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SALONIKA IN THE LATE OTTOMAN ERA
(late 19th and early 20th century)

by

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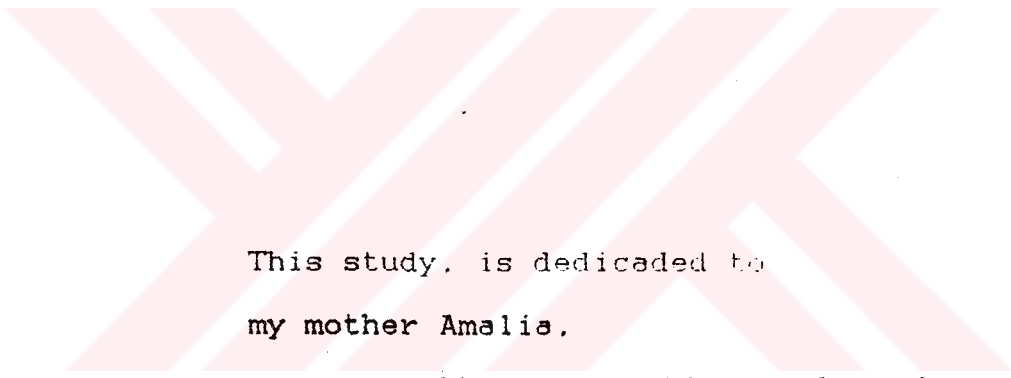
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This study, is dedicaded to
my mother Amalia.

as a small recognition, for her
continuous toils and agony, to make
me able enough, to win life's game.

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- USED ABBREVIATIONS & LATIN EXPRESSIONS -

Al.		album.
Ar.		article.
apxly.		approximately.
bk. or B.		book.
c.		century.
cc.		centuries.
c.		copyright.
ca.	<i>circa</i>	at or near a given date.
cf.	<i>confer</i>	compare with or consult.
ch.		chapter.
chs.		chapters.
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i>	for example.
et al.	<i>et alii</i>	and others.
et seq.	<i>et sequens</i>	and following.
etc.	<i>et cetera</i>	and all the rest/other.
E		East.
ff.		following pages.
ftn.		footnote.
ftns.		footnotes.
H.T.		Hellenic text.
<i>ibidem</i>		in the same title and same pages.
<i>ibidem</i> , pp. 000-000		in the same title but in different pages.
id.	<i>idem</i>	the same.
i.e.	<i>id est</i>	that is.
<i>infra</i>		later on in the text.
is.		issue.
iss.		issues.
lat.		latitude.
lng.		longitude.
Lft.		leaflet.
MS.		manuscript.
MSS.		manuscripts.
n.		note.
N.B.	<i>nota bene</i>	special note of something.
N		north.
NE		northeastern.
NW		northwestern.
ob.	<i>obiit</i>	died.
p.		page.
p.p. or pp.		pages.
p.a.	<i>per annum</i>	per year.
<i>passim</i>		here and there.
pg.		paragraph.
pgs.		paragraphs.
q.v.	<i>quod vide</i>	which see/may be referred to
sic.		thus - original statement is erroneous, but correctly quoted.
st.		sheet.
sts.		sheets.
<i>supra</i>		earlier in the next.
S		south.
SW		southwestern.
SE		southeastern.

vide
vide idem infra

vide idem supra

vide relativum /a infra

vide relativum /a supra

viz. *videlicet*

vol.

vs.

W

see.

see the same (title),
later/below in the text.

see the same (title),
earlier/above in the text.

see relative /a below.

see relative /s above.

namely.

volume.


versus.

West.

All words, phrases and sentences, written with *italic characters*, are not English, but Latin, Ladino, Turkish, Bulgarian, French and Hellenic. Thus, their orthography may not be correct, due to the lack of relative computer fonts of the program being used.

For the writing of this thesis, Professional Write, version 3.0 was used.

All translations in the texts, from Turkish to English, have been done, according to the entries and the renderings of THE CONCISE OXFORD TURKISH DICTIONARY, written by A.D. Anderson, and Fahir İz, printed for the first time in İstanbul by ABC Kitabevi Tic. A.Ş., in 1990, and the REDHOUSE YENİ TÜRKÇE SÖZLÜĞÜ, printed for the eleventh time in İstanbul, by Redhouse Yayınevi, in September 1990.



— P R O L O G U E —

Thessaloniki, *Salonichium*, *Selanik*, *Soloun*, *Saloniko*, *Salonici*, the city with many names.

"King's sister", "Mother of Macedonia", "Jewel of the Hellenes" during the Hellenistic years, "God protected", "God covered", "Imperial second reign city" during the Byzantine period, "Eye of Europe", "Mother of Israel", during the Ottoman era, "Poors' mother", "Lady of the north", "Diamond of Thermaikos", and "Second capital" for the Hellenes, the city with tens of titles.

Native town, for those that actually were born and grew up in its bosoms, as well as for those who visited and fell in love with her.

Thessaloniki still, is a strange city. Under the European character, any *bona fide* student, can recognize the oriental hues. Maybe, its ancestral heritage, which from very early in its history has associated the city with the east, is the interpretation of this image.

Such an impression, drove us to the decision, to have a mind's eye travel, through its last East-connected past, which was that of the late Ottoman period. My thoughts, were discussed with Pr. Dr. Zafer Toprak, who soon became my trusty fellow-traveller.

After leaving Boğaziçi University, I went to Thessaloniki, to have a direct view of what was available in the city about its history. First, I found a ready made bibliography - a book -, published by the Institute of Studies on the Balkan Peninsula (I.S.B.P.). A presentation of almost everything that has been written about the city, all along its historic presence. This book, became my searching pilot, for all my study.

Despite the existence of this book, there were (and still are for the interested scholars) two main problems that I had to deal

with. The lack of relative literature about the city Ottoman period (in comparison with the Byzantine and Hellenistic period), and the fact that, many of the referenced books, articles, newspapers, etc., were not available in public libraries, even in private collections and book-shelves. I could not succeed to find some of those, interesting for this study, neither in Hellas nor in Turkey, because they were very old editions, and were not available in public libraries any longer. (0).

Hellenic literature for the city Ottoman period, sometime ago was poor enough. (1). Besides, the studies were focused towards Hellenistic and Byzantine city periods, and Macedonian struggle as well. During the two last decades, at least thirty scientific studies for that period were published, while several individuals published other books; like memoirs, thoughts, albums, etc. An

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- (0). City archive material, suffered many loses. Once, by the big fire of 1917, and later, during Germany's occupation period (1941 -1944), when a great part of it, "got away" to Germany.
- (1). I would like here, to give an explanation to the comment of the scrupulous scholar *Semavi Eyice*, who writes in his prominent article (*Atatürk'ün doğduğu yıllarda Selanik*, p. 462, *ftn.* 3), that there is no mention in the city tourist guide-books for the city Ottoman period and there is no reference for the same period in the Hellenic historic literature. Due to his inability to read Hellenic texts from the original, and because of the fact that, few works for the city, at that period had been translated into other foreign languages, he drove himself to a rather mistaken conclusion. Contemporary to the period that his article was published, there are, at least, two photographic albums and three scientific studies, (like that of K. Μοσκώφ in 1976), some of them published by state research centers, engaged almost exclusively with the study of the Ottoman period and the various city communities that existed during that period. A very important work, about the city's Ottoman history, was done years before (50^s-60^s), by I.K. Βαστραβέλης and his staff in M.S.C., on Ottoman documents concerning city history. All these, in spite of other negative facts, like the lack of scientists, that were being occupied intimately with Ottoman-Turkish studies, (a field of interest that flourished during the last decade in Hellas), and the inability of both sides, to have access to each others' various state-national archives.

important publishing work for the period, was done by the city research centers: I.S.B.P., Macedonian Studies Society (M.S.C.), Thessaloniki's Municipality Center of History (T.M.C.H.), and the Aristotelion University of Thessaloniki (A.U.T.), that contains monographs, researched results, minutes of congresses and lectures, etc.. In spite of this, Hellenic bibliography still is mainly centered around the Hellenic community of the Ottoman period.

Even the Turkish literature about the city, is poor. Until the end of this study, i found that there are very few books dealing directly with the history of Ottoman Salonika, and some, very well structured articles, but mainly concerning the city Ottoman architecture and monuments. In some other books, we have piecemeal information or references, concerning certain matters which are indirectly connected with the city history. Such are, the life of Ottoman officers, historic events that it was involved in, etc.. There is obviously, lack of interest for the city social history, despite the fact, that Salonika of the last Ottoman period, was the center of the transformations that were taking place in the Empire.

The English or English-written literature, is also poor and is focused towards the early and middle years of the 19th century. As primary resources for the last years of the 19th, and early 20th century, (except diplomatic records), there are short references for the city in various travelers' memoirs. Scant is the work done in our days also. There are some general monographs, few congresses' minutes, some articles' summaries, etc..

More abundant is French or French-written city literature. I tried to exploit some primary resources as much as possible

(because of the inability to read French, some interesting texts for this study, were read to me), like articles of regulations, city tourist guide-books and some books that referred directly to views of the city's last Ottoman period.

A great part of the French or French-written literature is concerned about the life of Jews, Doenmehs, and their communities. Writers, are in most of the cases Jews, sometimes members or ex-members of the city community. Moreover, French or French-written literature, is focused towards some other aspects of the city life, than the others (social-working movement, urban descriptions, social life descriptions etc.). From my point of view, French-written literature, followed by the last years' Hellenic one, is the most interesting and abundant literature, for that period.

Despite my effort, i did not succeed to find something written in Italian, and i did not go through German-written literature.

In conclusion, until our days written bibliography for the last Ottoman period, covers primarily, general knowledge of the city history, while it has studied the architecture - urban planning characteristics of the city, and few aspects of the city communities' social life, like demography, economic-commercial activity and communal structure.

During my study, i observed that, the lack of primary data, and information, drove many writers/researchers (acting in good faith), into book to book repetitions (some times even mistaken), copies or transpositions of texts etc.. Unfortunately, i also could not succeed to avoid the use of transpositioned data some times in my study, but i did my best, to cross-verify everything possible to be verified.

During my bibliographic research, I passed through well known historic libraries of Macedonian cities, and found some interesting primary material (unfortunately the great part, is referred to older periods), which was used in this study.

As primary material, were used almanacs, diaries, three complete series of newspapers, and some other newspaper issues from that period, a corpus of regulations concerning period's foundations, various social / professional groups etc., that I succeeded to collect. Tourist-traveling guides, period's elementary school reading books that describe the city, some old maps, old post-cards -material from (T.M.C.H.)-, that gave me information and data, or helped us to conceive period's general situation and icon, were also used. Some of the primary data that were used in this study are cited for the interested reader, in the appendix, at the end of the study.

The study, is referred to almost two fifteen-year periods. That of the end of the 19th century, and mostly the last 12 years of the Ottoman presence, from the beginning of our century. This era is one of the most interesting of the city history. In the twilight of a new century, social theories and ideas, (such as nationalism (2) and socialism), different expectations of the city national communities (Jewish claims for city autonomy, Hellenic irredentism, Bulgarian expansionism, and the Ottoman attempt for maintenance of the *status quo*), and various interests of the European powers (France, England, Germany, Austria, Italy and Russia), connected with the future of the city, met and clashed

(2). Nationalism was not a new theory of the period. Its practice, convulsed Europe from the early 18th century. It appeared in the Balkans almost hundred years later, fell into a latent condition for almost 50^{ty} years, and reappeared by the end of the 19th century.

in the city. Intercommunal strife⁹ which was motivated by the European powers (that patronized non-muslim communities' upper strata/intelligentsia), and the cultural differences of the communities, will characterize the general situation of the last Ottoman period. European attempts for penetration to the east, along with Macedonian struggle and the Young Turks revolution, as well as, the attempts for the modernization of the Empire, taking place in the same period, will also influence many sides of the city life.

My mediocre contribution to the city history of the last Ottoman period, is focused towards four axes: a. city topographic survey b. economic activity, c. social-communal structure of the city, and d. the emergence of working - socialist movement.

In the beginning it was conceived, that a city historic retrospection had to be cited (with the center of gravity on the Ottoman period), to introduce the reader into the city climate.

A survey that represents city topography follows, supported by relative maps that are cited in the part "Charts and Tables", along with a small reference to the city communal authorities follows.

In the other chapter, i will try to describe the emergence of industry, the kind and number of the industrial units until the last year of the Ottoman presence in the city (1912), and their production as well. I will also see, the emergence of banking and its role in the city economy, as well as, the role of other financial organizations, and the contribution of the city port and railroads.

Next i will try to present the city's social life. In this chapter, i will outline the national communities' structure.

internal organization etc., and i will refer to their representative buildings. The schools (communal organization of the education and its purpose), and the worship houses (their existence during the last Ottoman period and some of their architectural characteristics).

Then, i will study the social/working class movement. A reference to the city working associations - labor unions will be made. Their emergence, the history of *Federasion Socialistã Obrãdera* and Socialist Youth, the city parties' internal strife, the attempts for unification of the Ottoman Socialist parties, and their external connections will be exposed.

In the study's part "Charts and Tables", useful maps, sketches, and tables with concise data, which concern the prior chapters as well are listed.

In the appendix, the reader may find interesting archive material, contemporary to the period rare photographs, and post-cards.

I tried to cover a wide spectrum, of the city life. I believe that the above mentioned multiple aspects, are representatives enough, of the city life during that period. Other city social aspects, more specific, such as family structure into the communities, types of entertainment, social care, prostitution, etc., were not possible to be studied, because the lack of relative bibliography, and the inability to pick up relative archive material (probably the Ottoman archives, have many things to reveal in the future, to those researchers, interested to continue their studies on the social history of the city).

HISTORIC RETROSPECTION

- 316 b.C.. Thessaloniki is established by Cassandros, brother in law of Alexander the Great. The city is named after Alexander's sister.
- 316 b.C. to 168 b.C. Twenty long standing hamlets contribute in the initial city core. Due to its prime location (as a natural port), the city evolved to one of the most well known Hellenistic centers. It was ranked third in Macedonia, after Vergina and Pella.
- 280 b.C. Galatian invasion.
- 185 b.C. Philip IV, visits the city.
- 179 b.C. Formation of war shipyard on the city coast.
- 169 b.C. Perseus, last king of Macedonia orders General Andronikos to destroy the shipyard of Thessaloniki so as not to fall into Roman hands.
- 168 b.C. to 395 A.D. During the Roman period, Thessaloniki is the provincial capital of Macedonia. Thracians besiege the city in 56 b.C.. It has the title of Honor "*Civitas Libera*" (Free City), a Roman privilege, from the year 42 b.C.. Between the years 146 -120 b.C., Romans lay out Egnatia avenue, that passes through the city and connects Adriatic with Marmara Sea. In the year 140 b.C., first settlement of Jews in the city takes place. Cicero is exiled from Rome in the year 58 b.C., for six months, to the city of Thessaloniki. In 52 A.D., an earthquake strikes the city. From the early years of Christianity it is an "Apostolic" center. St. Paul in 53 A.D., and 58 A.D., preaches the Holy Bible in the city. Twelve years

later (70 A.D.), Vespasianus will build his triumphal arch. In the year 200 A.D., a foreign (non Hellenic) colony (Roman), is established in the city. Later in 238 A.D., the city takes the title of "Neokoros", which meant that the city had an imperial church under its protection. Goths, besieged the city twice (253 A.D., 269 A.D.). Galerius and Constantius together, relocate their capital from Rome to Thessaloniki. During that period, Rotonda and the circus (Hippodrome) are built. In 303 A.D., Emperor Galerius builds the famous Triumphal Arch, known to the Hellenes as "Kamara". In the year 306 A.D., the martyrdom of St. Demetrius takes place in the city. A new port is formed by the order of Emperor Constantin the Great, about 324 A.D., near the location "St. Minas". Goths besiege the city one more time in 378 A.D., but are persecuted by Theodosius the Great, who two years later, is baptized Christian, in the city. Theodosius rebuilds the city walls, and fortifies the city, according to the plan of the Persian architect Ormisdas. In 392 A.D., the massacre in the circus takes place. Seven thousand citizens are slaughtered in retaliation for the murder of Vuerihos the city garrison's Goth commander. In the 4th c. Thessaloniki is considered one of the big centers of Christianity. It is during this time, that Saint Patron of the city, becomes his Holiness St. Demetrius.

395 A.D. Theodosius dies, and the Roman Empire split in

two parts : The western part, ruled by his first son Onorious, maintains as capital the city of Rome and the eastern part led by his second son Arcadius, names as capital, the city of Constandinople.

The new, Byzantine Empire, is a historic fact.

- 395 A.D. to 1430 A.D. In the Byzantine period, Thessaloniki is the second administrative, military, cultural and economic center of the Empire.
- 413 A.D. The Basilica of St. Demetrius is build, by Leondios, the governor of "Illirikon" province.
- 424 A.D. Valendianus III, is nominated "Caesar" of the city.
- 441 A.D. Huns siege the city.
- 450 A.D. The Basilica of "Ahiropiitos" (not made by human hands), is build. Around this time the monastery of St. David (Devut Beli Manastir) and the part of the city wall known as "Yedi Kule" (Επταπύργιον), are build also.
- 499 A.D. Avars attempt their first raid against the city.
- 527 A.D. to 565 A.D. First Slavonic tribes, attempt raids against the city.
- 580 A.D. The city is besieged by the Avars, for a period of two years unsuccessfully.
- 590 A.D. Slavs besiege the city.
- 597 A.D. A strong earthquake terrorizes the whole city.
- 617 A.D. Slavs besiege the city from land and sea.
- 619 A.D. Once again, Slavs besiege the city.
- 626 A.D. Persians and Avars besiege the city.
- 649 A.D. Thessaloniki's synod takes place.

- 668 A.D. Many houses and other buildings, are torn down by an earthquake.
- 675 A.D. Arab corsairs attempt to occupy the city.
- 677 A.D. An earthquake will destroy part of the city.
- 681 A.D. Draguvits attempt an unsuccessful raid.
- 687 A.D. Mighty persecution and extermination of raiding against the city pirates, by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian the "rinotmitos" (nose-cutted).
- 691 A.D. Slavs besiege the city.
- 690 A.D. or 730 A.D. The Basilica (with dome). of St. Sophia is build.
- 700 A.D. A strong earthquake strikes the city.
- 750 A.D. Thessaloniki enters ecclesiastically into the eastern Christianity (the patriarchate of Constandinople).
- 860 A.D. Brothers Kirillos and Methodios, natives of Thessaloniki, initiate efforts to Christianize the wild tribes of the north, Slavs and Ros.
- 904 A.D. The city suffers the assaults and is subsequently captured by the Saracens, under Leon of Tripolis. 22,000 citizens are sold to the slave markets of north Africa.
- 926 A.D. *Bulgarian besiege of the city.*
- 932 A.D. Hungarian tribes attempt a raid against the city.
- 996 A.D. Tzar Samuel of the Bulgars. will try another unsuccessful besiege of the city.
- 1014 A.D. Another Bulgarian besiege of the city.
- 1040 A.D. Deliyianni, the grandson of Samuel of the Bulgars. will besiege the city. The Byzantine Emperor Michel IX

visits the city.

- 1096 A.D. Rabbi Tobias Ben Eliezer intensifies messianic activities among the city Jews.
- 1162 A.D. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela visits the city and finds an organized community of 500 Hellenic speaking Romaniot Jews.
- 1185 A.D. Norwegian pirates under Tagred from Sicily capture and sack the city. A year later, Isaacius Angelos recaptures the city for the Byzantines.
- 1204 A.D. The city suffers from the capture by the Crusaders. Several churches are converted for Catholic ceremony. The Frankish kingdom of Thessaloniki is established, and the Frankish Emperor of Constantinople, allots the city to Bonifacius Momferaticus.
- 1207 A.D. The Bulgarian Tzar Ioanitsi besieges the city.
- 1223 A.D. Emancipation of Thessaloniki. Once again, the city will be a dominant center of the Byzantine Empire. The second Byzantine renaissance (that was named "the Hellenic renaissance" occurs, despite the religious and social movement of Zealots and Quietists that convulsed the city (1341 - 1349), left indelible signs of the last-Medieval Hellenic art and culture.
- 1261 A.D. According to the Nimpheon contract, citizens of Genoa, acquire the right to establish a consulate and organize commercial activities in the city.
- 1277 A.D. Venetians establish the first Frankish suburb and a church of their own in the city.
- 1308 A.D. Catalans attempt a raid against the city. The

- Byzantine empress Irene visits the city. 9
- 1320 A.D. Byzantine empress Xenia visits the city.
The population revolts against Emperor Andronikos.
- 1328 A.D. Serbs under Sirian attack the city. Sirian is
killed in an assault outside the city wall.
- 1331 A.D. to 1332 A.D. King of the Serbs, Stefano Dusan
besiege the city. Emperor Andronikos winters outside
the city.
- 1341 A.D. The first attack of the city from Turkish tribes.
takes place this year. The dispute of Quietists
spreads into the city.
- 1342 A.D. The revolt of the Zealots takes place.
- 1345 A.D. The mob raids and slaughters the nobles of the city.
- 1347 A.D. Gregorius Palamas is imprisoned. New besiege by
Stefano Dusan. Black death epidemy (bubonic plague).
- 1349 A.D. Final defeat of the Zealots.
- 1374 A.D. Turkish assaults and sieges start to take place
(Hayreddin Paşa and Evrenos Bey).
- 1376 A.D. Jews from central Europe (Germany - Hungary).
settle in the city and establish the first
Ashkenazim synagogue.
- 1380 A.D. Another besiege by the troops of Stefano Dusan.
Hayreddin Paşa captures the city for a small period.
Sultan Murat I, gives the city back to the Byzantine
Emperor.
- 1387 A.D. Sultan Murat I, after 4 years of besiege, captures
the city for some time.
- 1389 A.D. John V dies in the city.
- 1402 A.D. Sultan Beyazit I, recaptures for the Ottomans the

city. until 1407.

- 1411 A.D. Ottomans under Musa, brother of the Sultan attack and occupy the city.
- 1414 A.D. The Sultan gives the city back to the Byzantine Emperor.
- 1422 A.D. Sultan Murat II, besieges the city.
- 1423 A.D. Sultan Murat II, besieges the city once again.
- 1423 A.D. to Venetians capture and dominate the city, claiming
1430 A.D. as excuse, rightful help to the defenders of the city and paid to the Emperor 50,000 ducats. Jews from Venice and other north Italian cities settle in the city and established the synagogue "Italia Yiashan".
- 1430 A.D. An earthquake forces the inhabitants to sojourn out of the city.

On the 29th of March of 1430, Sultan Murat II after 3 days of besiege, seizes Thessaloniki. A new period starts in the historical scene of the city.

Until the early 16th century, massive settlement of Turkish population started in the city. Turkish and Muslim populations settled in the upper part of the city near old citadel, while Greek and Christian populations in the lower part, in the center and near *Vlatades* monastery (*Vlatades Manastir*). *Salonika* later became a "*Sancak*" of the Western provinces (*Rumeli Eyaleti*), of the Empire.

- 1432 A.D. The first public Turkish bath (*hamam*), is build in the city (known to the Hellenes as "*Paradisos*").

Venetians acquire a consulate (on the 4th of September), in the city after a contract signed with the Ottomans.

- 1481 A.D. Ottomans, change the city name to *SELĀNĪK*.
- 1486 A.D. With imperial order (*ferman*), Vlatades Monastery (*Vlatades* or *Çavuş Manastır*), acquires privileges from Sultan Beyazit II.
- 1491 A.D. The church of St. Demetrious, is converted to a mosque known as *Kesimiye cami*.
- 1492 A.D. During the reign of Sultan Beyazit II, Jewish refugees (some 20,000) from Spain (*Sephardim*) and Portugal (*Marrëno*) in 1496 }, come and settle in Salonika. Their commercial and cultural activity flourished, since the establishment of their community.
- 1497 A.D. Plague epidemy rages the city.
- 1506 A.D. The first printing house of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan peninsula is established in the city of Salonika. (1).
- 1520 A.D. Ragusans and Venetians sign a contract with the Sultan, and acquire the right, to use the city port for their cereals export. Jews, found their first well known educational complex *Talmud Torah Hagadol*.
- 1537 A.D. Samuel Usque, a Jewish poet from Ferrara, confers to Salonika the title "Mother of Israel". It is written, that the 16th century was the "Golden Age" of the Jews in the city.

(1). This date was given by I. Καμπαλής. According to other resources the establishment took place in 1512, and it was Don Judah Gedalia who established the first printing house in the city. No further details are available over the fortune of this printing house.

- 1545 A.D. A big fire breaks out, partially destructing the city. Barukh is appointed by the Ottomans, as leader of the Jews in Salonika.
- 1553 A.D. A plague epidemy gives death to thousands of its inhabitants.
- 1556 A.D. Rabbis of Salonika, proclaim boycott for the port of Ancone because of the persecution of Jews there.
- 1565 A.D. Sultan Mehmet IV passes by the city.
- 1568 A.D. By Imperial order, the Jewish community acquires the right, to pay the capital tax by providing cloth (*aba* or *çuhâ*) for the uniforms of the Janisseries.
- 1569 A.D. Fire burns part of the city.
- 1570 A.D. Selim II the drunk (*Mest*), comes to the city to celebrate the victory of his Imperial fleet against the Venetian fleet.
- 1571 A.D. 30,000 citizens are slaughtered, in retaliation for the destruction of the Imperial fleet in Lepante.
- 1572 A.D. Plague epidemy.
- 1573 A.D. Earthquake strikes the city. Severe damages occur.
- 1575 A.D. The church of St. Sophis is converted to a mosque, known as *Aya Sofya cami*.
- 1581 A.D. Plague epidemy with many victims.
- 1583 A.D. Monetary crisis brings about commercial downfall in the city.
- 1587 A.D. Fire ruins a big part of the city.
- 1588 A.D. Plague epidemy.
- 1591 A.D. St. George's church (*Rotonda*), is converted to a mosque known as *Hortaç Süleyman Efendi cami*, thanks to the efforts of a dervish.

- 1609 A.D. Local landlords (*Sipahi*)⁹ raid and loot with armed bands, the outskirts of the city. Plague epidemy decimates many inhabitants.
- 1610 A.D. Fire outbreak. A whole suburb is burned down.
- 1617 A.D. Local merchants and peddlers, are murdered by the Janissaries (probably for inter-guilt contrasts).
- 1620 A.D. Fire outbreak. Almost the whole city is burned down. Part of the Jewish population, leaves the city.
- 1625 A.D. Fire with heavy casualties.
- 1633 A.D. Sultan Murat IV, orders to close all public coffee shops of the city.
- 1638 A.D. The Ottoman authorities convict chief Rabbi Yehudah Covo to death, because they consider inappropriate the quality and quantity of the Janissaries' cloth.
- 1644 A.D. The Ottoman fleet, sails into the city harbor, preparing for the expedition of the conquest of Crete.
- 1648 A.D. Plague epidemy.
- 1655 A.D. Shabbetai Zevi, (or Lewis) the Jewish "false messiah", after his unsuccessful "movement" in the city and elsewhere, becomes Muslim in Istanbul (1666). His partisans (Jews) in many places of the Empire are converted to Islam too, and take from that period the known Turkish name Doenmeh "Dönme" (converted to Islam).
- 1668 A.D. The traveler Evliya Celebi bin Dervis Mehmet Zillf comes to the city and writes his description.
- 1670 A.D. Sultan Mehmet IV comes to Salonika for seven months.
- 1679 A.D. Plague epidemy.
- 1685 A.D. French Consular agency is established in the city.

First consular representative is marquis De Senielle'.

1688 A.D. Venetian captain Morozini threatens the city in a three months siege.

1679 A.D. Plague epidemy.

In the late 17th and 18th centuries, the natural location of Salonika, will attract western merchants -specially Franks-, who settle in the city. Thus, the famous Frankish suburb (*Fränk mahallesii*), is established, and the first consulates or consular agents appear. In the early 18th century Salonika is the second commercial center of the Empire, with 18 trade firms: 11 Fränkish, two English, two German, one German-Jewish, one Venetian, and one Austrian. (2).

1712 A.D. A cholera epidemy exterminates 6,000 people.

1715 A.D. Jewish merchants from Italy settle in the city. They become known as "*Los Frankos*". Probably, near that period, organized elementary studies had emerged by the Ottoman-Greek community of the city, because the foundations "*Κοινόν Σχολαίον*" (Common School) and "*Ἐροντιστήριον καὶ Ἑλληνομουσεῖον*" (Study care school and Hellenic museum) already existed (3).

1715 A.D. Sultan Ahmet III, gathers armed forces in the city, to confront against the Venetians in the expedition to Peloponnese (*Mora*).

1719 A.D. French merchants settle in the city.

1722 A.D. Church of St. Nikoless is rebuild.

(2). *Vide*, Pars Tuglaci. "*Osmanlı Şehirleri*", p. 390.

(3). Akakios the monk, was called to teach in these foundations that period.

- 1724 A.D. Plague epidemy with many victims.
- 1729 A.D. Venetian Consulate is established in the city.
- 1734 A.D. Fire brakes out in the city.
- 1743 A.D. English Consulate is established in the city.
- 1748 A.D. Plague epidemy.
- 1750 A.D. Dutch Consulate is established in the city.
- 1754 A.D. Fire brakes out. Partial destructing the city.
- 1755 A.D. Heavy cold destroys the agricultural production.
Another plague epidemy brakes out.
- 1774 A.D. Ottoman-Russian war. The Russian fleet outside the city port.
- 1777 A.D. An Austrian post service is established in the city.
Its service lasts until 1914.
- 1779 A.D. Plague epidemy.
- 1812 A.D. A French post service is established in the city. Its service lasts one year.
- 1821 A.D. The Ottoman-Greek community acquires many considerable privileges. Hellenic struggle of independence. The armed band's leader Κάντζας, prepares to assault against the city. Important activity of the department of "Φιλική Εταιρεία" (Filiki Eteria = National Committee) in Salonika. In the market's square (*Kapan Bahçesi*), one notable (G. Paikos), one priest of the church of St. Minas (Papa-Gianis), and the metropolitan of Kitrous Meletios, are hung. Another notable (Ch. Menexes), is hung in Rotonda's square. The Ottoman-Greeks' uprising in the city is suppressed, leaving some 4.000 Ottoman-Greeks dead. Many others leave the city to Macedonian hinterland

for safety.

- 1826 A.D. By order of Sultan Mehmut II, some 3,000 Janissaries are killed in the city.
- 1829 A.D. Earthquake strikes the city. Seaside walls, suffer heavy damages.
- 1830 A.D. New big barracks are being build outside the east walls.
- 1832 A.D. Cholera epidemy outbreaks in the city.
- 1835 A.D. A Hellenic school is established near St. Athanasios church.
- 1836 A.D. By imperial decree, the Rabbi of Salonika takes the honor title of "Chief Rabbi" (*Haham başı*).
- 1838 A.D. The first Bulgarian printing house, is established in the city by Hacı Theodos Sinaiji.
- 1840 A.D. On the 22th of September, a big fire, destroys some historical monuments and leaves many people, specially Jews, homeless.
A year later (1841), the first quarantine building is established in the city.
- 1845 A.D. The first Hellenic school for girls is established.
- 1849 A.D. Fire outbreaks.
- 1850 A.D. The Greek printing house of Miltiadis Gerboles is established. It will work only for one year. In 1852, the Ottoman-Greek Kirillos Darzilovitis will establish his own printing house.
- 1855 A.D. A French post service is re-established in the city.
- 1857 A.D. Cholera epidemy. The Catholic brotherhood of Lazarists settle in the city.
- 1858 A.D. Earthquake. Sultan Abdülmecit visits the city.

Founding of Alatini's mills.

- 1860 A.D. *Theagenion* hospital of the Ottoman-Greek community is founded. Widening of Egnatia avenue begins.
- Printing house of Vəgləmēli is established. In this printing house, later the Greek newspapers "Μακεδονία" (Macedonia), and "Ερμής" (Hermes), will be printed.
- 1862 A.D. A Russian post service was established in the city. Its service lasted until 1909, or 1914.
- 1863 A.D. A branch of the Imperial Ottoman Bank (*Osmanlı Bankası*) is founded in the city.
- 1864 A.D. "Alliance Israélite Universelle" branch, is established in the city.
- 1865 A.D. Rabbi Yiouda Nehama, publishes the first newspaper of Salonika "El Lunar".
- 1866 A.D. Earthquake. Provincial governor (*Vəli*) Sabri Paşa, orders to demolish the seaside walls. Thus, fresh breeze from Thermaikos gulf and the famous air current Vardaris (*Vardar*), undertake to deodorize the city. During the period of Sultan Abdulhamid's reign, quay and a dock are build in that side.
- 1867 A.D. Sabri Paşa avenue, is laid out (today's Βενιζέλου).
- 1868 A.D. Ottoman Agricultural Bank's (*Ziraat Bankası*) branch is established Salonika. Ottoman-Greek community acquires a lyceum.
- 1869 A.D. Salonika as an Ottoman city, acquires its first municipality. It is a turning point in the history of the city, because many public works of social policy and embellishment start from this year (4), under the auspices of municipality and particularly during

the last Ottoman period, that of the Young Turks.

1870 A.D. The city acquires its first properly build prison. A Greek printing house is established, by S. Vasiliadis. Jewish community forms its governing board. The first English elementary school is established. In the same year we have the establishment of Grosberg's school for girls. A Protestant church for Ottoman-Greeks is established. Bulgarian Orthodox church, separated from the Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul arbitrarily. It will become known as "Exarchic" church or "Exarchia".

1871 A.D. Earthquake. From this year, until 1881, the city will be linked gradually by railroad, with the city of Skopje (*Üsküp*). The whole plan is undertaken by the famous Baron Hirsch. The first "Exarchic" (Bulgarian), elementary school is established.

1872 A.D. A newly organized quarantine building is established. Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος Μακεδονίας (Educational Association of Macedonia) is established, by the physician M. Papadopoulos. On the 18th of January, the small Bulgarian community acquires the privilege from the Sublime Port, to elect Bulgarian Metropolitan, that is called "Exarchos".

1873 A.D. The first school of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* is established.

1974 A.D. Works for the landfill of the sea-front.

(4). It is written, that the first Mayor of Salonika, Süleyman Sudi, undertook activities, like cleaning the dirty roads of the city (typical phenomenon, even for the European streets and roads of the period), by using convicts bound in chains. vide. Γ. Σταμπούλης, "Life in Thessaloniki before and after 1912", H.T., p. 549.

- 1875 A.D. The first Greek newspaper "Ερμής" (Hermes), published by Sof. Garbolas (economic topics only), on the 13th of March. Midhat Paşa avenue is laid out (today's Αγ. Αντωνίου).
- 1876 A.D. Earthquake. The first telegraph service of the city. is founded, located next to the mansion of administration (*Hükümet konağı*). Another school of Alliance Israélite Universelle is formatted. In the same year, (on the 7th of May) the consuls of Germany, Henri Abbott and France, Jules Moulin are murdered, due to a misunderstanding, which started with a conflict between Christians and Muslims who both claimed the control over a little Bulgarian girl called Stefana (Christian, from Bogdatsa, daughter of a man called Delis Gioza), arriving in the city to be proselytized into Islam. (5). The first "Exarchic" (Bulgarian) city church is established.
- 1877 A.D. Fire outbreaks.
- 1878 A.D. Uprising in Salonika connected with the Ottoman-Russian war. From this year, refugees from Bosnia start to settle in the lower and eastern part (sparsely populated) of the Turkish suburb, in the upper city (*Bayır*), near a place called *cafe's tower* (*Kule kahvesi*).

(5). Regarded to the event, see the telegraphic reports of the U.S. Consul, Hajilazarou, No 54\7.5.1876, No 55\9.5.1876, No 56\ 11.5.1876, No 57\12.5.1876, the report of the Italian Consul Trabaudi Foscarini No CLXXII\7 & 8.5.1876 and the report of the manager of the English Institute in Salonika, Williams Lowder, issued in the book: Correspondence respecting the murder of the French and German Consuls at Salonika. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty, London 1876.

- 1888 A.D. The city is linked by railroad, with Belgrade. French college of *Freres* is established also.
- 1881 A.D. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is born in the city.
- 1882 A.D. Galip Pass orders to lay out the coastal road with cobblestone (*Kaldırım taşı*), and the suburb *Istira* (today's *Λαδάσικα*).
- 1887 A.D. Egnatia street (*Cadde yol*), changes its name to Vardaris street (*Vardar caddesi*). Works for the railroad connection with Monastery (*Manastır*) have started. The whole plan is undertaken by expenses of Deutsche Bank and the first part of the railroad will be delivered in 1890.
- 1888 A.D. Bank of Salonika is founded. Railroad connection with Belgrade, via Skopje. First Jewish communal clinic "*Bikhour Holim*" is founded. Jacob Hananiah Cove, appointed Chief Rabbi of Salonika until 1907. A German elementary school is established, for the educational necessities of the children of the workers and employees, working for the railroad services. French commercial college, is established in the same year.
- 1889 A.D. The east part of the wall connecting Blood's tower (*Kan Kule*) with the Seven towers (*Yedi Kule*) of the upper city, are demolished. Sultan Hamid's avenue (*Hamidiye caddesi*) laid out. (the later *Εθνικής Αμύνης* (National defense) and today's *Βασ. Σοφίας*). The first tram rail laid out, and two years later in 1891, the first tram (horse driven), is in operation.
- 1890 A.D. On the 4th of September, one of the biggest fires that

struck the city ever brakes out, destroying up to 2,000 houses - Jewish mainly -, monuments, the church of Grigorios Palamas and its important archive. In the same year, the city acquires for its first time, a municipal illuminating network, working with gas. Gaslight network is installed in the city, for civic necessities, like cooking and heating. Blood tower (*Kan Kule*) changes its name to White tower (*Beyaz Kule*).

The Greek nursing home for aged people "Hærision" is founded.

1891 A.D. Pox epidemy outbreaks, probably from the diseased area of Hælkidiki. Influenza epidemy, near the end of the year, that lasted until the next year.

The old administration building (*konak*), is demolished (it was build soon after the city occupation), because a new one is build. Jewish refugees from Russia arrive in the city. The quarters "Baron Hirsch" and "Kalamerie" are founded by them.

1892 A.D. The Greek orphanage "Melitefs" is established. The Greek hospital is burned down, from a fire. Diphtheria epidemy, with many victims.(6).

1893 A.D. The Italian Hospital is founded. Many cholera cases diagnosed in the city. Probable rabies epidemy among the stray dogs of the city.(7). The works for the

(6). The data is from the newspaper "*Φάρος της Μακεδονίας*" (Macedonia's Lighthouse), May 1892 IZ'.

(7). As was every typical Ottoman city, Salonika at that period had tens of packs of stray dogs and cats, roving throughout the city.

railroad connection with İstanbul assigned to the
Levantine Beaudoy.

- 1894 A.D. Works for the railroad connection with İstanbul start
(the line will be inaugurated in 1896). A post -
telegraph service building is erected. Nearby the quay
a building is constructed by the authorities, to house
all the butcheries of the city. Probably, gonorrhoea
epidemy, is growing at large in the city. (8).
- 1896 A.D. Fire outbreaks. Railroad connection with Dedeağaç
(Αλεξανδρούπολις). Hydraulic network's construction,
convey water for civic necessities, to the houses of
the city.
- 1897 A.D. The central public hospital is founded. Works for the
construction of the port by a French firm start.
A Serbian elementary school is established near the
Hellenic consulate. The anarchist organization "Crew"
(Πλήρωμα) a branch of I.M.R.O., is formatted. (9).
- 1899 A.D. Fire outbreaks. A branch of Mitillini Bank, is
established in the city. Founding of the first Zionist
organization "Kodimah". A Rumanian elementary school
is established.
- 1900 A.D. A Jewish hospital is founded. A post office is
established by the English government (its service lasts
until October 1914).

(8). Almost in every issue of the newspaper "Φάρος της Μακεδονίας"
during the period 1891 - 1894, there are advertisements of
drugs, against gonorrhoea....!!!!.

(9). Revolutionary "Macedonian *ετα.*" Organization of the Interior
= I.M.R.O. it was a Bulgarian rooted Committee, with main
purpose the autonomy of what they called "Bulgarian
Macedonia" and later, the unification with the national
Bulgarian lands' body.

- 1901 A.D. The first football team, appears in the city. It is called "*Union Sportif*", organized by K. Tornivoukas.
- 1902 A.D. Earthquake. Jews, establish their philanthropic organization "*Matanoth Laevyonim*". A German high school is established.
- 1903 A.D. On the 28th of April, Ottoman Bank's building, Ottoman post office and Gaslighting Service's building, are blasted by the Bulgarian National committee. The event becomes known as "the day of *Ili Den*" (St. Elias). Cholera epidemy. The "Papafion" orphanage is inaugurated and American missionaries establish the American agricultural school.
- 1904 A.D. Inauguration of the new building of "*Talmud Torah Hagodol*" synagogue, that is the largest in the city. The rest of the seaside wall, around the White Tower is demolished.
- 1905 A.D. Salonika is the first city of the Ottoman Empire to install a fully operational electric tram and network of electricity. Widespread civic use of electricity, will start from the year 1911. A branch of Athens Bank, is established in the city.
- 1906 A.D. A branch of Bank of East and Industrial Bank, are established in the city. "*Mission Laïque*" establishes three schools. City "*Union and Progress society*" was established by Ismail Canbulat and Midhat Sukru, in September.
- 1907 A.D. A Russian Hospital is founded. Jewish "*Hirsch*" hospital is Inaugurated. 25 tram wagons, made in the U.S.A., mobilized by electric power, start to circulate in the

city. A second football team, called "Odas" is formatted. Jacob Meir is appointed New Chief Rabbi. An English high school is established. On the 18th of September, the law Academy is founded, housed in the administration building.

1908 A.D. On the 26th of May, an Italian post service is established. Its service will last until October 1914. Economic crisis in the summer. Rural revolts in the hinterland, drive many landowners (Muslims & Christians) and populations to stream into the city for security. On the 11th of June, the provincial governor (V^{al}i) of Salonika Nazım Paşa is murdered. The Young Turks' committee (that was based in the city of Salonika), brings about a double military - politic coup (23rd of July), against Sultan's hegemony. *Associasion Obradera de Salonica* is established. Football team "Ηρακλής" (Hercules) is formatted, and soon after in the same year, the Jewish "Makabi" comes into sight too. The Jewish asylum "Lieto Noah" is inaugurated. On the 4th of December, holiday in the city, because of the inauguration of the new Parliament.

1909 A.D. Sultan Abdülhamit , is under surveillance in villa Allatini. **Sosialist Workers' Federation** of Salonika is founded on 24th of July.

