds to Messieurs Alleon of Constantinople—this my Lord must have emanated from some interested intrigue: why is the not the money remitted direct instead of placing in the hands of individuals who will make use of it, and can such large sums be considered safe in the hands of persons who a very few years back were capable, and were put under arrest by M. Chabert the Austrian Consul, for writting to insure a vessel at the Lloyd's insurance Company at Trieste, after they had received advice of the loss of the vessel?! and wile it be supposed My Lord, that Messieurs Alleon of Constantinople, will not also take their share of the advantages which such sums will give, before they are remitted to the Treasury? The consequences will be, My Lord, that that portion of the revenue coming from these parts, will be paid into the Treasury some months later than it would otherwise have been if sent direct by the Mohasils.

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Ch. Blunt

8

ff. 66-67

Salonica July 17th 1840

I have been informed My Lord by one of the Albanian Chieftains, that he has received very recent advices from Berat, informing him that the Albanians had risen against the Musselim of that town, and that they keep him shut up in the castle. It would appear, My Lord, that this Musselim is rather inclined to adopt coercive, and not conciliations measures with the inhabitants of Berat, such a system, many years of cruel experience, ought to have proved to the Turkish government, will never succeed with these people who, as far as I have been able to learn of their characters, are easily led, but with difficulty driven to anything.

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Ch. Blunt

9

ff. 70-71

Salonica July 24th 1840

The Pasha appointed, My Lord, to Salonica, is Omer Pacha, native of Negrepont, and formerly in the Turkish Navy; he had the Pashalick of Salonica about seven years since, when he was disgraced owing to the rapacious conduct of his people, who have all been living about him ever since in the hopes of his being again employed, he has however given proof of his good sense of refusing

to employ any of them. Omer Pasha is advanced in years, ignorant and rather given to ridicule the measures of the government, he is well informed of the Beys and people here, and has often expressed to me the desire of being again employed, to put a stop to their evil doings;

Ch. Blunt

10

ff. 72-73

Salonica July 30th 1840

I am happy in being able to acquaint your Excellency that Omer Pasha gives daily evidence of his desire to act up to the sense of new institutions. This day will be judged before the Saurat, one of the Beys of Salonica, a certain Attah Bey, who has been accused of oppressing the poor, at a village where he has a farm; this Bey was on another occasion brought before the Saurat, in the time of Namick Pasha, but he succeeded in getting himself acquitted, it is to be hoped there will be different results on the present occasion, for Omer Pasha appears fully aware that examples are absolutely necessary, and that over cautious proceedings, such as were adopted by Namick Pasha, are not suited to Salonica.

Ch. Blunt

11

ff. 74-76

Salonica 28th August 1840

In consequence of representatives from the inhabitants of Serres, the Greek Archbishop of that place has been by Firman, prohibited assisting at the Saurat. From what I am daily witness to in these parts, My Lord, you will I hope pardon my assenting that this is one of the wisest measures the Porte could have taken, for the advancement of the wellbeing of the Christian Rayjahs and that were the measure general, the interest of Christian Rayjahs, would be better protected in the Tribunals of the country, for they would thereby be relieved of the presence of these Bishops, who ecclesiastical powers, if I may be permitted to express myself, are exercised upon the fanaticism of ignorant and terrified populations, for their own good, instead of their being, as they ought, and are supposed to be, the protectors of this unhappy class of the Sultans subjects. You will find few instances my Lord of these heads of the Greek Church supporting the rights of the Rayjahs, unless they are themselves either directly or indirectly interested! I will take the liberty of troubling your Excellency with the details of a recent case, the which,

gives sufficient evidence in support of my assertions. The heads of the village near Salonica, called Cappigilar addressed me a petition acquainting me to aid them in representing a grievance of which they had to complain to the Pasha—the case is this My Lord, some time since the Chiefs of this village applied to the Moolah of Salonica, to obtain for them a Firman, to reduce the rate of interest they had to pay to various persons for money raised for the village, the rate of interest being 24 and 30% the Moolah promised to obtain the Firman, but required money, the sum paid as fees, for this Firman was £ 700 to the Moolah and £ 200 to his Kaihah. The Moolah it appears afterwards advised the creditors of the village and obtained from those latter, I am informed £ 1400 not to obtain this Firman.

Ch. Blunt

12

ff. 78-80

Salonica September 11th 1840

Omer Pasha has informed me privately that he has received a letter from the Porte stating, that those Bishops who are not natives of the place of their official residence, are not to be permitted a seat in the Saurat; this will enable him to expel the Archbishop of Salonica from the Council of this town. The Pasha told me that he did not make the letter public, as there are some affairs on hand, in which the presence of this prelate was required.

I have within these few days my Lord, heard of another I may say—infamous case, which is now before the Saurat, where the Bishop appears the persecutor rather than the protector of the Rayjahs—the case is this. The villages of Madem were to Vassil Agha, an Armenian Banker at Constantinople, prior to the revolution, or about £ 5.250 Vassil Agha, sent his agent to receive the amount, which was paid, and the agents receipt given, Vassil Agha now demands payment of this sum, with interest, upon the plea that the money was not paid to him and that his agents receipt is not valid. The Pacha wishes the affair to be referred to Constantinople, the Moolah and Bishop are in favour of its termination here; the former particularly, for if reports are correct, he has been promised £ 500, if the affair terminates in favour of the Armenian Banker.