1910 A.D. Fire outbreaks. Customs service building is founded at the port.

1911 A.D. In January, the 1st congress of Social Democratic parties, organizations etc., of the Ottoman Empire,

takes place in Salonika. Sultan Mehmet V. visits the city.

1912 A.D. In April, Cavit bey, the minister of public works, lays
id the foundation for the new railroad station.

On the night of 25th to 26th October 1912. Salonika, for one more time in its historic process, changes hands, and becomes, as it was in the very beginning, Thessaloniki a Hellenic city.

From 1430 A.D. to 1912 A.D., many years had passed. 482 years of the Ottoman presence, are evidenced by many monuments of their art and cultural creation. Today, some of them still exist, thanks to the solicitude of Thessaloniki's municipality, concerned about the salvation of the environment that represents the historical coherence of the city.

— TOPOGRAPHIC SURVEY —



Thessaloniki's coordinates are 40°, 38' latitude and 22°, 57' longitude. It is located on the east side of the gulf of Thermaikos, built one half on the homonym plain and the other half on a low mountainous branch of Hortiatis.

During the Ottoman period, it was an administrative center of the western provinces (*Rumeli Eyaleti*) and politically, capital of the homonym province (*Selānik Vilayeti*, was composed by three counties : a. Thessaloniki's -*Selānik*-, b. Serres'es -*Siroz*-, c. Drama-Drama-), county (*Selānik Sancagi*, composed by 13 districts (1)), and district (*Selānik Kəzəsi*). It was the seat of a provincial governor (*Vəli*), a county's governor (*Sancakbey*) and a district's head official (*Kəyməkəm*), at the same time. On the other hand, it was the seat (Metropolis) (*Piskoposluk*), of the Greek/Hellenic Orthodox and from 1871 of the Bulgarian Orthodox (Exarchic), Metropolitans (*Piskoposlər*).

The Greek Orthodox Metropolitan, had under his jurisdiction the Bishoprics (*Piskoposluklər*) of Kitrous, Kambania's, Poliani's, Platamona's, Petra's, Ardameriou & Ierisso's, outside the city of Thessaloniki.

It was also the seat of a chief Rabbi (*Baş Həhəm*). It is written, that his power among the Jewish-communities of the world, was great, even greater than that of the chief Rabbi of Istanbul.

The city was surrounded by walls, that were build up and reinforced by the Ottomans. In 1869, the Ottoman governmental authorities ordered to tear down the sea-side walls. There were

(1). The other districts (*kəzələr*), of the county (*Sancak*), were:
a. Stroumitza, b. Kavadar, c. Doiran, d. Ghevgheli,
e. Yenije, f. Vodena, g. Kara Feris, h. Katerina, i. Avret Hissar, j. Ləngədə, k. Kəssandrie, l. Aynəroz.

fourteen portals or gates around it, driving to/from the city (vide part "Charts & tables" relative sketch)(2). Beginning at the White tower (*Beyaz Kule*) and upwards, there were :

- a. Roman (*Beyaz Kule kapisı*, Πύλη της Ρώμης).
- b. Cassandreotique (*Kelemer kapisı*, Πύλη Καλαμαριάς).
- c. Porta (*Porta Kari*, Πύλη Αγ. Γεωργίου).
- d. Archangels' (*Telli kapi*, Πύλη των Αρχαγγέλων ή ψευδόχρυση).
- e. Anna Paleologue's (*Zincirli kule kapi*).
- f. Iron (*Timur kapi*).*
- g. Exterior.
- h. *Pasa kapisı*.*
- i. *Eski delik* (Πορτάρα).
- j. *Yeni delik*
- k. New (*Yeni Kari*, Porta Nuova, Πύλη Αιτωία).
- l. Golden (*Altin kapi*, *Vardar kapisı*, Porta d'oro, Πύλη Χρυσίου, Βαρδάρη).
- m. Finger's (*Parmak kapi*, Πύλη του Δακτύλου).
- n. Maritime (*Yali kapi*, Θαλάσσια Πύλη), that was for some writers the same with the one, called Quay (*iskele kapi*, Πύλη της Σκάλας).

* (i have not succeed to cross-verify with more that one resource, the existence of this two portals or gates).

Buttresses of the walls, were the towers. There were big and small towers, around the city. Following the same way (as above, upward), there were six main towers (3) :

1. Kalamaria tower (*Kelemer kulesi*), that after the extermination of the Janisseries, by Mahmut IInd in 1826, was renamed to Janisseries tower (*Yeniçeriler kulesi*) and later Blood tower (*Kan kule*). Finally, (until today) it was renamed to White tower (*Beyaz Kule*). It was located in the SE corner of the city walls, and was being used as a prison, for those penal (or political) convicts, that were sentenced to death or to lifelong imprisonment.
2. Bastion tower (*Tabya Kulesi*). It was being used as a fortress, armoured with cannons and guards. It was located near the Greek/Hellenic cemetery of Ευαγγελίστρια.
3. Tower of chain (*Zincirli Kule*). It was armoured with cannons and guards. It was located beside the homonym portal (*kapi*) in the E part of the city walls.

(2). Vide, Γ.Κ. Μωραϊτόπουλος, "Thessaloniki". H.T.. for use of the city elementary schools. Athens 1882, pp.12-13. These portals, presented also with the same names in the topographic plan of O. Tafreli (Paris, 1911).

(3). Vide relative sketch, in the part "Charts and tables".

4. The seven towers (*Yedi Kule*). They were located in the citadel of the city (NE part of the city), and were being used as fortress complex, armoured with cannons and guards.
5. Place of pray tower, or statue's tower (*Naməsgāh kulesi*) controlled the NW part of the city walls. It was armoured with cannons and guards also.
6. Vardaris tower, also called cannons' storehouse tower (*Tophəne kulesi*), was located in the SW corner of the city walls, by the sea side. It was a big fortress complex with military storehouses, armoured with many cannons and served by numerous guards.

The city had a road network, which consisted of nine main roads. Central avenue of the city was *Egnatia* (today's *Εγνατία*). It started from the portal of Vardaris (*Altın kəpi*) and until *Sabri Paşa* avenue (today's *Βενιζέλου*) was named *Vərdər Kəpisi cəddesi*. The eastern part of the avenue, was named *Kelemeriye cəddesi*, and ended at the portal of Kalamaria (*Kelemer kəpisi*). It was named *cadde yol* (φαρδύς δρόμος) also.

Parallel to *Egnatia* avenue, in the upper part of the city, was located another avenue. It started from the portal "new" (*Yeni Kəpi*, *πύλη Αιτάα*) and was called *Yeni kəpi cəddesi* (today's *Αγ. Δημητρίου*) and went until city administration building (*Hükümet Konəği*). A small part of the avenue, passing by in front of the administration building, was called *Hükümet cəddesi*. The rest of the avenue, that ended in the eastern part of the city, at Archangels' portal (*Telli kəpi*), was called *Telli kəpi cəddesi*. In the last Ottoman period, the whole avenue, was renamed to *Midhət Paşa cəddesi*.

A street that started from *Horor su meydanı* (a parallel axis to *Egnatia* and *Yeni kəpi cəddesi*, in the highest part of the city) was passing, in front of *Rüşdiye i- Askeri* (military academy) and *Həmidiye mekteb-i sənə`i* (Hamid's school of arts), and ended at

Hortaç efendi cami (today's Αν. Παύλου) street. It was called *Hamidiye mekteb-i sene'i caddesi* (today's Κοσσούνσπου).

Another street, which started from the Frankish suburb and ended at the military storehouses near the white tower (*Beyaz kule*), was called *Kapanaca* (almost identical with today's Μητροπόλεως).

After the demolishing of the sea-side wall (1867), and the earthworks that took place for the formation of the quay (*1st rih-tim* 1874) a new avenue was cut by the sea-side. It started from the White tower and was called *Beyaz Kule caddesi* until the beginning of *İstira* suburb, from which it was called *Rüsûmet idaresi caddesi* (Customs' administration (today's Π. Κουντουριώτη and Αεωφ Ν(κνης)). A street that was located at the axis, on which the sea-side wall was standing (today's Βασ. Βουλγαροκτόνου), started from the military storehouses also. It was passing in front of *İdare i- askeriye* (military administration) building and until that point was called *İdare i- askeriye caddesi*. It ended at *İstira* suburb, and that part of it, was called *Atik tophane caddesi* (old cannons' storehouse).

At the western side of the city wall, was a curvilinear street, almost attached to the wall curves. It was connecting the arsenal of *Tophane*, with the "new" portal (*Yeni kapı*). A part of that street, that started from *Tophane* until the golden portal (*Altın kapı*) was called *Memleket bahçesi caddesi* (today's 28th Οκτωβρίου). The rest part of the street, from there to the "new" port (*Yeni kapı*), was called *Mevlevihane caddesi* (today's Ειρήνης).

Parallel to the above mentioned street, *Sabri Paşa* avenue was located (today's Ελ. Βενιζέλου). It was the main vertical avenue of the city.

The third vertical avenue of the city, that was located almost

in the middle of the eastern part of the city, was *Ayasofya cami caddesi* (today's Αγ. Σοφίας). It had this name, until its junction with *Kelemeriye caddesi*. From that point, until its junction with *Telli kapı caddesi* it was called *Eski Cuma caddesi*. The piece between *Telli kapı caddesi* and *Hamidiye mekteb -i sənə`i caddesi*, was called *Nalbandlar tekkesi caddesi*, while its last piece at the upper part of the city, was called *Kule kahve haneleri caddesi*.

Another vertical avenue was located at the eastern side of the city wall. It started from the white tower and ended at the Greek/Hellenic cemetery of Ευαγγελισμός. It was called *Bulvar Hamidiye* (today's Αμύνης), until the homonym square. From there upward, it was called *Mekteb -i İdadiye caddesi*. Beside the upper part of *Mekteb -i İdadiye caddesi*, was the Greek/Hellenic cemetery of Ευαγγελισμός.

Outside the city walls, two other parts of the city existed. One was located at the western side, and the other at the eastern side.

At the eastern side was the declivious plain of *Kelemeriye* (the Byzantine Καλαμάρια) (it was called generally *Hamidiye* suburb). Many torrents were crossing the area (from N to S, *Göz deresi*, *Şeytan deresi*, *Üç çeşmeler deresi*, Πρ. Ηλίας *deresi* and *Kuş deresi*), coming from *Şeyh su Bayırı* (the Byzantine Κεδρωνός λόφος). In the NW part of the area, between *Mekteb -i İdadiye* avenue and *Göz* torrent, was the Jewish cemetery. An Ottoman-Turkish cemetery, was located just after the lowest point of the Jewish cemetery. The *Talimhane* (military practice, drill field) and the 3rd army corps camp, the military hospital, the Electricity company (*Usine Electrique*). Allatini's mills, the Jewish hospital of Baron Hirsch, the Russian hospital, the Italian

hospital, *Papafi's* Greek/Hellenic orphanage, and the tram's depot (*tramvay deposu*) were located there. In the eastern part of the area, was *Transvaal mahallesi*. Located in the western part of the area (by the sea-side), was *Yalilar mahallesi* (Πύργοι). It emerged some years before the 20th century (probably in the 70^s), by the most eminent and economically vigorous members of the city communities. At the area's southern point, was *Kucuk Kara burnu* edge. At this point, was also the city lazareto. The northern part of the area, was connected to the city.

Main avenue of the eastern side (*Kelemeriye plain*), was *Sahilhaneler caddesi* (today's Βασ. Γεωργίου), that started from the white tower, was passing in front of *Usine Electrique* (Electricity Company) and little further down, was continuing as *Yalilar caddesi* (today's Βασ. Όλγας). It ended at *Tramvay deposu* (trams' depot) square.

Parallel to this avenue, was *Kisla -i humayun caddesi* (avenue of the Imperial barracks, today's Λεωφ. Στρατού). It was passing, in front of the homonym barracks and further down, from the Jewish hospital of *Baron Hirsch*.

In the eastern part of the plain, between *Transvaal* and *Hemidiye* suburbs, was *Askeri Hastahane caddesi* (military hospital avenue, today's Κοιτώνς). On this road axis, were the homonym and Italian hospitals located, as well as the Greek/Hellenic orphanage *Papafis*.

A vertical connecting road, was *Redif deposu caddesi* (today's Φρανσουά στ' Εσπέ), that was connecting *Meydan -i Hazret -i Padişahiye* or *Sadirvan Meydanı* (today's Πλατ. Συντριβανίου) with *Sahilhaneler caddesi* near *Usine electrique* building. *Binbasi Nazif Bey* (today's Ευζώνων and Λαχανά), was a main road, connecting

Sahilhaneler caddesi, with *Kışla-i hümayûn caddesi* and *Askeri hastahane caddesi*. *Kerim Efendi* (today's Παρασκευόπουλου), *Saul Modiano Zadeleri* (today's Αλ. Φλέμινγκ). *Tramvay deposu* (today's Τζαβέλα) and *Mesudiye* (Παναυστασίου) streets, were connecting roads also. *Kerim Efendi street*, was connecting *Sahilhaneler caddesi*, with *Kışla -i hümayûn caddesi* and *Mesudiye street*. *Saul Modiano zadeleri* was connecting *Yalılar caddesi* with *Kışla -i hümayûn caddesi*, at the point where the Jewish hospital of *Baron Hirsch* was located. *Mesudiye street*, was connecting *Kışla -i hümayûn caddesi* with *Hemidiye suburb*. On this road axis, was the Russian hospital. *Tramvay deposu street*, was connecting the coast -beside *Allatini's mills-*, with *Yalılar caddesi*.

Çayır, was called the western part (suburb) of the city, outside the city walls. Its development goes in parallel with that of the eastern part. In 1876, *Millet bahçesi* (the later *Memleket bahçesi* - national garden) was created, by *Sabri Paşa*. It became known to the people of Salonika, as "the garden of the five plane-trees" (*Beş çınar*). The area from the garden to the city, year by year, became an industrial zone. Central water cistern and pumping-station (*Su terazisi*), that was canalizing the water to the city, was built there, in 1890 (4). In the same year, *Societe Ottomane du gaz de Salonique*, started to canalize liquid gas for civic needs into the city, from its installations at *Beş Çınar*. Leather workshops (*Debbaghane*), timber sellers (*Keresteciler*) came and settled in the area also.

A little further up, at *Rezi Dairesi caddesi* (today's Λαγκαδά).

(4). "The industrial emergence in Thessaloniki, 1870-1912". H.T. Hellenic bank of industrial development. Thessaloniki 1987. pp.21.

was the factory of Ottoman Tobacco Monopoly (*Regie*, established in 1884).

Oriental railroads' station (*Der Sa`adet -i büyük istasyon*, to Istanbul-Bagdat), was located at a place called *Bəra*. (5). In the same place, the first organized city brothels emerged. At *kilkis məhəlləsi*, was the European railroad station.

Main axis road, that was driving from/to the city, was *Mənəstir cəddəsi* (today's Γρανιτσών), that was branched away to *Soğuk pınar cəddəsi* (today's Γρανιτσών) and *Siroz demiryolu cəddəsi* (today's Αποδοίτης). Lower, near the sea side, was a parallel avenue located. It was *Memleket bəhçəsi cəddəsi* (today's 28^{ne} Οκτωβρίου), continuing by the side of the western city walls until the Golden portal (*Altın kəpi*). In the northern part of the area, there were two other avenues. The continuation of *Memleket bəhçəsi cəddəsi* from the Golden portal upwards, called *Mevlevihəne cəddəsi* (today's Ειρήνης), and was driving up to the homonym *Teke* (6), and *Rezi Dəiresi cəddəsi* (today's Λαγυκάδα). In between these two avenues (in their final northern part), was an Ottoman-Turkish cemetery. Main vertical streets, were that of *Beş Yol Ağzı* (today's Ταυτάλου), that was continuing to *Dülbənd* street (from *Mənəstir cəddəsi* and upwards), and *Dudular* street (today's Προμηθέως). There were also, *Der Sa`adet -i buyuk istasyon* and *Liman Dəiresi* avenues and *Şehir istasyonu hattı* street (vide relative sketch in the part "Charts and tables").

At the port, beside the dock of the Oriental railroads, the torrent *Aron* (*Aron derəsi*) was being emptied. After the second

(5). Γ. Σταμπούλης, "The life of Thessalonicians, before and after 1912", H.T, p. 363. Thessaloniki 1984.

(6). *Teke* = Muslim monastery, used by dervishes of various doctrines. *Mevlavihəne tekkesi* was the northeast point of the western part of the city, outside the city walls.

quay (at the SA part of Çayır) was the port's customs building. It was founded in 1910, and was planned by the Jewish civil engineer Eli Modiano.

Hamidiye, as well as Çayır outskirts, had many swamps, due to the existing torrents. Thus, malaria was a very common disease, for those inhabitants that had not the means or the knowledge to protect themselves from it. Great pieces of earth, among populated areas, were fields, gardens, kitchen gardens or vineyards. (7) Both suburbs, were very sparsely populated. They were inhabited by mixed national populations. (8).

(7). The outskirts, were used as direct provisional resource of the city, for food supplies mainly. Γ. Σταμπούλης, *Vide idem supra* p.p. 114-118.

(8). *Vide et infra* in the ch. "social activity of the city" the part "national communities".

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF THE CITY

- A. INDUSTRIAL EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT.
- B. BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES/AGENCIES.
- C. CITY PORT AND RAILROADS.

It is known, that during the end of the 19th century a new era of creation started in the big urban centers of the Ottoman Empire (especially Istanbul and Salonika). It became known to the historians as the "Constitutional period" (*Mesrutiyet devri*, March 1877) and influenced directly or indirectly the whole economic activity of the Empire. At the beginning of the new century also, Young Turks' social/political movement with its nationalistic ideology (*Türkçülük*) and the conception for a national economy (*milli iktisat*), will reinforce the attempt for the industrialization of the country.

After the French-German war, that activated export activity from the Macedonian hinterland to France through the sea-way Salonika - Marseilles, the city will follow an upward trend of production.

Salonika had already met steam-power industrial installations from 1854, when a French firm established the first steam-mill, nearby the place where later Allatini's steam-mill was established in 1883.

Industrial progress of the city, will be supported by the parallel development of communications' substructure, that appeared in the last quarter of the 19th century. By the end of the century, Salonika was linked with its hinterland, Europe and Asia by railroad.

The installations (industrial and communicational), will be based mostly on European know-how. Besides, due to the significant difference between older land transportation means and the railroad, regarding speed, security and the bulk of transportation, older means were being used now only for local

transportations. in areas where railroad had not reached yet. On the other hand, modernization attempts for the city, and its communications, will drive to the construction of contemporary roads and store-houses while the port of Salonika (and other cities, like Kavala and Dedeagac - Alexandroupolis -), with its docks and quay, was reconstructed and modernized according to the present conditions and needs.

Between the years 1897 - 1902, Salonika acquired a modern, well structured commercial port. Finally, trade ways, the lower (sea-way) and the upper (land), that were engaged in a competition of interests during the prior years, were being unified by the railroad emergence and co-operate for the commercial - industrial development of the city.

New imperial laws, that will permit the penetration of foreign capitals, facilitate the interested investors to get into the city economic - production activity. The new imperial laws, in combination with the central-European (mainly) attempt to gain the control over the Empire (*Drang nach Osten*) (1), drove many foreign investors to the city. By creating banks, participating in the city trade, financing public welfare works (2), and even by buying land and participating in the agricultural process (3).

Another factor that contributed to the industrial development of the city, was the foundation of various technical and commercial schools. These, endowed local students, with the knowledge of the European principles about the process and the modern modes of

(1). The motto "expansion to the east", was the doctrine of the Austrian foreign policy, that few years later became the principle of the foreign policy of the allied central Europe. Besides, the same motto characterized the attempts that were operated by the other Empires, England, France and Russia, with the same or other means.

production and familiarized them with contemporary production machines (4).

Another reason that had a share in the industrial development of the city, was the low-wage levels of workers (5), and the cheap solid fuels (firewood and coal - few quantities of the second,

(2). Electrification of Salonika started in the first years of the new century. On the 9th of September 1889, the "Railway and electric lighting company of Salonika S.A." a branch of a known Belgian firm from Brussels was established, with a thirty five years validity contract, that was signed between the firm and the Ottoman authorities. Later, in 1905 a subsidiary company, named "Usine d' Electricite du Salonique" undertook the exclusive right to electrificate an area, within a radius of 10km., round the city center. From 1908, the city and three factories, were being lighted with 211 lamp-posts (780 Kg. each). In 1911, electricity, was brought into general use to the city. The first gaslight works licence, was issued to an Englishman named Kirby in 1887 with purpose the road network's lighting. A year later, the Ottoman authorities took the licence, away from him and gave it to a French company, named "Societe Ottomane du Gaz de Salonique". In the same year, machinery installation started at Beşçınar precincts and in 1889 pipe network started to be laid out, to serve civic needs, from 1890. In the early years of the new century, gaslight use, started to be superseded gradually by the use of electricity. Water supply network of the city, was undertaken by the Belgian "Compagnie Ottomane des Eaux de Salonique" with a 50 year validity contract, and a licence obtained in the name of Nemli Zade Hamdi Efendi. The project was planed by the engineers Staklen and Champion. The water from the artesian wells of Καλοχώριον plain, was canalized to the central pumping-station that was located in the NW part of the city near the sea, and from there, was conveyed to the three main water distributors (su terazisi), at Ευαγγελιστρια (1,230 m³ capacity), at Vlatades monastery (Vlatades Manastir, 610 m³) and the other, near Kasımiye mosque (1,000 m³). City public transport service, was undertaken by the same company "Railway and electric lighting company of Salonika S.A.". Rails' construction was made under the superintendence of the German engineer Kraul. In the beginning there were horse-driven trams. Railways, wagons and their mechanical equipment had been produced in the tram factories of Charleroi. On 8.5.1891, after the arrival of 45 wagons from Belgium and 120 Russian-Hungarian horses, a new line to the eastern part of the city (Hamidiye suburb) was inaugurated. Tram depot was constructed with the installation plans of the Italian architect P. Arrigoni in the eastern part of the city (Hamidiye suburb). Later, after 1907, city trams were being mobilized by electric power. Vide E.Θ.Y.A. "Industrial substructure in the old Thessaloniki. Memento for the 2,300 years of the city" H.T., Thessaloniki 1985.

were being imported, mainly from England -) for the steam machines, that were being produced in the hinterland.

The first industrial zone of the city was located in the western part of the city (Çayır suburb), outside the city walls, at a precinct between the Eastern Railroad station and the coast (it was between *Beşçinar* garden and *Bərə mahallesi* also). Later, after the expansion of the city to the east (*Hamidiye* suburb), a second industrial zone was formatted there (between the torrents and the place called *Tramvay deposu*), by the manufactures that were established in the area, due to the existence of the torrents, that were being used as natural channels to eliminate production wastes to the sea.

From 1874 to 1912 some thirty nine manufactures were established in Salonika. The industrial units of the city in 1912, according to the report of the Royal Commissioner of Hellas, were

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- (3). Cf. the English attempt to participate with big share, in the agricultural process of Anatolia (*Izmir's* hinterland), by formatting big farms (*çiftlik*). Here, in Salonika's pattern, we may observe additionally, not only the presence of the foreign human power (as it happened in Anatolia), but also the import of the European agricultural technology (knowledge & machines), that minimized the needs in human labour power, and thus avoided the danger, that drove the English plan in Anatolia to the catastrophe.
- (4). *Vide* relative *ch.* "schools".
- (5). During the first decade of the 20th c., industrial workers' wage in Macedonia (Salonika), was fluctuating from 1.20 to 1.50 gold Hellenic Drachmas for the men, and 20 to 50 gold Hellenic Leptons for the women, usually for 8.5 to 13 hours of work. After the Young Turks revolution, the wage will be increased to 2 gold Hellenic Drachmas for the men, and 60 to 80 gold Hellenic Leptons for the women and the working time will be legally, 8 to 10 hours. The proportion of the average wage to the basic necessity products -bread, milk, meat and shoes (1 Kg. for the first three, and 1 pair for the fourth)- was 4/1, 4/1, 1/5, 1/0.3 in 1908. In the same period, at the Hellenic Kingdom the average wage was 5.5 Gold Hellenic Drachmas, that is 2.75 times higher. *Vide* E.B.A.Bank's "Industrial emergence in Thessaloniki 1870-1920" H.T., p. 7, and *Κωστή Μοσκόφ* "Thessaloniki 1700 - 1912. The city of retailing" H.T., pp. 106-107.

and gaslight companies.

In 1909 the first big fair "*Arts et Metiers*" was organized in Salonika according to the patterns of the European international fairs in order to promote the city industrial and craft products.

In the new century, structural physiognomy of the city had changed. Among the minarets and the belfries added the chimneys made of red firebrick. New structural technology was being imported from Europe. Lightness and durability of the material, small profiles in the structure elements, as well as fire resistance, are main characteristics of the metals, which from now on were being used in the construction of the industrial buildings. Pillars from cast-iron, support T-style beams, that format the metallic carcass of one-storey buildings (rarely two-storey). The high roof, had also a metallic skeleton, covered by light materials or tiles, with many apertures for light, while the whole structure's lightness disprove the need for central or in between support. We may observe less side openings and an open internal space, flat, and free of obstacles. The metal use, in many cases, continued on the external surfaces of the building, was playing the bonding role between the carcass and the walling material. In most of the cases, it is brick, which in combination with metal will characterize the industrial constructions of that period.

Chimneys will change also. From quadrangular they will be cyclical shaped. Thus, it will be more durable to high temperatures and it will have less resistance to the wind.

The simple but imposing shape of the new constructions, will supersede the traditional heavy and massive buildings of the past. Only in a few cases, we may see heavy traditional constructions

(usually one-storey), with wooden pillars and piers, stone walls, with huge old style tile wooden roofs.

Highlight in the import of the new technology, was the use of reinforced concrete into the industrial constructions, like the work of the famous Jewish city engineer *Eli Modiano*. *Modiano* was a graduate of *Ecole Central du Paris*, and specialized in the new structural materials, that were used for the first time in the city. A typical existing work of his (with reinforced concrete) was the new customs building (it was founded in 1910).

Structure of the factories, that were called by some contemporary writers "industrial palaces" of the early 20th century, will be the herald of the mutations that will take place in our century. Thus, practical functionalism dominates the structure, in combination with an aesthetics, that does not bound the form with heavy decoration and overdone shapes. (7).

Despite the adverse circumstances, and the competition by the cheap imported industrial products from the west that the city will be faced with, the industrial development will progress steadily and unhamperedly. At the end of the century, the use of steam, will give the city the precedence over the cities of the south Balkans and maybe even Istanbul itself. The big steam-mill, the tiles work factory, two of the city spinning mills and one of the breweries, were counted among the biggest installations of the east Mediterranean, together with the spinning mills of Bursa, carpet factories of Urfa and Usak, and the tanneries of Istanbul and Mosul.

(7). Usually, the industrial buildings had the traditional parallelogram shape. The use of metal on external surfaces, many times, worked out in decorative motives, especially in the roof finish and in the wall junctions.

BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES/AGENCIES

From the late first half of the 19th c., primitive formations of banks, the banking offices, existed in the city, along with the city *sarrafs* (money-lenders). Their activities, usually limited to money lending. There are evidences, for three city banking offices that period: one belonging to someone, called Abraham Sabetai, an Ottoman subject, that had three other branches, in *Yenişehir-i fener* (Αθήνα), in *Yanya* (Ιωάννινα) and Istanbul. The other belonged to someone, called Tiano, a patented of the Austrian government, who was under the direct influence of Vienna. The third, that of Jacques Alleon, was a branch of a bank in Istanbul, that belonged to J. Alleon and someone else called Μπαλατζής. Besides these, some others that were occupied with money-lending business were, the Abbot family, the Allotini family, the Modiano family, Matheo, Clerissy, Fernandez, Misrahi, Pascalin, Poggi, and the Ottoman-Greeks Χαρίσης, Ρογκότης, Μπλάτσος, Παυλίδης, Πετροκόκκινος and Μαυροκορδάτος. (1).

All of them, were either successful traders or big commercial agents, or both. Their trade houses, and commercial agencies, will gradually change to banking offices during the following years. Main activity continue to be commercial mediation, on which money-lending and exchange conversion transactions added. Thus, city trade houses and commercial agencies, were the ancestors of the 20th c. banks. Banking in the city, emerged from the early bourgeois class that grew rich, rather through commercial activity than industrial production. In the years after the end of 19th c.,

(1). Vide, Ευάγγελος Χεκίμογλου, "Banks and Thessaloniki. 1900 - 1936", p.p. 37, 38. H.T., Thessaloniki 1987.

some of the names, known for their commercial activities, will also become known for their access in the city industrial web. In conclusion, city banking phenomenon, had a gradual emergence. As we saw above, in the beginning, the *sarrafs* became the first bankers. Then, from the commercial agencies and the trade houses, the banking offices emerged. Banking offices followed by the organized state and private banks (vide relative table, in the part "Charts and Tables").

The first bank that was established in the city, was the branch of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in 1863. It was located at the corner of Kalan and Bank Osmani streets (today's Φράγκων and Λέοντος Σοφού streets), in a building, belonging to the Abbot family. The building that still exists today, houses the conservatory of Thessaloniki. A significant point, is that after its establishment the monopoly of the banking offices finished, and the lending rate of interest decreased, while the depositing rate of interest increased. The existence of a state bank in the city, brought more or less, an equilibrium into financial transactions.

A branch of Agricultural Bank was also established in the city. It was the second organized bank, that contributed to the monetarization of the agricultural production, to the development of the means of production (machines, fertilizers, etc.), and to the less possible usurious exploitation of the tillers and land workers. The first building of Agricultural Bank, was located in İdare-i-Askeriye avenue (today's Β.Βουλγαροκτόνου).

The Bank of Saloniká, was under the ownership of the Allatini family. Participant was also *Länderbank*. In 1909, French interests undertook the control of the bank (*Banque Parisienne, et de Pays Bas - Societe Generale*) (2), and its head office was transported

to Istanbul. City bank's building was located at the corner of the streets *Allatini* and *Yildiz Hanı* (today's Συγγρού and Τραπεζίης). It is a construction of the famous Italian architect *Vitaliano Poselli*, that still is a credit to the city of Thessaloniki. Bank of Salonika was serving the needs of the Belgian investments in the city (*Usine d' Electique*, tram, water supply network and gaslight works).

The branch of Bank of Mitilini was the first city bank of Ottoman-Greek ownership. Because of the negative economic conjunction in which the Hellenic commercial shipping was found, and the decreasing of transportations from / to the port of Salonika by the Hellenic ships, the bank suffered many loses, due to the fact that, many of its investments, had gone into the Hellenic commercial fleet. In 1907, after the second stroke, that came from its trade - money credit activities in the hinterland, the bank closed.

The branch of Bank of Athens, was located at the corner of *Sabri Paşa* avenue and *Eski balık pazarı* street (today's Ελ. Βενιζέλου and Ιω. Τσιμισκή). It belonged to bankers from the Hellenic colony of Alexandria, and the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community of Istanbul. Participant, was also the *Banque d' union Parisienne*. City branch in 1907 was merged with the Athens' Bank of Industrial Credit, that had established a branch in the city in 1905 (3).

(2). *Vide idem infra*, Κ. Μοσκόφ, p. 94.

(3). *Vide idem supra*, Ευάγγελος Χακίμογλου, p. 64. I do not know if the Athens' Bank of Industrial Credit, who its branch was established in the city in 1905, is the same with Industrial Bank, who its branch was established in 1906, according to information of Ευ. Χακίμογλου. In any case, both banks did not exist, in the commercial almanac of the year 1911. *Vide*, "Guide of Hellas, Samos, Crete, Cyprus, and the whole Macedonia", p. 48, H.T., 3rd year, printed by Ασπιώτης Bros. in Corfu, 1911.

Both branches, undertook the passage of funds for the needs of the Macedonian struggle.

Bank of East was established by National Bank of Hellas and Deutsche Bank. City branch was located at *Eski baliq pazari* street, beside the Bank of Athens.

Access to capital and savings, was possible for the city bourgeois strata mainly, and the landowners of the hinterland, that settled in the city. For landowners, that did not settle in the city, as well as for the trade needs of hinterland's retailers, many of the banks of Salonika acquired representatives in the other centers of Macedonia. During the second half of the first decade, representatives' network spread through almost all Macedonian big cities. Those representatives, were "covered" with small amounts of money, from central banks' reserve funds. The width of their activities, was limited in comparison with that of Salonika (into money-lending), and most of their transactions, were of usurious character, with small tradesmen and peasant tillers in particular.

Main reasons that favored the development of banking credit in the city, were: a. the increase of the city population, b. the settlement of many big landowners in the city, due to the general unrest in the hinterland, c. commercialization of the production in the hinterland, d. development of the city import-export activity, e. the reception of the European investments in the city (some of which, were directly banking/financing activities), f. the multi-nationality of the population, as well as, the complicated transactions and the multi-monetary city economy.

Many of the banking offices, were short-lived because of the

competition among them, and the misuse of their capital or deposits.(4). Most of the banking offices were of domestic ownership. Jews and Donmeh, participated with a great proportion, followed by the Ottoman-Greeks. On the contrary, most of the city banks, were branches of foreign banking institutions. From 1899 to 1906, Hellenic or Ottoman-Greek ownership banks emerged in the city.(5). During the last decade of the 19th and the first of the 20th c., European banking institutions will try successfully to gain control over the banks and some big banking offices of the city. Gradually, by one or the other way, almost all of them, will be engrossed by the Western European Banks (until 1909). Domestic or foreign, the banks were participating, or were directly connected with the European investment activity in the city, and generally in the Empire. It will be the acceptors (in many times, also the receivers), of the foreign capital.

Their establishment in the area is also interesting. The non-frequented sidestreets of *Sabri Paşa* avenue (today's Βενιζέλου), will be host to the buildings of the city Banks. Their establishment in that area, was a combination of centrality, certainty and functionalism, that ensured: a. the contact with the city central market, b. easy access to the city center of communications (telegraph, post office), c. the communication with the city administrative center (that was located on the same

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- (4). Most of the banking offices and banks of the city, were playing the traditional money-lending role, than the role of the deposits receiver, because of the increased demand for capital. In addition, high enough was the percentage of bankrupts, from which the banks suffered many losses, especially when the terms of the loans (about mortgage or security), were lax (to gain customers).
- (5). Some of them, were directly connected with Macedonian case, and the financial support of Macedonian struggle.

axis of *Sabri Paşa* avenue), and d. the safety of transactions and clients. Another criterion for the choice of the certain place of establishment, was rather the multi-national character of the area that was facilitating the motion from/to the area. (6).

Along with banks, city economic development were serving the insurance companies. The first of them (which was the British "Sun and Phoenix") emerged in 1868. Until 1881, there were six insurance companies in the city: Sun and Phoenix (1881), North British -Mercantile (1869), Royal (1874), Northern (1876), Marine (1878), and Commercial Union (1880). (7). In 1887, their number increased to nine (Guardian, London Lancashire and Norwich Co.).

At the beginning of the new century, there were many insurance companies, which continued to increase in numbers until 1912 (*vide* relative table in the part "Charts and tables"). Almost all of them, were either subsidiary branches of the European firms or authorized agencies. Most of them, despite being specialized in a category of insurance, were serving all kind of insurances (general insurances). There were three categories of insurance companies/agencies in the city: a. life insurances, b. transports and sea risks insurances, and c. fire insurances. There were also, some domestic insurance offices, which were belonging mainly to native businessmen or bankers, that were serving less interesting

(6). There was something like "national" privacy, among the neighborhoods that were being inhabited by less mixed populations, that was informally prohibiting the passing, of non-homogeneous people through them (it was rather a consequence of the known Ottoman privacy, that expanded among the other city populations after the Ottoman occupation). Because of this fact, a multinational inhabited area, was necessary to accept the establishment of the Banks' buildings.

(7). *Vide*, Γ. Χριστοδούλου "Thessaloniki in the last 100 years. Trade-industry-handicraft". B., H.T., p.p. 144-145, Thessaloniki 1936.

cases (local transports, houses in the hinterland, etc.).

Because of the high incidence of fires and earthquakes, in the city, most important category was that of fire insurance. Some of them, were keeping private fire squads and engines (tulumba),

staffed mainly by Jewish volunteers, who later became salaried. (8).

After the big fire of 1890, where the insurance companies and agencies suffered severe economic losses (a total amount of 200,000 Pound Sterlings was given in compensations), obliged them to be organized into a union. Thus, on the 6th of June of 1901, 19 fire insurance companies/agencies established a syndicate named "Syndicate of the fire insurance companies and agencies, working in Salonika". A flat rate of prices, was accepted by all unified companies/agencies. First president of the syndicate, *M. Morpurgo* was appointed (who remained in that position until 1925). Until 1912, the unified companies/agencies, became 29 (9), while the syndicate was keeping seven fire squads and equal number of fire stations.

From 1906 to 1912, premiums' capital was increasing continually (almost constantly 4.2% per year), but also the compensations (*vide* relative table in the part "Chartes and Tables"). In the

(8). During the early years of the existence of those fire squads, a habit of the volunteers firemen, was the misappropriation of everything valuable that could be found in the remains of the burned houses, which was usually being hidden in the lower hollow of the fire engine. Its worth was being shared later, among the members of the squad.

(9). According to the data of Γ. Χριστοδούλου, from 1901 to 1912, the number of unified companies/agencies, increased as follows:

1901	19	companies/agencies	1907	32	companies/agencies
1902	19	"	1908	33	"
1903	21	"	1909	24	"
1905	27	"	1910	36	"
1906	31	"	1911	37	"
			1912	29	"

Vide idem supra p. 148.

years 1910-11, fire insurance companies/agencies had no profit but losses.

The high incidence of fires, and their suspected outbreak especially around central market's neighborhood, drove many companies to suspend their services, either by rescinding their "risky" contracts or by closing completely their offices.

High insurance rates, that the syndicate established, resulted into the formation of few small groups of companies, that were competing the syndicate's prices, but offering less responsibility and security.

In 1911, most of the insurance firms were English; there were also German, Austrian, French, Hellenic, Bulgarian, Spanish and Russian firms that were being represented in the city (vide relative table in the part "Charts and Tables").

The other financial organizations that had a part in the city economic development, were the chambers of commerce and marine, as well as the commercial association.

Commercial association pre-existed of the chambers. It was established in 1895, by traders and importers. Its main purpose, was the elimination of the competition among its members, the arrangement of their differences, and the protection of their interests inside and outside the market (corporate characteristics like those of the guilds).

In 1909, the chamber of commerce was established. The board of directors, consisted of 12 members, three Ottoman-Turks, seven Jews, and two Ottoman-Greeks. In 1911, it had 1,500 members. In 1912, president of the board was *M. Kapanlı*, secretary general was *Hikmet bey*, and treasurer was *Berayia Nəhamə*.

The chamber of marine, was established in 1908, with the purpose

to support the interests of the city shipping lines companies / agencies, according to the pattern of the chamber of marine of Istanbul.



— CITY PORT AND RAILROADS —

The famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, gives us a lyric description of Thermaïkos gulf and the port of the city, about its safety, its spaciousness, and its increased mobility, already from the middle of the 17th century. From that period until 1903, the port was rather a natural recess, which, through the years had acquired some functional improvements and installations. Ships loading and unloading, was taking place by the quay, on three small wooden docks, that had been constructed by the municipality of Salonika, during the early period of *Abdülhamit*'s reign.

Working conditions were very hard, during the periods of wretched weather and rough sea. When the waves were coming up to the docks, works had to be stopped, until the weather became better.

The commodities were also in danger because of their exposure to the weather and waves. After a rough storm in 1887, the docks were almost destroyed.

By the end of the last century, the need for an organized artificial harbor, became vital for marine transportations and the commercial activity of the city and the hinterland. Thus, the port started to be modernized; in July 1896, a contract was signed between the ministry of financial affairs; and the French contractor of public works Edmond Bartissol, who undertook the whole project. General estimate for the plan was 6,000,000 French Franks, and the works started on the 13th of October 1897. The contract was providing that: a. a new railroad line had to be constructed, that would connected the harbor installations with the central railway station, b. the quay had to be widened to 120 m., lengthen to 750 m. and to be improved, so as a new

railroad line would be possible to be laid, c. two docks of 45m. and 85m. each one had to be constructed, d. Silos for cereals, depots and other installation units had to be constructed, e. 6,500,000 French Francs, had to be invested into the reconstruction of the existing installations, the dredging of the port's basin to 8.5 meters depth, and the construction of a 545m. mole in front of the docks, with blocks of concrete. (1).

The works came across difficulties in 1899, when part of the land-filled area below the quay subsided, and obliged into modifications on the plan (diminutions on the first dimensions).

An agreement between port's company and the company of railroad line Salonika - Üsküp (Skopje) was stipulated in 1901, for the linking of the city central railroad with the port, to avoid in between transportation of the commodities by drays, carts or other means.

In 1903, most of the works had finished. In 1904, the constructive company, was renamed to "*Societe' d' Exploitation du Port de Salonique*", a new contract was signed and president of the new the company, E. Bartissol was appointed. A new contract was signed, and the company acquired the right to exploit the port for 40 years, by liability to duty and exploitation of 15,000m² of the whole port's area (95,000m²).

Tariff was equivalent to that, which was being used by the port of Izmir. From the levied rights, 20% was being given to maintenance fund, 3% to the municipality of Salonika, and the rest.

(1). Vide Γ. Χριστοδούλου, "Thessaloniki in the last 100 years. Trade-industry-handicraft", H.T., p.p. 109-110, and Hellenic bank's for the Industrial development book "The emergence of industry in Thessaloniki 1870-1912", H.T., p.18. For the city port, vide the map of Salonika in 1909, which is in the part "Charts and tables".

was being shared between the company and the port's fund. After the organized protests of the traders for the high rates of the tariff, long negotiations took place, from which the following agreement was stipulated: (2) a. Quay duties were decreased from six to five *Kuruş* per ton, b. all transit commodities for export had to pay half the duties c. transit commodities which would be unloaded in the quay, had to pay all duties, but were free of charge when reloaded or exported, d. mooring duties for the steamboats, were decreased from six to four *Paraş* per ton, e. local commodities/products or those coming from Thermaikos gulf, loading or unloading from sailboats, were free of quay duties, and f. charcoal and firewood cargoes, unloaded for domestic use, were free of charge. Unloading duties, fixed for the barges to three *kuruş* per ton, while three and a half *Kuruş* per ton were the duties for longshore.

In 1910, the foundation stone for the construction of a new custom-house -that was assigned to the city engineer Eli Modiano-, was laid by the minister *Cavit bey*.

K.Μοσκόφ, characterized the city of Salonika, as "*the city of retail*". It is true, that commerce was the most favorite and lucrative professional activity in the city, and the port was the heart of the commerce. Besides some 3,000 workers (Jews and Ottoman-Turks mainly), of any kind (porters, longshoremen, boatmen draymen, etc.), were being occupied in relative to the port works.

Because of its location, population's multi-national synthesis, and the port, Salonika of the period, was an international peripheral nucleus, either for the Ottoman or the European center. Export activity, was being based on raw materials, mostly non-

(2). Vide idem supra, Γ. Χριστοδούλου, p.p. 110-111.

elaborated, agricultural production, and some products of the local manufactures, of which the prices were very competitive in comparison with the corresponding European products.

Besides, it was also the transit center from/to the western provinces of the empire. There was a bidirectional relation between the port's export-import activity and the hinterland's production.

Despite the fact of the emergence of the railway, that little affected in the negative, marine transportations, the city port continued its trade movement.

Until 1885, Britain had the greatest proportion of exports to the port of Salonika. During the next years, Germans, Austrians and Italians, because of their better economic terms, and their traveling agents succeeded also to gain ground into the city market. Belgians also increased their sales, thanks to the unlimited credit of the Belgian manufactures to the city agents/wholesale traders. Another important export country was France, while less important were Russia, Holland, Spain, Hungary, the United states and Hellas (vide relative table in the part "Charts and Tables").

Main imported commodities, were manufacture products (ready made items of clothing, textiles, leathers, glass works products, furnitures, etc.), sugar, coffee and various kinds of food, timber, petroleum, oils, alcohol and spirits, iron/steel work products, machines and tools, electric appliances, chemical products and drugs, building materials (concrete, iron, nails, plaster, lime, clay works products, etc.), minerals and metals (zinc, lead, copper, bronze, etc.), paper and writing items, soap, and luxury articles.

After the revolution of the Young Turks, during their first period, a more liberal status established, into the imports of some commodities, which in the prior years, were restricted, or their import was being permitted after long lasting customs/ bureaucratic formalities. Such commodities were revolvers and pistols, guns, shotguns and rifles, ammunition, explosives and pyrotechnics, typewriters, printing machines and types, some electric appliances and some chemical products, books, magazines, newspapers and printed matters.

Export bound countries, were mainly Austria and England, then France and Germany followed, next were Italy, Belgium and Russia, while the United States, the Balkan countries, Egypt and Algeria, were absorbing lower numbers of exported commodities (*vide* relative table in the part "Charts and Tables").

Main exported products during the last Ottoman period, were cereals, tobacco, cocoons, cotton, opium, skins (non-elaborated leathers), wool, yarn, live animals and poultries, as well as few minerals. Besides, a proportion of the products from Anatolia (cotton, opium, etc.), was being exported to Europe, via the port of Salonika.

From 1855, until 1900, the number of sailboats that were sailing into the port of the city every year, was three times bigger than that of the steamboats. Despite this increase in participation of sailboats, steamboats already from the last fifteen years of the 19th century, were first every year in total capacity of cargos. Moreover, until the end of the first decade of the new century, sailboat transports gradually fade; in 1908 only Hellenic and Ottoman sailboats were sailing into the city port.

The British flag was serving the 30% of the total transports

until 1890. During the last decade of 19th, that percentage fell to 25%, while by the new century became 15%. Main reason for this fall, was the competition with companies that were having more frequent voyages from/to the port of the city, and succeeded to serve the interested sides better (quicker). The French flag was first during the last decade of the 19th, when it was surpassed by the British, with its high in displacement steamships, its frequent voyages and the line Salonika-Marseilles-London-Marseilles-Salonika. By the new century, the French flag also fell to 12.5 - 15%, because of the rise of the Austrian flag, which had the most steady and frequent communication with the ports of central-eastern Europe (Odessa, Burgaz, Istanbul, Kavala, Salonika,

Izmir, Crete, Pireaus, Corfu, Trieste, Fiume, Adriatic), and remained first during the first decade of the 20th century (except the years 1908-9).

The Italian flag was almost continually the forth in the port's service. It had 12-14% of the total percentage. By the end of 1911 (September), because of the Ottoman-Italian war, it disappeared from the port of Salonika. The Ottoman flag from 1890, was the first in numbers but fifth in capacity (tonnage), with participation 6-9%. In 1895, the percentage increased to 10,5%, but decreased again to 9% during the years 1898-1902, because of the replacement of many sailboats by steam-driven ships. In 1903, its participation increased again to 11%, but from 1905, a gradual decline is obvious (8%), that became 5% after 1911, due to the Ottoman-Italian and the Balkan wars. The Hellenic flag, in 1885 was 1% of the whole steam-driven port transports. After the gradual replacement of the sailboats, in the next decade its

percentage increased to 4%. By the new century (1900), it had 8% of the total transports. In 1901 the percentage increased again to 10-18%, and after 1906, became the second flag after the Austrian. During the years 1908-1909, it became the first flag into port's transports (tonnage), with a proportion 20-23%. In the same year, second was the Austrian flag, third the Italian, fourth the British, and fifth the French (*vide* relative table in the part "Charts and tables"). In 1910, because of the boycott against the Hellenic ships the percentage fell to 4%, again in favor of the Austrian and the German flag of which the percentage rose to 8%. After the outbreak of the I Balkan war, the flag disappeared from the city port, until the city occupation. The German flag was fifth in 1909, and fourth in 1911. The Russian flag, had the 10% of participation during the years 1895-1910. It was sixth in 1909, and became seventh in 1911. All the other flags, had a small, unsteady participation into the city sea-way transports. (3).

In 1911, city passenger navigation, was being served by 20 different firms: *Navigazione Generale Italiana*, Austrian Loyd, *Sirket Hayriye*, *Hacı Davut*, Hellenic Mac Dual, Ionian Navigation *Δεστούνης-Γιαννουλάτος*, Hellenic Γουδή, Hellenic company of Syros, Hellenic company Αχαϊκή, Hellenic company Πανταλέοντος, Hellenic company Διακάκη, *Compagnie Russe de navigation à vapeur et de commerce*, French *Fréisinets*, French navigation company *Messageries* *Deutsche levante linie*, *Linie Atlas*, *Armement A. Deppe*, Jonhston line, *Societe Royale Neerlandaise*, Danish navigation company. One

(3). The data is taken from the book of Γ. Χριστοδούλου, *vide idem supra p.p.* 102-108, the almanac of Μιχαηλίδης Ι. Μ. "Helleno-Française Commercial Guide of Ἀνάληθεια", p.p. 36-38, printed in İzmir 1908, and the almanac "Guide of Hellas, Samos, Crete, Cyprus, and the whole of Macedonia", H.T., *vide idem supra p.* 23.

Italian company, one Austrian, two Ottoman, Seven Hellenic, one Russian, two French, three German, one British, one Irish and a Danish, were connecting the most important ports of Europe and northern Africa with the city port, from Odessa to Liverpool and Alexandria to Amversa. Most ships of the above mentioned companies were traveling their voyages weekly or fortnightly, in turns. (4)

During the early years of our century (especially, around 1909-1911), external factors -such as long periods of strikes of the port workers, as well as the boycotts of the longshoremen of *Kerim Ağā* against Italian exported commodities (because of the Ottoman-Italian war in Africa), and the Hellenic commercial ships, influenced the commercial activity of the port and raised the prices of various goods which started lacking from the city.

On the other hand, city from/to transports, were being served by railroad. In 1871, the Austrian Baron Hirsch, undertook the construction of the line Salonika - *Üsküp* (Skopje). For that purpose, an Austrian-French company of 50,000,000 French Francs was established, which delivered the line to circulation in 1874. That line helped the transport of the products from the Skopje plains and the hinterland, towards the port of Salonika for them to be exported. Main transported commodities were cereals and other agricultural products, animals, timber and charcoal. In return commodities that were being serving the needs of the hinterland, were being transported to Skopje and the stations in between.

On the 19th of May 1888, the line Salonika - Belgrade was inaugurated. Thus, Salonika had been linked with the railroad stations of central Europe. The expectations of tradesmen and businessmen of the city were not realized. Because of the high

transport costs and the long lasting customs formalities, commodities transport was not favored much, until the period of the Young Turks, despite the flat rate of tariffs that was being used after the conference of Istanbul. (5). A small amelioration produced after 1895, thanks to the Serbian commodities' transit (imports/exports) through the port of Salonika. Salonika's exports to Europe through the line, were still cereals and other agricultural products, animals, timber and charcoal. Line's transports favored after the end of 1908. until the outbreak of the Balkan wars, when customs formalities were diminished by the Young Turks, and the late general situation (Ottoman-Italian war, naval blockade of the city port by an Italian naval squadron, military provisionism, soldiers' transports, etc.) (6), did not enable sea-way transports.

Less important was the line Salonika-Monastery that was serving mainly transit needs of commodities. (7). The line Salonika - Istanbul, was the second important line of the city. (8). Because of the fact that, on the same axis there were two other ports (Kavala and *Dedeagac* (Αλεξανδρούπολις)), that were serving transports' needs, economic interest of the line for the city, was being limited to products (few quantities), that were coming from Istanbul (hinterland of Anatolia) and eastern Thrace (of which

(4). *Vide* "Guide of Hellas, Samos, Crete, Cyprus, and the whole Macedonia", Almanac, H.T., p.p. 18-19.

(5). In April 1889, representatives of Austria-Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria and Turkey, in Istanbul agreed to a flat rate of tariff for direct transports (e.g. Vienna-Salonika), and a secondary tariff, for the stations in between, that was based on the classification of the commodities. Tariff's rate decreased to half for some commodities (beer, iron steel, agricultural machines, wine and alcohol). *Vide idem surps*, Γ. Χριστοδούλου p. 115.

(6). Relative descriptions and references, during the whole period of the war, into the issues of the contemporary newspaper "Μακεδονία" of the years 1911-12.

the most of the products, were being exported directly to Europe either from the port of Istanbul or from the port of *Dedeağaç*. Railroads of the city, were not competitive to the port. Import-export activity of the port, despite the emergence of the railroads, continued almost with the same frequency and numbers. Moreover, railroads contributed to the improvement of the communications/transport of the city, to/from the hinterland and the development of its production. Besides, in most of the cases,

-
- (7). It was established by a group of German banks, of which main shareholders were *Deutsche Bank* and *Verein Bank* of Wittenberg. The relative contract, was signed by the Ottoman government on the 28th of October 1890. A French constructive company under the engineer Philippe Vitali, undertook the realization of the whole plan, and the works started in June 1891. On the 6th of December the first part was inaugurated (until *Vertekop* (Σκούρα)). The whole line finished on the 15th of January 1894. The Ottoman government was pledging the minimum annual gross receipts, that stipulated to 14,300 Francs. For this purpose the annual tithe receipts of the provinces (*vilayet*) Salonika and Monastery (*Manastir*), were conceded to the administration of the company. It is written by Γ. Χριστοδούλου, that, during the first years of its operation, the line was not succeeding to collect even this minimum receipts, from its fares and tariff, that remained rather high until the last years of the first decade of our century (*Vide idem supra*, Γ. Χριστοδούλου, p. 119).
- (8). The construction and exploitation of the line, was assigned by a contract on the 10th of September of 1892, to the French banker Rene Beaudouy, who had settled in Istanbul. The works started on the 2nd of June 1893, and in 1894, the first part from *Karasulu* (Πολύκαστρον) to *Nusratli* (Νικηφόρος (245km)), delivered to circulation. In 1895, 2/3 of the line were operating. The company, imported from Europe 29 locomotives, 90 passenger and 726 commercial wagons (from which 526 were closed). The whole line was completed by the end of March 1896, and inaugurated in April. Twice a week, a train was running to Istanbul (25 hours). *Vide idem supra*, Γ. Χριστοδούλου p.p. 119-120. For my point of view, the line was more important for Istanbul and the Europeans than for Salonika, and its role was rather military (communications/transport) than economic, because of the inability of the Ottomans to control the Aegean sea any more. Its importance became obvious during the Ottoman-Hellenic war of 1897, when 172,000 men, 37,000 horses and 10,000 tons of arms were transported. Besides, it was the only communication/transport line of the capital, the western provinces and Europe (along with the road network), during the period of the Ottoman-Italian war, and the supply channel during the Balkan wars.

(because of high tariffs, fares, and long lasting formalities), railroad was being used only for the transit transports of the commodities, from the hinterland to the port, from where they were being exported to Europe.



SOCIAL ACTIVITY OF THE CITY

- A. NATIONAL COMMUNITIES (Ottoman-Turks, Jews, Ottoman-Greek/Hellenes, Franks, Bulgares, Armenians).
- B. SCHOOLS
- C. HOUSES OF WORSHIP

OTTOMAN-TURKS

From the early years of the Ottoman occupation, massive settlement of Muslim population took place in the city. In the beginning, Muslim settlers were widely dispersed in it. They were organized in "cema'at" ((religious congregation) small communal formations consisted from 20-30 families) (1). Later, after 1520, the most vigorous in population "cema'at", changed to "mahalle" (neighborhoods). The main bulk of Muslim population, shifted to the upper part of the city. Thus, many of the first "mahalle" gradually emptied from their population.

Salonika, soon will be the second city of the Empire. The Muslim population of the city, was growing, as soon as the Empire started to shrink in its western provinces (*Rumeli*). The last massive settlement that took place in the city, was that of Bosniac - Muslims refugees in the last quarter of 19th c. (started in 1878), who turned to Salonika and settled in the upper city (*bayır*), establishing a new neighborhood.

In the end of 19th and the first decade of 20th c., most of the Muslim population, was inhabiting the upper part of the city (*Tahtu 'I-Kala'*) and in a strip, along with the eastern half of the city walls (*mesud Hasan & Ahmed Subaşı mahalleleri*) (2). In the same period, the following 42 neighborhoods, were belonging

(1). Due to this phenomenon, it may be observed later (from the 16th to the 20th c.), the presence (or the ruins) of Muslim public complexes (*Külliye*) in unmixed Jewish, Orthodox or Catholic neighborhoods, which they had build (or converted) in that early period of settlement with the great scattering of the Muslim population.

(2). *Vide* relative sketch, in the part "charts and tables".

mostly to Muslims/Ottoman-Turks inhabitants :

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1) Abdullah Kadi. | 16) Hacı Mumin. | 31) Porta kapı. |
| 2) Ahmet subaşı. | 17) Hoca Burhan. | 32) Sarı Hatip. |
| 3) Akçe meşid. | 18) İki serife. | 33) Şehabeddin. |
| 4) Ali Paşa. | 19) İshak Paşa. | 34) Sinancık. |
| 5) Astarçı. | 20) Kara Hacı. | 35) Sinan Paşa. |
| 6) Balat. | 21) Kara Hacı oğlu. | 36) Suluca. |
| 7) Cezeri Kasım Paşa. | 22) Kasımiye. | 37) Sulu Paşa. |
| 8) Dabag Hayreddin. | 23) Kâtip Musliheddin. | 38) Tarakçı. |
| 9) Eski Seray | 24) Kazaz Hacı Musa. | 39) Timurtaş. |
| 10) Gülmezoğlu. | 25) Kazaz Hacı Mustafa. | 40) Yahya bali. |
| 11) Hacı Hasan. | 26) Koca Kasım Paşa. | 41) Yakub Paşa. |
| 12) Hamza Bey. | 27) Mesud Hasan. | 42) Yılan mermeri. |
| 13) Hayreddincik. | 28) Mu'id Alæddin. | |
| 14) Hacı İskender | 29) Musa baba. | |
| 15) Hacı İsmail | 30) Pinti Hasan. | |

(3).

In spite of their number, most of them were very sparsely populated. *Ahmed subaşı* neighborhood, along with *Suluca* and *mesud Hasan*, were the most over-populated Muslim neighborhoods of the city.

According to the Ottoman census of 1881-93 (continued) (4), during those years, there were 29,489 Muslim inhabitants. They were the 28.47% of the total population. Later in the Hellenic census of 1913 (28th of April) (5), there were 45,867 Muslims in the city, that was the 29% of the total population.

Social - professional classification of the Muslim/ Ottoman-Turk community, was complexed enough, due to the "traditional" (6) character that the Ottoman society ever had. The upper stratum, consisted of the administrative aristocracy -high ranked government officials, military and religious officers-, the

(3). vide in the part "charts and tables", the relative sketch for their location.

(4). Kemal Karpaz "Ottoman population 1830-1914", chart I.8.A, pg.134

(5). The census, which was planned by Κων. Πακτιβάν, organized by the Central Administrative Committee of Macedonia and was realized thanks to the efforts of the headmen of the communities and the help of the consuls of the city. Vide, "Population of Thessaloniki in 1913", Ar., H.T., in "Makedonika", Vol. 23, year 1983.

economic heads -e.g. the manufacturers, bankers-, and the local notable stocks. Middle stratum, consisted of the merchants -traders, brokers, agents, known foremen-, the scientists -lawyers, physicians, chemists, teachers- the civil servants -from the Ottoman Bank, Gas service, *Hükümet Konāğı* etc.-, and the middle-class army and religious officers. Lower stratum, consisted of the workers, artisans, porters, boatmen, port workers door-keepers, peddlers, land workers, builders, gendarmes etc., in other words, the majority of community population.

(6). For the Ottoman empire, the dawn of 20th century, is a very significant turning point. Despite the fact that, in the prior centuries reformation - modernization attempts took place (*Lâle Devri*, III Selim's period, II Mahmut's period, *Hat -i-şerif*), actually only after *Tanzimat* period, the bases of modernization, (synonym with westernization) started to be founded. Thus, in the last years of 19th and the early 20th century, we may observe the shift from the "traditional" to the "transitional" society. According to some authors, this shift, took place earlier -historically- (between *Tanzimat* period and the first constitutional period (*I^{nc} Mesrutiyet devri*)). I believe that this opinion is rather a product of narrow historic interpretation or misinterpretence of the historic events. By sociology's point of view, such changes, need more than this given years to be realized. From this point of view i may accept, that from *Tanzimat* period and then, there were trends (e.g. "*İttifak -i-Hamiyyet*" (patriotic alliance), the later "*Genç Osmanlılar*" (young Ottomans) etc.), that started to be shaped only after the first constitutional period (23.12.1876 -14.02.1878), when the socio-historic conditions had started to mature enough. Besides, the social characteristics of each period, make out for my opinion. For sociology "Traditional" is a pro-industrial society, based on older sciences and technology, that dominated by non-rationalistic / non-secular attitude for the natural world. The masses are trapped in their own superstitions. Society is organized in a pyramidal hierarchy and authority is dressed the divine toga. The prevailing principles, are mechanic solidarity and collective responsibility. Both contribute to the maintenance of Status Quo. According to W.Rostow the next stage is "Transitional" society. It takes the place of traditional, when the new knowledge, sciences and technology applied in social, industrial and agricultural activities (as it happened from the last quarter of the 19th century in the Empire), that increase the production and the collective solidarity of the society. Society's attitude is more liberal and secular and the masses dominated by rationalistic/ corporate codes.

Religious leaders of the community, were, the Mullah (*Molla*) and the Mufti (*Müftü*) (7). They both had judicial competences over their flock, while participating in the city administrative assembly (*idare Meclisi*) and the province's (*kaza*) highest court.

There was a board of deputies, (elders or eminent members of the community), representing the community, in the Ottoman governmental authorities. Usually, they were elected from a part of the upper stratum and middle stratum male population (those who were literate and in good financial standing) (8).

Like all the other communities, that board of deputies, had secondary administrative competences also (in-communal administration) (9).

After 1908, the majority of the Muslim community, stuck with the revolution of the Young Turks from the very beginning. It remained loyal supporter of "Union & Progress" (*İttihat ve Teraki*) party, until 1912. The other national parties, succeeded to win over only few members of the Muslim community of the city.

(7). *Mullah* : chief judge, doctor of Muslim law.

Mufti : official expound of Muslim law.

(8). A part of the Ottoman-Turk upper stratum population, usually was not permanent inhabitant of the city (e.g. administrative officers, army officers, civil servants etc.).

(9). Naturally, direct administrative competences, had only the official Ottoman governmental authorities.

JEWS

It is written, that the city of Salonika was called "Mother of Israel" and "New Jerusalem" due to the number of Jewish population that came and settled in the city, from time to time. It is true, that Jewish populations exist long before the Ottoman occupation (from the 1st century B.C.). Evidences shows, when St. Paul came to the city in 53 A.D., preached the "new religion" (Christianism), for three "Sabbaths" (Jewish Saturdays) in the synagogue of *Ets-ha-haim* (the tree of knowledge (later, *Ez-Haim Həvrəsi*)).

New Jewish settlers (1376) called "*Aschkenazim*", from central Europe (Hungary-Germany), or "*Sepharadim*" from Spain (1492) and the later coming "*Marranos*" from Portugal (1536), called the local Jews "*Los Griegos*" (the Greeks) (10). Last settlement took place in 1715, when Jewish refugees from Italy (mainly from Sicily) came to the city. These were called "*Francos*". Salonika's Jewish community, was called "*Lebantina*" by the other European Jewish communities. Among them, a strange Spanish-Jewish dialect was spoken, called "*Ladino*" (= Latin).

It is known, that most of them, were divided into two factions the "*Kavayeros*" and the "*Konyios*". These two factions, were always in fight. The first, were the noble-stock, notables, and literates - the upper stratum-, that were being participating in the public offices. They were inhabiting the neighborhood called "*Porta Nuova*" (*Yeni Kapu*), and were making their business in *Mısır Çarşısı* (Egyptian market). The others, were the workers, porters and poor artisans -the lower stratum-. They were dispersed, in the poor eastern neighborhoods of the city.

During the 19th and early 20th century, Jews were the most

vigorous population of the city. Despite the fact, that they were pioneers in many social activities of the city (printing, gunsmithing, textiling, etc.), their social mobility was very low (11), until the period of "*Alliance Israélite Universelle*" appearance (second half of 19th century).

According to all data, their main characteristics were frugality and diligence. Jewish populations of the Empire held "urban" professions in urban zones. Agricultural activities are a rather rare phenomenon for the Jews, at least in the Rumelian provinces. Salonika's Jews were porters, port workers, boatmen, longshoremen, retailers, grocers, traders, land owners, brokers, exporters, importers, physicians, chemists, bankers and manufacturers.

According to the Ottoman general census of 1881/82-1893 (continued) (12), in the central district (*Kəzə*) of Salonika, there were 34,523 Jews, equal to the 33.3% of the total population. The later census of 28th of April 1913 (13), demonstrate us a number of 61,439 Jews, equal to the 38.9% of the total population. The finding of official data, about the *Doenmeh* population of the city was unsuccessfull. It is obvious, that both censuses estimated them, with either Ottoman-Turkish or Ottoman-Jewish population of the city. From a tributary resource of 1882 (14), there was a number of 2,500 to 3,000 of them, for what it is worth, of course.

From the second half of the 19th century, the Jewish community

(10). Monthly magazine "*Χρονικά*" (Chronicles), p. 28, Vol. 70, year 8th, Sept. 1984, published by the Central Jewish Committee of Hellas. This issue was entitled "Honor to Thessaloniki - The Jewish presence in the city".

(11). Jews, resisted against the establishment of French consulate in the city. They afraided the economic penetration of the Europeans in the city and the increase of the price of cotton and wool (due to the exportation demands), that could depress their textile production down. Community's privileges, abolished or wasted away, due to the efforts of the French ambassador Villeneuve in 1731.

was the first in population of the city. It was still first, during the first decade of the new century.

Jews were inhabiting the neighborhoods near the sea-side, up to the central market of the city. There were 16 neighborhoods (15) in the city that were inhabited mostly by Jewish populations in the early 20th century :

1) Aya Sofya	7) Kadi	13) Rogos
2) Aguda	8) Keldirgoc	14) Salhane
3) Baru	9) Gulhan	15) Tophane
4) Bedaron	10) Leviye	16) Yeni Havlu
5) Ez-Haim	11) Melte cedid	
6) Fındık	12) Pulya	

The community was administered by a central deputation, consisted by notables and rabbies that were directed by the chief Rabbi and the Rabbinic triumvirate. Central deputation, was elected by the eminent members of the community (from 1880 and then, by universal suffrage).

Chief Rabbi, was privileged with judicial and administrative competences for his flock, by the Ottoman authorities. In a first level, every neighborhood, had a local sub-deputation, that was playing the role of controller/ messenger from/to the central deputation. The priests of every sunagogue, the cantor (*Hazan*),

(12). *Vide idem supra*, Kemal Karpaz .

(13). *Vide idem supra*, the census that was planned by Κων. Πακτιβάν.

(14). Κ.Γ. Μωραϊτόπουλος " Thessaloniki. A description for use by the elementary schools of the city " pp.34, H.T., Athens, 1882.

(15). Almost all neighborhoods, had mixed populations from all national communities of the city. Usually were characterized as Ottoman, Jewish, Hellenic, etc., by that population that had the majority of the people in the neighborhood. *Vide* neighborhoods' sketch, that was drawn according to the data of Pr. B. Dimitriadis and Γ.Κ. Μωραϊτόπουλος (*Vide* their above mentioned bks.). About Jewish population and neighborhoods' location, *Vide* relative sketch, in the part "charts and tables".

the circumcissionist (*Moel*), the donations' slayer (*Sohet*) and the preacher/teacher (*Melament*), were appointed at the sole discretion of the Rabbi. Collective solidarity and social cohesion of the community, were strengthened/assured by many philanthropic and religious foundations (*Gemilut-Asedim, Bikur-Holim, Yesivot, Ben-Din*).

In 1887, the Rabbinic triumvirate was abolished. Direction of the community, was undertaken by the Chief Rabbi (*Haham Bashi*) of the city.

During the last quarter of the century, the community was divided into two groups. Zionists from Europe succeeded to win over many Jews of the city. Liberals and socialists of the community, were responding forcefully. This interaction will be at its highest point, during the early years of the 20th century (especially in the period of the Young Turks), when socialistic groups of the city started to form trade unions.

The golden era of the city Jews was the early years of the Young Turks revolution. Ottoman-Greeks and Armenians of the Empire were no more trustworthy in the Ottoman Authorities. Thus, the Jews took the place of the "obedient nation" instead of the Armenians, who fell into disfavor.

When the Young Turks imposed the law for the enlistment of the non-Muslims subjects in the army, many Jews started to look for their new "Samaria", and left the city for America.

OTTOMAN-GREEKS/HELLENES

The Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community, is the first of the city. Its presence, lived the glory and decline of the Hellenistic and Byzantine Empires, as well as the Ottoman.

After the Ottoman conquest, the Hellenic community was re-organized by settlers that came from the hinterland and some Thessalonicians that had fled before the besiege of the city.

Through the centuries, Ottoman-Greeks acquired many privileges by the Ottoman authorities, thanks to the efforts of the Orthodox church and the local eminent members of the community.

Due to the attempts of armed insurrections for liberation (from time to time) of the Ottoman-Greeks in the Macedonian hinterland on one hand, and the arbitrarities of the Ottoman authorities in the city on the other, the inflows and outflows of Hellenic population to/from the city, were of high mobility. This fact, influence the references on population of travelers and censuses. During the outbreak of the Hellenic struggle for independence (1821), a great amount of population fled from the city to avoid Ottoman-Turkish population's retaliation. Later, in the Ottoman-Hellenic war of 1897, again groups of community left the city, or deportated because of their Hellenic citizenship. In contrast to that, villeges' notables (Christians & Muslims), in such circumstances, were coming to the city, to protect themselves from the perils of the interactions among the belligerents. During the armed phase of Macedonian struggle (1904-08), when armed bands of *Μακεδονομάχοι* and *Komitaji* were going across Macedonia, rural populations (of the upper stratum) from the hinterland, looked for their safety in the city of Salonika.

Before 1850, Greek community of the city, consisted of Ottoman-Greeks ("Rumlər" that were Ottoman citizens), Christian Slavs (Ottoman citizens) and some Levantine-Hellenes (either Ottoman or European countries' citizens). After 1850, Hellenes (Hellenes citizens) came to the city, from the newly established Hellenic Kingdom, and joined the community.

According to the Ottoman authorities' sencus (1882-93), Hellenic community of the city had 36,985 people. It was the 35.7% of the total population. (16). The later sencus of 1913, (17), demonstrate us a number of 39,956 people, that was the 25.3% of the total population. Despite the fact that there is an increase of 8.03%, the population actually was decreased, in comparison with the other populations, but the phenomenon is natural, because in the period between the two sencuses, the Ottoman-Hellenic war of 1897 and the 1st Balkan war broke out and many groups of the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community left the city or deportated.

Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic populations, were inhabiting mainly the eastern part of the city, from the sea side to Vlatodon Monastery (*Vlatedes Manastır*) (18). From the early years of the 20th cen. until 1912, there were twelve neighborhoods inhabited mostly by Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic populations :

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) St. Athanasios (<i>Cami 'i Atik</i>) | 2) Lagudiani (<i>Tavşan manastır</i>) |
| 3) St. Theodora (<i>Kızlar Manastır</i>) | 4) Vlatodes Monastery (<i>Vlatedes or çavuş manastır</i>). |

(16). Such a high number of Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes is rather strange, because from tributary and indirect resources, is known that the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic population, from the second quarter of the 19th century almost always was between the Jewish and the Ottoman-Turk population.

(17). *et um* : "Hellenes literati, notables, headmen, etc., sencus envelope", in Historic Archive of Makedonia (Thessaloniki).

(18). *Vide* relative sketch, in the part "charts and tables".

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5) St. Constantinos. | 6) Panaguda. |
| 7) St. Minas (Yenik Manastır). | 8) Megali Panagia (Kebir manastır). |
| 9) St. Nikolas. | 10) Mitropolis (Metropol). |
| 11) St. Ipatios (Aya Pat), or
Παγαια Δεξιά. | 12) İpapendi (Papendi or
Tuzlu Çeşme). |

(Vide part "Charts and tables" for their location).

According to the regulation (19), of the Hellenic Orthodox Community of the city, spiritual and administrative leader, was the Hellenic Metropolitan of Salonika. He was privileged by the Sublime Port, with judicial and administrative competences for his flock. He also held the title of the president of the elders. On the other hand he was honorary president of any kind of communal foundations.

The Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community, was administered and deputized by a board of 36 members, from which 6 were the elders (Anpoyérovtes). This board was elected on the first Sunday of May, every two years. Electors and eligibles, had to have the following necessary presuppositions (articles 23,24) :

- a) to be scientists, licensed professionals (by the authorities), traders or employees (in the public or private sector).
- b) to be landowners of property, that was taxated by the authorities at least with 100 Kuruş annually.
- c) to be over twenty five years of age.

Even though having these presuppositions, electors and eligibles were bared from the elections, when :

- a) they had send their children to non-Hellenic schools that certainly were doing proselytism.

(19). "Regulation of the Hellenic Orthodox community of Thessaloniki", printed in Leipzig of Austria in 1904. From my collection (Vide a copy in the appendix).

- b) they were not paying their children's annual tuition fees to the educational foundations of the community (if they were not poor certainly, or unable to pay).
- c) they were members of an administration board of a foundation and did not account for the conduction of it.
- d) they owed money to any communal foundation (religious or secular).
- e) they were found guilty of embezzlement in the administration of any communal foundation or board.
- f) they were salaried employees in any communal foundation.
- g) they were under juridical restriction or incapacitation.
- h) they had been sentenced for crime or indictable offences.
- i) they had declared bankrupt, and had not sorted out.
- j) they were wedded illegally.
- k) they were under penance.

According to the article 25, the elders (Δημογέροντες) :

- a) were authorized deputies of the community, to the Imperial Ottoman authorities anywhere.
- b) had judicial competences for every communal case, according the Patriarchic regulations and law and the Imperial decree (*irade*) of 31.01.1891.
- c) were electing the two members and the director of dowry provides committee.
- d) were preparing the registers of the electors and the eligibles.
- e) along with the Metropolitan were proposing the members that were serving in community's foundation councils and were certifying or inspecting the results of any communal election, account and bill.

They had a stamp, common with the metropolis one (art.28) and by secret vote among them, elected a treasurer (art.29) that kept the general cash of the community.

Community's regulation was providing for the administration of religious (art.34-47), educational (art.48-57) and philanthropic foundations (art.58-84) also.

It is obvious from the lists of commercial guides (20), that the Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes of the city were employees of the private (mainly) and public sector. They shared the major proportion of of the shipping agencies, they were physicians, chemists, lawyers, traders, brokers, wholesale dealers, manufacturers and they were working as tailors, fur elaborators, restaurateurs, distillers, builders and shoe-makers. They had great participation in the hotel business of the city. Greek, was the one of the two cinemas in the city. It belonged to K. Ρώμπανας, and was located in the garden of the White Tower (*Beyaz Kule*).

During the last quarter of 19th century, the community was being convulsed by discords, that will last until 1903 (ended with the new regulation of 1904) (21). The first phase (1881-1884), started with visible cause a problem, that resulted from the administration of the educational foundations of the community. Actually, was the expressed antithesis of a faction, against Metropolitan Καλλίνικος. After the attachment of the guilds with this faction, elections took place in the community, a new administrative board was elected (24 members) and the metropolitan Καλλίνικος removed from the city.

The second phase started in 1885 and lasted until 1889.

Discord's reason, was the controversy between the upper statum (that had the economic power), and the middle stratum (guilds'

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- (20). Helleno-Française Commercial Guide of "Αμόλθεια", written by Μιχαήλ Ι. Μιχαηλίδης, printed in Izmir - Kordelio, in Vlessa neighborhood by the printing house of Αμόλθεια, p.p. 58-66, 1908 and "Guide of Hellas with Samos, Crete, Cyprus and Macedonia" H.T., printed by Aspiotis bros., in Corfu, p.p. 34-58, 1911.
- (21). Vide Σταμούλα Σ. Ζαπάντη "In-communal discords of the Hellenic community of Thessaloniki between the years 1881-1912", H.T., minutes of the I Pan-Hellenic historic congress, p.p. 120-147, 1989.

members mainly, that had the administrative power) about the ratification of the new community's regulation (that favored larger participation of the people in community's administration - a liberal approach). After the Patriarchate's intervention, the controversy ended, leaving both sides, with equal quota of participation in community's administration and the Metropolitan of the city Γρηγόριος removed from his position.

The third phase broke out between the years 1890-1903. A new controversy about the administration of the foundations resulted, that soon got to be a juxtaposition, between the conservatives and the liberals. Despite the moderating interventions of the Patriarchate, in April of 1893, Metropolitan Σωφρόνιος (that had succeeded Γρηγόριος), resigned and metropolitan Αθανάσιος was appointed in his office. The discord ended after the "invisible" mediation of Athens, that emphasized to both sides the need for communal solidity, to confront the Bulgarian danger that was coming...

The regulation of 1904 ratified from both sides, despite the fact that conservatives were favored from it.

Rum as well as Hellenic (Hellenes citizens) population of the city, supported very early the movement of the Young Turks. Today it is historically evidenced, that in the early years of Macedonian struggle, there were secret connections between some leaders of the armed Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic bands and some Young Turks intelligentsia members of the city. (22).

Later, after 1910, the community split again in two factions. One remained loyal to the party of Young Turks "Union & Progress" and its committee and the other, acceded to opposition Party, "*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*" (Freedom and Association). (23).

- (22). *Vide.* Αλέξανδρος Ζάνας "Macedonian struggle. Memories", H.T., p.p. 48, printed by the Institute for Studies on the Balkan Peninsula Thessaloniki 1984 and Κων. Α. Βακαλόπουλος "Young Turks and Macedonia", H.T., pp. 184-186 : A doctor from *Rumluk*, called Αντώνης Αντωνιάδης and Αλέξανδρος Αϊβαλιώτης from *Ayvəlık*, that were working for the "National Committee" had col-laboration with the Young Turks of the city. Besides, typical example for the connections of the early years with the Young Turks (before the prevalence of the nationalistic spirit), was the friendly relation among the Hellenes Consul of the city Λάμπρος Κορομηλάς and the top men of the committee, *Talət Bey*, *Cavit Bey* and *Ahmet Nijazi* (they were meeting frequently, in Α. Ζάνας house).
- (23). "*Tesebbus- u Şahsi ve Adem-i Merkezîyet Cemiyeti*" (personal initiative and decentralization society), was founded in Paris, by Prince Şebəhəddin. Later from its bosom, the new liberal party "*Osmanlı Ahrar Fırkası*" emerged, which was renamed later to "*Entente Liberal*" or "*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*" (Freedom and Association). Along with "*İttihəd -i Muhəmedi Cemiyeti*" (Muhammedan union) party became the opposition of the "Unionists" and their party "*İttihəd ve Teraki Cemiyeti*".

FRANKS

The Frankish community of the city, emerged with the first Venetian settlers of the city. Through the years, and especially the 18th century, many other Europeans (traders mainly), came and settled in the city. Italians, Frenchmen, British, and later Germans and Austrians were formatting the Frankish community in the 19th and early 20th century. All of them, were called by the Ottomans-Hellenes-Jews of the city "Levāntines". In the early 19th century, most of them were Catholic (even in the sencus of 1881-2 /93, no other religious doctrines referred). Later, many other doctrines were meeting in the city, due to the inflows to the community. Until the first half of 19th century, the great bulk of their community, was inhabiting the neighborhood called "Frankish" (*Frank Mahallesi*, Φραγκομαχαλάς), that was located around the covered market (*bedesten*), Catholic and Αγ.Μηνάς churches near the city port, and was the city's center of commerce. It was a part of the Ottoman-Greek neighborhood Αγ.Μηνάς (*Yānik Mānastır*) also. Few of them, were inhabiting in the Jewish neighborhoods *Rogos* and *Istira* (*Vide* relative sketch in the part "charts and tables"). During the second half of the 19th century, when Europeans started to come to the city for the Ottoman-European projects (industry, communications), few of them settled in the neighborhood of Αγ. Νικόλαος, while some others, in the newly emerged neighborhood *Yalılar* (waterside residences, Πύργοι).

Many of the city Franks, were educated and skilled scientists. There were Frank physicians, surgeries, dentists, chemists, while other professional fields were insurances, imports-exports, whole-sale trade and representation of famous foreign houses in the

city. Some of the members of the Frankish community, were the professors and teachers of the foreign schools in the city. From the last quarter of the 19th century, due to the increasing development of the empire, architects, civil engineers, engineers, mechanics, head workers and skilled workers from Europe, swarmed the city and joined with the other Franks of the city.

The sencus of 1881-2/93, demonstrate us a number of 810 Franks in the city. According to the same data, there were 471 Catholics also. If we take as a hypothesis, that there were not many other Catholics in the city (except few Ottoman-Greeks and Slavs) (24), the Frankish community of the city, must have had some 1,000 members that certain period. It was approximately, the 0.95% of the total population.

Later, in the sencus of 1913, we may see a number of 4,364 Catholics. From this number, we must subtract some 1,000 persons (Catholic Armenians, Catholics of non-Western origins or nations), that are not given in the sencus as distinctive wholes. Thus, during the first decade of the 20th century, there must have been some 3,000 to 3,300 Franks, in the city. This number, was approximately the 1.9 to 2% of the total city population.

(24). According to the general impression from the existing data, Smyrna's (*İzmir*) phenomenon, of the consular activity (that they had converted consulates into companies for the production of passports and citizenships), did not appear with the same intensity in Salonika. Relative reports from the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that demonstrated in the book of K. A. Βακαλόπουλος "Young Turks and Macedonia", H.T., p.p., 129-153, support the opinion, almost all of the Ottoman-Greeks of the city, had kept their Ottoman citizenship, and were Orthodox Christians (except few Ottoman-Greeks that they had turned to Catholicism). Slavs (Bulgars mainly), had already followed the schism and their own church. Due to the nationalistic passion (that characterized all sides that period), many Bulgarians that had proselytized to Catholicism in the past, after 1870 reconverted to the schismatic church of Bulgaria.

Between the two censuses, there is an increase of 200%. Of course, such percentage does not come up to the natural increase of the community's population, but mainly, was so much increased due to the inflows from Europe, that were taking place that period.

BULGARES

The first Bulgars, came to the city before the schism of the Bulgarian church in 1870. Most of them, belonged to vagrant groups of artisans, that were working seasonally from place to place. In their majority, the settlers were builders. Later, they became known, with the nick-name *Depremlides* (probably from the Turkish word *Deprem* = earthquake, and because of the relativity of their profession with the natural phenomenon), or *Derbalides* (from a small village of the hinterland, that was called *Derba*, and it was the place of their origins).

Their first community, was organized by someone called *Sialanjief*. Founding members, were the families of *Yiaumzof* from *Ohrid*, *Hajimitsef* from *Velessa*, *Zlatarof*, *Siefkulof* and *Dingas*.

The community was growing up, as soon as, new settlers were coming into the city, from the hinterland and *Sofia*. The Bulgarian community succeeded to be recognized as autonomous, by the Sublime Port. Its founding members, obtained the right, to make a communal stamp of their own also. First headman of the community, became someone called *Dingas*, who had Hellenic citizenship !!!

To propagandize the national identity of the community, its leaders started to make efforts to acquire any kind of right, that the other communities already had. Thus, a nursery school, an elementary school (Sep.1871), a semi-high school (1881) a Church (of *Kirillos & Methodios*, in 1876) were founded, and a Bulgarian bookstore was established, to support that foundations literally (25). A piece of land, beside the Ottoman-Greek cemetery of "*Ευαγγελίστρια*", belonging to the Ottoman-Greek community, was allotted by the Ottoman authorities of the city to the Bulgarian

community. There, the Bulgarian community's cemetery was established.

On the 18th of January of 1872, the community, acquired the right from the Sublime Port, to elect its own Orthodox archbishop, that was called "Exarch". This was the reason, of the famous schism from the Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul. Community's holiday, became from 1876 the 11th of May that is Kirillos & Methodios name day.

Most of the Bulgars, were settled around the exarchic church of Kirillos & Methodios in Παναγούσα neighborhood (in the same neighborhood, the small exarchic church of the Saviour was established, in *Kömürcü* street), or they were dispersed in the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic neighborhoods of Αγ. Νικόλαος and Αγ. Αθανάσιος. Near the railway station, there was a neighborhood, called *Kilkis mahallesi*, that was being inhabited exclusively by Exarchists. In 1901, *Depremlides* formatted a new neighborhood, called *Transvaal* (today's Βυζάντιον).

Community's population in the beginning of the 20th century, consisted of Bulgars, few Bulgarian-speaking Macedonians, Vlachs and Serbs that had become Bulgarized (26).

Their common point, was rather not the national identity, but the religious affiliation. My opinion is, that the word "Exarchic" could characterize the community's identity better,

(25). By the end of 19th century and the first years of the 20th, there were three Bulgarian bookstores in the city. One, belonged to Dingas bros., the second to K. Δαρζιλοβίτης, that became Derzilovetof and the last to Dimitriou, that was located in *Sabri Pass* avenue at Αγ. Αθανάσιος neighborhood.