Ch. Blunt

13

ff. 96-97

Salonica October 22th 1840

It would appear my Lord, that there exists two parties amongst the Christian Rayjahs of this place, the one, is that of the Tchorbagis and members of the Community, and the other that of the Esnaff or Trades, and may therefore be termed, the Lower class.

I have been given to understand that the Tchorbagis and members of the Community, have complaint to Constantinople against the irregularities of the Archbishop, and it is supposed that attention has been paid to their appeals, and that the Archbishop will be exiled.

The Lower class or Trades have petitioned for a strict investigation of the accounts of the Community from which, it will appear, what is got generally known, that the Tchorbagis and member of the Community never contribute one asper to the expenses of the town, but through all the right of such demands upon the Trades or orders. The Trades have formed a Committee amongst themselves, and are making a return of the amount of taxes, as paid by every individual. For the last two years the result of these investigations, ought to prove for the greatest advantage to the Rayjahs, and should the Porte give proper attention to the case, the Rayjahs will then have evidence of the value of the Statti' Sheriffee.

Ch. Blunt

14

f. 98

Salonica October 22th 1840

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that I have just be given to understand, that some emissaries from Greece, sent purposely to engage the Christian Rayjahs to revolt against the Turks, have been detected at Tricalla, I have not been able to arrive at the particulars, further than one individual had been arrested at Tricalla who stated himself to be a native of Forty Churches, near Adrianople; the authorities of Tricalla are endeavouring to trace the facts of the case.

Ch. Blunt

15

f. 100

Salonica October 30th 1840

My Lord,

With reference to what I had the honour to inform your Lordship, in my last

dispatsch, the person arrested at Tricalla, supposed to have been active in engaging the Rayjah to revolt, was still in prison by the last accounts and all that I have been able to ascertain is, that the individual in question had had frequent intercourse with the Greek Priests, in the neighbourhood of Tricalla, and had appeared particularly intimate with two of the higher class, one of the latter has escaped but the other is in prison.

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Ch. Blunt

(Συνέχεια τοῦ ἐγγράφου ἀποτελεῖ ὁ πίνακας ΣΤ' τῆς σελ. 168)

16

ff. 126-130

*Report upon the Commerce of Salonica
for the year 1840*

The returns of trade will shew a very considerable falling off in both imports and exports; with respect to the former it may be observed, that notwithstanding the great advantages which the late Commercial convention offers, still the calamities in 1838 and 1839 of both plague and fire, have greatly embarrassed the resources of those engaged in the import trade, added to which, the unsettled state of the political world, together with the fear of a general war, constantly kept alive, by the reports of the French, have . . .¹ any who had the means, from engaging in any operations equal to those of former years, the interior has therefore in a great measure been supplied from others, the more remote sources.

Although no British Vessels have arrived at the port of Salonica during the year 1840, and no direct importations have been made, still some extensive imports in British manufactured goods have been made, in Greek bottoms from Syra, and by the Austrian steamer from Constantinople.

The import trade of France and Austria with Salonica has equally diminished when compared with former years, the which may be attributed, partly to the before mentioned causes, and partly to the falling off of the crops, the which, generally speaking, though deficient the last years, were not so, as regards grain, to the extent, which the principal landholders, the Beys pretended—this last year particularly when the period arrived for the receiving of the 10th of the produce, (a duty termed in the language of the country Rabboussi) the Beys so far deceived the Pasha of Salonica, as to lead him to suppose that the exportation of the 10th or Rabboussi for account of government, would the general deficiency of the crops would occasion; it now however appears (a fact discovered within the last week)

1. Δυσανάγνωστη λέξη.

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ ΣΤ'

*Gross return of British and Foreign Trade at the Principal Ports within the Consulate of Salonica
during the year ending the 31st December 1840*

Port of Salonica

Nation	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Number of Crews	Invoice value of Cargoes	Number of Vessels	Tonnage	Number of Crews	Departed	
								Arrived	Left
British	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ionian	9	230	110	£ 3,746.10.5	9	230	110	£ 140. 1. 4	
Turkish	100	5007	746	7,445. 1.5	100	5,007	746	3,093.13. 2	
Austrian	12	2394	120	4,210.14.1	12	2,394	120	3,727.10.11	
» Steamer (47 voyages)	250	12	—	52,957.10.2	1	250	12	66,198. 6. 4	
French	3	494	30	—	3	494	30	26,478.17. 5	
Greek	245	9,914	750	13,302.18.2	242	9,728	735	3,093. 3. 5	
Napolitan	4	1076	45	—	4	1,076	45	3,521. 7. 9	
Sardinian	7	1019	81	2,193. 3.7	7	1,019	81	6,009. 5. 5	
Swedish	1	186	8	150	1	186	8	375.11. 4	
Toscan	1	193	12	375.11.4	1	193	12	140.11.8	
Russian	5	490	35	1,136.3	5	490	35	1,323.11. 4	
Totals	388	21,253	1,949	£ 85,517.16.10	385	19,087	1,922	£ 114,098.16	

Remarks:

No British Vessels arrived at the port of Salonica during the year 1840.
French and Napolitan vessels arrived were in Ballast

Salonica 20 Jan. 1841
Ch. Blunt

that the Granaries of the Beys are full of wheat, so that they will be forced to sell at reduced prices, the more certainly since some merchants of Salonica have sent agents to Alexandria to purchase wheat. The crops of cotton, Susammum and Tobacco, which are important articles of export failed; also the quantity of wool brought to market, fell far short of that of former years.