(26). There were very few Serbs and Wallachians (Vlachs) in the city of Salonika. Most of them, were attached in the Bulgarian community. The relative (with the communities) bibliography, that was found and used by us, does not refer to them taken as a distinctive whole.

than the word "Bulgarian" (On the matter, *vide* the later conflict (27), between the Bulgarian prime minister Dimitroff (a) and the Yugoslavian president, marshal Tito (b), that both was claiming paternalism over such kind of unidentified populations in the Balkans).

According to the Ottoman general census of 1881/82-1893, in the central district (Kaza) of Salonika, there were 1,117 Bulgars (28). The later census of 28th of April 1913 (29), demonstrate us a number of 6,263 Bulgars. The number is rather credible, because the Helleno-Bulgarian conflict had not broke out and there was no drain, on the Bulgarian population of the city (the hostilities in the city, began on 17.06.1913).

From the two sencuses, we may support the opinion, that, the Bulgarian community was constantly the fourth community in population potential. In the period 1882-93, it was the 1.1% of the total population, while in 1913, it was the 3.9%. An increase of 17.8% is demonstrated between that years. A great amount of this increase, owed to those new settlers that had proselytized to the Exarchic church or to the Bulgarian gold and intimidation, and were coestimated to the Bulgarian community.

Most of the Exarchists of the city, were small traders, milkmen,

(27). a. Prime minister's Dimitroff outline of the governmental policy in the Bulgarian Parliament 28.11.1946, b. Speech to the people of 11.10.1945 in Skopje. *Vide*, A. Benaroyis, "The first carrear of the Hellenic proletariat", B., H.T., p.p. 198, Olkos editions, Athens 1975.

(28). Kemal Karpas, "Ottoman population 1830-1914", chart I.8.A, p. 134. We have no data, about the composition on what Pr. K. Karpas called "Bulgars". By a definition that is given on p. 51, we may assume that "Bulgars", were all kind of Bulgarian-speaking groups of the city. A safer datum, could have been the reference to Orthodox Christians and Exarchic Orthodox Christians, as other documents did, but there is no such distinction in the chart.

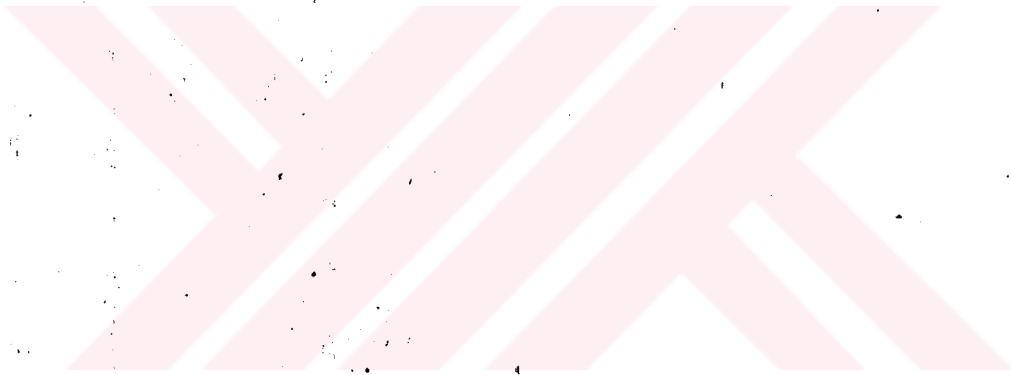
grocers and greengrocers. But, according to Αθ. Σουλιώτης - Νικολαΐδης, few members of the Exarchic community, were commission agents, known traders and some others, were scientists (lawyers, physicians, etc.). (30).

Administrative authority of the community, was a deputation that consisted by eminent members of the community, teachers and the representative of the Exarchic Archbishop of Sofia (that was the Exarchic metropolitan of the city). The deputation, usually, had close contact with many "national" services in Sofia, as well as with the local Bulgarian consulate.

After the Ottoman-Russian war, and the Russian declaration for Bulgarian Hegemony's autonomy (*Ayostefano mushedesi*), the "Bulgerian Committee" was established in Sofia (23.08.1878), a fact, that reinforced the nationalistic activity of the Bulgars in the city of Salonika.

Bulgarian community of the city, after the national assembly of Tyrnovo (12/1878), that was convened by the Russian prince-deputy of northern Bulgaria Dondukof-Korsakof, modified into the spearhead of the Russian Pan-slevistic policy, in the city. During the following years, and the new century mainly, many committees of determinable or indeterminable ideological principles, will emerge from the community's bosom. At least, two of them, will demonstrate anarchic trends (were motivated by the populist ideas, that dominated mainly Macedonian hinterland), a diverged form of the socialistic movement, that gained momentum in the city. On the other hand, in the 20th century, Bulgarian nationalistic movement and its propaganda, used its homonymous (not homogeneous) community of the city, in its attempt to help in the formation of "Great Bulgaria" and its descent to "*Bello morets*"

(beautiful sea = Mediterranean). Thus (as we will see in the relative chapter), all ideological trends were represented in this community also.



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- (29). *Vide* "Makedonika", Ar., p.p. 88-116, Vol. 23, 1983.
(30). Αθ. Σουλιώτης - Νικολαΐδης "Macedonian struggle. Organization of Thessaloniki", H.T., pp. 27-28.

ARMENIANS

The Armenian community of Thessalonika, was the oldest, from those appeared in the contemporary Hellenic territory. It is known that, a small nucleus of Armenian traders existed in the city before the Ottoman occupation (31).

We have no data about the period after the Ottoman occupation until 1881. For this year, a list of the Armenian city resident population exists, in the archive of the city Armenian community (32).

According to that list, there were 20 to 25 families of Armenians. Soon that nucleus grew bigger, and in 1885 (33), there were 183 persons (belonging to 35 families). Probably the number of the Ottoman census (149 persons) is taken in its early stage among the years 1881-1882, or is a product of miscalculation, based on the fact, that some Armenians were registered in the Ottoman lists by declaring their citizenship (Ottoman) and not their nationality (Armenian). Besides, the fact that most of them were civil servants, may drive us to the thought that they had already registered in the place they came from (Istanbul, probably) and it was not necessary for them to be reregistered in the city lists.

In 1908, a number about 300 persons is given in the research of Π.Μ. Κοντογιάννης (34), but it is not verified with other contemporary documents.

According to the above mentioned data, the Armenians at the end of the 19th century were 0,14% of the total population. Most of

(31). P. Charanis "The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire" Ar., in Byzantino-Slavica, p. 238, Vol. 22, 1961.

them were scientists, like military physicians, chemists, architects, teachers and foresters. Others were traders and goldsmiths. Many of them, came to the city, appointed by the Ottoman authorities in public services, like post office, state schools (e.g. in the model agricultural school in Sedes), and the army. Most of them, were inhabiting in *Hamidiye* suburb.

Armenians started to organize their community from the early 1880's. In 1884 the "national board" (*Azkhain Khorhurt*) of deputies, was formatted, with six members, that were being elected from the representative convention of the members of the community. The community and the church, were directly coming under the competence of the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate of Istanbul, that was responsible to appoint vicars in the city church too.

In 1888, the Armenian community of the city acquired a cemetery of its own, while in 1907 acquired a two floor elementary school, that was located beside the Armenian church (that was constructed in 1903 by the famous Italian architect Vitaliano Poselli, thanks to the efforts of Krikor Passalian, who succeeded to obtain the relative imperial decree).

Armenians of the city, were accused unjustly for the fire of 1890. Due to this event, the community suffered much by the people but finally was rescued thanks to the forceful and fair inter-

(32). I.K. Χασιώτης - Γκ. Κασαριάν "The Armenian community of Thessaloniki". Colloque: Thessalonique apres 1912. 1-3 Novembre 1985, H.T., p. 258.

(33). "*Hin domar mgrdutiān amusnutiān yev mahrān 1885-1932*" (old book of baptizements, marriages and deaths 1885-1932), in I.K. Χασιώτης - Γκ. Κασαριάν, *vide idem supra* p.259.

(34). Π.Μ. Κοντογιάννης "Foreign schools in Thessaloniki" Ar., H.T., pp.182. According to I.K. Χασιώτης & Γκ. Κασαριάν article on p. 259, ftn. 7, the British consul J.E. Blunt in his report on 27.12.1896, writes for the Armenian community, that consisted of 234 adult members (158 male and 86 female) and 90 children. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, 78/4734, sts. 383-385.

ference of the provincial governor (*Vali*) *Rıza Paşa*.

After 1910, the community organized a philanthropic association.

Armenians of the city were frugal and law-abiding citizens.

Their small number and social status did not permit them to participate in the activities of Armenian patriotic organizations, that they had formatted committees in the big cities and were being activated in the hinterland of the eastern Empire. Despite the connections that the Young Turks had, with two of the Armenian (35) patriotic organizations and the fact that there was an Armenian minister in their government, the relative bibliography (for the Armenians of Salonika) is poor and did not give us data, about the relations of the Armenians with the Young Turks in the city.

Due to nationalist sensitivity of the area, and the attempts for westernization/industrialization (and other secondary reasons also), a characteristic urbanization trend is obvious, during the last decade of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century, in Macedonian hinterland. This trend, influenced the population numbers of the big cities mainly, that were located on the axis: central Europe, Austria - Central Balkan, Salonika - Eastern roads, Istanbul. This phenomenon bolstered, when the railroad came in existence, and the connection of Vienna with Istanbul became a fact. Salonika was in the middle of this axis, and received a great proportion of that moving populations.

Despite the fact, that Salonika was the second city of the Empire, in comparison with Istanbul, had less population and lower

(35). E.E.Ramsaur "The young Turks : Prelude to the revolution of 1908" Princeton Un/ty Press. 1957.

rates of the population's natural growth (K. Karpot *vide idem supra*). Partially, this phenomenon was being based on the repeated epidemic that stroke the city population (lower classes mainly) like plague, black death (bubonic plague), variola, cholera etc. until the early years of our century, in combination with the primitive or practical methods (until the last decade of the 19th century) of their dealing with. Due to the western "invasion" (industrialization-communications projects), and the friendly visits of western warfleet squadrons that were taking place in the last fifteen years of the 19th century in the city port, an unknown epidemic stroke the city, gonorrhoea, that lasted almost ten years 1890-1900, with remissions and elevations during that decade (36).

It was the same period, that prostitutes from the whole of Europe's brothels, came and settled in the city, to offer their services to the multi-racial male population that had arrived to work in the city. (37).

Besides, during the first decade and 1911, cholera epidemic spread out in all Macedonian hinterland from Monastery (*Manastir*) to Αλεξανδρούπολις (*Dedeagaz*). In the city, the disease left many victims from the lower strata, especially Jews. Lazareto of Καραμπουρνού (*Küçük Karaburnu*), was unable to hospitalize such number of infected sailors and inhabitants, that the military governor in accordance with the chief medical officer, decided to use the barracks at the southeastern side of the city to

(36). Epidemy's scale and its carriers, are known thanks to the articles and the journalists' comments, existing in the contemporary to the period newspaper, "Φάρος της Μακεδονίας" (Macedonia Light-house).

(37). This phenomenon will reappear, during the 1st world war thanks to the "honest" efforts of the city allied headquarters, to joy the troops of the eastern front.

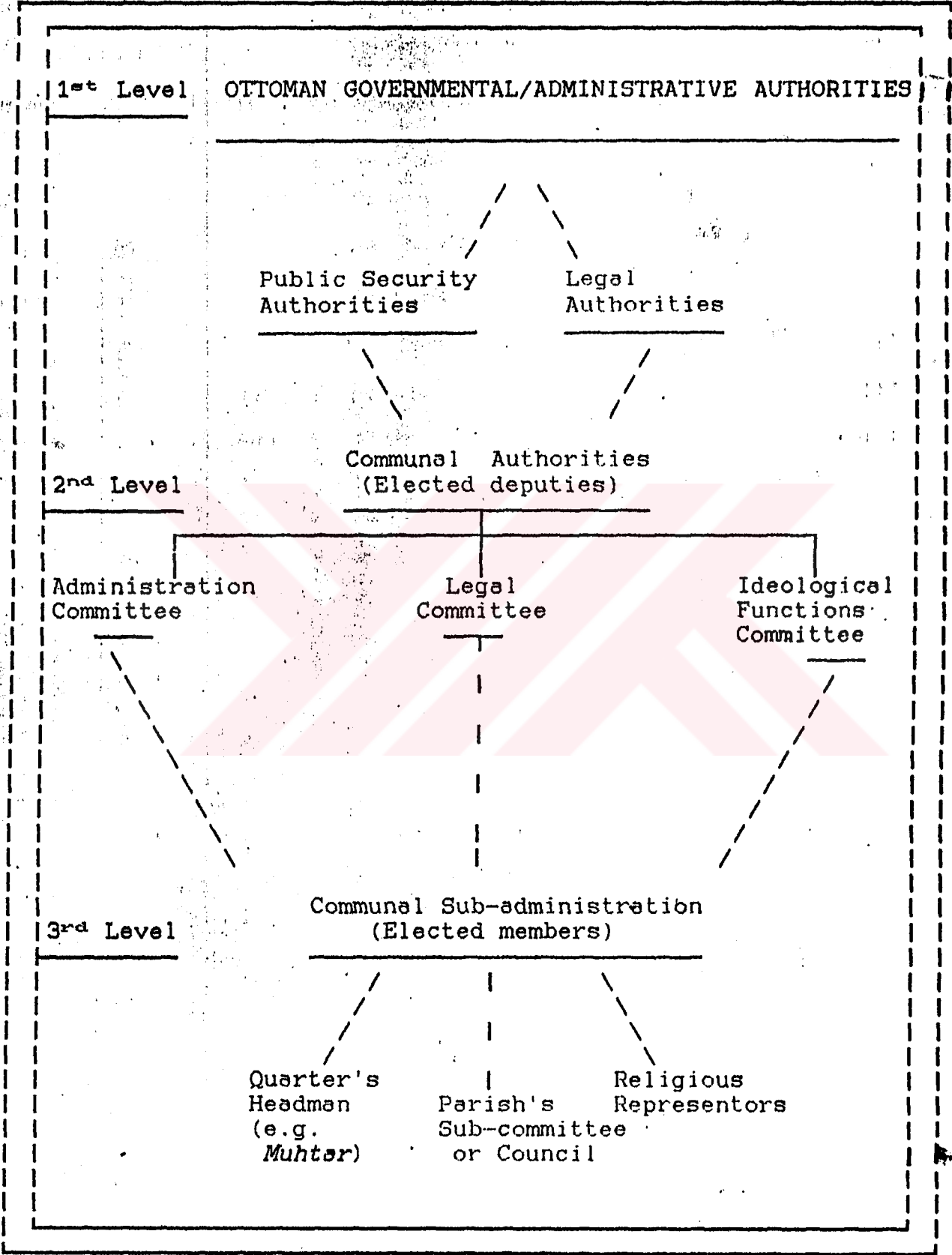
hospitalize the infected population. (38).

Other reasons that influenced the population's natural growth, were the repeated earthquakes and fire, that were striking the city and the low quality of life of the lower strata (the majority of population). My impression from newspaper readings is that, the existing conditions (hygienic, residential, etc.) for the lower strata, favored the rise of infant mortality also. Unfortunately, i have found no statistic data about it, to support my impression.

Until 1870, the Frankish language of the city was Italian. This is natural, because most of the population were Jews, that were speaking that Jewish-Spanish idiomatic language, called "Ladino" (= Latin), and was close enough, to the Italian language. On the other hand, a part of the Jewish community, was of Italian origin (Sicily), and was speaking Italian. Besides, a part of the city Frankish population, were Italians. After the arrival of the German railroad workers-employees in the city, German became the Frankish language of the city, but for a small period of time, some 20 years. In the last phase of the Ottoman period of the city (first decade of 20th), French became the Frankish language that was in use into the city. Most members of the middle and upper strata (from all communities), were speaking at least, one more language than their native one. Hellenic mainly, but Ottoman also, were being spoken by most of the inhabitants of the city.

All communities, had social mechanisms for internal protection. There was "controlled flow" of happenings, from/to the communities. "Gatekeepers" were the communal authorities. All the

(38). For the cholera epidemy, i have data again from "Φάρος της Μακεδονίας" (Macedonia Light-house).



communal affairs - cases, usually were settled/solved, between the 3rd and the 2nd level (vide the sketch at the end of the chapter). Most of the cases, were not relegated to the authorities of the 1st level. Ottoman governmental authorities were looking into cases that were not possible to be settled/solved in the community bosoms.

Internal arrangement of affairs/cases among communities' members based on codes of principles, acceptable from all members. Any deviation of these principles, incurred for the culprit, a penal system. Non-compliance to this system, implied, the social reproach of the other members, and finally, in cases of vital importance offences for the communal life, the social expel from the community.

[SCHOOLS]

The intercommunal competition and the interactions that motivated from the attempt of every community to impose itself over the others, caused another interesting phenomenon that is obvious in the multiracial society of the city.

Almost no other city in Europe, during the same historic period, can demonstrate us, with such a number of schools, and variety of languages, levels and specialties (military, commercial, law, educational, etc.).(1).

OTTOMAN-TURKS

The Ottoman-Turkish community of the city, had a considerable number of schools that were founded, mainly in the last years of the 19th or the early 20th century. We may observe, that there were educational foundations of various levels, many of them, with different educational specialties.

There was an *İDADIYE* (Secondary school) in the city. *İdadiye* schools, started to establish during the last period of *Sultan Abdülaziz* reign. Their purpose was to educate and prepare the young Ottomans to serve the administrative and governmental machine of the Empire in the best possible manner. In Macedonia, were located usually in the capital of the provinces (*Vilayet*).

Against the old educational structure (that necessary pre-

(1). I will present those educational foundations, that were found and collected, from my bibliographic resources. Probably, there were few other schools, that were not spotted during my research and are not mentioned in the study. All the subsequent mentioned foundations existed in the first decade of the 20th century, at least until 1912.

requisite for the accession in the educational process, was the aristocratic origin of the student), those students, will be the young generation of the newly emerged Ottoman Bourgeois stratum, that seems to claim part of the control, over the social/political being of the Empire.

Many of the directors of the *İdâdiye*, in different but sizeable parts of the Empire, were graduates (from the first batches), of the famous *İdâdiye* of Istanbul "*Galata Sersay*".

İdâdiye of the city, was established in 1887 and was located in *Hemidiye* avenue (of the homonym suburb), to the northeastern part of the city. It had 20 teachers as the regular staff, and several seasonal ones, according to the school annual needs (the regular staff, was living inside the school, and had the responsibility of the boarder students). Main language of the school was the Ottoman but French, Hellenic and Bulgarian, were being taught also (the attendance in one of them, was obligatory). There were 7 grades (seven-year course), and the program included basic lessons (of theoretical & practical knowledge), plus agronomic, mechanologic, economic and official correspondence studies. In the first decade of 20th century, the number of students had increased tremendously, so the directorate requested the government to build an extension to the school. (2)

Another Ottoman school of the city, was *RÜŞTİYE* (semi-high school with 5 grades usually). *Rüştiye* were governmental schools.

(2). In the year 1908, it had 530 children, 300 of them were boarders and 230 day students. There were 95 Christians (43 Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes, 38 Bulgars, 14 Serbs), and 10 Jews. The annual tuition fees (for boarder students only), were 12 Ottoman Liras. Poor students (even boarders), were registered free of charge. Vide M.H.Π.Σ.Α., 1910, H.T., p.155. Π. Κορυϊάδων "Schools of Non-Greeks in Thessaloniki".

that started to establish during the period of *II^{ou} Sultan Mahmud* reign (the first was established in 1838). In Macedonia, were located usually, in the counties capitals (*Sancak-Mutasarrıflık*). The graduate students, had the right to be registered to the sixth grade of *İdadiye* school. It was possible to find *Rustiye* in the capital of a district (*Kaza*), with the same corpus of lessons, but four grades. City *Ruştiye*, was located in *İshak Paşa* neighborhood, near *Kasimiye* mosque. It had exceptionally only 3 grades (3).

The other school of the Ottoman community, was *Cezaret Mektebi* (commercial school). It was established by *Rami Bey*, when provincial governor (*Vali*) of Salonika was *Hoson Fehmi Paşa*. It had 8 or 9 grades (not certain); from which, two were commercial high classes, with 20 teachers(4). It was located in *Vlatodes Monastery* (*Vlatodes Manastır*) neighborhood, at the upper part of the city.

There was a *Daru'ı - muallimin* (teacher-training school (for primary education)) in the city. It was located in *Vlatodes Monastery* (*Vlatodes Manastır*) neighborhood also.(5).

Selânik Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sâne`i (technical school), was another educational foundation of the city. It was established in 1876 (the year of *Sultan Abdul Hamid's* enthronement), and was located, near the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic cemetery of Ευαγγελισμός. Its program, was based on a five-year course, in which printing, lithography, carpentry, sewing, weaving, shoe-making and joinery were the basic subjects. It was known as "orphans' school", because

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- (3). During the year 1908, there were 93 day students, 5 of them, were Christians. See above, P. Kondogiannis.
- (4). It had 124 students, from which 34 were boarders, according to Π. Κοντογιάννης (*vide idem supra*) in 1908.
- (5). During 1908, it had 55 students and director was *İsmail Bahir Efendi*.

the majority of the pupils, were orphans (Muslims, but occasionally, Christians also). There were both, boarders and day-pupils. (6).

There was a school near *Selimiye* mosque (*Saetli Cami*), (in *Hacı İskender* neighborhood), that was called "*Selimiye*". It was probably an eight-grade elementary school. (7). It was established in 1894, by descendants of *Gazi Evrenos Bey*.

Another school of the Ottoman-Turkish community, was *Hamidiye*. It was located near the place that was called "*Yılan mermer*" and beside government house. It was working, as school for girls and was established by *Sultan Abdül Hamid*. (8).

İnas Ruştiye Mektebi (females' semi-high school), was another school for girls (with 176 pupils in 1908).

Ali Paşa's school, was for both male and female pupils (but separated). It was a four grade elementary school, and was located near the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic cemetery of Ευαγγελισμού (it had 154 boys and 134 girls in 1908).

Mustafa Paşa's, was another elementary school for boys and girls. It was located near *Pişmanıye* mosque in *Pazar tekkesi* street (it had 75 boys & 84 girls in 1908).

Zihni Paşa's elementary school, was located in the neighborhood called *Suluca*, beside the homonym mosque, at *Paşa Mektebi* street (It had 220 boys & girls in 1908).

Osmaniye Mektebi, was an elementary school for girls and boys (In 1908, it had 66 boys and 148 girls).

(6). There were 155 pupils, from which, nine were day pupils in the year 1908. According Pr. B. Dimitriadis, its building, was part of the Ottoman-Turkish orphanage (*Islahane*). It was located in *Nu'man Paşa* street at *Ahmet subaşı* neighborhood.

(7). According to Π. Κορυϊάννης (*vide idem supra*), in 1908, there were 100 pupils.

(8). In 1908, it had 100 girls.

(administrative and magisterial mainly), that would be used for the needs of the western provinces of the Empire (*Rumeli*). It was officiated inside the government house (*Hükümet Konāğı*).

Candidates were graduates from *İdādiye*, or Christian graduates from high schools. The candidates ought to be examined successfully in the subject of Turkish correspondence (*kitsāpet*). (9).

Police academy, was established also in 1908. The lessons started in January and classes were taking place in a building beside the barracks. Their duration was five months. Director, was appointed *Bureau Bey* (a Belgian officer, that was in Sultan's service). There were two grades, from which the first, was for those students wanting to become police employees and the other, for those wanting to become policemen or police lieutenants. Students, were all boarders, and they were paid 300 piasters per month. The year this was established, it had 65 students (15 policemen and 50 police employees).

Hemidiye Zirāst Ameliyet Mektebi (school for agricultural works) was located 2.5 hours southeast of Salonika. It had 3 grades, and the students were paid 10 piasters per month, salary by the government. (10).

Jānderme Mektebi (gendarmerie school), was located beside the barracks to the east part of the city. There were only six-month courses (inspector was a German officer, and during 1908 there were 140 students).

(9). The year it was established, it had 365 students. Ten of them were Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes and five were Bulgarians. First director appointed, was *Azmi Bey*. *Hakim Bey* was teaching law of succession, *Atıl Bey* family law. *Sermet Efendi* international law, *Tefik Bey* introduction to law and criminal law. *Nuri Bey* (first secretary of Inspector general *Hilmi Paşa*) administrative law.

(10). In 1908 the school had 80 students, from which 18 were Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes. Director was *Suad Bey*.

Hasan Fehmi Paşa's elementary school for girls, was established by the *Veli* of Salonika *Hasan Fehmi*, with expenses of his own (in 1908 it had 160 girls).

Rabita -i- sibyan (children's garden), was another elementary school for boys and girls, located near the neighborhood of *Ayta' Tpióða* (it had 96 boys & 130 girls in 1908).

Yediğar Hamidiye (*Sultan Abdül Hamid's* memorial), was located in the upper city, near *Vlattedes manastir* (Μονή Βλατάδων) and it was elementary school for boys and girls (during the school year 1908, it had 117 boys & 142 girls).

Çınarlı İptidai Mektebi, was an infant school and was located in *Mu'id 'Allaeddin* neighborhood (during 1908, it had 77 boys and 55 girls)

Hedike -i- İrfan (Knowledge's garden), was another infant school (it had 68 children in 1908).

Akçe Mescit Mektebi was an infant school and was located beside the homonym *Mescit* (small mosque without minaret). It had 60 boys and 172 girls in 1908.

Kal'a -i- Bala (over the castle, acropolis), was another infant school (in 1908 it had 65 boys and 40 girls).

kırmızı Mektebi was an elementary school also, that was located in *Rustiye Mektebi* avenue, at *İshak Paşa* neighborhood.

'Ali - Zot elementary school, was located in *Kule hamamı mescidi* street (today's Φώριου), and another elementary school was located in *Kule hamamı* square, both in *Suluca* neighborhood.

A four-grade elementary school, was located in *Telli kapı* street at *'Ali Paşa* neighborhood.

Jurist School was established during the year 1908, with purpose to educate in law codes and principles, civil servants

Mektebi İdadiye ve Ruştiye Askeri (high school and military academy), was located beside government house, and was established in 1886. It had 5 grades, and the lessons were based on the purpose to educate the students with encyclopaedic knowledge on one hand, and military principles, methods and techniques on the other. The graduates after three years of studies in the military academy of Istanbul, were able to be enlisted into the classes of the Imperial Ottoman Army (during 1908, the school had 144 students, and until that year 450 graduates had been enlisted in the army, from 1886).

Feyziye Mektebi was the private school of the Doenmeh community of the city and it was established by *Feyzi Paşa* (according to Pr. B. Dimitriadis & A.S. Ünver) in 1884. In the beginning, it was working like a five-grade elementary school and nursery school. Later, it became a seven-grade school with 2 high school grades. It was separated for male and female pupils and from the year 1908 acquired a department for commercial studies, with two more classes (in 1908, there were 700 students, from which 430 were boys and 270 were girls. Director was *Mustafa Tefik Efendi*). The building was burned down, during the great fire of 1917. It was located in *Sinancı* neighborhood, probably at *Pişmaniye cami* or *Saraf Halil efendi* street (both, were on the same axis).

Teraki Mektebi (progress school), was a private school also. It was established in 1880 and was located near *Kasımiye* mosque. An annex of the school, was located at *Ay(α Τριάδα* neighborhood. It was separated for male and female pupils, with seven-grade elementary school and three-grade high school (for boys only). Boarders and day pupils were accepted. (11).

Along with the secular educational foundations, there were

religious schools in the city.

In *Kere hacı* neighborhood, at least until 1906, there were two *Daru'l Kur'an* (schools of Koran study). One of them, must have been established by *Sehvar Paşa*. (12)

Saatli cami medrese (13), was located in *Belediye* avenue (today's Μεγ. Αλεξάνδρου). In *Eski Saray cami* avenue (today's προφ. Ηλ(α) was *Bardalı Mustafa Paşa medrese* (the building still exist in very good condition). At the neighborhood of *Koca Kasım Paşa* in *Medrese* avenue, was the *Meshuri Efendi medrese*. In *Çınarlı medrese* avenue, was the homonym *medrese*, that was established by *Çavuş Zade Ahmet Efendi*. At the neighborhood of *Yakup Paşa* the homonym *medrese* was located. *Nu'man Paşa medrese*, was located in the homonym street at *Ahmed subası* neighborhood.

JEWS

Another community of the city was that of the Ottoman Jews. It was the most vigorous in population community of the city. International Jewish mutual aid association, the famous "Alliance Israélite Universelle", from 1870 had started to make efforts for the establishment of educational foundations for the Jewish children.

In 1873, a semi-high school for boys was established. The program included business lessons and foreign languages. Except Ottoman and Jewish, French and English were compulsory. There were

(11). In 1908, it had 287 boys, from which, 266 were day pupils and 21 were boarders (four of them were Christians). Girls were 267 from which seven were Christians. In the annex, were 58 more pupils. Day students had to pay tuition fees 5 to 10 Francs quarterly.

(12). *Unver A.S.* "Selanik'te yüz eserimiz hakkında", Gd.A.A.D. pp.257-260, 1972.

(13). *Medrese* = school for theologic studies.

Italian and German language classes at will (in the year 1908, it had 57 pupils).

A school for girls, was established in 1874. It had a director, two teachers for general education lessons, two for the sartorial lessons and one for the Italian language. There were eight assistants also. All of them were women (in 1908, it had 431 girls).

There was a semi-high school for boys with two professors for the lessons of the Ottoman language, three for the lessons of the French language and three for the lessons of the Jewish language (it had 272 pupils in 1908).

There was a semi-high school for girls, that was located in *Kelemer* (Καλαμαριά) neighborhood and had an annex in another neighborhood. Both schools, had a common director and teachers (in 1908, it had 4 teachers, 4 assistants and 250 pupils).

There was an nursery school for boys and girls, with nine teachers or assistants and a director (in 1908, it had 352 children).

Professional School for girls, was established in 1887. Students were being taught sartorial lessons, hat-making, women's clothes making, brassiere making and needlecraft (there were 360 students in the year 1908).

Professional School for boys, was established in 1887 also. Students were being taught printing, smithery, turning, joinery and marble-carving. There were evening classes, in which, students were being taught book-keeping and drawing. Students were having lunch inside the school and were free at nights (in 1908, the school had 52 students). Probably, both professional schools, were housed in the same building, because they were known with a

common name "*Populaire*".

All the above mentioned schools, were under the protection and care of "Alliance Israélite Universelle". Poor pupils and students were having lunch at expenses of the alliance. In combination with the "Graduates' Union" (the union of the graduates from the first semi-high school for boys that Alliance was established in 1873), was organizing the function of the educational foundations, was taking care of the problems and was helping with any mean in their settlement.

"Talmud Torah" school was established in the same year with the homonym synagogue (1520). (14). It was located in *Değirmen meydanı* (Mill's and later, Rabbiny square) of the Jewish neighborhood *Kadı*. It was still active as a school, in the early 20th century.

Another school of the Jewish community (rather elementary), was the one, called "Mois Allatini".

In *Un Kapan* (flour market) square, near the church of Αγ.Νικόλαος, was a small elementary school called "Shelom".

French-Jewish commercial school, was another school of the Jewish community, that was established in 1888, and was recognized by the Ottoman government. It was located in *Un kapan* neighborhood, at Αγ.Νικόλαος neighborhood. Boarders and day students were accepted. Lessons' corpus, was based on commercial and business studies. Main focus of the studies, were local commercial activities, and the economic conditions of the Macedonian hinterland. Compulsory languages were Jewish, Ottoman, French and German. English and Hellenic were optional. It is not known whether the school was under the influence of the Alliance or not.

(14). "Torah" was rather a paraphrase of the word "*Hovra*" = synagogue, because in Hammer's translation it is written as "*Hora*".

LEVANTINES / FRANKS

The Fränkish population of the city, had many educational foundations separated according to its national synthesis.

Deutsche Schule (German School), was established in 1808, for the educational needs of the children (boys & girls) of those Germans working for the "Eastern Railroads" company. It was an eight grade semi-high school, and during school year 1904-5, acquired another preparatory class, for pupils (only foreigners) over nine years old, in order to prepare them in the German language. After that, students were being rated according to their language level. Monthly tuition fees, for foreign pupils, were 20 Francs for the preparatory class. The school was supported by the "*Deutscher Schulverein*" (the German school's association), from which, the members of the board of trustees (15) were being elected. From them, 50% were from the German and 50% from the Austrian community (there were supported by the German & Austrian governments also). The school staff, were four teachers and six assistants, teaching technical lessons, English, Ottoman, Hellenic and house keeping for the girls, besides the main program's lessons.

Deutsche Hoehere Schule (German high school), was the other educational foundation of the German and Austrian communities of

(15). There were eleven members in its early years, eight later, from which one had to be a merchant and the other was the priest of the Evāngelist community of the city. The income of the school, was based on the contributions of the members of the association (except contributions at will. 1 Ottoman lira was required annually). During the school year 1906-7 there were 160 pupils (95 boys and 65 girls), from which 28 were Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes 16 Ottoman Turks, 10 Italians, 4 Bulgarians and 2 Albanians. Ottoman subjects, were the 64 of them. Π. Κοτρογιάννης *vide idem supra*, p. 157.

the city. It was established in September of 1907, with purpose to promote the knowledge of the German language, literature and culture. A German priest was director of the school, and there were two more teachers from Germany. During the year 1908, it had 30 students. It was supported by the German & Austrian communities as well as by the German government (which gave 1,000 Marks allowance for its establishment).

In September 1907, the Ottoman-Greeks Evangelists of Salonika (some 30 people), with the support of the English consulate, established the International School for girls. A female director came from England, to add to the school's prestige. The purpose of the school was the education of children in the English language and literature. It was working as a semi-high school with five grades. Its staff were 8 teachers. Hellenic and French were being taught also (in 1908, it had 50 pupils, from which 28 were Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes, 8 Jews, 3 Armenians, 1 Ottoman Turk, 1 Bulgarian, 1 Austrian and 1 Italian). There were two evening classes for those interested.

Grosberg's school for girls, was another English speaking educational foundation, that was established in 1870 by the "Scottish Missionary Church". Its purpose was the proselytism of young Jews. It was acting as a semi-high school. After insistent demands of the chief-Rabbi of the city, to the parents of the pupils and to the Ottoman authorities, the girls slowly but steadily were leaving, so the school closed in 1907.

Many of the educational foundations, of the French community of the city, were supported by "*Mission laïque*" (16). A Lycee for boys, a school for girls and a commercial school, were under its

protection. Lycee for boys, had nine grades (three level courses), from which two were the preparatory level, the next four were the higher level and the other three were the superior level. Those that had graduated from the higher level, were getting a recognized prediploma. They had the right to continue, either in the superior level of the lycee, or in the second level (*q.v. sequens*) of the commercial school. Those that were continuing to the second level, after their final exam, were being awarded a graduation diploma that was recognized by the Ottoman, Hellenic and French governments. Thus, they had the right to continue their studies in the universities of Istanbul, Athens or Europe. The courses were composed by mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, geography, history, calligraphy, drawing and book-keeping, as well as French, Ottoman, German, English, Hellenic and Italian language (from which the first three were compulsory). There were only day students in the lycee.

Girls' school was educating its students in general knowledge, or for becoming teachers in infant and elementary schools. It had seven grades, two of which, were preparatory. The next three, were the higher and the other two were the superior level. After finishing successfully the higher level, the girls received an infant school teacher's diploma. After graduating from the

(16). "Mission Laïque", was a great French society, that was established with purpose to cultivate and promote the French language and culture outside France, in any place of the world, there was a French nucleus. On the 7/21st of August 1897, by a decree of the President of the French Republic, it was characterized as an "Public Utility Service". It was all the time under the support and protection of the French government and the ministry of education. In many cases, it co-operated with local governments and authorities on educational matters. To avoid friction with indigenous populations, it was hostile towards proselytism.

superior level girls received the teacher's diploma. The basic program was composed by the lessons of mathematics, natural history, geography, ethics, music, calligraphy, sketching, needlecraft, clothes cutting, house keeping and hygiene. French and German languages, were compulsory. Ottoman, English and Hellenic were optional. All girls, were day students. In the same school operated a two-grade nursery school, in which, children over five years old were being accepted. From September 1908, the Lycee and the girl's school, were quartered in a private building of "*Mission Laïque*", that was located in *Hamidiye* suburb.

The other foundation that was supported by "*Mission laïque*", was the commercial school. Teaching was separated in two periods, but there were probably two preparatory classes, one for the beginners of the first period and the other for candidates of the second period coming from other educational foundations. The first period's (four-year course) program, was composed by the lessons of mathematics, natural sciences, history and geography, while French, Ottoman and German languages were compulsory (Hellenic, English and the Jews' Spanish idiomatic languages, were optional). Second period's program (three-year course) , was composed by the lessons of advanced mathematics, trade mathematics, accounting, insurance accounting, book-keeping, principles of commerce, transportation principles and potentialities, commercial geography, trade law and commercial-business correspondence. French, Ottoman and German languages were compulsory, while Hellenic, English and Jewish-Spanish, were optional here also. There was a class of nursery school also, in which children over four years old (both sexes) were being accepted.

School of "*Freres*" (*Ecole des Freres de Saint.Vincent de Paul*),

was established on 2/14 of October 1888. Due to the increased number of pupils and the variety of the program, in 1895 the school was quartered in a bigger building, near Ottoman Bank's building. There were boarders, semi-boarders and day pupils in the school. Program was composed by lessons a) of general knowledge, b) commercial activity. Both courses were being taught to all grades. Foreign languages teaching was included also, from which French, Ottoman and German were compulsory. There were 7 grades, plus one called "special", for students who had a lesser knowledge of the French language, and wanted to join the courses of the school (during the school year 1907-8, it had 240 pupils, from which 74 were Catholic, 74 Orthodox (28 Ottoman-Greeks/Hellenes & 16 Bulgars), 25 Ottoman-Turks and 66 Jews). The staff consisted of a director, a sub-director, 18 professors for French speaking lessons and language, 2 for the German language, 11 for the Ottoman, 1 for the Armenian and 1 for the Jewish language.

Nuns from the same mission, had established a school for girls (*Ecole des Filles Dirigee par des Seurs de Saint Vincent de Paul*), that, was preparing girls either for becoming teachers, or for becoming candidates for superior educational foundations. Day, semi-boarders and boarders girls were accepted. It had an infant school in the same building also (during school year 1907-8, there were 106 girls, and the annual tuition fees were 25 Ottoman Liras for the boarders, 12.5 for the semi-boarders and 5 for the day students, while 2.5 liras were the fees for the nursery school.

Another school for girls with an nursery school, was established by nuns of the same mission, in the neighborhood *Yalilar* (Νύμφαι), that was located outside of the northeastern city walls.

"*Ecole paroissiale*", was being served by monks. It was located 5

minutes away from "Freres school". It was rather an elementary school for the poor children of the French community. It had three year courses in French language only (during school year 1907-8, it had 3 monks and 70 children).

"Zeytinlik school" was supported by the Catholic brotherhood of Lazarists. It was working rather like an orphanage and seminary. The main purpose was to educate Catholic priests from the local non-Muslim populations for the Balkan hinterland, specially Bulgars (during 1907-8, there were 27 orphans and 56 seminarians).

The Italian government and its foreign affairs ministry, were supporting many Italian or Italian-speaking schools outside Italy. Thus, all the Italian-speaking (actually Italian) schools of the city, were supported directly from the Italian government, or in some cases, indirectly, from the Italian community.

Practical & commercial school of Umberto I, was the most significant Italian educational foundation of the city. It had a classic department, commercial museum, collection of minerals and a well organized library (that was established in 1891). Until the school year 1888-9, the school was private, but later the Italian government, undertook the supervision. Main purpose of the school was, the promotion of the Italian language and culture, and the education on commercial-business activities. For its successful services, a gold medal was awarded during the fair of Turin in 1898, and another, later during Milan's fair in 1906. There were a director and nine professors, and a four-year course. Italian, Ottoman, French and German languages, were compulsory in all grades of study. The courses were composed by mathematics, natural sciences, commercial history, geography, political economy, introduction into commercial & civil law, calligraphy, sketching.

accounting, practical experience in commercial & business correspondence and gymnastics. In the classic department, the lessons of history, geography of the ancient nations, Hellenic and Latin languages were being taught. The school's diploma was equivalent to the Italian one, and the graduates were granted the admission either to the high commercial school of Italy, or to any classic lycee (both without exams).(17).

"Royal school for boys", had five grades. Its graduates were granted the admission to the school of Umberto I. It had a director and 10 teachers. Teaching lessons were mathematics, geometry, history, geography, introduction to the natural sciences introduction to commercial principles, calligraphy, sketching, introduction to the Human rights and obligations (ethics) and gymnastics. Italian and French languages were compulsory in all grades. Ottoman and Jewish-Spanish idiomatic languages, were compulsory only in the fourth and fifth grade. In 1888 the school came under the direct control and protection of the Italian government. During Turin's fair in 1898 a gold medal was awarded to it and later, in 1903 during Udine's fair took another silver medal. In Milan's fair in 1906, again a gold medal was awarded to the school.(18).

"Royal elementary school for girls", had a department for

(17). During the school year 1906-7, it had 102 pupils, while during the prior school years 1905-6 had 100 pupils

1904-5	"	96	"
1903-4	"	96	"
1902-3	"	98	"

(18). The school was working from 8 - 12 a.m. and from 13-16 p.m. every day (except Sundays). In 1906-7 had 281 pupils, while the prior school years 1905-6 had 263 pupils

1904-5	"	252	"
1903-4	"	248	"
1902-3	"	280	"

lessons of vocational guidance and occupational rehabilitation. A director and six teachers were the staff of the school.(19).

An elementary school for girls with nursery school, was another educational foundation of the Italian community. It had a director and four teachers. It was rather, the best organized elementary school for girls, because it attracted the sympathy of the most noble families of the city. It had 5 grades in which girls, were taking lessons of general knowledge and occupational rehabilitation. School's activity was extended, with lectures for the public and philanthropic acts, by its teachers. It was established in 1888.(20).

The elementary school for girls of princess Yolanda, was established as a private school, but later came under the control of the Italian cultural society "Dante Alighieri".(21). It was supported financially by the Italian government and the Italian community also. Girls of Italian origin were accepted only. Most of them were children of the Italian workers and employees of the city, that were settled near *Vardor* (Βαρδάρης) neighborhood. Poor girls were having lunch in the school. Italian language was being taught, by the sisters of mercy in the Italian hospital and by a nun in an annex of the school. The school had a director and three teachers (during the school year 1906-7 it had 73 girls). In the

(19). During the year 1906-7, it had 180 girls, and the prior years 1905-6 the school had 113 girls

1904-5	"	"	"	170	"
1903-4	"	"	"	159	"
1902-3	"	"	"	120	"

(20). There were 100 girls in the school year 1906-7, while in the prior years 1905-6 there were 84 girls

1904-5	"	"	"	122	"
1903-4	"	"	"	100	"
1902-3	"	"	"	90	"

(21). From the readings, i may say, that, "Dante Alighieri" cultural society, was the Italian copy of the above mentioned French cultural society "Mission laïque".

main building of the school, was an organized library.

American Agricultural school, was established in 1903 by American missionaries. It was located near the village "Kopçılar" not far from the city (1/2 hour to the east). It was acting mainly as an orphanage (especially for Bulgarian children). It was under the protection of the U.S. consulate and was supported by a committee in the U.S. (during 1908, it was taking care of 18 Bulgarian orphans).

SLAVS

Bulgarian community of the city, had 6 educational foundations. All the Bulgarian high schools of Macedonian hinterland, were organized under the pattern of the German "Realschulen" (practical lycee).

The one in Salonika, was located in Ay. Athanasios neighborhood and was established in 1882. It was an eight-grade school. It had a chemical laboratory, a collection for the lesson of physics and a library with French and German books. There were 12 teachers for boarders and day students. (22).

A school for girls, was located near the Bulgarian high school, in the same neighborhood. It was established in 1882 also. It had day and boarder students and its staff was composed by 13 male and female teachers (during 1908, it had 183 students from which 69 were boarders and were paying 14 liras tuition fees, annually. Director, was Mr. Tanef).

Bulgarian commercial school was established in 1908, and was located in Kozancılar neighborhood. It had 3 grades and in the

(22). During 1908, there were 127 students, from which 101 were day students and the other boarders. Annual tuition fees, for boarders were 14 liras. Director was *Christo Dantsef*.

year it was established, it had 36 students, that were paying annually, 9 liras for tuition fees (in the school year 1910-11, there were 28 students).

A Bulgarian elementary school, was located in Vardar (Βαρδάρης) neighborhood (in 1908, it had 37 boys and 33 girls, while in 1910-11 there were 38 boys & 30 girls).

Another elementary school, was located in Αγ. Αθανάσιος neighborhood, in the opposite side of the high school (in 1908, it had 125 boys and 104 girls, in 1910-11, 130 boys & 88 girls).

Hemidiye Bulgarian elementary school was established by Sultan Abdül Hamid (in 1908, it had 66 boys and 87 girls).

Serbian community (23), had four educational foundations.

A semi-high school and a high school for girls, were located near a place called *İkinci Rihtım* (second quay), (in 1908, semi-high school had 13 professors and 140 pupils, while high school for girls, had 63 students).

There were two nursery schools also, one in Vardar neighborhood (with 25 children in 1908) and the other in Hemidiye suburb (with 12 children in 1908).

ROMANIANS-WALLACHIANS

Rumanians, had two educational foundations.

There was a Rumanian commercial school in the city, that was established in 1899 and was located outside of the city walls (in 1908, it had 80 students).

(23). Serbian community of the city was almost non existent. Serbs themselves speak and write for some 100 families until the census of 1913, cf. "Makedonika" Vol.23, 1983.

There was an nursery school for Wallachians also (in 1908, it had 40 boys and 20 girls).

ARMENIANS

There were only a few Armenian families in the city (some 300 persons in 1908). During 1907, an elementary school was established. Its lessons started in 1908, with 18 pupils.

OTTOMAN-GREEKS/HELLENES

In the first decade of the 20th century, there were twenty three educational foundations, that belonged to the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community. From an account of "Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος Θεσσαλονίκης" (educational association of Thessaloniki) (24), for the school year 1909-10 (which was crosschecked with other existing data), i can present a complete icon of the educational situation of the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community during those years.

There was a six-grade high school for boys. An already existing school (from 1856), renamed to "Γυμνάσιον" (Gymnasium-high school) in 1870. In 1873 the "Γυμνάσιον", started working normally as a high school. In the same year, was recognized by the Hellenic

(24). "Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος Θεσσαλονίκης", was established on 14th of September 1872, the same day that "Φιλική Εταιρεία" had been established (for the Orthodox church this is a significant day and called "day of reinstatement of the Holy Cross". As it is obvious from its articles, main purpose of the association was the promotion of the Hellenic language and culture, to the Hellenic communities of the Macedonian hinterland, that were broken away from the metropolis of Salonika. On the other hand, it was the instructive organ of the educational activity of the city. It was supported from the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community of the city and the Hellenic government through the ministry of education.

government, as equal with the existing high schools by the Hellenic Kingdom. (25). The building was located to the east of *Sulu Paşa* mosque, in Panaguda neighborhood (26), probably at *Ishakiye cami* street (today's Απριλίου). According to the account of the schools' committee for the school year 1909-10, there were 14 professors, 1 school's children superintendent, 1 warden and 247 students.

A five-year grade high school for girls called "Kendrikon" (central) (27), was located in *Kara Taş* street, at St. Athanasios (*Cami 'i Atik*) neighborhood. On the opposite side of the street, a six-year grade school for girls was quartered, and was called "coinstuctive". Based on the above mentioned account, there were 5 male professors, 12 female teachers, 2 wardens and 702 girls in both schools.

The "Kendrikon" (Central) one-grade nursery school for girls, had 2 female teachers and during the school year 1909-1910, had 130 girls.

The "Kendrikon" (Central) elementary school for boys, had six grades and the staff, were 6 teachers and 1 warden. In the school year 1909-10, it had 313 students.

"Ioanidios" elementary school for boys, was located in *Hisar* street (today's Φιλικής Εταιρείας), at St. Constantinos neighborhood. It was established by expenses of Δημήτριος

Ιωαννίδης from

Siatista.

(25). During the fire of 1890, the building was burned down. A new building was erected, by expenses of Ανδρέας Συγγρός mainly, and was inaugurated on the 6th of September 1893. It costed 2,369 liras, plus 1,300 for its building ground.

(26). According to Pr. B. Dimitriadis book. map pp.67.

(27). "Central", usually was called by the Ottoman-Greeks, the biggest educational foundation of its kind, in the big cities, cf. with "Kendrikon" lycee for girls in Istanbul (still existing), Monastery, etc..

It had 6 grades and during the school year 1909-10, had 6 teachers 1 school's children superintendent 1 warden and 326 boys.

A six-grade mixed elementary school was located in St. Trinity neighborhood at *Hamidiye* suburb. It had 4 male and 2 female teachers, 1 warden and during the school year 1909-10, 165 boys and 116 girls in the school.

Mixed elementary school of Analipsi neighborhood, at *Hamidiye* suburb, had six grades, 3 male and 2 female teachers and 1 warden. During 1909-10 period, there were 150 boys and 129 girls in the school.

Five-grade mixed elementary school of *Vardaris*, was located in *Burmali cami* street (today's Αντιγωναϊδών), at *St. Minas (Yonik manastir)* neighborhood, and during 1909-10 school year, it had 150 boys and 53 girls in its classes. The staff was composed by 3 teachers and 1 warden.

Mixed, two-grade elementary school of Podromi (Hippodrome), at *Ipapendis (Tuzlu çeşme)* neighborhood, had 3 female teachers and a warden. In the school year 1909-10, there were 40 boys and 133 girls in the school. In the same neighborhood, at *Yassi* street, was the mixed nursery school of *Ipapendi*.

A mixed nursery school, was located inside the monastery of *Vlatades* -that belonged to *Suluca* neighborhood-, and had 1 female teacher and a warden. According to the above mentioned account, during the school period 1909-10, it had 22 boys and 26 girls.

In "St. Trinity" neighborhood at *Hamidiye* suburb, another mixed nursery school had been established. It had 1 female teacher and a warden. During the school period 1909-10, there were 17 boys and 15 girls.

In the neighborhood Analipsi at *Hamidiye* suburb, a nursery

school was located. It had 1 female teacher and 1 warden. During the school period 1909-10, there were 19 boys and 20 girls.

Two nursery schools were established in St. Minas (*Yanik manastir*) neighborhood. One of them, was located in a place called Kipi Bardari (Vardar gardens). The other, was located in *Dar* street (today's *Ιπποκράτους*), and was called "nursery school of Vardaris". They had each 1 female teacher and a warden. In the school period 1909-10, the first had 18 boys and 17 girls while the other had 27 boys and 18 girls.

The last nursery school, was located in St. Theodora (*Kizlar manastir*) neighborhood. It had 1 female teacher and a warden. In the school period 1909-10, it had 11 boys and 12 girls.

A three-year course, mixed, teacher-training school with boarding-house, was established in 1875 and was supported mainly, by the "Σύλλογος προς Διάδοσιν των Ελληνικών γραμμάτων" (28) (association for the dissemination of the Hellenic letters (language-culture)). It was located in *Κερσησά* street of Mitropoli (*Metropoli*) neighborhood. The staff were 7 male and 4 female professors, with 4 wardens two for each wing (male - female). Candidates of 17 to 22 years old were accepted. They were being examined in the lessons: ethics (plus religion knowledge), Hellenic language, mathematics, geography and history.

(28). The "Σύλλογος προς Διάδοσιν των Ελληνικών γραμμάτων", was established in Athens in 1869, with purpose to promote the education and culture of the Hellenic language. Its main activities were to give scholarships to students wanting to study in Europe the "new" sciences, to establish and maintain educational foundations in the Hellenic communities outside Greece, in the "captive" lands mainly and to organize other autonomous educational associations in the Hellenic hinterland and the Hellenic communities outside Hellas. It was under the protection of H.M. King George of the Hellenes and from time to time, many decorations were awarded to it.

The school had a laboratory, an organized library, educational collections (mineral chemical, etc.), musical instruments and a classroom for organic gymnastics. During the studies, ethics, philosophy, children-caring, chemistry, physics, mathematics, natural history, physiology, geography, cosmogony, general history, Hellenic history, music, sketching, calligraphy, gymnastics and Hellenic language lessons, were being taught. The graduating exams, were written, oral and practical. The new teachers, were being used mainly in the schools of Macedonian hinterland. During the school year 1909-10, 121 male and 65 female expectant teachers were studying there.

An elementary model-school, in which training teachers were doing their practice was located in the same building. During the school year 1909-10, there were 32 male students in it.

"Φιλεκπαιδευτικός σύλλογος" (educational association), established a three-grade evening school in 1906. An annex of this school, was located in St. Trinity neighborhood at *Hamidiye* suburb. Both schools, had 5 teachers and during the school year 1909-10, 140 male pupils.

The later called "Maræslion" lycee, was established by the monk Στέφανος Νούκας, in 1902 and was named "Hellenic commercial lycee". It had six grades (one preparatory, for those that had insufficient knowledge of the three presupposed languages) and a boarding-house. According to its articles, the Ottoman, Hellenic and French languages, were compulsory in the lessons. Boarders, semi-boarders and day students were accepted. Its staff was composed by 15 professors and a director, that was Στέφανος Νούκας himself. During the school year 1909-10 it had 178 students in its classes.

A model-school for girls, was established by the monk Στέφανος Νούκας. It was located in *Yalılar* (Πύργοι) neighborhood, outside of the south-eastern walls of the city. It had 3 male professors and 9 female teachers. During the school period 1909-10, there were 95 pupils.

The seven-grade commercial school, of Αθανάσιος Κωνσταντινίδης and its boarding-house were located in *Yalılar* avenue at *Hemidiye* suburb. It was established in 1907. The school had 13 professors. Boarders, semi-boarders and day students were being accepted. During the school year 1909-10, it had 205 students.

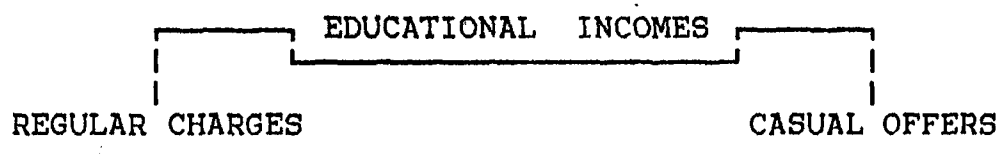
St. Paul handicraft school and its boarding-house were established in September of 1905. There were 40 students during the school year 1909-10.

Melitefs orphanage or "Papafion" was established with expenses of Ιωάννης Ν. Παπάφης and started working on 6th of October 1903. On the 12th of June 1909 the first 17 orphans graduated. There were three departments of vocational education (shoe-making, carpentry and sewing). It had 3 teachers (one in each department) and in the school year 1909-10 had 126 orphans in its classes.

The expenses of the educational foundations, usually burdened the communities of the city.(29). All the communities, were using almost the same methods to grow better the income of their educational purposes' treasuries. There were regular charges and casual offers. Besides that, the communities were organizing festival days, in which raffle tickets were being sold, charity collections to raise money were taking place, etc., to assist

(29). The Ottoman community, in many cases was perquisite, compared to the other communities, because, it had a constant income from the public revenues, to cover the maintenance expenses of its educational foundations.

their educational treasuries financially. Guilds were playing a significant role in this process also. I may categorize as following the financial means that were being used by the communities, to support their educational activities :



- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Annual, obligatory contribution from the moneyed members of the community. b) Admission and tuition fees of the students. c) Progress report and graduation diploma fees. d) Annual lottery & schools' dance of the communities. e) Annual exposition - bazaar of the products, from the vocational schools. f) Incomes from the conduct of bequests and their interests. g) Certain guilds', annual obligatory contribution. (30). h) Annual financial donations from various relative foundations (Synagogues, Vakifs, Churches, educational associations, etc.). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Donations of cash or other assets. b) Loans from relative foundations or private individuals. c) Contributions of various guilds (e.g. in the name day of their patron - Saint). d) Concerts or theatrical performances of students. e) Casual contributions or collections for a certain purpose. f) Contributions from homogenous theatrical companies, visiting the city (31). g) For the non-Muslim communities, casual offers by the Ottoman government, or governmental foundations. |
|---|---|

All the educational foundations, were managed by a school-board, composed by members that were reputable citizens and representatives of the community's secular authorities. In most cases, the religious representation (priest, vicar, rabbi, hoca) in board's composition is necessary also.

In the lower levels of education, teachers' employment had a

seasonal character, due to the financial shortage, a phenomenon that was causing many unpleasant conditions every year in the city (arbitrariness from the notables' side against the teachers, paternalistic - feudal relations among directors-teachers-notables etc.).

According to contemporary to the resources comments, the quality of education that was being given by the public and communal schools (the elementary especially), was very low, but free for the lower social strata. Besides, the majority of that strata, needs even children's hands to scrape a living, so 40-50 % from the children of school age (7-12 years old) were regular students. This fact was urging the noble families of every community, to send their children to foreign private schools (German, Italian, French) of the city.

The educational activity of the communities, flourished especially in the first decade of the 20th century. This phenomenon based on the objective factors that emerged after the first constitutional period of the Empire. During the early period of the Young Turks (before the prevalence of the nationalistic ideas), when the motto "Egalite - Fraternite - Liberte" was dominating the masses of the Empire, communal activities structured in a more liberal base.

On the other hand, every national community of the Empire, will play a role (wilful or not) in the attempt of its relative nation to get one step forward, in the strife of the great powers (and

(30). e.g. In the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic community of the city, financially responsible for the support of education guild, was that of the chandlers (Mumcular esnafı).

(31). It was rather a "Do ut Des" act, for the Italian, Frankish and Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic communities mainly.

their allied smaller countries), to dominate in the scene of international imperialism. Thus the communities of the Ottoman empire, by the attachment to their relative nations, were transformed into their means, for the penetration of their imperialistic pretensions, into the Ottoman Empire. The most classical example of the period, will be the struggle for the domination in the Macedonian hinterland, between Hellenes and Bulgars during the early years of the century (that was sophisticatedly planned by the Ottomans (*Divide ut Regnes*), but executed, thanks to the clash of interests of the great powers in the Balkan peninsula), from which a part can be observed, on the educational - cultural process in Macedonia, that certain period.

National or cultural committees of each nation (even the homeless Jews), undertook to realize this "national" connection between the community and the relative nation. As we show above, the fact, that the most of the educational foundations of the communities, were supported by such committees was not accidental. The most delicate part of this conjunction, was based always on the use of a common language, culture and historic recollections.

Another reason which is indirectly connected with the prior mentioned argument, was the preservation of the national identity and peculiarity of every community, through the transportation of the common experiences, norms, ethics, etc. from the older to the young members of the community. Here the attempt is rather in-communal and the establishment of a school by the community, was taking for a social act that promoted community's socialization mechanisms on the purpose, to obtain the greatest possible collective solidarity, in other way, to teach on what sociology calls " we and the otherness ".

THE HOUSES OF WORSHIP

Salonika was the second multi-religious center of the Empire and Europe after Istanbul. The three biggest religions of our world, met in the city. Christ and Allah, along with Jehovah, were being worshiped by the city inhabitants. Worship houses were interspersed into the city neighborhoods. Not necessarily according to the religion of the neighborhoods' population potential but rather as a historic classification of the city structural changes (1). Thus, in 100% Ottoman-Greek neighborhoods, mosques, mescits (2), türbes (3), or Synagogues could be found.

Successive settlements in the city, of various populations, until the 17th c., that they resulted internal transfers of the domestic populations, created such a landscape picture.

During the early years of the Ottoman occupation, the most imposing Byzantine churches (as happened elsewhere), converted to mosques. (4) Few were left to the Ottoman-Greeks for their worship needs. Few Romaniot-Jewish (Griegos) synagogues, existed also in the city. Jewish refugees, that came from Europe, started building new synagogues, only after the first half of the 16th c. (because of their precariousness, due to the persecutions and the expulsions they were faced with), that they had common internal

(1). Some of the Hellenes students of the city life, support the opinion, that the existence of a religious building in a certain neighborhood was significant of the existence of a even small population of the same religion in that neighborhood.

(2). *Mescit*: small mosque, usually without minaret

(3). *Türbe*: Mausoleum, burial memorial.

(4). Byzantine Thessaloniki after 10th c., became the greatest center of eastern Christianity. According to the tradition, there were 365 churches in the city, equal with the days of the year, each for one Saint. vide, Janin Raymond, "Les églises et les monastères des grands centres Byzantins", p. 347, Paris 1975.

characteristics with those of the places they came from.

During the first Ottoman period in the city, until the early first half of 17th, the most of the city religious buildings, that existed in the next centuries, were erected. Great mosques were build in the city, *mescits*, *zaviyes*, *medreses tekes* (5) and *türbes*, as well as many synagogues. That period could be characterized as the period of structural superiority of the Ottomans and in a minor degree of the Jews. Ottoman structures outnumber any other both in number and quantity. City organized *cemæat* (6), will be turned gradually into stable neighborhoods, around a praying place (*namazgâh*) (7), that will also be turned into a mosque, or *mescit* or *külliyè* (8). The motifs and architectural characteristics, are not different from that of the Eastern parts of the Empire. Massive buildings, almost exclusively build by big pieces of cut stone, with triple or sixfold round and pointed archways in the facade, that supported by big pillars and drive to decorated portals, are the typical examples of that period. (9)

It is true, that despite the fact that both religions (Jewish and Christian), are cited by the Koran, the Ottomans had limited

(5). *Zaviye*: Dervishes' lodge, small *teke*.

Medrese: theological school with boarded students.

Teke: Muslim monastery.

(6). *Cemæat*: small communities, congregations, but here, small religion communities, organized from place to place, according the exist space.

(7). In old Ottoman Salonika, there where few places called by this name. Vide, B. Ανυπηρίδης, "Topography of Thessaloniki, during the years of the Ottoman occupation 1430-1912". G.T., 1983.

(8). *Külliyè*: complex of public use buildings, around a mosque. According to the late Ottoman usage, the complex, usually consisted by a *hamam* (Turkish bath), a *sebil* (fountain for free distribution of water), an *imâret* (hall for the free distribution of soup to the poor), a small *mezarlık* (cemetery) or a *türbe*, and in some cases by a *kütüphane* (library).

the freedom of the two flocks, in the structure of worship buildings.

City Jews, during the same period, were trying to represent their past, from their old home-lands, and to revive the historic memory of their community. Thus, they will build synagogues, that will be named after the original, abandoned synagogues of Spain, Germany and Sicily, or after the places they came from.

Exterior characteristics, will be the simplicity and lowness of the buildings, as a compliance with the Ottoman rules. Main structural shapes, were the rectangle or the aisle Basilica.

Next period, that of the middle centuries of the Ottoman presence, was a less productive period for the communities. Only two churches were build (after the end of the 17th c.) while some others were repaired or renovated. The Ottomans, because of the financial shortage of the Wakfs, due to the abuses and the lack of concern of their administrators, will construct this period only small buildings in the city neighborhoods, some *mescits* and few *medreses*, while few other mosques will be restored. (10). Jews, continued their construction activities, but at a slower pace also.

A new period started for the Ottoman-Greeks, soon after the treaty of *Küçük Kaynarca*. From the end of the 18th century, until the years, near the outbreak of the Hellenic struggle for independence (1821), wealthy city Ottoman Greeks, will finance, either constructions or repairs of churches. During the period

(9). Typical examples of the early city Ottoman period's architecture in the city, are the existing mosques of *Ishak Paşa* (*Alaca imaret cami*, 1484) and *Hanza bey* (1620). Besides we have data about other mosques of the period (that do not exist), through existing cart-postals or photographs of the late 19th and early 20th c., as well as from travelers' memoirs.

1800 - 1818, about 10 churches were erected, expanded or restored. (11).

Tanzimat declaration, with the general principles of equality before the law, will introduce a new era to all communities. During the years 1840 - 1880, many of the abandoned Ottoman religious constructions will be restored, reconstructed or expanded.

Jews and Ottoman-Greeks will be also occupied with the same work. Three churches and one big synagogue were reconstructed, except those that had been restored.

By the last quarter of the 18th century, the city became a reception center of foreign engineers and architectures. Some other factors, will also effect religious buildings construction activity, as well as, architecture's typology and morphology: a. the consolidation of the favorable laws, that decreed after

(10). This is the picture that we may extract, from the article of A.S. Ünver, "Selanik'te yüz eserimiz hakkında", in the *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, I volume, 1972, İstanbul. For the late middle period (late 17th and 18th c.) there is another view, that of Pr.Dr. B. Δημητριάδης, that according to it, middle period for the Ottomans, was a completely stagnant period, that drove to a natural destruction many of the worship buildings, by the end of 17th c., *vide idem supra* p. 285. This opinion based on the existence of a *Takrir* (official registration), of the year 1251 (1835), that describes their condition. There were 34 mosques, and 48 other neighborhood foundations (*mescits* mainly), from which 20 were completely destroyed, five had no roof, and some other had to be restored or were closed. *Vide idem supra* p.p. 282-285. This view, share also a scrupulous student of the case, that writes, "... middle period for the Ottoman religious buildings, will be the period of wear and tear from the gradual abandonment ..." *vide*, Θάλεια Σ. Μαντοπούλου-Παναγιωτοπούλου "Religious architecture in Thessaloniki, during the last phase of the Ottoman occupation", p. 682, H.T., Ph. dissertation, submitted to the Architecture dept. of Polytechnic school of Aristotelion University of Thessaloniki, 1989.

(11). For relative details, *vide idem supra*, Θάλεια Μαντοπούλου - Παναγιωτοπούλου, p. 428.

Hatt-ı-Hümayûn rescribe, about non-Muslim religion buildings' constructions, b. the introduction of new, western structural methods, and basically new styles (successively, Neoclassicism, Historism, Eclecticism), c. the economic prosperity of the city communities by the end of the century, due to the development of commercial activity, d. the increase of the city population because of the inflows from the hinterland, due to the general unrest in the Balkans, e. the vain competition among the communities, onto their attempt to flaunt their riches to the others (12), f. the series of fires that outbroke during the last years of the 19th and the early years of the 20th c. (destroyed many of the existed constructions), g. during the years of Macedonian struggle (1870 - 1910), the separatistic activities of the Slavs towards the religious hegemony of the Orthodox Patriarchate, and the trend among the opposite parts to corroborate national identity through religious differences.

THE OTTOMAN-TURKS AND THE MUSLIMS

During 19th c. at least five mosques were restored, while two *mescits* were reconstructed and one was build (*Zihni Paşa's* in 1894). In the early 20th c. (1902), *Donmeh's Yeni Cami* was build, and after the earthquake of 1905, *Hortaç Cami* in 1906, as well as *Kesimiye Cami* a year later, were restored.

According to the exploited by B. Αμπυρπιδδης, papers of the tax registration of 1906, there were in the city 24 mosques, some 17 *mescits*, at least 14 *tekkes* and 13 *turbes* (13). Nine of the mosques, were converted Byzantine churches (*Eski Cuma* or *Cami*

(12). About the inter-communal competition, and the impression of a traveler, vide, James Baker M.A., "Turkey in Europe". p. 415, Cassell Petter & Galpin, London, 1877.

Atik, Kasımiye, Aya Sofya, Hortaç efendi, Yakub Paşa, İshakiye,

İki şerifeli or şerefeli, Cezeri Kasım Paşa and Burmalı cami).

After the Balkan wars, all nine mosques, reconverted to churches.

while six, were burned down by the great fire of 1917. We have no

data for five other, while from the rest four, still exist in very

well condition: *Hamza Bey cami, Alaca İmaret (Ishak Paşa) cami,*

Zihni Paşa cami and *Yeni cami*, the masterpiece of Vitaliano

Poselli.

Main architectural type of the city mosques, was that, with the

big quadrangular prayer lodge, that was covered by a big central

dome, while in the direction of the main entrance, there was a

smaller covered antechamber, almost alike with *Nebi cami* of

Diyarbakır (without the small domes of the antechamber). In a

later, developed type, the antechamber became a portico that was

covered according to its size, by more than one small domes, and

the place that the *mihrab* apse was located, was extended like a

(13). Except the above mentioned mosques, in 1906, there were:

Selim Paşa, Biyıklı Süleyman Ağa*, Hacı Musa*, Fetiye*, Oturakçılar*, Hacı Abdurrahim efendi*, Koca Kasım Paşa, Yalı kapısı, Popara, Zihni Paşa and Eski cami. (*= burned down by the fire of 1917, ~= it was already destroyed, ^= nowadays existing relics).*

The existed *mescits*, were: *Ahmet subaşı*, Suluca, Dabak Hayreddincik~, Bələt, Abdullah Kadi*, Bələban~, Sarı hatip*, Şehabeddin~, Kəzəz Hacı Mustafa or Horor su*, Gülmezoğlu*, Kərə Hacı~, Orta~, Divan~, Kelemeriye kəlesi, Hacı memi*, Tərakçi^, and Kərə Hacı^^ mescidi.*

The existed *tekkes* were: *Zindən, Kədir bəbə, Kərə bəbə* (destroyed during the Balkan wars), *Kəpi* (existed until the recent years), *Koca Kasım Paşa, Fetiye*, Çarşamba or Civciv*, Perşembe*, Peştəmalcıyan, Kərə Ali, Kəzəz Hacı Musa or Saraçlar, Kəzəz Hacı Mustafa*, the known *Mevlevihəne*, and one that was being housed in the house of *Ali Orfi efendi tekkesi*, at *Həmidiye* suburb.

The existed *turbe* were: *Həydar bəbə, Səbən bəbə, Kesikbaş Ali bəbə, Süleyman bəbə, Tərakçı bəbə^, Cənnət bəbə, Mushed Meydən Sultan bəbə, Murad bəbə, Gəzi bəbə, Musa bəbə* (that still exists), two other unknown and *Üçler türbesi*.

Vide idem supra, B. Δημιογραφία, p.p. 282-350, 374-387 and 444-452.

niche, while a rectangular parallelogram shaped vestibule, was inserted between the portico and the *son cemaat yeri* of the quadrangular prayer lodge. Another architectural type was that of the reversed T, like those of *Yıldırım cəmi* and *Yeşil cəmi* in Bursa. There were also some mosques or *mescits*, that they looked like two-floor houses. Quadrangular or rectangular parallelogram shaped buildings, simple without external decorations but windows, with roofs covered with tiles.

THE JEWS

By the end of the first half of 19th c., due to the economic prosperity of some Jewish families, like Həssid, Karəssə, and Erera, private oratories were founded. (14). This was a new element into the religious consternation activity of the city Jews.

The first, big city synagogue, was the *Italian Yəsən*, that was burned down by the fire of 1890. It was reconstructed in 1897. The other was *Təlmud Torəh*, that also burned in 1898, and reconstructed in 1904. During the second half of 19th, three synagogues were build in the city center (*Həimutso Kovo*, *Beth el*, *Beth Yozef*). In the same period, there where about 42 synagogues in the city. (15). Unfortunately, the two big fires that outbroke into the city during the last decade (1890 and 1898), stroke vitally the center of the Jewish community, and destroyed many of their buildings. By the beginning of new century, a new big synagogue, the famous *Beth Səul* of Vitaliano Posseli, in the

(14). *Vide idem suprə*, Θάλεια Μαντοπούλου - Παναγιωτοπούλου, p. 598.

(15). *Vide*, Γ.Κ. Μωραϊτόπουλος, "The Thessaloniki. For use by the city elementary schools students" H.T., p. 33, Athens 1882.

western city part (*Hamidiye* suburb) was build. (16).

City synagogues, did not have external significant characteristics or decorations. Until the first decades of the 20th c., they will remain simple and non-provocative, unlike the other communities' religious buildings. City Jews were very cautious, because of the tough experiences of their European ancestors. Architectural typology that dominated among the synagogues' buildings, was still the aisle Basilika, that was being adapted through the centuries any time, to the contemporary style of every period (17). During the last period five-aisle Basilica, will be the main architectural type of the synagogues, to give more spaciousness and grandeur in the interior.

However plain looking the synagogues appeared from outside, twice as much magnificent, were inside. According to the Jewish Holy Codes *Alahs* and *Zohar*, synagogues had many windows; thus enabling praying people to see the sky. All of them had a separate part for the women only. Its position was changing from period to period. During the last period, usually, it was raised high by the two side aisles. In such cases, there were two series of side windows, one each for every level.

(16). According to the papers of tax registration of the year 1906 B. Δημητριάδης writes, that by the new century, some 21 synagogues must be existed in the city: *Ez Haim, Ez Daath, Aschenaz, Italya, Sisilya Salom, Gerus Sefarad, Mayor, Katalan Yasan, Katalan Hadas, Aragon, Kastilya, Frovansa, Portugal or Portokal, Kalabrya, Pulya, Kalabrya Hadas, Lisbon, Leviye, Sisilya Yasan* and *Bedaron or Beth Aaron*.

(17). Dr. Θάλεια Μαντοπούλου - Παναγιωτοπούλου, supports the opinion, that Basilika as an architectural typology, was found by the new-comers European Jews, in the synagogues of the local, Romaniot Jews (*Griegos*). Because of the lack of architectural tradition of their own, and due to the fact that Basilica was an "adaptable" to all kind of needs (and dimensions) architectural type, they adopted it, into the construction of their worship buildings. *Vide idem supra*.
p. 599 - 600.

To avoid external hightening of the building, the floor was lowered below ground level. The sanctuary (*Ehēl-Akodes*), was always in the opposite of the main entrance, and it was always pointed to Jerusalem. In the front left and right side, there were two pseudocolumns, that were connected with round or pointed arches. There the holy cylinders of the Law were being kept. The bema (*teva*), wooden or marble, was on the same axis of sanctuary - main entrance, sometimes in the middle of the synagogue, to provide visual contact between the priest and the prayings. (18). Aisles, were divided with long series of pseudobeams.

City synagogues, had a peculiarity in comparison with the European. It was the combination of the European tradition, and the spirit of the east. All of them, had keep most of their ancestry characteristics, that where knit together with cultural elements that where products of the Orthodox Christian and Islamic tradition. This wedding's significant elements, were obvious mainly in the internal decoration of the city synagogues (as it was in Istanbul's also). (19)

Fires, had been the natural foe of the city Jews and their synagogues. The great fire of 08.08.1917, stroke for another time the wretched by the time buildings, and burned down enough from them. Thus, *Beth Saul*, became the big city synagogue. What the time an the nature did not succeed, happened in 1943: Nazis, in their cruel attempt to wipe out city Jewish presence, destroyed many synagogues and blasted *Beth Saul*.

(18). *Vide*, Αλβέρτος Νάρ, "Temples in the shape of the sky" H.T., in Χρονικά, is. 70, p.p. 48-51, Athens 1984.

(19). *Vide idem supra*, Αλβέρτος Νάρ, p. 50.

ORTHODOXES AND THE OTHER CHRISTIANS

After the outbreak of the Hellenic struggle of independence in southern Hellas, the local insurrections in Macedonian hinterland, and the events in the city of Salonika (Ottoman-Greeks' uprising), the constructive works were suspended. In the years after *Hatt-i-Serif* (1839), the churches of Panaguda (1841) and later, St. Minas (1852), were reconstructed.

During the last city Ottoman period, after *Hatt-i-Hümeyun* rescription, seven temples were build (St. Nikolaos o Tranos in 1864, Panagia Evangelistria in 1875, St. Trinity in 1891, St. Demetrious started in 1890 -the later called St. Gregorios o Palamos-, Analsipsi tou Kyriou in 1894, St. Paraskevi in 1900, St. Haralambos in 1905), and the chapel of St. Gregorios Palamos in 1869. Five others were restored or expanded (Ipapandi, St. Nikolaos in 1864, St. Theodora in 1890, a part of Vlatadon monastery in 1907, and St. Constendinos in 1908). Six churches in the same period acquired belfries (St. Auanasios in 1860, Panagia Evangelistria in 1894, St. Theodora in 1890, St. Constendinos in 1908, Panaguda and Panagia Dexia).

New elements of the period, were the elevation of the place that it was set apart for the women, thanks to the general elevation of the building (due to *Tanzimat* renovations), the use of dome, and belfry towers.

Main architectural type of the last period, will still be Basilike, (due to its adaptability in the space and its constructive ease), three-aisle (in the most of the cases, without external graduations into the roof, but internal, thanks to columns, that also divide the space into the three aisles), or

single-aisle for smaller buildings. Post Byzantine will be the other type, with cross-shaped ground plan and dome, in the point that the two axes were crossed. Enough churches have in one, two or three of their sides open arcades (porticos). There are one or two sparse series of side-windows, accordingly to the height and the levels of the building. The façades of some churches, are formatted as a mixture of different styles. Thus, Byzantine apses, together with classicist Hellenic columns, and neoclassicist triangular pediments, along with Renaissance's friezes and Baroque fanlights, are the elements of the eclectisist synthesis of those façades. The interior usually have a very rich appearance, with heavy wooden or woodcut decorations, especially near by the sanctuary and the bema. Some churches have also plaster decorations of classic Hellenic motifs (capitals, anthemions, etc.). Almost all churches, have no fresco decorations. (20).

The city small Bulgarian community, rather for propaganda reasons build three churches (St. Salvator, St. John Chrysostom and the older and smaller St. Savvas)(21). Other city Slavs, (like Serbs), contributed to the construction of those churches.

Few city Romanians succeeded to build a chapel, while Catholics (22), Evangelists and Armenians also, builded one each. (23).

After the period of *Tanzimat*, during the last years of 19th and early 20th c., Ottoman-Greeks will be the first in the scale of

(20). *Vide idem supra*, Θάλεια Μαντοπούλου - Παναγιωτοπούλου p.p. 477-483.

(21). St. John Chrysostom's church, started to be build in 1907, by the Bulgarians architectures brothers Mitrowski. It was finished by the Hellenes, after the Balkan wars. It is a three-aisle Basilika with a dome, and two low side-belfry towers near by the edges of the facade.

constructions, a natural result, after their inactivity during the prior centuries (due to the legal status), and their population's increase. Second will be the Jews, because of the simple fact that three times in the same century, big fires destroyed many of their synagogues. Ottoman-Turks, will follow with few but significant buildings.

Worship constructions of the last period, had many common characteristics. The buildings, that were erected by both, Muslims and non-Muslims, were monumental. They were builded onto open town planing axes, in corners, on elevated bases, to demonstrate their presence (unlike prior periods, that non-Muslim worship buildings were always "covered" by other buildings or were builded at out of the way locations. Buildings' grandeur will be increased also, by the use of various architectural styles. During the early years of 20th the constuctures were dominated by Eclecticism.

Another common characteristic of the last period is symbolism.

The stirrings of national consience of the people and their quest for their national identities, will drive to the representation of the glorious past of every community into its identical buldings

(22). Jesuits monks, in 1744 reconstructed the abandoned Catholic church, in 1744, which was named St. Louis. The church was burned down by the fire of 1839. It was reconstruced in 1867, but in 1897, was burned again. The same year, Vitaliano Poselli, undertook the construction of the new Church, that finished in 1900. It was a three-aisle Basilica, with the central aisle elevated, based on two series of beams. Main entrance had a single-arch porch, on which the belfry tower was based. Internal decoration was of Renaissance motifs. The church was named after the Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary.

(23). The Armenian church, was build in 1903. It was a single-aisle Basilika, with the main entrance under a single-arch porch, on which the belfry tower was based (like the above mentioned Catholic), and two other smaller towers one for each edge of the Facade. It was also named after Virgin Mary.

(schools, various foundations, religious buildings etc.). Thus, the Ottomans turned back to early Ottoman architectural forms (Ottoman Neoclassicism), the Doenmeh to their most near Moorish, with the round or triple horseshoe arches and the heavy decoration, Bulgars to late Roman - Gothic, Ottoman Greeks to the Byzantine (Neobynantinism), Catholics to the Renaissance, and Armenians to the old Armenian forms. Typical examples are, *Yeni cami* that will be a copy of the exterior of *Yeşil türbe* in Bursa, and the Orthodox metropolitan church, that will be a copy of the Byzantine church of St. Loukas.

Manifestation and raising is also obvious during the last period. The climate of tolerance, will be expressed with bigger side-windows and portals, as well as porches or porticos, and open arcades at the facade, (external-internal communication), high belfries and steeples, pointed roofs and curved minarets, by the use of domes and lanterns, etc. (visibility), that they will contribute to the demonstration of the building. Buildings' dimensions were also increased.

The architects, that occupied with the draws and the supervision of the constructions, were all foreigners, and were been chosen by the communities, through the homogeneous National States (Hellas, Bulgaria, Italy etc.). Architects of the Ottoman-Greek community, the German Ernest Ziller and Ενωφών Πατινίσης were established, Ottomans Turks, Donmehs, Catholics and the Armenians, had the Italian Vitaliano Poselli for their own buildings, while the city Slavs had the Bulgarians Mitrowski brothers.

**THE EMERGENCE/DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL-WORKING CLASS
MOVEMENT IN THE CITY**

- A. GENESIS - WORKING ASSOCIATIONS AND LABOR UNIONS**
- B. FEDERACION SOCIALISTA OBRADERA AND THE SOCIALIST YOUTH. INTERNAL FUNCTIONS/ACTIVITIES AND EXTERNAL CONNECTIONS.**

"....We, the workers of Turkey, have to conceive that our main principle for our improvement, must be, to follow the steps of our European fellow workers. We ought to try for the establishment and support of our working associations, labour unions and politic societies. Let's support our labour unions, let's be members of the Workers' Socialist Union of Salonika. Let us all register...." etc.

Abraham Benaroyis, "Politic and economic struggle"
Worker's newspaper № 1, Salonika 15.08.1909.

Another effect of the city high social mobility, was the diffusion of the new European ideas, mainly among the members of the city intelligentsia. Scientism, Darwinism, and positivism, will be the main axes of interest for the Salonicans of the late 19th century. A great part of the national communities' intellectuals, were being occupied with the new European concepts about nationalism. They were studying about their national origins in order to form arguments, usable into the formation of the national conscience of their homogens. In addition, during the same period, city inter-communal strife was rising. Little before, some literary circles of the city on their seeking for new ideas, will have the first contact with the Russian "populist" literature of L. Tolstoy and F. Dostoyevsky.

Until the early second half of the 19th century (60^s-70^s), no contact of the middle and upper city strata was obvious with

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- (1). There were four nationalistic trends, evident among the city communities : a. maintenance of the Ottoman domination in the Balkans and ensuring of the territorial integrity of the Balkan provinces by the Ottoman Turks, b. autonomy for the city of Salonika by the Ottoman Jews, c. Unification of the city with the rest Hellenic territories by the Ottoman Greeks and Hellenes and d. the formation of the "Great Bulgaria" by a part of the Ottoman Slavic and Bulgarian population of the city.

European socialist theories. During the late years of the 80th and especially during the last decade of the century, various kinds of clubs (2), societies and "cemiyet"s, mushroomed all over the city.

In the beginning, most of them had "nationalistic", sectional or comradely character. They were formatted from outstanding communal members or intellectuals, either for the upper or the lower community's strata. Most of them (except the professional associations), had no founding members that were coming from the lower or the working strata. It is generally believed in my bibliography, that the working strata of the city, at that period had no class conscience. On the other hand, we may observe that the function of all those clubs, societies and "cemiyet"s was shaping rather the national conscience of the middle and lower working strata. The next step, was the influence by the European humanistic groups and freemasons, especially obvious in the Jewish and later in the Turkish intellectual circles (3).

As we will see in the following, i may support the opinion, that, those clubs, societies and "cemiyet"s (from which, later the first labor organizations will be formed), were the precursors of the class-working social establishments, and through such

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- (2). There were famous bourgeois clubs in the city. All of them had a multi-nature character, like masonic, politic, social, etc. Most known were the cosmopolitan "*Club de Salonique*", "*Nouveau Club*" and the exclusively Jewish "*Club de l' Alliance*". Their various activities (cultural, philanthropic, educational, etc.) are also interesting, e.g., "*Nouveau Club*" was issuing a newspaper, called "*La Nation*".
- (3). Later, in 1905 the influence of the humanistic ideas, gained ground among the city *Doenmeh* population, through the masonic lodges "*Labor et lux*" (labor and light) and "*Macedonia risorta*" (Revolutionary Macedonia), that were directly connected with the "*Grand Orient*" (Great Orient) of France. *K. Μοσκόφ* "Thessaloniki 1700 - 1912. The city of retailing". H.T., 1974, p.162. This was rather the channel to Salonika of the humanistic socialism, that was based on the ideas of the French socialist J. Jaures.

social groupings, the lower and the working strata of the city, will become participants of the socialist and Marxist ideas in the early 20th century.

From the second half of the 19th century, working associations started to be formatted. Most of them were called "brotherhoods" and in the beginning, their functional pattern was based onto the guilds' collective solidarity, with rather post-feudal characteristics. The association of bakers, was established in 1869, grocers' association in 1876, hotel-restaurant employees' association in 1900, shoe-makers and sew-workers' associations in 1904, shop-assistants' union in 1905 and the unions' association in 1909. The lower middle-class prejudices of their members, led to competitive relationships and continual clashes, due to the national antagonism and antithesis.