The only article upon which there is a sensible improvement is silk, the cultivation of which has very considerably increased, and holds out every prospect of becoming a most important branch of export trade from this part of Turkey, and the great attention which is now shewn to the drawing of the silk also the number of factories yearly increasing, will shortly bring the silks of Salonica to an equality with those of Brussa. The silk drawing factories at Salonica were formerly entirely in the hands of the Jews, who kept their silk, when drawn as damp as possible to increase the weight, and selling all on the spot they enjoyed all the advantages, till the Franks turned their attention to the article. The number at factories in the year 1838:

	10 Factories	280 Reels	625 persons employed
1839:	12	346	739
1840:	20	439	1167

As most of the silk is sent to Smyrna and Constantinople, it is difficult to say if any has been forwarded from thence to England.

The undersigned is not aware of any British capital being this year employed in the trade of Salonica, what British goods have been imported have been by orders from the natives who have credits open for them at Vienna; the London and Liverpool agent, drawing for embarkment upon that place.

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The trade in seeches has been very considerable, and very large profits realized by the renters of the lakes Messieurs Abbott brothers, British merchants of Salonica.

It may be permitted to observe that if the next harvest should prove abundant, the trade of Salonica will not only be equal to former years, but unimportant measure may be looked for, from the fact of the quantity of new lands under cultivation, the which, may also be taken as an evidence of the confidence which the land holders have in the new measures, and should the local authorities continue with energy to uphold those measures and are supported by the authorities at Constantinople (the which they have not hitherto been) in the exposure of abuses and the punishment of offenders there can be no doubt but the general amelioration will surpass the most sanguine expectation infavour of reform in Turkey.

It may not be irrelevant here to remark, that the Turkish government has

not yet given sufficient evidence of that energy, (as regards these provinces), in support of reform, which it is absolutely necessary that they should exercise for the more effectual protection of the Rayjahs and land holders. It is true that some of the Mohasils and other authorities have been punished yet many others far more guilty, are allowed to continue their enormities notwithstanding the reports made against them, because they are sufficiently rich to make considerable presents to those in power in Constantinople. The most glaring fact in evidence of this assertion, is the support which the Mohasil of Salonica enjoys! It cannot be supposed that the land holders can have any confidence in the motives of Statti Sherife of Gulkhané, and long as there exists one law for the rich, and another for the poor, or that the Rayjahs who are the cultivators of the land can prosper, when the Greek Rayjah Clergy are permitted to plunder them with impunity. The common expression now is, amongst the cultivators (Rayjahs) in the Interior (we are free as far as regards the Turks, but when shall we be liberated from the Bishops).

The cultivation of vineyards has very greatly increased, and as the wines of Macedonia are by no means inferior to the best Levant wines, wine may become an important article of export.

Salonica January 20th 1841

Ch. Blunt

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΠ. ΒΑΚΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

R É S U M É

Constantinos A p. V a c a l o p o u l o s, Le commerce de Salonique 1796-1840 (D'après les rapports inédits de Consuls Français et Anglais).

Dans la présente étude l'auteur examine les tendances caractéristiques du commerce de Salonique vers la fin du 18ème siècle jusqu' au début du 19ème. D'abord il fallait signaler que le chapitre de la situation du commerce de Salonique pendant le 19ème siècle n'a pas été traité en général. Ainsi l'auteur en se basant aux principaux documents inédits des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Quai d'Orsay et de Public Records Office a essayé à racer le chemin du commerce de cette ville, si important au 18ème siècle, à travers les années 1796-1840.

D'abord dans la première partie du travail on examine et on commente d'une façon générale les transactions commerciales et le mouvement du port de Salonique dans l'époque transitoire 1796-1826 en se référant au contenu des documents français. Quelques points obscurs et très intéressants du commerce de Salonique à la fin du 18ème siècle sont éclaircis par les écrits de quatre mémoires inédits de Félix Beaujour. Le reste de la première partie est consacré aux transactions commerciales du port de Salonique (fin 18ème siècle - 1817), aux mutations du commerce importateur et exportateur (1818-1821) et à la situation commerciale de la ville de Salonique aux premières années de la révolution hellénique (1821-1825).

La deuxième partie de l'étude a comme titre «Le commerce de Salonique 1826-1840» et est basée principalement aux Archives de Public Records Office, surtout aux lettres du Consul Anglais Charles Blunt.