In the new century, before the formation of any socialist organization in Salonika, socialistic circles that had already been formed in other big cities of the Empire, will attempt to support the trends that had emerged in the city for the formation of a socialistic group. Main carrier of the radical ideas will be again the Jewish element, by one or the other way.

Two different social group, were working that period for this purpose: a. local elements, that they were composing the circle of Joseph Nshama and were connected with various French masonic lodges b. newcomers (from which few were Jews), old cadres or members of the Rumanian and Bulgarian social democracy, some of them leaned towards the "wides" Bulgarian social democrats, with populist ideas, and some of them anarchists. They were either teachers or skilled workers. One of them was Abraham Bensroyia. (4).

In August of 1908, the city working proletariat consisted of 10,000 industrial workers, other 10,000 permanent or seasonal tobacco workers, 3,000 to 5,000 port workers and some thousand landless tillers from the environs. (5).

The most considerable movement took place in the port workers and industrial workers population. From them, most radical were the tobacco workers. An important role played in the beginning, also, some of the ward coffee shops of the city, that became centers of propaganda and politic activity. (6).

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- (4). Abraham Benaroyia, was born in the coastal town of Danube Loud. He grew up at Vidin. His father was a small retailer in a Jewish neighborhood. After his graduation of the high school, he became a teacher of the Bulgarian language in the school of the Jewish community of Φιλιππουπολις (Plovdiv). There, probably in 1907 came in contact with the Bulgarian social democratic movement, and became a member of Nikolaï Herlakov's liberal socialists (a fraction of the "narrow" socialistic group : *vide sequens*). During his stay in that group, he was participating in the publication of a pamphlet titled "The Jewish question and social democracy" in 1908, while he was also participating in the publication of the newspaper "Evreitski Rabotnik" (Jew worker), that was being printed in Sofia. He left his law studies, and in 1908 started to work as a typographer. He also worked for two years as tobacco worker. After the Young Turks revolution he came to Salonika. His first politic steps in the city, were with a group of Bulgarian socialists. Little later he started to consort with some other Jews (Samuel Saadi -tobacco worker-, Albert Dasse -shop assistant-, Abraham Hasson -sew worker-); and the circle of Joseph Nshama, that was influenced by the ideas of the French humanistic socialism of J. Jaures. The result of these consortations, was the establishment of the first worker's club ((Club Ouvrier) in September 1908). Emblem of the club, became the depiction of a workers' hand that was holding a hammer. After the Balkan wars, Abraham Benaroyia continued his work and was one of the founding members of the Hellenic Socialistic Working Party in 1918. Little before the II world war, withdrew from the active politic life, and was working for the Jewish community of the city. During the period of the German occupation in Hellas, he was imprisoned in a concentration camp but survived. After the war, he refused to settle in the newly emerged Jewish state. Finally, in 1953 he left to Tel Aviv, where he settled in the town Holon near by the city.
- (5). Vide G. Haupt's "Introduction to Federation's history" in A. Benaroyia's book "First career of the Hellenic proletariat" H.T., Athens 1975, p. 20.

The founding members of Workers' club (*Club Ouvrier*) were trying to detach the leading members of the professional associations, from the influence of the various "national" clubs, committees, etc., like the Jewish "Friends Club" or the Greek/Hellenic "Πολιτικός Σύνδεσμος" (Politic league) (7). On this attempt, the club demonstrated a vivid action: lectures, discussions, conferences and presentations about socialistic matters, about the international proletarian organization etc. Gradually, the club's members were growing in numbers. The executive committee of the club (*Moses Modiano, Samuel Saadi Halevi, David Hawell, Isaac Lewis*), decided to change the club into a politic organization. The new name of the organization became "*Assosiasion Obradera de Salonika*" (Workers' Association of Salonika = W.A.S.). Until the April of 1909 (almost six months after its establishment), the club had some hundred members. (8).

The other point that W.A.S. was giving its fighting for, was the formation of labor unions and mutual aid funds, with clear class/labour characteristics. Until that time (from the beginning of the new century), the working population of the city (especially the Ottomans, Greek Ottomans and the Bulgarians), were organized into "national" labour associations (that had emerged during the fist

(6). *Cafe Verdor, Cafe del Amanesser, Malik Bey's, Parthenon* etc. Vide A. Benaroyis, "*El empessijo del Movimiento Socialista*" in *Zikhron Saloniki*, (The start of the socialistic movement) p. 311, Tel Aviv, 1972.

(7). "Friends' Club" was another bourgeois club of the city, that was established by Jews from the upper stratum, like lawyers, advocates, tradesmen and generally, no workers. It had under its patronage most of the Jewish professional associations. It was of nationalistic/Zionist trends. "Πολιτικός σύνδεσμος" (Politic league), was the Greek/Hellenic club of the bourgeois stratum, with the same nationalistic trends. Similar to it, was the "Bulgarian center" of the city Bulgarian upper stratum.

(8). K. Μοσκόφ *Ibidem*, p.173.

years of the century), according to the above mentioned description, as a result of the inter-communal strife. Thus, e.g., there were different Ottoman, Jewish, Ottoman Greek, and Bulgarian shoe-makers' unions. Their mutual aid funds, primitive, almost non existing, were covering/helping only illness cases or were lending money at a high interest. In some cases, head of those funds, were known city capitalists !!. Moreover, there was no collaboration among them. (9). After an open clash with W.A.S., many of them closed, while some other addressed to it, for help on organization matters. Few, remained attached to the various "national" organizations.

The formation of labour unions and mutual aid funds was also favored during the period of the military coup's preparation, by the Young Turks : "...nationalistic propaganda lost ground quickly among all working populations, but Ottoman Greeks. Working organizations emerged and developed quickly. Their number is increasing.The fact, that in that movement the workers of the public services, with great eagerness wanted to form labour unions is interesting. In the city of Salonika, this happened with the custom workers, the Post office workers, the telegraph workers etc...." sic. (10).

After the successful military coup (21/23.07.1908) of the young Turks (11), from August to October, a wave of strikes swiped

(9). Till that time, there were only two well organized and multi-national working unions, with strong mutual aid funds : that of the railroad workers and that of "Regie" tobacco workers. Both, had even European workers in their bosoms, but according to the opinion of P. Dumont, ("*Sources inedites pour l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier et des courants socialistes dans l'Empire Ottoman au debut du XXeme siecle*" Balkan studies 1978, N° 3, p.p. 16-34, they had no direct connections with any socialist organization.

successively the big cities. In Salonika, the strike took almost general character (started on 19.08.1908) : the tobacco workers and the ice-making workers in the beginning, and then port workers, railroad and tram workers, gas lighting and electricity workers, shop assistants and some other working branches were in strike.

It was this strikes, that initiated the efforts of the new government, to put down the working movement, by issuing a decree that prohibited the right of strike, and later by attempting to put under governmental control the labour unions (12).

The first well organized, great working class rally, was the

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- (10). A. Αϊάκος " Workers' Socialist Federation of Salonika and the Socialist Youth. Their articles". H.T.. 1985. 7/1909-7/1910 Annual report of Workers' Socialistic Federation of Salonika, submitted to the International Socialist Office, on the eve of the 8th congress in Copenhagen, part C, "Syndicalist movement" p.79.
- (11). Socialist International, on the 11th of October 1908, decreed the resolution of *De Bouker*, that welcomed Sultan Abdül Hamid's dethronement. International socialist press also, welcomed his dethronement and supported Young Turks victory, with enthusiastic cover-page articles. The opinion that was dominating in the European socialist circles was, that after Hamid's dethronement, the Young Turks's could have given a solution to the nationalistic problems of the Ottoman Empire, and as a progress factor, could have contributed to the formation of a great socialist party among the Ottoman populations. Cordial supporter of this conception was the famous Balkan socialist *Kristian Rakovski*.
- (12). Anti-strike decree of 08.10.1908, and the anti-associating decrees of 09.08.1908 and 16.08.1909. According to K. Μοσκόφ's opinion, behind the curtain, the instigator of such laws, was the German diplomacy and its iron ambassador in Istanbul, Baron von Biberstein, that was devoted to Pan-Germanism. *Vide idem supra* p.174. According to information given by Stefan Velikov, during the last days of August, in the city, they were 120 striking workers of "Olimbos" brewery, 1,500 railroad workers of the line Salonika - Dedeağaç (Αλεξανδρούπολις), 1,000 bread-making workers, 500 soap-making workers, from Allatini's clay-works factory 2,000 workers, 800 longshormen and 95 armoures and foremen. *Vide relativum, Mete Tuncay, "Türkiye'de sol akımlar"* (left currents in Turkey), p.32. fn. 1, *Bilgi yayınevi, İstanbul, May 1978* (3rd edition).

celebration for the first of May in 1909 (first celebration in the whole Empire). It was prepared by W.A.S., soon after the victory over Sultan *Hamid's* ineffectual counter-coup (13/24.04 1909). Few Ottoman and Bulgarian socialists (13) and many Jews, marched through the city streets demonstrating and holding big red banners. After this happening, one by one, almost all the associations and the mutual aid funds started to be influenced or to be under the direct control of W.A.S.. The government in front of the new situation and the workers resistance, promised to put down the right of strike only for the workers of the public utility services and the civil servants. W.A.S. now changed its name to "Socialist Workers' Association of Salonika" = S.W.A.S..

Meanwhile, the 1st anniversary of the military coup was approaching. The Young Turks city committee, was preparing for the festive celebration. Against the order of the committee, S.W.A.S. decided to celebrate the anniversary separate. Thus, started to communicate with the central committees of the unions and the funds (*Regie's* workers, railroad workers, Jews tobacco workers, Bulgarian and Jewish typographers and the Ottoman-Greek bread-making workers came up to the invitation promptly).

A leaflet in four languages (Ladino, Ottoman, Hellenic and Bulgarian) printed in three thousand copies, was issued among the thousands of the participants (according to K. Μοσκόφ, more than 6,000) during the celebration day. It was a socialist

(13). Some of them, were ex-volunteers of Mahmud Şevket Paşa's "Operation Army" (*Hareket ordusu*) that marched against the mutineers of Hamid, in Istanbul. One of them, was A. Benaroyis himself. Vide, "A note on the Socialist Federation of Salonika" in Jewish Social Studies № 1, p.p. 69-72, Israel, 1949. et A. Benaroyis "Hopes and Mistakes" H.T., 1989, p.14.

declaration, a "manifesto", that was calling all the workers of the city, Jews, Ottomans, Ottoman-Greeks, Bulgars and Europeans, to band together, for a common purpose: the formation of socialist sections among their working population, from which later a big Socialist organization could be formed.

In the same day (23.07.1909), as it was also written in the leaflet, S.W.A.S. was self-declared by its central committee, as the "...Jewish section, of the under establishment Socialist Federation of the city..."^{etc}. The next day, some unions and funds will be unified, and along with S.W.A.S., they will format the "*Federacion Socialista Obradera de Salonika*" (14) (Workers' Socialist Federation of Salonika = W.S.F.S.). The Bulgarian socialist groups of Angel Tomof and Basil Glavinof (15), attached also to Federation. At the head of the new organization, posted some elected socialist intellectuals, from which one was Alberto Arditti (A. Benaroyia was also). (16).

Along with Federation, a new Bulgarian socialist group emerged

(14). In Ladino dialect. Its founding members, believed that the Federation will be the precursor or it will contribute to the formation of a big united Pan-Ottoman socialist party, that could contain into its bosoms all socialist groups of the various nations of the Empire, from all the working branches and intellectuals.

(15). B. Glavinof (1869-1929) was a carpenter. From 1880 he was working for the socialist movement in Russia, while he was studying. He was a founding member/leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party (it was established at Tyrnovo in April 1891). In 1895, he formed a social democratic group that consisted of Slavs, directly connected with the B.S.D.P. After the split of the party (1903), followed the "narrow" policy. After his arrival in the city, the differentiations and fractional trends that existed in the Bulgarian socialist party were carried with him to Salonika. After some years of cautious attitude towards A. Benaroyia, finally Glavinof displayed great hostility against him. Except from some other ideologic differences (orthodox socialism, the way of Federation's organization, and according to my opinion, his lust for power), he never forgave his participation into *Mahmud Şevket Paşa's* army.

in the city, consisting by local typographers and others, that came from Sofia to work in newspapers' printing houses and other relative works (probably the printing of Harlakov's magazine "Naciale", or Glavinof's newspaper "Edinstvo"). It is really difficult to find out from the used bibliography, if that group was formed or accepted those Bulgars (A. Glavinof's group), that in November 1909, splintered off from Federation (it was the group of B. Glavinof). (17).

Founding convention of Federation, took place in August. Neither the Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Center - B.S.D.C, nor the Armenian social democratic party Hentsakian Goushaksoutioun, did participate in the convention (despite the fact that both were supporters of the idea about the formation of a Pan-Ottoman Socialist party). (18).

In the autumn of the same year, in Spain, the conviction and execution of the Anarchosocialist Ferrer took place. Federation,

(16). A. Arditti (1891-1942), was one of the founding members of the various, city socialist groups, and founding member of Federation. He was occupied with educational - propoganda affairs of Federation. Became chief-editor of the newspaper "Solidaridad Obradera", and soon after the city recapture by the Hellenes, director of the newspaper "Avanti". He took place in the founding congress of Σ.Ε.Κ.Ε. (the first Hellenic Communist Party), but was later expelled from the Κ.Κ.Ε. (the later Hellenic Communist Party), along with A. Benaroyis. During the early period of the city German occupation (IInd world war), he was arrested by the Nazi. He disappeared in a concentration camp in Germany.

(17). The excuse for their secession was "...the anti-working and opportunistic policy of the Jewish part of the central committee, which, in collaboration with few Bulgarian career socialists definitely lead the organization to bourgeoisie..." etc. Besides, Glavinof accused directly some leading members of Federation, for treacherous collaboration with Young Turks' intelligentsia (really, there was collaboration before the military coup/revolution and after that, for a small period. Moreover, among some of the Young Turks' personalities and some Jews and Ottoman-Greeks, there was personal friendship from the underground period) A. Benaroyis *vide idem supra* p.p. 26-29.

along with the big masonic lodges of the city, organized a big demonstration in White Tower's square, to support Ferrer's case and to protest against the Spanish government. The participants, were holding red and black banners (the colors of Anarcho-syndicalists), and after the speeches that were delivered in the square, the demonstration continued to the Spanish consulate of the city. (19)

When the library and the socialist bookshop of Federation were established (after 1910), both named after his name *honoris causa*.

Finally, International Socialist Office (= I.S.O.) on the 7th of November 1909, recognized Federation as "Salonika's section of a future Pan-Ottoman Socialist Democratic Party. Federation appointed Saul Naum, permanent inhabitant of Paris, at 11 Rue de la Grande Chaumiere VI, as its permanent and legal representative.

(18). From relative documents, K. Μοσκώφ, indirectly supports the opinion, that both parties were opposed to the formation of another party, because their main impression was, that only through them the formation of a big Pan-Ottoman Socialist Party was possible. The Armenian Socialist Party, wrote to I.S.O. "...thus, the formation of an Ottoman section of Socialist International is mistimed, particularly when there are no Muslim participation in it....besides, socialist movement in this important center (Salonika), is a creation of our Slavs comrades...." *sic*. K. Μοσκώφ, refers to "Archives Huysmans, Turquie Salonique " letter of the 1st.11.1909.

(19). Francisko Ferrer y Guardia (1859-1909). He was born in the environs of Barcelona. He came from a wealthy agrarian family. After an unsuccessful revolt in 1886, he exiled himself to Paris, until 1901. He was against the terrorist actions of the anarchists, and his main interest, was the educational reform, for the benefit of the international proletariat community. After the revolt of Barcelona, the "Tragic week" (9.1909), he was convicted to death, and was executed on the 13th of October 1909. In front of the firing-squad he shouted : "Aim well my friends, for you are not responsible. I am innocent. Long live the anti-autocratic school" *sic*. In the demonstration of Salonika, Albert Dasso spoke instead of A. Benaroyia, after his clash with the central committee, because of his dissent for the participation of the masons. That event, was also one of the reasons, that drove later the Bulgarian group of B. Glavinof to splinter off Federation.

The lack of relative literature on socialist matters in the city and the need for an instructive - propaganda organ, for the multi-racial labour population, drove to the decision for the establishment of a newspaper. For this purpose, a big festival was organized by Federation in *Bescinar* garden. The proceeds of that festival, were 100 gold Ottoman Liras. With that money, the issue of the first "worker's newspaper", in four languages, was accomplished (in Ladino -*Jornal de Lavorador*-, in Ottoman -*Amele gazetesi*-, in Hellenic -*Εφημερίς του Εργάτου*- and in Bulgarian -*Rabotnicheski Vesnik*-), which later became bilingual (Ladino and Bulgarian). At the head of Ladino edition were A. Benaroyia and David Menasse, of Ottoman edition was Rasim Hikmet, while for the Bulgarian one, it was Angel Tomof. Contributor was David Recanatti. (20). The issue stopped in April 1910, due to financial shortage.

In the autumn of 1909, Federation's positions stiffened towards functional, ideologic and organization matters. Ideology became more Marxist, while the religion-humanistic influences abolished. The attempt to touch orthodox Marxism, in the bosoms of the organization, is obvious. Middle stratum's outlook or moderate cadres were passed over, by those who were coming from the strike-demonstration causes of 1908-09. Such ideologic tides cadres, also clashed with older members for the collaboration of Federation with other non-socialist city organizations. Typical example was the clash of the leading member Abraham Hasson, that resigned

(20). The 100 Ottoman Liras were spent mainly, in translation expenses. Until the complete money consumption, four issues printed quadrilingual, and other five bilingual. *vide idem* D. Sismanof, "*Türkiye'de işçi ve sosyalist hareketi*", p. 24 "*Narodna prosveta*" state editions, Sofia 1965.

temporarily from Federation because of its collaboration with the city masons. (21). That open clash between "orthodoxes" and moderates, convulsed Federation and drove nearly to its dissolution. Finally the "orthodoxes" overcame but also the connections of Federation with the masons continued !!.

In the early 1910, also Young Turks' attitude towards working establishments and socialist organizations changed dramatically. Railroad workers' strikes that took place in Salonika and Skopje, drove the committee to get tough with the workers. (21*). The old labour legislation was strengthened by additional provisions. Politic activity was permitted only in organizations, licensed by a special court. Federation answered with a general invitation for demonstration. The authorities, under the strain of Federation railroad workers' union and some other city labour unions, consent to the event, and settled on the place, that the demonstration would take place. The other day, in the square opposite the customs building, the demonstration had great success. The cavalry and army that had surrounded the square, in front of such a numerous crowd, occupying even the neighboring streets, obliged to fall back, towards the second premeditated position. On a big balcony in the opposite of the custom building and in front of the

(21). Abraham Hasson was a tailor from *Strumnitse*. Before his accession to Federation, he was member of the "narrow" in the Bulgarian Socialist Party (= B.S.P.).

(21*). In the middle of the year 1910, organized into syndicates and non-organized workers of the city, were striking : Tobacco workers' syndicate, "Regie" tobacco workers' syndicate, textile workers' syndicate, porters' syndicate, longshoremen' syndicate, and the employees - workers' syndicate of the railroad Salonika - Monastery (*Manastir*). Carpenters, jute textile workers, waiters, shoe-makers, tailors, cigarette paper factory workers, and the city employees and workers of the Anatolian railway. *Vide idem supra*, Mete Tuncay p.35, ftn. 13.

of the square, all kind of banners and flags were raised by the participants : Reds socialists, Ottomans with the crescent, Hellenics, Bulgarians, unions' emblems, etc. From the same balcony many speeches were delivered by different speakers : an Armenian Journalist from Istanbul, an Ottoman-Turk teacher, a Serb railroad worker, an Ottoman-Greek and a Hellene worker, A. Tomof and A. Benaroyia. After that, and in contrast with what the authorities had consent to, a parade was organized. The workers after classifying accordingly their labour unions and nationality, started to march through quay avenue and *Vardar Kapısı / Kelemeriye caddesi* (today's Eyvazlıç avenue) to Federation's office, holding the flags and the banners. (22).

Around that period, a small Muslims' socialist association, along with some Ottoman-Greeks and some Slavs socialists under *Dimitar Vlahov* attached to Federation. (23).

Federation's representative in Paris Naum Saul, undertook an effort to iron out the dispute between Federation and the authorities, through the European masonic and Young Turks' circles. (24). In the city, the atmosphere was still tense. It was that time, that the trial of the Jewish tobacco workers' union

(22). According to the memories of A. Benaroyia, *vide idem supra* p.p. 54,55.

(23). *Dimitar Vlahov* was a chemistry professor, and leader of the Bulgarian National Federal - Democratic Party = N.F.D.P (that was the left wing of Revolutionary "Macedonian etc." Organization of the Interior = I.M.R.O). He was elected member of the Parliament from European Turkey after the elections of 1908, from the bosoms of N.F.D.P., but soon after, while clashing with conservative-nationalistic elements of the party (with *Yan Sadanski* and *Todor Panitza* mainly), was characterized as socialist and left it. He became leader of the Bulgarian Working - Social Democratic Party. He was collaborated with the socialist Armenian and Ottoman-Greek deputies of Istanbul, and finally went over to Federation. Thus, he became the first socialist deputy, representing in the Ottoman Parliament, the city of Salonika.

took place. The authorities, by making use of the law for the associations, characterized the activity of that union illegal. The executive committee was arrested, its documents, the archive and its funds were confiscated and its offices closed. The detainees were bailed out. The trial took place in the city court of the first instance, and hold out to the end of the day. Thanks to Federation's concern, counsels for the defense of the accused syndicalists, came from Istanbul. Finally, the court returned a "not guilty" verdict at night. Workers "victory" was celebrated all night long at Federation's office.

Local elections took place in March. Federation activated with a campaign against the electoral system, that was barring workers and jobless from voting. Election result was not pleasant for the Unionists. (25). All elected representatives, were members of the opposite party. Federation could influence only one of them (Issac Florendin).

(24). According to K. Μοσκώφ, for that purpose, members from the French lodge "Grant Orient" and the Ottoman "Osmanlı" (Ahmet Rıza was a high ranked member), after the request of the I.S.O. to the French socialist masons, get in touch with each other. During the whole year, I.S.O. was trying to convince Federation to accept that masonic mediation and was refusing a campaign towards Young Turks, that would motivate European public opinion against them, and was trying to solve the problems quietly. Naum Saul from Paris, was sympathetic towards that view and the French socialist press support the same opinion also. Compromising attempts continued all along 1910, and until May Day of 1911. *Vide idem supra* p.p. 191-193 and in p. 252, the Ftns. 39-45, letters from "Archives Huysmans, Turquie, Salonique".

(25). About the law and the protest, *vide idem supra* A. Λιάκος p. 82 and his reference in the ftn. 2 to "Bulletin Periodique" 1st year (1910), No 1, p. 177. About the elected representatives, three of them were Jews (Assel, Issac Florendin and Eli Benvilio), four were Doenmehs (Ahmedrakim efendi, Naktir Abravanel efendi, Osman Said efendi and Keberoğlu Abdulrahman efendi), two were Ottomans (Tefik bey and Rasim efendi) and four were Ottoman-Greeks (Μέλφος, Δάκης, Τουρπάλης and Κωστάκης). The names are given by K. Μοσκώφ *vide idem supra* p. 253, ftn. 48.

In the same year, Socialistic Youth of Salonika (= S.Y.S.) was established. Founding members were Haim Howell, Abraham Lewis, Mois Matia, Nisim Ererra, Rofel Hasson, Joseph Hazen, David Recenatti, Abraham Zekai and Pepo Mois. Purpose of the organization was, the education and diffusion of the socialist ideas, and the promotion of syndicalism among the new workers and apprentices. It was intended for youngsters 15 to 24 years of age. From its year of establishment, S.Y.S. developed rapidly, from 45 members in the beginning, until the end of the year had 250.(26). Members were either students or workers and shop-assistants. It consisted from three nucleus; one in the city center, the other in the western city part at Kelemer (Καλαμαριά) district and the third in the city of Kavala. In the same year, it was recognized as member by the International Socialistic Youth (= I.S.Y.).

The reconciliatory attempt of I.S.O., became obvious in the celebration for the 1st of May. No triumphant festivities alike the previous years took place that year. I.S.O. sent to the city Christian Gheorghevitch Rakovski (27), to carry its messages and to support Federation. In the open public lecture, that was organized by Federation, after some others had spoken, Rakovski delivered a speech about Socialism, Internationalism and the need for socialist consultation in the Balkans, for the formation of a Pan-Balkan Socialist Confederation. Federations' May day issue - was printed bilingual (French - Ladino) with red ink -, that was calling upon the workers for a general strike, had a minimum effect among the workers : the strike was neither general nor noticeable. Besides, Bulgarian Socialist Center (= B.S.C.), in

(26). Information and numbers are taken from A. Λιάκος *vide idem supra* p.p. 35-48.

spite of its silent presence at the lecture, celebrated the day alone with its members, in its office's.

In August of the same year, the congress of Copenhagen took place. During its sessions, a new thesis into the socialist conceptions emerged : Imperialism as a factor of the social class conflict. At the end of the sessions, the participants denounced the colonialist policy of the great powers as the cause of conflict and unrest among the national communities of the Ottoman Empire.

In early November, A. Benaroyis was arrested in Gevgeli, as instigator of the local tobacco workers strike. After his arrest, the authorities forbade any protest activity against that act. Little later, the office of Federation was also closed. After long investigation, no aggravating data or circumstances resulted for both, so, A. Benaroyis was set free, and the office of Federation opened again.

After the 1st conference of the Balkan Social Democratic parties

(27). Dr. Christian Gheorghevitch Rakovski (1873 - 1941). He was born in Kotel of Bulgaria, and studied medicine in Paris. Very young, became member of Russian Social Democracy. He was the organizer of the Romanian Social Democratic Center (later, party = R.S.D.C.). After the revolution of October 1917, was elected member of the Bolsheviks' central committee. He became prime minister of Ukraine for the years 1919 - 1923. He was representing the U.S.S.R. in the Geneva congress, and was also its diplomatic *attache* in London and Paris (1923-1927). In 1928, because he was member of the "left opposition", he was expelled from the party, and was banished for years. Later in 1938, he was accused as Trotskyist and was convicted to hard labor. He died in a Stalinist concentration camp, somewhere in Northeastern U.S.S.R.. Probably, he was one of the most significant men of the Balkans' socialist history, because he played a leading role in the idea for a Balkan Confederation, and was exclusively occupied with the Balkans as an assigned task by I.S.O.. His speech "*La classe ouvriere et la Confederation Balkanique*" that was delivered for the 1st of May 1910 in the city, was printed by Federation in 1912.

and organizations, that took place in Belgrade from 07.01.1910 to 09.01.1910, on the 1st of January 1911, the first conference of Social Democratic parties and organizations in the Ottoman Empire was held in Salonika, and was organized on initiative of the Social Democratic Center of Istanbul. Main topic was the attempt for unification of the Socialist organizations and parties that were acting in European Turkey. Twenty nine representatives from all *Rumeli* provinces gathered in the city. Federation had five among them, the Ottoman-Greek Στ. Παπαδόπουλος was representing Istanbul Social Democratic Center (= I.S.D.C.), four were from B.S.C., five came from the Social Democratic Center of Skopje (= S.D.C.S), one was from the city of Tetovo, one was from Gevgeli, one from Golusevo, one from Mitrovitse (*Metrovice*) and the last from Monastery (*Manastir*). Serbs, participated with Atsa Pavlovits, attending the conference. The meetings started at the office of the B.S.C., and continued at the office of Federation, for three days. During the meetings, the case of the "federal" character of Federation was debated, but after the motions of the representatives (28), Salonicans' opinion was carried unanimously. Besides, the conference regarded B.S.C., for its efforts to retain the orthodox meaning of Socialism. According to A. Benaroyis, Στ. Παπαδόπουλος and Atsa Pavlovits, fall in with the views of Federation, and thanks to their participation and behavior, the dissolve of the conference was finally avoided. (29). All Social Democratic Centers, denounced European absolutism and the imperialistic role of the great powers. Although Federation denounced the colonialist - imperialistic policy of Russia and Austria in the Balkans, denied to denounce British and French colonialists' penetration attempt.

In the same year, a new newspaper started to be printed. Its title was "*Solidaridad Obreros*" (workers' solidarity). Weekly in the beginning, continued to be printed twice and later three times weekly. Finally, it reached three thousand issues for every printing day. Editor was Federation's secretary general A. Benaroyia, while D. Vlahov was assistant editor. As main publication material, extracts from "The Capital" and the "Communist Manifesto" were being used. Some of the issues, were being printed in Ladino some other Ladino and Bulgarian and few times some articles were being printed in French. The newspaper was closed by the authorities in October 1912, during the period of the Balkan war, when it published the proclamation of the Ottoman and Balkan Socialist Parties, against it.

Again, the open controversy between the working unions and the Young Turks, started in the city. Now, by the authorities' side will be the nationalistic and Zionist city circles, as well as the members of the masonic lodge "*Adim*". The financial situation, that was good enough one and a half year ago, became hard, especially for the non-wealthy strata.

(28). Due to the fact, that the working population of the city was multiracial, Federation's representatives supported the opinion that, only a federal character organization, could work in the city and in the Balkans generally. Opposite to that motion, were the Bulgarian "narrow" representatives that were defending the idea of an autonomous socialistic organization of every national community - without collaboration with any other non-socialist formation (e.g., masons) -, based on the principle of legitimacy of any kind of struggle for national independence. According to them, the last, was necessary for the formation of the class conscience and the full development of the class struggle (obviously influenced by the theory of Carl Kautsky). This controversy must have been carried into the conference, and this two motions, must have tensed the atmosphere among the participants.

(29). A. Benaroyia, *vide idem supra* p. 61.

The celebration of the 1st of May 1911, demonstrated the general discontent among the lower / working city population. In some of the city industrial branches, the strike had taken general character. (30). Early in the morning, workers started to gather in the squares, and were classified according to their profession. Meeting point was Liberty square. There, four bands were playing various marches, while hundreds of various banners and flags were decorating the whole place : unions', associations', parties', national etc.. The workers were coming and were classifying themselves, according to their profession or nationality in rows. When the square covered enough with people, the bands started to play the anthem of the International, while the workers started to sing to it in their own language simultaneously. Many speakers delivered speeches about socialist topics and ideas : A. Arditti, Παπαθωμάς, D. Vlshov, A. Benaroyia, and the secretary of the Ottoman-Turks tobacco workers Ihsan. In the afternoon, at the end of the speeches, from the same place a huge parade / demonstration started, that went through almost all the city. In the evening a second rally was organized at Liberty square, with centre-speaker the member of the parliament D. Vlshov, who was listened by aprxly. 20,000 people (according to K. Μοσκόφ, even by the Ottoman-Turks nationalist longshoremen of the famous Kerim Aga).

(30). According to the memories of A. Benaroyia, 12,000 workers (almost more than 1/3 of the city permanent workers) were in strike, while according to K. Μοσκόφ, during the morning rally, gathered more than 5,000 people, and during the afternoon parade marched apxly. 7,000. The given numbers for those participating in the parades, are the same in both writers, and for them K. Μοσκόφ refers to the newspaper "Solidadidad Obradera" of 03.05.1911, K. Μοσκόφ, *vide idem supra* p.194 & *ftn.46* and A. Benaroyia *vide idem supra* p. 62. For the celebration *vide idem supra* D. Sismanof p.p. 24, 25. and M. Tuncsy p. 52.

Under the pretext of a possible attempt, against the life of the Sultan who was coming to the city (Wednesday 7th of 1911), by the socialists, the authorities decided to clear up the city from head socialists. Thus in June, "preventively" arrested Samuel Yiona (secretary of the Jewish tobacco workers union), Sebatai Lewis, Ishan (secretary of the Ottoman-Turks tobacco workers), and A. Benaroyia, who was deported to Serbia. The city working classes reacted vigorously. Thanks to Saul Naum from Paris, the European socialist press was mobilized. I.S.D.C. and the socialist newspapers of Istanbul were also mobilized to support the case of the persecuted socialists. A great demonstration / protest was organized in the city of Salonika. Speeches from the participants, members of the parliament Papezian and Vlahov were delivered, as well as from the Armenian journalist Sakarian and A. Arditti. After the Sultans departure from the city, the arrested socialists were set free, but the penalty of A. Benaroyia was not revoked. The general outcry from the internal and external socialist circles, and other reasons connected with the overall situation of the period (cabinet crisis, financial crisis, Turkish-Italian war etc.), forced the young Turks to revoke Benaroyia's penalty. Thus, he was brought to trial in Istanbul (where he had entered before, unlawfully) found not guilty and got again permanent residence's permission. After eight months of absence, he came again in the city of Salonika in March 1912. (31).

On the 29th of September, the Turkish - Italian war broke out (29/9/1911 - Ouchy agreement 15/10/1912). In the beginning, Federation demonstrated an rather embarrassing than moderate attitude. Besides, I.S.O. did not express a clear view for the incident. It pressed socialistic parties of Europe and the Balkans

to handle the masses from anti-Italian activities, in an attempt not to escalate the crisis (into the European territories of both countries), and urged them to push their governments to initiate / participate in any kind of conciliatory / pacifying effort. But the nationalistic spirit that unconsciously embraced Italian Social Democracy, now had already been transported to the Italian community. (32). Popular / working base of Federation, was irritated enough, because of a. the insidious and imperialistic insult itself, b. the mockery role of the Italian Social Democracy, c. the behavior of a part of the Italian community, and was pushing towards forceful rallies the central committee. On the other hand, Federation's central committee, was afraid that mass meetings / rallies, could not be controlled after a certain moment. The reason was that the Ottoman-Turkish nationalist city groups were already protesting in the streets. The atmosphere was heavy enough and possibly the protesters might have carried the crowds to acts that would have driven to the escalation of the war in the European provinces of the Empire, with the excuse of the protection of the Italian communities' population. Besides, the menace of a Bulgarian or a Hellenic armed intervention by the Italian side with the same excuse (the protection of their national populations in the Empire), compelled those that were thinking of the danger, to offer common and equal protection for

(31). In the same period that persecutions in Salonika were taking place, common phenomena against Ottoman socialist circles meet also in other cities of the Empire. Regarding Istanbul, a persecution wave was launched all over the city, soon after the events of Salonika. The first socialist newspaper of the city "Epyórnç" (worker) of the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic socialist circle and "İştirak" of the Ottoman-Turk socialist circle, were baned. Some Ottoman-Greek socialists fled to Hellas, and some Hellenes were deported. A number of socialists Turks, Jews and Armenians were arrested.

all national city populations.

In November, I.S.O., changed its attitude towards Italy, and by an issue of proclamation that was addressed to the workers of all the world, was calling for international strikes against the Italian insult, that was also characterized in the proclamation as an "act of robbery".(33). After this and under the pressure of its base, Federation organized an open rally. The participants were more than 6,000 people from all national communities. Centre-speaker will be again D. Vlahov, that spoke in Turkish, and set out the view of the need for common confrontation of the city / Balkan national populations against the common people's enemy that was imperialistic expansion. After him Στεργίου delivered a speech in Hellenic, Arditti in Ladino, Tomof in Bulgarian and Zeuven in French.(34). Against a possible armed intervention of Bulgaria by the Italian side, soon later Federation proposed a double rally -one in Salonika and the other in Sofia-, with an exchange of speakers, that would speak about international imperialism and the obligation of the people to be

(32). According to the "right wing" of Social Democracy, the colonialist question was just a case of civilization's expansion. The partisans of "Civilized Colonialism", of the revisional ideas of E. Bernstein, and of non-orthodox Jauresist Humanistic Socialism, believed that imperialism was a necessary evil for the expansion of the European spirit, towards the undeveloped territories. During the London congress in 1896, the International accepted that view, but suggested to the social democratic parties to bring pressure to bourgeois strata, to exercise their colonialist methods with humanism. The minority that fought against that view rallied round German and Russian "left" social democracy, R. Luxemburg and V.I. Lenin. The negative effects of imperialism and colonialism cleared out during the Copenhagen congress, but the impact of "Civilized Colonialism" will live in some socialist circles, until the eve of the I World war.

(33). A. Bensroyis *vide idem supra* p. 31 and *ftn.* 27 that refers to "Monimento operario e Socialista" 1967, No 1 p.p. 3 - 22.

(34). K. Μοσκόφ, *vide idem supra* p. 200.

mobilized against the war.

Such proposals for collaboration among Balkan Socialists, and the fact that the events were running day by day, drove Balkan Social Democratic centers to understand that a new Balkan Socialists' conference, was now absolutely necessary. To organize their actions, and to propose methods and solutions, for the new unexpected situation, because until that time they were passive observers of the belligerent parts war, but they ought to be active factors of the pacification. The second conference of the Balkan Social Democratic centers was held again in Belgrade, on initiative of the Serbian Social Democratic Center, from the 17th to the 29th of October. In the conference, they were participating with their representatives the Serbs, R.S.D.C., Bosnia and Croatia. From the Ottoman Socialist Centers, only Federation sent its representatives. The Bulgarian "narrowers" refused to participate, because of Federation's participation. They were followed by the "wides", and the Armenian socialists also. C. Rakovski was participating also, with his double attribute, as representative of R.S.D.C. and I.S.O.. After the sessions, the conference came to the conclusion that, a. a Pan-Balkan conference was necessary to be organized, with participants all Balkan Socialist Centers and parties (the rest Ottoman), b. in the future a formation of a Pan-Balkan socialist confederation was necessary, c. all Socialist Centers participating in the conference, had to organize local open rallies and demonstrations, in which speakers would set out and explicate to the people, socialists' views and motions about international imperialism, colonialism and the war. Main interest of the speakers had to be the demonstration of the pacifistic methods and attempts that the

international socialist community was trying to realize for the ending of the war.

Federation, on the 4th of November, organized such a rally. Centre-speaker was C. Rakovski that delivered a speech about the obligation for struggle of the proletariat against imperialistic policy of any capitalistic power, against the war, that was an obstacle towards democracy. (35). C. Rakovski gave also some lectures in French and Bulgarian, about socialist theory and ideology, and the dream of a Pan-Balkan confederation.

During February of 1912, A. Benaroyia was arrested for the third time. Soon after his banishment to Istanbul, he was deported to Hellas. After his contacts with the Hellenic socialist circles of Athens, he traveled to France. There he came in contact with J. Jaures, and he discussed with him the problems of the Ottoman Socialist Centers. (36).

In the same period, Alexander Helphand Israel, better known as "Parvus" (37), from Istanbul, in collaboration with D. Vlahov and Federation (A. Benaroyia also), were trying to find a norm, for a common descent to the general election of the Ottoman Socialist

(35). K. Μοσκόφ, *vide idem supra* p. 201.

(36). K. Μοσκόφ, *vide idem supra* p. 202.

(37). He was born in the city Beresins of Russia in 1867. After his involvement with the Russian revolutionary movement, he forced to leave Russia for Switzerland. He was elected to the Petersburg Soviet together with L. Trotsky in 1905. The same year, he was banished to Siberia from where he escaped to Germany in 1906. After his presence in Germany for four years, where he was working for socialist journalism, he left for Istanbul in 1910. There he got in touch with the Young Turks. Thus, he will be the medistor for the German policy and the Young Turks' cabinet. In 1915 he left again for Germany. He played an important role in arranging with the Germans, the return of V.I. Lenin to Russia through Germany, in the spring of 1917. Later, he was rejected by him, when he showed his interest for the Bolsheviks. Parvus was the first that framed the basic theoretic principles of the "continuous revolution", that were later explained by L. Trotsky. He died in Germany in 1924.

formations (parties, centers and groups from the whole Empire), against the Unionists. Due to the negative attitude of the Armenian Socialist Party (Tashnak) and of a part of moderate Federalists that did not want to clash with the Young Turks, the idea finally wrecked. (38). Federation, allied with national communities' opposition representatives in the city (especially the Ottoman-Greeks), supported the opposition party "*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*" (Freedom and Association).

Pre-election period in the whole Macedonia was held under a status of terrorism that was launched by the Young Turks. (39).

(38). Electoral program of the socialist formations that had already allied, consisted of the following points: universal voting right, accounting of the ministers to the parliament, press and syndicates' freedom, abolition of the restriction for the participation of juveniles into syndicates, equality in the eye of the law for both sexes, modernization of the civil code, protection of labor, construction of public works (railroad and tram), abolition of salt and tobacco monopoly, monetary reform/readjustment, establishment of state bank, distribution to the landless tillers of the lands belonging to the Sultan, the state, the Waqfs, abolition of tithes and poll-tax, abolition of the capitulations, six-years compulsory primary education inter-communal freedom, and customs' unification of the Balkan countries, with ulterior purpose, the formation of the Balkan confederation in the future. A. Αιάκος, *vide idem supra*, *ftn.* 26, p. 112.

(39). A typical example of the period, was what happened in the election precinct of the district (Καζα) of Vodena (Βόδεννα). The Greek "*İtilafçı*" (of the opposition party) nominee Γιώργος Χωνατός, went by train to the city of Vodena, to deliver a speech about the new party, and to explicate to the people the principles and motions of his party. In the city station, "protesters", armed with agricultural tools stones, even with pistols, were waiting for his arrival. When the train stopped in the station the "protesters" started to shout against the opposite party, call him names, throw stones to the train windows and to shoot in the air. Despite the fact that Γ. Χωνατός asked for support and protection from the armed forces of the city, he was obliged to leave the city, without even stepping down for a minute from the train. Besides, no one attempted to go to the rally place. In Salonika the opposition party called for an explanation from the authorities, but the whole matter closed without any consequence. *Vide* newspaper "*Μακεδονία*" *is.* 38, 03/1912.

This election became known in the Ottoman history as "*Büyük sopa intihabi*" (big-stick election). Public gatherings were restricted, the opposition press, and the offices of the socialist groups in the city, were closed ("*Solidaridad Obradera*" was also closed temporarily). Four of the best Federation's cadres were banished from the city. A. Benaroyia was sent to Istanbul, Yionas, Lewis and Amon were sent to Xanthi, while some others were sent to Drama. The authorities were looking to arrest the central committee of Federation, as well as the directorate of "*Solidaridad Obradera*". The second, published a newspaper in Ottoman language, protesting against state terrorism and arbitrary, as well as explicating the electoral program of the socialists. It is written in the memoirs of A. Benaroyia, that, even an armed attack against the office of Federation was planned, but was not realized, because members of it (with some Bulgars), also armed, announced to the authorities, that they would defend the office to the last.(40). Despite the popular support to Federation, all the city seats were lost for Federation and the opposition, thanks to the Jacobin terrorism and electoral rigging of the Unionists.

Beside the fact, that public gatherings were restricted by the authorities, the rally for the celebration of the 1st of May 1912, was successful enough. Almost 1,200 workers gathered in the morning, while apxly 7,000 (among them, was the 60% of the city industrial workers) were on strike. In the afternoon some thousand workers, gathered in the garden of *Bescinar*.(41).

A. Benaroyia came in July. He found again a rift in Federation. The old discord between the radicals and the reformists, had rekindled. Thanks to his intervention, both sides were conciliated

and the dissolve for one more time was avoided.

Federation started to loose the control over the events, that were running day by day. War clouds were near enough. In the beginning, it agreed with the proposal of French Social Democracy for a convocation of International's conference in 1913. Then it pushed towards all parts for a convocation that would be held in October 1912. Finally, the 1st Balkan war, broke out on the 25th of September of 1912. From the first moment, Federation declared against that war. A significant reaction was the issue of a proclamation, through "*Solidaridad Obrera*", signed by all Balkan socialist parties, that was criticizing "the Young Turks senseless policy and the bourgeois extravagances of the Balkan States" ^{sic}. (42). On the other hand, was criticizing European policy and diplomacy for its incompetence to give a pacific solution to the Balkan problem. At the end, was forecasting that the "local" war, would be the introduction to a period of general unrest, revolutionary clashes and wars that could convulse the whole of Europe. The authorities were angered so much with the proclamation, that the definite shut of the newspaper resulted. Federation, after a while, started to print a new newspaper called "*Avanti*". (43).

After the occupation of the city by the Hellenic Army, nationalistic spirit flared up among the communities, and the margins for an agreement was narrow. Thus, the hope for a socialist federation that would be composed of all city socialist groups and furthermore a Pan-Balkan socialist

(40). A. Benaroyia, *vide idem supra*, p. 65.

(41). K. Μοσκώφ, *vide idem supra*, p. 198.

(42). A. Benaroyia, *vide idem supra*, p. 77.

(43). *Vide et supra*, ftn. 16

confederation, snuffed out for the time (44). Balkan states' national expectations and European bourgeoisie's ambition for Balkanization, will drive later to the formation of "national" socialist parties. Federation will close its ranks with Hellenes socialists, in a natural process of being absorbed by a total Hellenic socialist party (that will be Σ.Ε.Κ.Ε. - Socialist Working Party of Hellas). Many of its members will be top cadres of it. Other city socialist groups, were being reorganized in their national states. The Bulgarian city center, that in its bosoms was containing all kind of Balkanians, dissolved. The Bulgarian nucleus went to Bulgaria, while the other members (Serbs, Romanians, Vlachs), went to their countries, each to organize their "national" socialist parties. The Turkish socialist nucleus will be dispersed either in İstanbul or in İzmir.

(44). On the 20th of January 1920, after the end of the Balkan social working / communist parties' conference, Balkan Communist Federation was established.

FEDERATION SOCIALISTA OBRADERA AND THE SOCIALIST YOUTH

Federation was the biggest and best organized socialist formation of the city. I may say, that in the beginning, it was rather an almost exclusive Jewish formation. As I may point out from its annual report (July 1909 - July 1910) to International Socialist Office, main purpose of its establishment, was "...the development of ethics and spirit of the workers...." (1). Its Main principles could be found in its articles: a. the transition from the capitalist to a socialist society and the nationalization of the means of production, b. gain of the political power/sway by the working strata, c. proletarian internationalism.

According to the third article, Federation consisted of "national" sections (Jewish, Ottoman-Turkish, Ottoman-Greek, etc.) of at least fifteen members each. As it was obvious from its name, it had a federal structure, because its multinational character (in its founding session, a wish was declared, to acquire later members from the other city national communities) was creating difficulties for co-operation among its "national" (2) sections, due to the strong nationalist prejudices that were separating the working masses.

On the other hand the term "Federation", was referred to a dream, based on a great Pan-Balkan socialist federation, in which

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- (1). Α. Αιόκος, "Workers' Socialist Federation of Salonika and the Socialist Youth. Their articles". *vide p. 75*, at the collation of the report. *H.T.*, Thessaloniki, 1985.
 - (2). The term "national", is used to describe the various communal city populations e.g., Ottoman-Greeks, Ottoman-Turks, Ottoman Slavs etc. According to a note in the 10th article, in the case where non-Jewish members of a national section were less than fifteen, they were obliged to obey the decisions of the central committee.

Salonika's would be the central section.

According to the aforementioned articles, the existence of "national" sections was provided for. Every "national" section could be formed, if more than 15 members existed. It would be directed by a "national" committee, and every "national" committee would be represented proportionally in the central committee (article 11). The maximum of central committee members was fifteen persons (note in article 11). It consisted of a secretary, the necessary vice-secretaries, a treasurer, and a treasurer assistant. The others were the advisors (article 13/4). Every three months, the members of the national committees were meeting. They participated every year in the annual general congress, from which by secret vote the central committee was being elected (article 14).

According to the article 13, duties of the central committee were: a. to have connections with the working organizations, b. to take care of the editing of the quarterly reports of the sections, c. to organize / schedule the general activities of Federation, d. to take care of the edition and preservation of the various general documents, statistics, situations' reports from / to the office, and to communicate regularly with I.S.O in Brussels, e. to keep general catalogs of the sections and the members, classified into sections. The secretary general was representing Federation to the authorities.

Articles 32 to 35 were concerned about breaches of discipline. Every member could not participate as speaker in other parties' activities (article 32), everyone writing or expressing ideas opposite to those of Federation after a trial was expelled from its bosoms (article 33), no member was permitted to write in

bourgeois newspapers, except anonymous (article 34), and none could be member of other politic parties. (3).

Federation and the Serbian Socialist Center (as *Hentsak* also), were entertaining the views of Austrian Social Democracy, about federal organization. According to the theoretics Karl Renner and Otto Bauer, the meanings "Nation" and "National Land" were different. "Nations" were conceived rather like "Cultural Communities" than presence in a certain "National Land". (4). Thus, many "nations" could survive in a united multinational state, and regardless of the land they occupied, they could have a peculiarity of their national tradition and a cultural autonomy. (5). It was the same conception that Federation had about the formation of the socialist federal party : "...for these national and cultural reasons, we believe that the best organization that could be formed, would be that, in which every national community could participate, without abandoning its language and culture. In other words, every nation could develop its culture and peculiarities, while all together would work for the common aspiration; socialism..."(6). Federation maintained connections with the Austrian Social Democratic Party (= A.S.D.P.), and as it is written in the above mentioned annual report, it asked for a copy of its articles, to consult it. (7).

On the contrary, Bulgarian Social Democratic Center was

(3). A. Λιάκος, *vide idem supra*, Federations' articles, p.p. 53-62

(4). A. Λιάκος, *vide idem supra*, p. 23.

(5). According to my opinion, basic prerequisite for the realization of such theory, is social coherence among the "nations", something that was rather unknown (except some bright individual exceptions) into the Ottoman society, because of its pyramidal social classification and other secondary reasons.

(6). Extract from the annual report, A. Λιάκος, *vide idem supra*, p. 86.

entertaining the views of the centralized model of German Social Democracy, that were based on the principles of national independence and territorial domination of the populations, as necessary presuppositions for the complete development of the class struggle. (8). This "territorial tolerance" of Federation, was the major point of differentiation, with other Balkan socialist formations, but mainly with the other Jewish organizations like the Russian Bund, social zionist Po'alei Zion, or the zionist Bene Zion, who were looking for a new country somewhere in Palestine.

During the early period, Federation's ideology could be described better, through what K. Μοσκόφ called "Retailing Alienation". Leading cadres of it, influenced by their western culture fell into the following contradiction : From one side they were fighting against the post-feudal hangovers of the Ottoman social structure and from the other unconsciously or even consciously some times were standing simple viewers of the capitalist - colonialist European expansion. Either from their understanding inability or by virtue of their invested interests, were not reacting towards local or foreign centers of the European absolutism. In their eyes, the Sultan was the only form of absolute authority. Besides, the ideologic strife of the early period was also tepid. Ideologic meanings characterized and were being characterized by a general obscurity. Very significant of the period, will be the fact, that in the demonstrations, all kind

(7). According to A. Λιάκος, Karl Renner for the formulation of his theory, used/studied also the extraterritorial organization of Jewish and Armenian diaspora populations. Thus, there is a structural connection, between federal organization and multinational populations.

(8). *vide et supra* ftn. 28

of mottos were being heard : from "long live constitution" and "eviva socialismo", to the singing of national anthems. Ideologic strife was being dominated by a peaceful, humanistic spirit that was trying to avoid an open clash with the opposite side, while in the same moment, nationalism of the Balkan communities and zionism were being exorcised.

During the next few years, after successful experimentations with socialist structural models of organization, and ideologic enlightenment of its people, through party's cadres and press, Federation seems to be more solid. Zionist/nationalistic hives were expelled from its bosoms, and now there are only two trends; that of the moderates and that of the radicals. Each one had connections of its own. Moderates with city and European masons and the Young Turks intelligentsia, while the radicals were connected, with almost all the active socialist formations and movements of Europe. Both trends, under different circumstances will be proved the same useful. As we show above, an internal controversy among them (which was based on the view of the radicals, that no collaboration with non-socialist formations is necessary), drove to the overcome of the radicals, but actually the other part continued to have its own views.

Its main fields of interest, except basic politic activity, were: a. the development of the working movement, b. social care, c. cultural / educational meetings and festivities.

For the development of the working movement, information of the working population was necessary. onto socialist theoretic - organizing matters. Unfortunately, neither printed material nor relative literature pre-existed in the city, especially in Ladino language. Federation, in the beginning, activated towards printing

various kinds of pamphlets, proclamations, and leaflets in different languages and simple meanings, that later became newspapers, and through them was trying to teach socialist principles to the workers. In the newspapers, basic extracts of theoretic socialists were being published (especially C. Marx and F. Engels). Besides, great effort was done, for the unification of the similar "national" trade unions in central multinational syndicates (9), and for their release from the influence of the various "national societies" of the period. Before the foundation of Federation in 1909, there were, 19 primitive formations like trade unions or syndicates, with 7,000 members.

Eight of them, were under the influence of the Workers' Union, four under the influence of the Bulgarian social democratic center, one (the longshoremen of *Kerim ağa*) under the influence of the Young Turks, and the rest were influenced by the Ottoman-Greek/Hellenic nationalist organization "Organosis" (Organization) of Istanbul (that had also branches in other cities of the Empire). (10).

In 1910, Federation had under his influence 12 of the formatted syndicates (11), from which 4 were multinational : the tobacco workers' syndicate had 1.000 Jewish working members,

(9). Before Federation's emergence, every community had its own primitive trade unions (that looked more like guilds), and that phenomenon was very common: there were four trade unions of porters. The Ottoman-Greeks had their own one, the Ottoman-Turks another, the Bulgars and the Jewish each one etc. Often, there were competitions and contentions among this professional groups, because of professional rivalries and interests, that were fostered by the communal "national" societies. Almost all communal authorities, opposed to the multinational unification of that groups, and to their socialization, because of their fears, that their emancipation would drive to the loose of the regular incomes from their contributions to the communities, and to the emergence of a general social cohesion among the communities.

from the shop-assistants' syndicate it had 50 Jewish working members, from the "Lux" cigarette paper factory it had 500 Jewish working members, from the cigarette paper "Avenir" factory it had 100 Jewish working members, it had 23 Bulgarian typographers' members, from the shoe-making workers' syndicate it had 30 members, from the cooper artisans' syndicate it had 20 members, and sewing workers' syndicate, it had 20 members. From the small multinational syndicates of metallurgy it had 40 of the 300 workers as members, from the tinware factory it had 30 of the 800 workers, from the textile workers it had 50 members and of the quarrymen 40 members (12). From 1911 its influence surpassed the

- (10). "...The Ottoman-Greek workers are the less interested of all for their syndicates. The Orthodox church has great influence upon the Ottoman-Greek working masses. But two months ago, a new stirring is observed among the Ottoman-Greeks and Ottoman-Turks fellow workers...the Ottoman-Greek syndicates of bread-making workers, tailors and shoe-making workers, are under the direct control of the nationalist organizations, and at their heads are the metropolitan of Salonika, a priest and a nationalist lawyer, correspondingly..."^{sic}, from the annual report 7/1909-7/1910, A. Λιάκος, *vide idem supra*, p.p. 97, 98. n. Metropolitan, was *honoris causa* president in many administrative committees of professional and other organizations.
- (11). "...Most of the nowadays existing syndicates, were formatted from our Federation, and every one asks for our support, any time when it is in trouble."^{sic}, from the annual report 7/1909-7/1910, A. Λιάκος; *vide idem supra*, p. 95.
- (12). K. Μοσχός "Thessaloniki 1700 - 1912. The city of retailing" H.T., 1974, p. 178. Some of the city syndicates in 1910, according the data given by B. Glavinof, were that of the shop-assistants', with apxly 1,500 members, the tobacco workers' with 3,200 members (1,050 men, 2,150 women and youngsters, from which 500 were Ottoman-Greeks, 400 Muslims, 200 Exarchists, and 2,000 Jews), "Regie" tobacco industry workers' with 500 members (90 men and 410 women and youngsters, from which 50 were Ottoman-Greeks, 40 were Exarchists, 10 Muslims and 400 Jews), textile workers' syndicate with 110 members, typographers' syndicate with 85 members (30 Bulgars and 55 Jews), sewing workers' syndicate with 80 members (60 Ottoman-Greeks and 20 Jews), and some other syndicates with 1,500 members from all the communities.

city boundaries and was expanded towards the big tobacco workers' syndicate of Kavala, tobacco workers syndicate of Drama, Siroz (Serres), Xanthi, and Gevgelice (Gevgeli). Before the Balkan wars, it was the most sizeable socialist organization of the Balkans, and the Empire (13).

Another interest, was the development of its relations and connections with other socialist organizations, parties and groups of abroad. Thus, in the early 1913, it was being connected with almost all socialist parties of Europe, was equivalent member of Socialist International, was participating in international conferences / congresses with its representatives and was being related with all Balkan socialist formations and parties. Despite the fact that the Armenian parties were trying to pass over it several times, Federation was having collaboration with the social democratic Həi Kheghapoghagan Təshnəksoutioun (Təshnək), while it maintained connections with the national socialist Hentsəkiən Goushəksoutioun (Hentsək).

In the field of the social care, it gave the fight to release mutual aid funds from their post-feudal structures. It helped for the formation of healthy mutual aid funds (central and multi-national if possible), for every working branch and section, that they could cover a bigger spectrum of occurrences than the older did (only illness and money lending, but with high interest).

It was collaborating with the authorities, when and where it was necessary to give help to those in need. Typical example of this

(13). "...The incomes of our organization are poor, in comparison to the expenses for politic activity and propoganda, local and external, but in spite of this, the syndicates of our region have trust in us..."¹⁰, from the annual report 7/1909-7/1910, A. Aιδκος, *vide idem supra*, p. 93.

offer, was the case of Cholera, that stroke the city in 1911. Federation, organized so well, by mobilizing its members, that the municipal authorities asked for its help, to fight the disease. It was charged with the administration of the whole plan, and all sanitary services (even quarantine), were brought into its organized control.

It was also mobilized towards demands for the working conditions. (14).

Federation attempted to establish a library and a book-shop, in which not only theoretic socialist material, but also international progressive literature could exist. From 1910, a sports' section was established, and informal evening school for the workers. As it is described in the annual report, foreign language lessons did not continue, due to the inability and the lack of interest of the workers. But the lessons of socialist theory and syndicalism, had a large audience. Besides; in certain periods of time, lectures for the public was given. During the year 1910, fifty such lectures on various topics (working conditions, hygiene, alcoholism, etc.) were given.

In 1910, Socialist Youth was established under the patronage of Federation. It was addressed to youngsters of 15 to 24 years of age. According to the articles (15), its purpose was the education of its members on socialist ideology and syndicalism, and the promotion of the syndicalist spirit among the young

(14). Dr. Resat Rıza gives us an image of the period's working conditions : "... the workers, obliged to work in humid, dark, without fresh air working places, that look like hovels..."²¹⁰, *Vide idem supra*, D. Sismanof, p. 19. The working hours were also overpowering. Legally, there was a limit of 8 to 10 working hours, but in most of the cases, the time was being prolonged from 10 to 13 hours.

(15). A. Αϊκόσ, *vide idem supra*, p.p. 65-72.

workers (articles 2, 3).

S.Y. consisted of three basic organizations (as we show before, one in the center of the city, the other in *Kelemer mahallesi*, and the third in the city of Kavala), and every basic organization had four sections: athletic, musical, choral and theatric. Each section had its own internal regulation (article 4). The members were meeting every three months, while once a year (during the final quarter), the general meeting was held, from which, a seven-member administrative committee, after secret vote, was being elected. A three-member checking committee was also being elected (article 11), that was checking all financial, and administrative decisions / activities (article 16). Administrative committee, consisted of a secretary, a vice-secretary, a treasurer, a vice-treasurer and the advisors (three), (article 13).

During all sessions of the administrative committee, a delegate of Federation was participating also (without voting right), to provide for the communication, control and instruction of the committee by the central decisive organ, especially in ideologic or politic matters (article 10). S.Y. autonomy, was being confined to athletic educative and recreational activities (articles 8, 9). (16). Articles 21 to 24, referred to breaches of discipline.

In conformity with the triptych "Organization - Education - Struggle", known as "the Stuttgart decision", that had been established by International Socialist Youth (= I.S.Y.), there were four axes of interest / directives, for the youth socialist organizations, members of I.S.Y. : a. anti-militarist strife, b.

(16). A. Λιάκος, *vide idem supra*, p. 37. An eligible for the administrative / checking committees, had to be at least one year before member of S.Y., and over 19 years of age.

general education, c. development of the athletic spirit, and d. aesthetics cultivation. (17).

Salonika's S.Y., aligned with those directives. From the early period after its establishment, S.Y. by using the lodge of "Club Ouvrier" started to give lessons to its members Turkish, Spanish and French in the beginning, political economy and theory of Socialism later; in 1913 it will have two music classes, a choir, and an amateur theater company, that was instructed by the professional actress Rosa Coen. Moreover, there was a band. Into the lessons' corpus, history, general knowledge of the sciences and principles of syndicalism were also added.

The development of the athletic spirit, was being combined with the fight against alcoholism, that was widely-spread among the young workers. As the European Socialist organizations were doing (18), physical exercises used here too, to cure bodies' deformities that resulted from the insenitary working conditions, and to keep away young workers from getting into bad companies. On the other hand, by strengthening the body and boosting the morale of the youngsters, their fighting spirit was also being bolstered.

Another athletic activity of S.Y. was football matches, that were being organized among football teams, formatted from its members.

S.Y. of Salonika was connected with the other two Balkan socialist youths, those of Athens and Sofia. It was also communicating regularly with the secretariat of I.S.Y., in Vienna.

The outbreak of the Balkan wars, was a critical moment for the history of both organizations. Their Bulgarian members after the

(17). A. Λιάκος, *vide idem supra* p. 39.

(18). European nationalist organizations, were using physical exercise to prepare the youngsters for the time they would join the army. A. Λιάκος, *vide idem supra* p. 44.

II Balkan war, obliged to leave the city, while some of the Ottoman Turks, after the signing of the peace protocol among the belligerent countries, left also the city to other places of the Empire. After the shock, both, started to reactivate, abandoning the "federal" organization in their character (but not in their structure), and became the united socialist nucleus of Jews and Hellenes in Macedonia. In 1918, by accepting the principle of "centralized organization", were unified, as the other socialist formations did also, into the new Socialist Working Party of Hellas (Σ.Ε.Κ.Ε.).

Socialist movement in the city, appeared in the most difficult historic period. The new century, found the Ottomans divided, into Hamidians and anti-Hamidians. The stream of liberalism was blowing in the big centers of the Empire, along with the Turkish nationalism, of which the foundations started to be laid. On the other hand, Hellenic irredentism versus the Bulgarian claims for territorial expansion to the south, on Macedonia, drove both sides to an armed rending (that actually ended up with the II Balkan war), of which an important part was going into the city of Salonika. Its impact, effected the relations of all communities. Moreover, the spirit of Pan-Zionism, that was traveling all over Europe from the end of the 19th c., and had already nestled into the Jewish community of the city, was now opposing against socialism' first timid steps. After 1910, when the internal policy of the Young Turks changed, and the principles of Turkism (*Türkçülük*), attempted to be a new *modus vivendi*, socialism made another enemy.

Early socialist conceptions, characterized by ideologic

obscurity and fluidity. In the beginning, humanistic circles, the fraternal spirit of the lodges, and some individuals, will undertake the role of the carriers and initiators to the socialist ideas. But still, this foggy ideas will remain closed in bigger circles of the city intelligentsia.

The first opening to the public, will be, with the appearance of the Bulgarian socialists in the city. The split of the Bulgarian party into the "narrow" (conservatives) and the "wide" (reformists) in 1903, followed by a descent to Salonika of several ex-party members. Thus, the first popular socialist groups will be formatted.

To the formation of the socialist groups of the city, a direct role played also the Armenian socialists. Despite their population's insignificance in the city (only some hundred people), they will help socialist movement from Istanbul and through their party's connections also from Europe. But the Armenian national socialists will help also. Already from December of 1907, after the congress of Paris (were Ahmed Rıza and prince Sabbahedin participated also), they will try to unify all the anti-Hamidian forces of the Empire. Salonika's socialists, were a new anti-Hamidian "thorn", they had to support.

With such mesh of connections, we are driven into very delicate balance. It is the time that the internal competition for the leading role among the parties has started. Armenians will adduce their oldness, Bulgars their ideologic clearness and party discipline, while Federation will demonstrate its organization and party coherence. Thus, despite of the ideologic relations, and the attempts for unification, in Macedonia, as well as in the whole Empire, socialist parties and groups, will stay autonomous

and equivalent, unorganized without a common instructive centre.

In the city of Salonika, despite the activities and influence of the Bulgarian orthodox socialists, Federation, because of its population's potential, solidarity and organization, finally will prevail over all other parties.

— E P I L O G U E —



Ottoman Salonika, the second city of the Empire, had an impressive personality of its own. It was a mixture of two worlds, -East and West-, with many local Balkan features. Eastern colors were dominant until the third quarter of the 19th century.

By the last quarter of the last century, when modernization - synonym with westernization and European penetration-, started to be realized, European characteristics of the city, will be more profound.

During that transitional period, the city acquired a cosmopolitan physiognomy, mostly obvious into its center and the newly established western suburb *Hamidiye*. Railroad linking with Europe and Istanbul, electrification, water supply network, gas-light network for civic needs, as well as city public transport service with tram, were the innovations that the city was faced with by the dawn of the new century. Most of the public utility service character enterprises, were European investments. The change, was also obvious in the architectural forms of public and private buildings (churches, mosques, schools, banks, houses, mansions, etc.). Neoclassicism and eclecticism were the most dominant styles of the period.

Parallel will be the development of the city industry. New industrial units, in buildings less massive but same functional were established in the eastern city suburb *Çayır* mainly, with modern steam-driven or electric engines.

Education was developed too, by the establishment of various educational foundations among the national communities, as well as state institutions like *Rüştiye*, *İdadiye*, the Law Academy etc.. Besides, in some of the newly established educational foundations,

lessons of professional specialization on commerce and industry were given. Thus, a stratum of natives formed. They were professionally educated in the city, and they knew better than anyone foreigner (as natives), local potential and needs, a fact that favored city industry and commerce. Moreover, railroad linking Europe and Istanbul, as well as the works for the improvement of the port that took place, resulted an increase of the commercial/import-export business, which took off city retailing activity and economy.

City social mobility was increased, especially by the inflows of the Europeans (employees, skilled workers and relative occupations), working in various projects or companies, and those wealthy provincials of frightened populations that fled from the hinterland, because of the general unrest which resulted from Macedonian struggle.

This motion/communication helped into the diffusion of new ideas while new ideologic currents (like socialism), gain ground in the city. Before the end of the first decade of our century, labor unions and associations of various professional groups established, and soon after the Young Turks' revolution, *Federation Socialist Obradera* the famous socialist organization emerged.

Despite the fact that, Salonika was a military/administrative center subordinate of Istanbul -the capital-, was rather out of its influence, in comparison with other big cities of the Empire. An important factor that contributed to this, was that of its location; center of Southern Balkans, with a natural port, that favored communications and transports -sea or land-, which played a significant role in the development of the city economic and

social life. The other, factor was, that, the city was absolutely self-sufficient. The rich Macedonian hinterland, from the first time of the city existence, had undertaken city provisionism.

I may support the opinion, that the city was divided imaginarily into three parts: that of transports, the commercial/economic, and the inhabiting (*vide* relative sketch in the part "Charts and Tables"). When the city expanded towards east and west (Cagir and Hamidiye suburbs), those three parts transported also respectively, so its image remained unchanged. Transports' part was commodities' reception area, around the port and later the railroad station. Commercial/economic was the part in which the market, the banks, and the public/private services had been established. Inhabiting part, was the rest of the city.

On the other hand, its location in the Balkan space, especially after the formation of the Balkan national states, increased the frictions among them for its acquisition, as well as, among the national communities of the city, that were under the patronage either of the Balkan or the European states. Rightfully P. Risal, characterized the city as "*la ville convoitee*". (the coveted city).

The last Ottoman period, was characterized by a sharp contrast of special interests, among the Balkanians for Macedonia. The conflicted views, led to an armed conflict (Macedonian struggle), and finally to a two-period war (Balkan war I and II). Both had a direct impact on the European politic-diplomatic scene.

Despite their cultural and nationalist differences, all communities of the city, participate with more or less equal share in the development of the city. Cultural peculiarity, expressed not only in frictions and contrasts -as we saw above-, but also in artistic creation. Because of the competition that existed among

the communities and the trend for ostentation of their wealth, many architectural works of art erected, from which many are still considered jewels of the city.

Today's Thessaloniki, keeps a part of its Ottoman past. In the upper city -the citadel-, that was during the Ottoman period populated mostly by Ottoman-Turks, a part of the Byzantine/Ottoman city wall still exists, along with some of the one or two storey typical houses, made from laths and plaster (*catma* and *bagdati*) that were restored recently. In its western side (the old suburb *Hamidiye*) there are still some mansions in perfect condition and villas of the eminent members of high society of that period.

(Allatini's (today is Thessaloniki's prefecture administration building), *Kapancı's* (today is National Bank's gallery), etc.). From that period's public buildings, still exist *Hükümet konağı*, which today roofs the ministry of Macedonia-Thrace, *Mekteb-i idadi*, which today is a part of the complex of Aristotelion University of Thessaloniki, *Ordu kâragâhı*, which today is a part of the military headquarters complex, *Gumruk binası*, that still today is the custom-house of the port, and the building of *Osmanlı Bankası*, which today roofs the conservatory of Thessaloniki. Moreover, four mosques still exist (*Zihni paşa camii*, *Alaca imaret camii*, *Hamza bey camii* and *Yeni camii*), four Turkish baths (*Paşa hamamı*, *Yahudi hamamı*, *Bey hamamı*, and *Yeni hamamı*), the covered market (*bedesten*), a mausoleum (*Musa baba türbesi*), and few neighborhood fountains (*çeşme*).

— CHARTS AND TABLES —



— MAIN, EXISTING FACTORIES IN SALONIKA UNTIL 1912 —

* S * N	KIND OF FACTORY	FIRM and OWNERS	ES/NT YEAR	POWER in HP	RAW MATERIALS	PRODUCTS&ANNUAL PRODUCTION	NUM. of WORKERS*
*1	Steam Mill	S.A. Industrielle & Commerciale de Salonique (Allatini)	1898	750	Cereals imported & domestic	Various kinds of flours 35.000.000 kgr.	200
*2	Tile works	S.A. Industrielle & Commerciale de Salonique (Allatini)	1880	250	Clay	Tiles, mudbricks & bricks etc. 5.000.000 tiles 10.000.000 mud- bricks.	150
*3	Brewery	S.A. Brasserie "Glymbos"	1892	500	Imported hop & domestic barley.	Beer & ice 27.000 Hits Beer 3.000 tons Ice	200
*4	Brewery	Georgiadis & Com. "Naousa"	1912	130 + 150	Imported hop & malt from Europe.	Beer (black & Pilsen), ice 10-15.000 Hits Beer & 10.000kg per day! Ice.	50
*5	Spinni- ng mill	Sayias or later J. Sides & Cie	1873- 1902	300	Domestic cotton.	Various kinds of thick yarns. 27.900 kgr. per week.	478
*6	Spinni- ng mill	Torres & Misrahi or later "Nouvelle Filature"	1886- 1907	400 + 400	Domestic cotton	Various kinds of thick yarns. 500.000 kgr.	350 or 400
*7	Spinni- ng mill	B. & Th. Tourpali-	1909	200	Imported cotton from Adana & Izmir	Fine yarns of English standa- rds No 12-24.	100
*8	Weaving mill	Torres & Misrahi & Fernandez. "E. Torres & Cie"	1900 or 1905	150	Jute & hemp yarns from Bengal.	Flour sacks & wrapping texti- les (tobacco).	120
*9	Weaving mill	S.A. Ottomane pour la fabrication de fez & Tissus. Ahmet & Yusuf Ka- panci, Sami Telci, Saul Amar, Osman De- rvis, B. Bensussan & G. Yichel	1909- mill 1911	100	Ready made yarns.	Fez & woolen textiles. 600m of woolen textile & 600 Fez per day.	100

*10	Weaving mill	Kazani Kapioti & Vriahiel	1905	28	Ready made yarns.	Various kinds of textiles. 45,000 m.	30
*11	Cotton Gin.	Loggos & Tourpales	---	13	Probably gining of raw cotton, of local production.	-----	
*12	Cordons Factory	L. Vopas.	1906	12	Ready made fine yarn.	Cordons, laces etc. 25,000 kgr	31
*13	Planned Umbrellas Factory	Fils D. Errera & Cie.	1900	30	Ready made materials.	Undershirts, socks&stockings umbrellas, shawls women's coats. 2,000 tons, 18,000 pairs, 20,000 pieces, 4,000 tons & 28,000 tons.	300
*14	Tannery	N.M. Nousia's Sons & Cie.	1907	75	Domestic & imported leathers, mainly bovine. Imported other tanning materials, from Germany and France.	Elaborated hard leathers (semelles), for shoe pads mainly. 300,000 pieces approx. or 200,000 okas.	150
*15	Soap Factory	E. Eudaxikas & Eros	1870	20	Domestic seed oils & imported bicarb from England	Soap 4,000,000 okas	18
*16	Soap Factory	E. Giakos	1878	10	Seed-oils & Bicarb.	Soap, 300,000 okas	10
*17	Soap Factory	G. Arletos	1890	6	Seed-oils & Bicarb.	Soap, 200,000 okas	5
*18	Macaroni Factory	Kouskouras & Hajigiannis.	1906	17	Domestic semolinas.	Various kinds of makaroni products. 500,000 okas	15
*19	Macaroni Factory	Vougiouklis	1908	---	Domestic semolinas.	Various kinds of makaroni products. 100-150,000 okas	6

		n) Jordan Giarjef & Cie.	1911		-----	Printing works	---
		o) Salvator Muratori	1910		-----	" "	---
		p) Acuaroni	1911		-----	" "	---
		q) Progres de Salonique	1911		-----	Printing works & a newspaper	---
		r) Journal de Salonique	1911		-----	" "	---
		s) Botton Mair	1911		-----	Printing works	---
*26	Machinery & Foundry	E. Fedis.	1902	15	Cast iron	Pumps, turbines, threshing machines etc..	30
*27	Machinery & Foundry	Freres Tiano & Cie.	1906	30	Cast iron	Mills, public works, machines etc..	30
*28	Plow Factory	A. Baris	1905	30	Cast iron	Plows, agricultural machines etc.	15
*29	Mosaics & flags Factory	Dilaveris & Giannoulis	1906	---	Ciments & sand.	Mosaics, tiles, flags, etc.. 20.000 m2.	28
*30	Alcohol Spirits Factory	Ar. Mammonas	1882	12	Grapes.	Alcohol & wines 50 tons Alcohol 20 tons wines	10
*31	Distillery.	A. Trombeta	1912	5	Alcohol.	Wines & liqueurs 10 tons.	5
*32	Distillery.	B. Konstandinou	1886	10	Alcohol & grapes.	Wines & beverages (Alcoholic)	10
*33	Sesame mill	N. Katriotis	1880	20	Sesame & Sugar	Sesame oil & halvah. 300,000 okas	12
*34	Boots Factory	Kalderon & Aroesti	1910	40	Elaborated leathers.	Boots & half boots. 300,000 pairs	150
*35	Tobacco cigarettes Factory	Regie (Ottoman monopoly)	1884	35-50	Tobacco	Elaborated Tobacco - cigarettes 22,000,000 pieces (1892)	400 to 500

*36	Cigarette paper Factory	"Lux"	---	---	-----	-----	-----
*37	Cigarette paper Factory	"Avenir"	---	---	-----	-----	-----
*38	Oil Factory	Standard oil of New York	1911	---	Crude oil	Pure oil, petrol lamp-oil, paraffin 90.000 tin pots ??	
*39	Oil Factory	Etoile Roumaine	1912	---	Crude oil	Pure oil, petrol lamp-oil, paraffin 60.000 tin pots ??	

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN SALONIKA IN THE YEAR 1911

s/n	INVESTMENT	CAPITAL	INTERESTS
01	Imperial Ottoman Bank (established in Istanbul)	125	British
02	Bank of Salonika	20	French
03	Millars' company (timber works)	50	British
04	Electricity - Tram	08	Belgian
05	City water supply network	05	Belgian
06	Port constructions	05	French
06	To Monastery railroad line	15	French
07	To Istanbul railroad line	15	French
08	Orosdi's corporation (mines)	10	French
09	Κασσάνδρας Mines	04	French
10	Socony oil	2.5	U.S.A.
11	Various tobacco industries	5.5	Mixed
12	Other enterprises	01	Mixed
	Total	266	

* The capitals are in millions of gold French Franks.

The data are taken from the book of K. Μοσχός, "Thessaloniki 1700 - 1912. The city of retailing", p.109, H.T., Athens, 1974.
Resources of the data, according to K. Μοσχός are the archives of the French ministry of foreign affairs, Turquie N.S. Vol. 50, p. 300.

EXISTED BANKS, BANKING OFFICES & BANKERS, IN SALONIKA
UNTIL 1912²

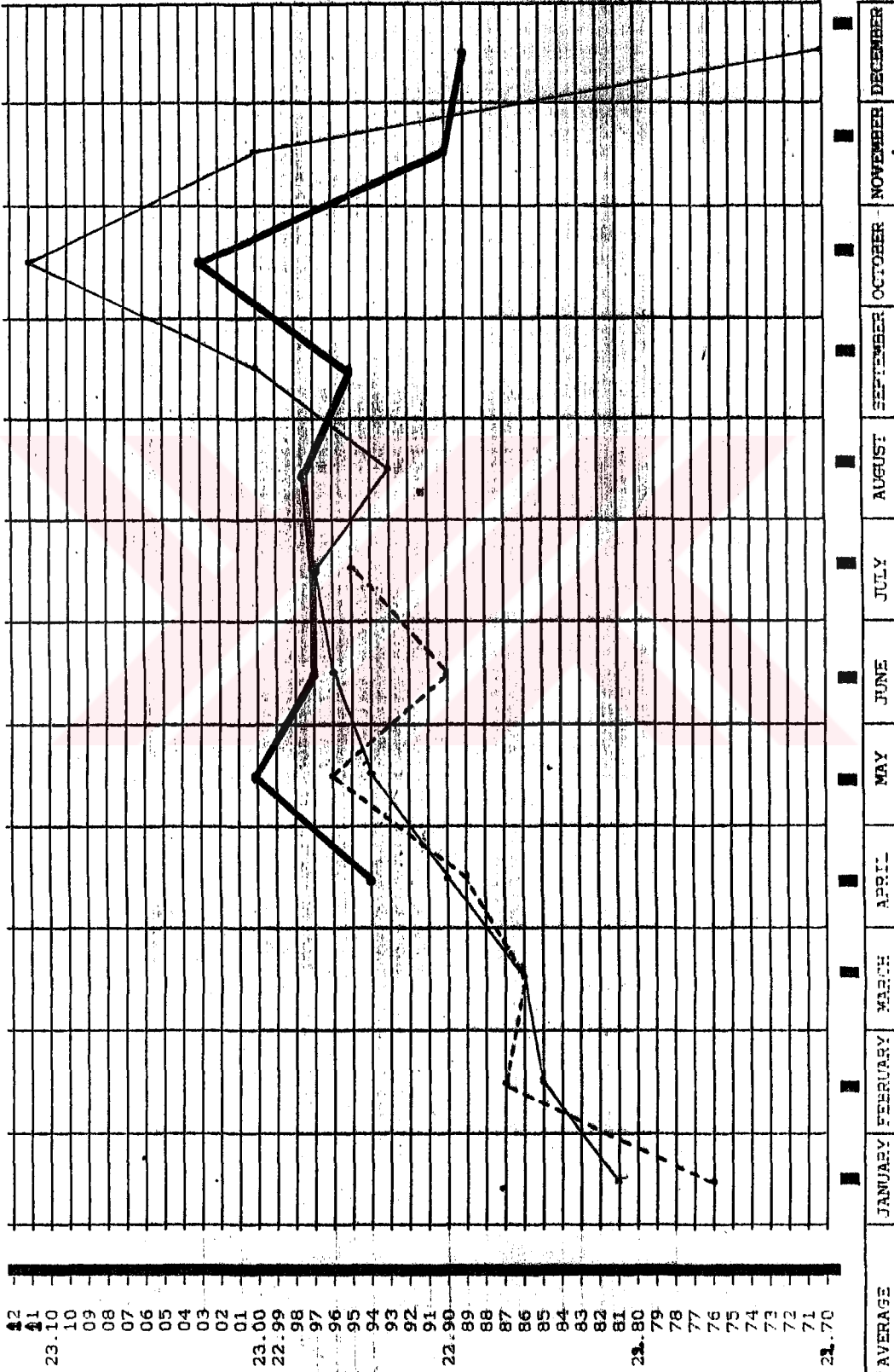
* s/n	NAME	YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT
*01	Imperial Ottoman Bank.	1863
*02	State Agricultural Bank.	1868 or 1889
04	R. Beaudoy Banking Office. ()	1880
*03	Bank of Salonika.	1888
05	London Bank. ()	1888
06	Hirs's Bank. ()	1888
07	National Bank of Turkey. ()	1889
*08	Bank of Mitillini.	1899
*09	Bank of Athens.	1905
*10	Athens' Bank of Industrial Credit	1905
*11	Bank of East.	1906
*12	Industrial Bank.	1906
*13	Bank of Commerce & Deposits.	Existed before 1907
*14	Kosmadopoulos Banking Office.	" " 1907
*15	Jacob Benveniste's Banking Office	" " 1907
*16	Salem Haim & Joseph Solomon's Banking Office.	" " 1907
*17	Saul Modiano's Banking Office.	" " 1907
*18	Bennesiglio's Banking Office.	" " 1907
*19	Allatini Bros.' Banking Office.	" " 1910
*20	Abraham Amar's Banking Office.	" " 1910
*21	Bensusa s Banking Office.	Existed before 1910
*22	Mehmet Kapanji's Banking Office.	" " 1910
*23	Lewis Modiano's Banking Office.	" " 1910
*24	Abraham Amar's Banking Office	" " 1911

25	Bankers Vourla & Benveniste. ()	"	"	1911	*
*26	Banker Barjilai Joseph.	"	"	1910	*
*27	Banker Ergas Joseph.	"	"	1910	*
*28	Banker Namik Kapānji.	"	"	1910	*
*29	Bankers Kofinos Bros.	"	"	1910	*
*30	Bankers Saias & Matalon.	"	"	1910	*

 (*) Those Banks' existence, is not verified from more than one resource. Vide. Ευάγγελος Χακίμογλου, "Banks and Thessaloniki" H.T., p.60,

AVERAGE EQUIVALENCE OF THE OTTOMAN LIRA WITH THE FRENCH FRANC IN THE MARKET OF SALONIKA

(during the years 1911, 1912, 1913)



The data are taken from the study of T.N. Kogalovs. "Macedonia's finances". H.I. p.256. Athens 1914.

1911: [redacted] 1912: [redacted] 1913: [redacted]

— INSURANCE COMPANIES/AGENCIES, EXISTED IN 1911 —

— LIFE INSURANCE —

F I R M	DIRECTOR / AGENT	NATIONALITY - LOCATION
Assicurazioni Generali di Trieste	Chev. A. Cuzziari	Austrian - Frankish Quarter
La Baloise - Suisse	Leon Juda	Swiss - Frankish Quarter
Friedrich Wilhelm	Saltiel & Angel	German - Han Allatini
Mutual Life	Kiatip Zade	English - Frankish Quarter
La Nationale	de Pallieres	French?? - Frankish Quarter
North British & Mercandie	M. Morpurgo	English & ---- Han Allatini
Northern	Mario Fernandes	English - Han Allatini
Phoenix Francaise	Assaeco	French - Han Camli
La Premiere Hongroise	Sam Maissa	Aust/Hungarian?? - Han Yildiz
Riunione Adriatica	Felix & A. Amar et Cie	----- - Frankish Quarter
Union de Paris	S.H. Salem	French - Frankish Quarter
La Victoria de Berlin	D.J. Cohen	German - Frankish Quarter
L'Urbaine de Paris	Saul Ss. Modiano	French - Han Rogati
Gresham Life	N.B. Maou	English?? - Passage Benroubi

The data are taken from the "Commercial guide of Hellas, Samos, Crete and Macedonia" of the year 1911, p.p.36, H.T. printed in Corfu, by Antoninis bros.

TRANSPORTS & SEA RISKS
INSURANCE

F I R M	DIRECTOR / AGENT	NATIONALITY - LOCATION
Assicurazioni Generali di Trieste	Chev. A. Cuzzi	Austrian-Frankish Quarter
International Lloyd	Nehanna & Sasson	English-Frankish Quarter
La Fortuna	Dino Fernandes	----- Frankish Quarter
Oberheische	Saporta & Naar	German - Frankish Quarter
La Suisse	Jacob Molho	Swiss - Yali Kapi
L' Universo	Dino Fernandes	----- Han Allatini

FIRE INSURANCE COMPANIES/AGENCIES

F I R M	DIRECTOR / AGENT	NATIONALITY - LOCATION
Assicurazioni Generali di Triesti	Chev. A. Cuzzi	Austrian - Cite' Saul
Aachen und Muenchen	Isac Iahel	German - Frankish Quarter
Balcan	Samuel B. Saltiel	Bulgarian - Han Allatini
La Baloise	Leon Juda	Swiss - Frankish Quarter
Bulgaria	Elie Amar & Cie	Bulgarian-Frankish Quarter
El Dia	Pencouchieff & Gattegno	Spanish - Frankish Quarter
Exces	N. Papisoglou	English - Misir Carsisi
Hamburg - Bremen	J. Cambell	German - Parallele
Law Union and Crown	M. Row & Jacob Molho	English - Yali Kapi
Nationale de Grece	T. Mavroudis	Hellenic - Han Rogoti
Nationale de Stettin	J. Cambell	German - Parallele
Nationale British	Misrachi	English - Frankish Quarter
North British	M. Morpurgo	English - Han Allatini
Northern	Fernandes	English - Han Allatini

Palatini	Is. Bensusan	English-Frankish Quarter
Paternelle	Sciaky & Cie	French - Frankish Quarter
Patriotie	Samuel - D. Modiano	English - Sabri Pasa
Phoenix	Elie & A. Torres	Austrian - Sabri Pasa
Phoenix de Londres	Sam. Modiano fils	English - Sabri Pasa
Property	M. Misrahi	English - Frankish Quarter
Riunione Adriatica	F. Amar et Cie	Austrian - Han Tiano
Rossia	Isaac M. Sialom	Russian-Frankish Quarter
Societe' d'Assurance Ottomane	M. Badeti	Ottoman/French-Passage Lombardo
State	Mois Joseph Modiano	English - Han Sossidi
Sun	Withal Saltier et Cie	English - Han Allatini
Union de Paris	Albert Sialom	French - Cite' Saul
L'Urbaine de Paris	Saul Ss. Modiano	French - Han Rogoti
Western	M. Carvounides	English-Frankish Quarter
Ανατολή	Αεοντιάνης	Hellenic-Frankish Quarter
Ανατολή (Bank of Mitillini)		Hellenic -

TOTAL ANNUAL PREMIUMS AND COMPENSATIONS DURING THE YEARS 1906 -1912
IN FIRE INSURANCE CATEGORY
in Pound Sterlings

YEAR	FIRES	PREMIUMS	COMPENSATIONS	
1906	3	48,000	7,830	+ 40,170
1907	22	50,000	13,700	+ 36,300
1908	5	52,000	4,540	+ 47,460
1909	15	54,000	17,680	+ 36,320
1910	34	56,000	66,000	- 10,000
1911	37	60,000	81,864	- 21,864
1912	31	62,000	31,883	+ 30,117
TOTAL	147	382,000	223,417	+ 158,583

The data are taken from the book of Γ. Χριστοδούλου "Thessaloniki in the last 100 years. Trade-industry-handicraft", p. 148.

ANNUAL INCOMES OF "L' ADMINISTRATION DE LA DETTE PUBLIQUE OTTOMAN
from the city of Salcaika, for the years 1323 - 1327 (1907-111)"

YEAR	ANNUAL INCOME in Piastres (Kurus)	K I N D S								
		Salt sales' duties	stamp duties	Tombeki licence	Silk tithe	Hunting & fishing licence, eather sales' duties	Fishing duties	Alcohol licence	Spirits' licence	Alcohol & Spirits duties
1323	13,354,507.44	8,750,866.75	1,513,271.15	693.15	299,593.34	14,684.000	2,052.000	2,179,844.000	294,958.750	298,544.200
1324	10,938,949.40	6,200,916.95	1,574,860.10	77.00	172,248.54	14,308.650	2,119.750	2,365,106.250	300,740.630	308,579.620
1325	10,636,735.42	5,097,456.38	1,839,902.50	847.00	259,995.60	16,438.870	2,254.000	2,769,837.250	320,204.870	319,788.950
1326	12,669,649.04	6,908,494.40	1,412,921.00	1,040.40	145,487.55	17,282.120	2,863.250	3,494,901.580	366,486.870	320,171.850
1327	15,138,546.50	8,243,620.17	2,115,060.25	885.45	119,470.77	9,461.000	475,574.000	4,438,618.120	397,247.670	338,609.020
Total	63,738,387.80	35,201,364.5	8,456,015.00	3,543.00	1,007,147.9	72,174.640	484,863.050	15,248,307.12	1,679,638.790	1,585,693.650

* except the additional levied custom duties of 3%.

The data are taken from the study of P.H. Koçvds, "Macedonia's finances", H.T.
p.p. 308-301, Athens, 1914.

ANNUAL INCOMES OF THE CUSTOM-HOUSE OF SALONIKA (IMPORTS ONLY), FOR THE YEARS 1323-1325 (1907-09)

(levied duties 8% (in Piastres (Kurus), by general estimate of the cost)

YEAR	M O N T H S												TOTAL
	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	
1323			1,625,530.00	1,894,440.00	2,116,920.00	2,148,520.00	1,938,352.00	2,115,720.00	3,019,698.00	2,113,809.00	1,968,765.00	1,585,404.00	20,527,166
1324	1,545,718.00	1,935,830.00	2,168,156.35	2,178,821.10	1,683,650.15	2,039,673.00	2,064,334.10	2,324,613.10	2,228,103.00	2,142,414.30	2,175,676.00	2,243,116.20	22,405,499
1325	1,982,516.00	2,422,865.30	2,838,522.20	2,687,111.10	2,023,263.25	1,478,286.30	2,574,207.00	2,788,136.20	2,507,949.20	2,614,532.20	2,462,848.30	2,685,332.25	29,117,567
1326	2,246,235.05	2,976,830.04											

The data are taken from the "Commercial guide of Hellas, Samos, Crete and Macedonia" of the year 1911, p.p. 21-22, H.T. printed in Corfu, by Koutouros Bros.

ANNUAL INCOMES OF THE CUSTOM-HOUSE OF SALONIKA (IMPORTS ONLY), FOR THE YEARS 1323-1325 (1907-09)

(additional levied duties 3% (in Piastres (Kurus), on the general estimate of the cost)

YEAR	M O N T H S												TOTAL
	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	
1323						111,581	830,613	845,026	1,200,619	846,532	708,592	830,912	5,000,104
1324	618,891	734,968	833,020.10	862,425	822,632	826,940.10	832,548	922,804.30	833,892.70	817,623.20	827,143.20	908,631	9,707,951.1
1325	799,531	999,770	1,165,316.30	1,071,504.20	811,212	588,931.20	1,937,346.10	1,037,368.20	921,495.10	948,917.10	901,233.30	970,516.20	11,253,145
1326	814,667.25	1,079,700.30											14,988,644
1327													14,260,203

* Additional duties 3%, started to be levied from June 1907, and the incomes were assigned to the fund of "L'ADMINISTRATION GÉNERALE DES TRIBUTS PUBLICS ET COMMERCIAUX". All imported goods, were not liable to the additional levied duties 3%, over general estimate of the cost, like e.g. the jewels, that were subjected to special duties (droit fixe). The data are taken from the "Commercial guide of Hellas, Samos, Crete and Macedonia" of the year 1911, p.p. 21, 22, H.T. printed in Corfu, by Koutouros Bros. for the year 1327 (1911), and the missing months of 1326 (1910), the total prices are taken from the study of P.N. Koutouros, "Macedonia's finances", H.T. p.98, Athens 1914.

ANNUAL INCOMES OF THE CUSTOM-HOUSE OF SALONIKA IN 1326 (EXPORTS ONLY)
(use from 03.1910 to 02.1911 (in Piastres (Kurus))

YEAR	M O N T H S												TOTAL
	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	
1326			3,707,501.36	2,633,817.20	3,653,984.39	2,910,618.25	3,467,351.30	4,439,355.10	4,162,244.00	4,157,477.16	3,506,703.00	3,905,555.10	
1327	4,193,169.28	3,534,179.05											43,872,358.36

The data are taken from the study of P.N. Kocivds, "Macedonia's finances", H.T. p.p.96-97, Athens 1914.

SHIPS INTO THE PORT OF SALONIKA, FOR THE YEARS 1909 & 1911

FLAG	1909				1911			
	STEAMBOATS		SAILBOATS		STEAMBOATS		SAILBOATS	
	number	tons	number	tons	number	tons	number	tons
British	87	131,365			195	186,817		
U.S.A.'s	4	1,130			41	10,763		
Aust/Hungarian	101	184,379			119	218,016		
Belgian	25	28,231			43	49,393		
Belgarian	3	3,881			16	30,447		
German	58	82,968			63	105,737		
French	67	124,862			64	103,352		634
Danish	13	18,354			12	18,788		
Hellenic	322	238,484	154	5,835	48	33,620	8	231
Italian	98	139,838			71	94,768	2	437
Dutch	26	31,344			27	44,474		
Norwegian					3	3,249		
Ottoman	196	47,868	1,887	44,179	179	54,307	1,568	48,894
Romanian					15	16,349		
Russian	59	68,719			58	82,789		
Samian			15	1,482	1	1,326	18	1,448
Swedish					2	3,212		
T O T A L	1,289	1,101,489	1,256	51,496	960	1,043,028	1,699	53,148

The data are taken from the study of P.N. Kocivds, "Macedonia's finances", H.T. p.p.136-137, for the year 1909, and the "Commercial guide of Hellas, Samos, Crete and Macedonia" of the year 1911. p.23., for the year 1911.

SAILS INTO THE PORT OF SALONIKA, DURING THE YEARS 1885 - 1912

YEAR	STEAMBOATS		SAILBOATS	
	NUMBER	CAPACITY/tons	NUMBER	CAPACITY/tons
1885	512	489,907	3,824	88,181
1886	708	635,480	3,704	89,563
1887	627	544,495	3,832	69,422
1888	770	571,124	3,706	62,631
1889	630	663,568	2,861	63,348
1890	685	741,000	3,600	71,523
1891	751	782,115	4,206	89,353
1892	790	859,998	3,876	83,155
1893	650	732,405	3,577	81,853
1894	734	778,830	3,403	79,331
1895	801	765,187	3,137	72,340
1896	910	713,883	2,649	58,969
1897	742	677,455	2,404	47,187
1898	841	691,893	2,717	133,060
1899	845	684,872	2,386	55,673
1900	756	635,108	2,652	68,638
1901	842	737,331	2,009	57,889
1902	920	852,208	2,053	58,109
1903	870	776,682	2,163	54,648
1904	961	826,817	2,360	61,730
1905	918	855,156	2,600	66,300
1906	924	868,134	2,288	58,680
1907	1,158	879,217	2,363	61,830
1908	1,254	966,865	1,661	58,480
1909	1,191	1,003,852	1,973	51,422
1910	1,167	1,113,733	1,679	54,237
1911	960	1,043,820	1,699	53,148
1912	736	854,401		
TOTAL	23,653	21,863,116	75,301	1,848,074

RAILROAD TRANSPORTS DURING THE YEARS 1888 - 1905
through the line
Salonika - Belgrade - Europe - Belgrade - Salonika

YEAR	PASSENGERS	COMMODITIES/tons
1888	74,000	90,000
1889	89,133	128,385
1890	93,875	148,500
1891	110,459	208,000
1892	116,368	214,180
1893	121,428	171,300
1894	114,788	170,200
1895		
1896	135,000	160,000
1897	157,000	348,900
1898	121,910	231,790
1899	117,060	171,740
1900	166,934	191,300
1901		
1902		
1903		
1904		
1905		156,000
TOTAL	1,417,855	2,384,295

"Animals" transport not included in the number.

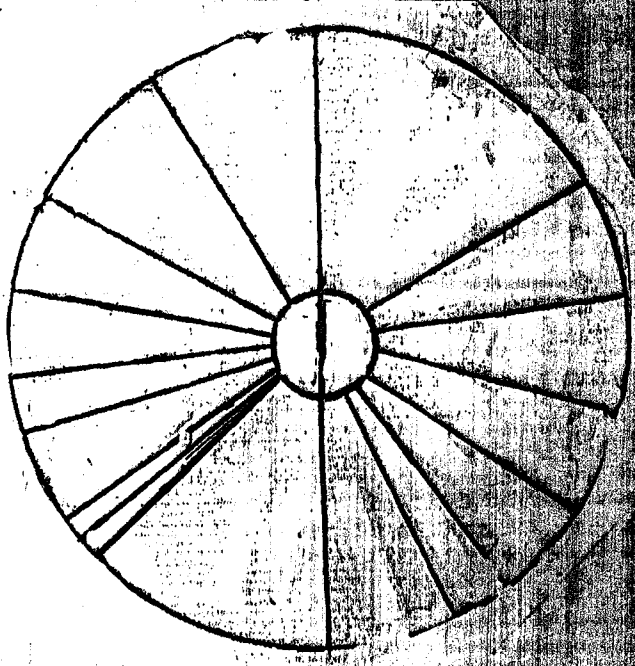
The data are taken from the book of P. Kριστοδουλου "Thessaloniki in the last 100 years. Trade-industry-handicraft", H.T., p. 106-101, 108, 116-118. It is written in the footnotes, that the data are taken from the relative reports of the city English Consul, and M. Steiner, who was the director of the company, that was exploiting the "Eastern Railroads".

IMPORTS - EXPORTS OF COMMODITIES FROM THE PORT OF SALONIKA
general classification

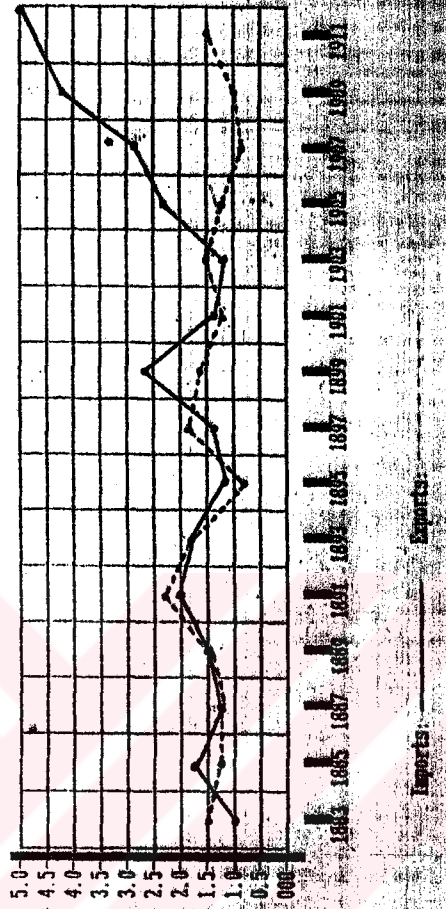
I M P O R T S		E X P O R T S	
ARTICLE	C O U N T R I E S	ARTICLE	C O U N T R I E S
Steel	Austria, Germany, France, Belgium	Cats	France, Germany, Italy, England
Alcohol	Austria-Hungary, Russia, Low Countries, Italy	Wheat	Belgium, France, Hellas, Turkey (Eastern)
Beer wine and spirits	Germany, France, Italy, Russia	Cocoons	Italy, France
Matches	Austria-Hungary, Italy, Germany, Belgium	Horns & Bones	Italy, England, Germany
Peanuts	France	Cotton	Italy, England, France
Enameled products	Austria-Hungary	Floors	Turkey (Eastern)
Iron plates	Belgium	Fennel seeds	France, Germany, Austria, England
Hoses	Germany, France, Italy	Opium	England, U.S.A., Germany, France
Building timber	Romania, Turkey	Poppy seeds	France, Germany, England
Candles	Low Countries	Sheep wool	Austria, France, England, Turkey (Eastern)
Empty bottles	Germany, Austria	Corn	Austria, Italy, Algeria, France, Hellas
Coffee	Brazil, Austria, France, Italy	Willet	Germany, Italy, U.S.A.
Sacks and burlap	England, Austria-Hungary, Italy, France	Minerals & Metals	France, Austria, Italy, Low Countries, Belgium, Germany, England
Shotgun caps	Italy, France	Sheep & Goats	Hellas, Turkey (Eastern)
Window's glass	Belgium, France, Austria-Hungary, England	Eggs	Hellas, France, Italy, Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary
Plaques & Rooftiles	Hellas, France, Italy	Barley	England, Algeria, Belgium, Germany
Cardboards	Austria	Sheep skins	Austria, Germany, U.S.A., England
Iron rings	Belgium, France, Germany, Austria	Various kinds of Skins	Germany, U.S.A., England, Austria-Hungary, Italy
Pit-coal	England, Turkey	Furs	France
Line	France, Hellas, France	Red Pepper	Germany, Russia, U.S.A., France, England
Cement	France, Austria, Belgium		Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, Hellas, Turkey (Eastern)
Lemons & Oranges	Turkey, Hellas, Italy		Germany, Low Countries
Nails	Austria, France, Germany, Italy		Austria, Germany, Low Countries, France, Italy
Cotton (unprocessed)	Turkey (Eastern)		Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Egypt, England, U.S.A., England
Cotton (yarn)	England, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Germany		Malta, Crete, Egypt, Hellas
Cotton textiles	England, Germany, Italy, Austria, Low Countries		Germany, Italy, France
Cotton textiles (printed)	England, Italy, Germany, Austria, Belgium		Hellas, Egypt, Hellas
Shoe leather	France, Belgium, Austria-Hungary		Austria-Hungary, Germany, France
Leathers (processed)	France, England, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Germany, Turkey (Eastern)		Germany, England, France, Belgium, U.S.A.
Copper	England, Germany, Austria-Hungary		Germany, Austria, U.S.A.
Dates (in boxes)	Syria		France, Germany, Austria
Textiles	Germany, Belgium, Austria, England, France, Italy		Germany, Holland, France
Drugs	Germany, France, England, Italy		Malta, Italy, Egypt, Hellas, U.S.A., Turkey
Tin (in bars)	England, Austria, Italy		England, Italy, France, Germany, Austria
Tinplates	England		France, Austria-Hungary
Flours	Romania, Russia, Bulgaria, Italy		Bulgaria, Serbia, Turkey (Eastern)
Iron	Belgium, Sweden		Albania, Romania, Turkey (Eastern)
Iron products	England, Germany, France		Bulgaria, Serbia, Italy
Fez	Austria, France		Aegian Islands, Turkey (Eastern), France, Germany
Clothing items	Austria, Germany		Aegian Islands, Turkey (Eastern)
Olive oils	Turkey (Eastern), Hellas		
Mineral oils	Hellas, Italy, Turkey (Eastern)		
Sesame	Syria		
Jewels & watches	Switzerland, Austria, France, England, Germany		

Sesame oils	France, Turkey (Eastern)
Indigo	England, France, Austria
Woolen clothing items	Italy, Germany, England, Sweden, Austria, Germany
Lamps	Austria-Hungary, Germany
Iron beds	England, Germany, Belgium
Sewing machines	Germany, U.S.A.
Marbles (unprocessed)	Hellas, Italy, Turkey (Eastern)
Marbles (processed)	Hellas, Italy
Furnitures	Austria
Mirrors	Belgium, France
Papers (wrapping)	Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium
Papers (fine)	Austria, Italy, Belgium
Paper (cigarette)	Austria, Italy, France
Paraffin	Austria, England
Skins (dried)	India, Arabia, Germany, France
Petroleum	Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy
Pepper	Italy
Potatoes	France, Italy
Lead	Italy, France
Porcelain	Germany, Austria
Iron bars	Belgium, Germany, Austria, France
Hardware items	Germany, Austria, Belgium
Account books	Italy, Austria
Rice	India, Austria, Italy
Soap	France, England, Turkey (Eastern)
Silk products	France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany
Sulphur	Italy
Sugar	Austria-Hungary, Russia, Romania
Iron sulphate	France
Tiles	Low Countries, Italy, Germany
Woolen textiles	France, Germany, England, Italy, Austria
Tarpaulins	England, Belgium
Iron foils	Belgium
Iron pipes	Germany, England
Glass works	Belgium, Low Countries, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey (Eastern), England, Holland
Zinc	Belgium, Germany
Machines	Germany, England, U.S.A.
Machinery products	Belgium, Austria, Germany, France, England
Electric appliances	Germany, Austria, England, France
Carpets	Turkey (Eastern), England
Cereals	Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania
Chemical products	France, Italy, Austria, Germany
Fishes (smoked or salted)	England, Germany
Perfumes	Turkey (Eastern), France, England, Austria, Germany
ropes	England, Serbia
Starch	Low Countries
Plaster	France, Germany
Talk	Austria, Aegean Islands
Hinges	Germany, Sweden, England, U.S.A.
Pumps	U.S.A., Germany
Balances	Germany, Austria, France
Ovens	England, France
Dyes	France, England, Germany, Austria

MAINE PRODUCTS FROM THE PORT OF SALONIKA, DURING THE YEARS 1883 - 1911
 comparison circle for the years 1891 and 1911



IMPORT - EXPORT ACTIVITY OF THE PORT OF SALONIKA, DURING THE YEARS 1883 - 1911
 in millions of Pound Sterlings



Zalcer beyden

SYNDICATES' STATISTICS FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT OF FEDERATION "
July 1909 - July 1910

Syndicate	Members	Funds in Tr.Liras
Handworking tobacco workers'	2,500 to 3,000	1,000
Handworking tobacco workers' of "Regie"	500	800
Employees' (various branches)	300	300
Carpenters' (Jews, St.Greeks, St.Turks)	120	30
Railroad workers'	200	200
Blacksmiths'	40	15
"Istira workers' (porters, stokers, etc.)	250	25
Textile workers'	500	100
Canvass and hemp workers'	100	25
Bulgarian typographers'	35	15
Jews typographers'	40	5
Cigarette paper workers'	100	125
Jews chair - making workers'	40	5
Jews sewing workers'	40	5

*) The statistics are published in the book of A. Aidiros
 "Socialist working Federation of Thessaloniki, and the
 Socialist Youth - their articles". B., H.T., p.96.

THE NEWSPAPERS, THAT WERE PRINTED OR WERE AVAILABLE IN SALONIKA
during the last Ottoman period

Newspaper/Magazine	Place	Editor	Character
Jornal de laborador L. P. Εργασις του Εργατου H. Amele gazetesi T. Rabotnicheski Vesnik B.	Salonika	W.S.F.S.	Socialist
Solidaridad Obradera L. 3/W	Salonika	Federation	Socialist
Avanti (late 1912-13) L. D	Salonika	Federation	Socialist
Εργασις (worker) H. W-3/W	Istanbul	I.S.D.C., N. Bezestenis	Socialist
İstirak M. T.	Istanbul	I.S.D.C., H. Hilmi	Socialist
Narodna Volia B. W	Salonika	B.F.S.D.P.	Socialist
Otsetsestvo Pravo B. W Sellocorets F. Vatan T. La patrie F.	Salonika Monastery	B. Bourgeois Club	Nationalist
Rabotnicheska Iskra S. W	Monastery	H.S.D.C	Socialist
Petit Republique P.	France		Socialist
L'Humanite P.	France	J. Jaures	Socialist
Journal de travailleur F.T.	Ismir	Anatolian Railroad workers	Professional/ Socialist
Selsnik T. H. L. 3/W	Salonika	Doenmehs	Official-Politic Economic Socialist
Hedeaiyet T. 3/W	Istanbul	I.S.D.C., H. Hilmi	
Türk Yurdu M T.	Salonika/ Istanbul	Ziya Gökalp	Nationalalist/ Socialist
Asır/Yeni Asır T. D	Salonika	Doenmehs	Journalistic
Yeni Gazete T. ?			
İkdam T. ?			
Hemrah T. ?			
Cocuklar'a Rehber M T. W	Salonika	Ottoman-Turks	Childish
Ecole et la Famile M F. W	Salonika	Jews of France	Childish
Çocuk Bahçesi T. W.	Salonika	Ottoman-Turks	Childish

İleri T.		Monastery		Journalistic
Tanin T.		Istanbul		Journalistic
Tercüman				Journalistic
Cihat 2				Politic
Yeni Türk				
Sabah		Istanbul		Journalistic
Rumeli T.	D	Salonika		Journalistic
Zaman T.	D	Salonika		Journalistic
Bahçe M T.	W	Salonika		Literary
Silah M T.	W	Salonika		Military
Progre's de Salonique F. D		Salonika	Jews	Journalistic
Journal de Salonique F. 3/W		Salonika	Jews	Journalistic
Imparcial L.	D	Salonika	Jews	Journalistic
La Epoca L.	3/W	Salonika	Jews, Saadi Lewis	Journalistic
El Avenir L.	P	Salonika	Jews, Huse Mallah	Politic/Economic-Zionistic
La Nation L.	15D	Salonika	Jews	Journalistic
La Libertad L.		Salonika	Jews, Elian Arfitti	Journalistic
Revista Populara L. W.		Salonika	Jews, B. Florandiu- J. Uziel	Journalistic
La Tribuna Libera L.		Salonika	Nouveau Club, P. Mattalon	Journalistic
L' Independant F. 3/W, D		Salonika	Jews, A. Natarasso- L. Nefoussi	Journalistic
El Earchial (late 1912) L.		Salonika	Jews, A. Natarasso- L. Nefoussi	Journalistic
El Liberal (late 1912) L.		Salonika	Jews	
El Kirbathe L.	W	Salonika	Jews	Satirical
La Verita/Αληθεια H. 3/W		Salonika	The Italian Salvators Muratori	Journalistic/Nationalist
Nea Alithia H. D., 4/W		Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, P. Κοβουρας	Journalistic/Nationalist
Embros (late 1912) H. D.		Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, A. Οικονομίδης	Journalistic
Tharos (late 1912) H.		Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks	Journalistic
Astir H. D.		Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, M. Χριστοφίδης	Journalistic

Eleftheria / La H. F. 3/W Liberte (late 1912)	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks	Journalistic
Syndagma H.	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, A. Βόγας	Journalistic
Thermaike Imere H	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks	General content
Politika Nea H.	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, N. Γκαρμπολάς	Journalistic/ Politic
Faros H. 3/W	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, N. Γκαρμπολάς	Journalistic
Faros Makedonias H. 2/W	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks	Journalistic
Faros Thessalonikis H 2/W	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks	Journalistic
Makedonia H. 3/W	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, K. Βελλίδης	Journalistic/ Nationalist
Velos H. W	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, K. Βελλίδης	Satirical
Pammakedoniki H. 3/W (late 1912)	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks, K. Βελλίδης	Journalistic/ Nationalist
Kunupi H. W	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks I. Χαλκίδης	Satirical
Ikonomiki Epitheorisis H. P	Salonika	Ottoman-Greeks	Financial

L. = Ladino F. = Ottoman-Turkish H. = Hellenic B. = Bulgarian P. = French

P = Periodic. W = Weekly. D = Daily. 3/W = three times per week

15D = Every 15 days. H = magazine. * = also available in Salonika

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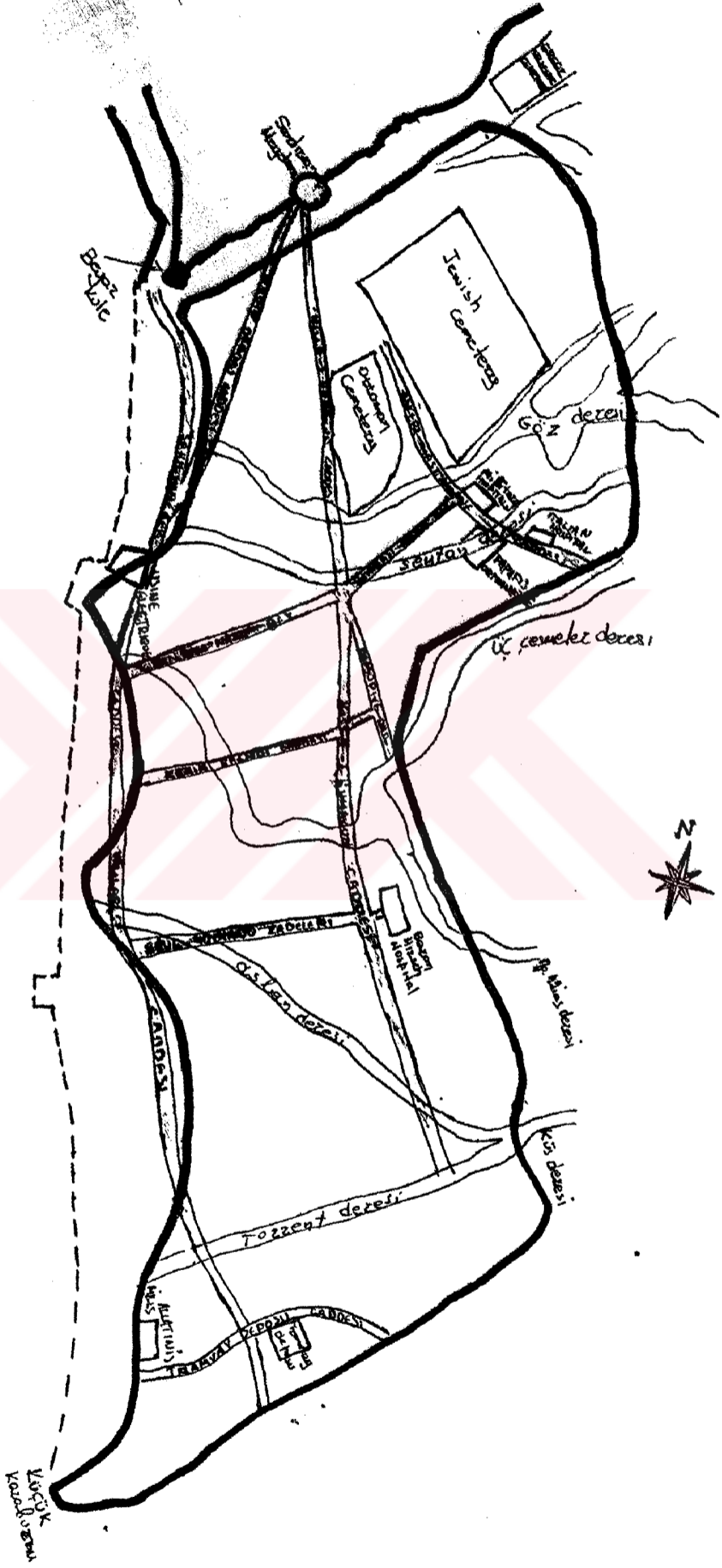
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in Thessaloniki". Com., H.T., "Hermes" printing-
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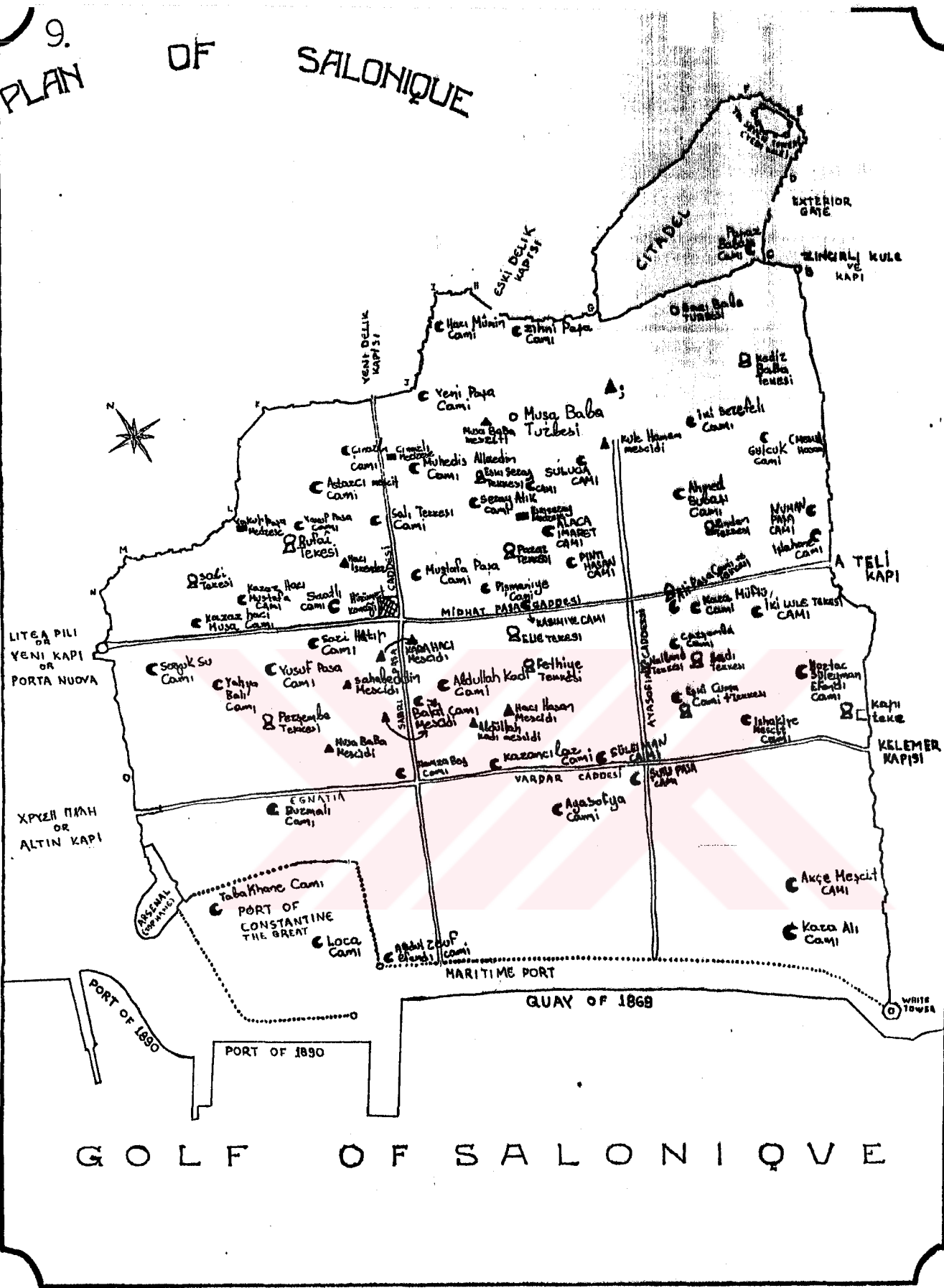
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THE EASTERN PART
OF THE SALONIQUE
OUTSIDE CITY WALLS



9. PLAN OF SALONIQUE



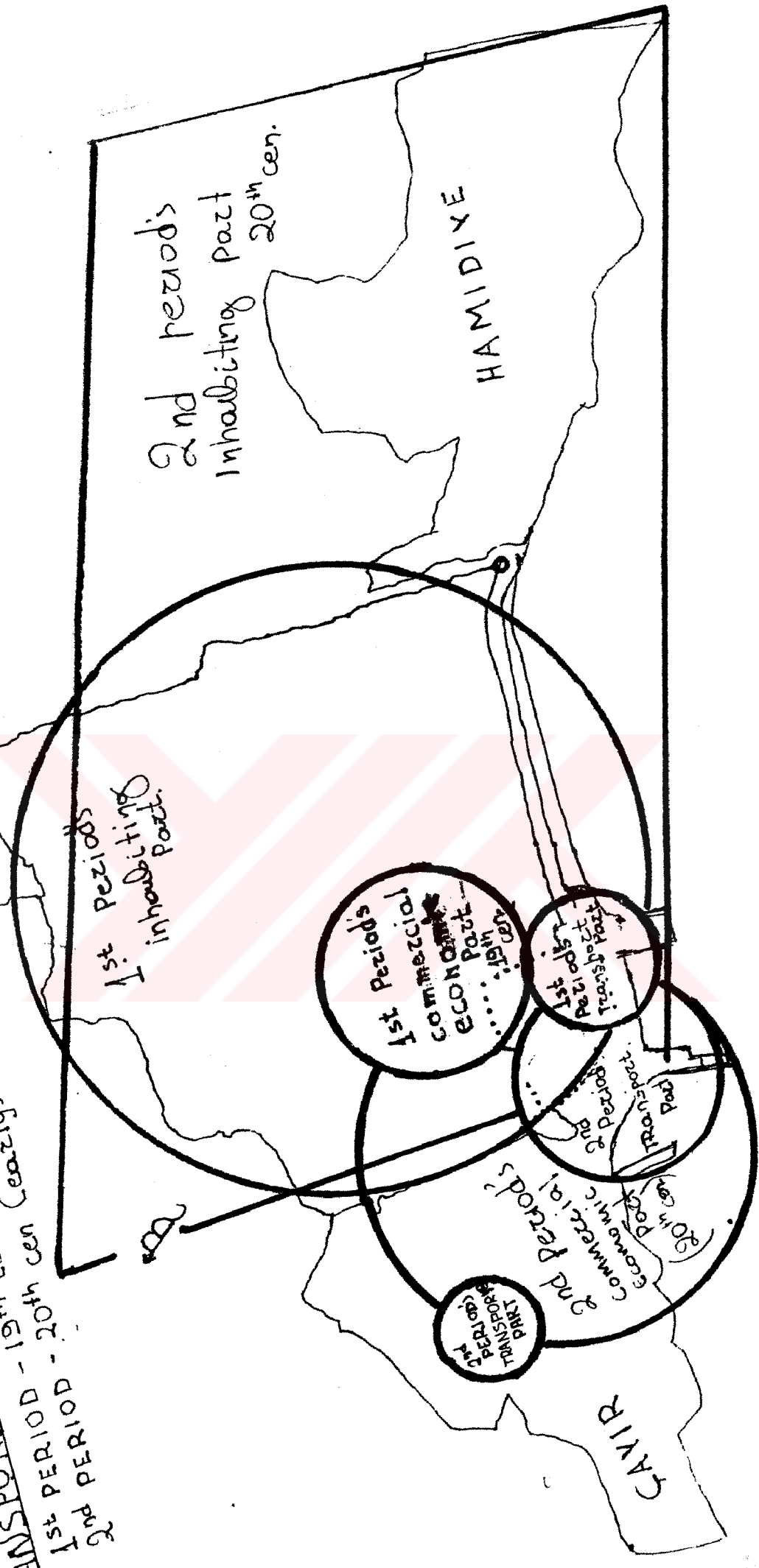
- LETTERS A to O = TOWERS
 Historic Past
- ⊠ Tekke (Muslim Monastery)
 - ⊙ Cami (Mosque).
 - Türbe (Mausoleum).
 - ▣ Hükümet Konağı.
 - ▲ Meszid (Mosque without pulpit)
 - Medrese (Religious School)

The border of the sketch, is taken from the map of O. Tefrali, found in the book "Topographie de Thessalonique".

CITY PARIS

INHABITING - ECONOMIC - TRANSPORT

11. TRANSPORT - COMMERCIAL - ECONOMIC - INHABITING
1st PERIOD - 19th cen (late)
2nd PERIOD - 20th cen (early)



1st Period's
Inhabiting Part
19th cen

1st Period's
Commercial
Econ Part
19th cen

1st Period's
Inhabiting Part
19th cen

2nd Period's
Commercial
Econ Part
20th cen

2nd Period's
Inhabiting Part
20th cen

CAYIR

HAMIDIXE

2nd Period's
Inhabiting Part
20th cen

A P P E N D I X

ARCHIVE MATERIAL, PHOTOGRAPHS, POSTCARDS.



1..



3. Stamps of Greek/Hellenic associations of Salonika:
1. "Omonia" (concord) - Thessaloniki - 1896"
 3. "Society of the friends of music - Thessaloniki - 1899"
 4. "Society of amateurs (artists) - Thessaloniki - 1901"
 5. "Association Evangelismos (Annunciation) - Thessaloniki - 1904"
 6. "Thalassa" (hope) - Thessaloniki - 1904"

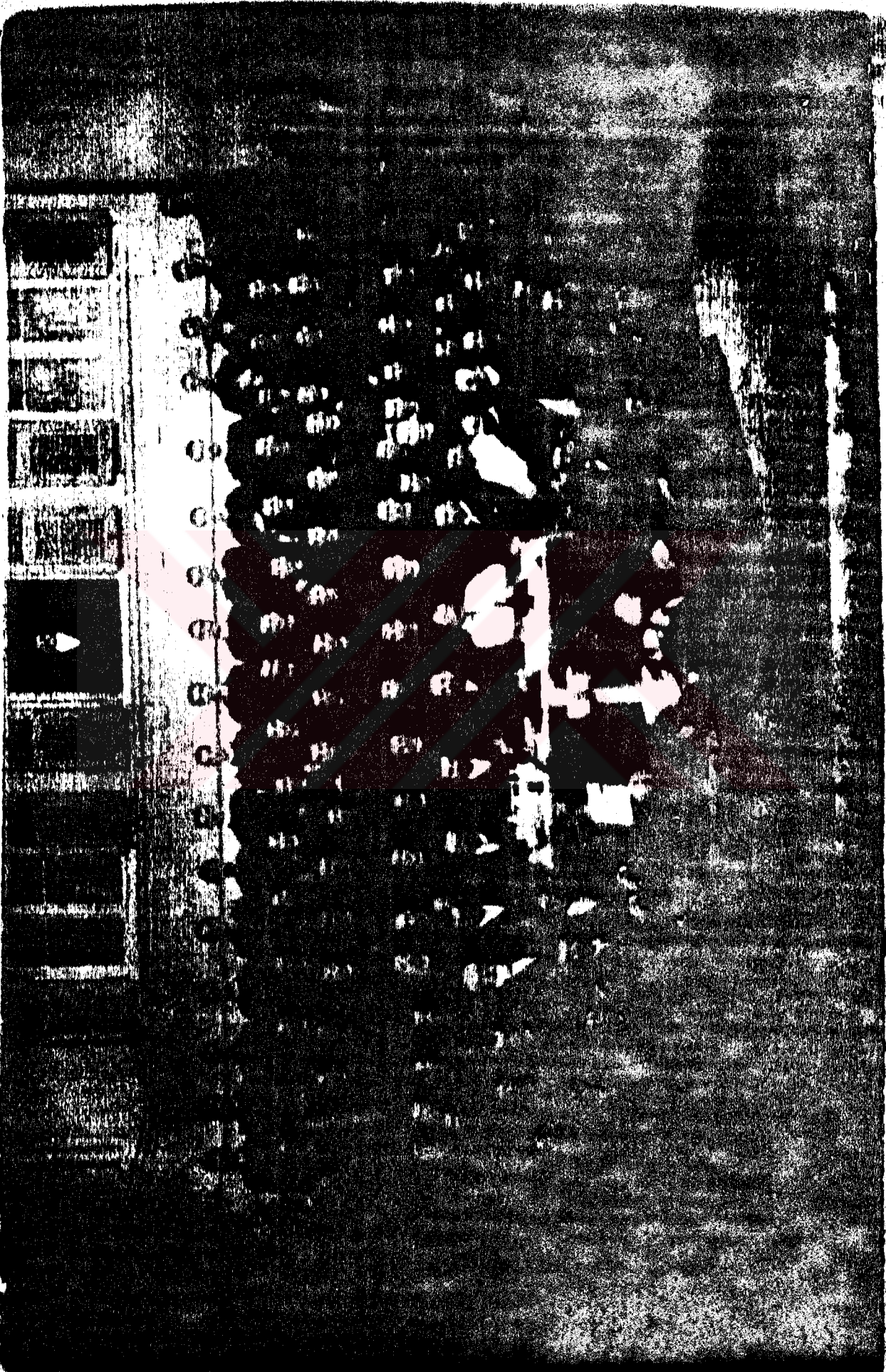


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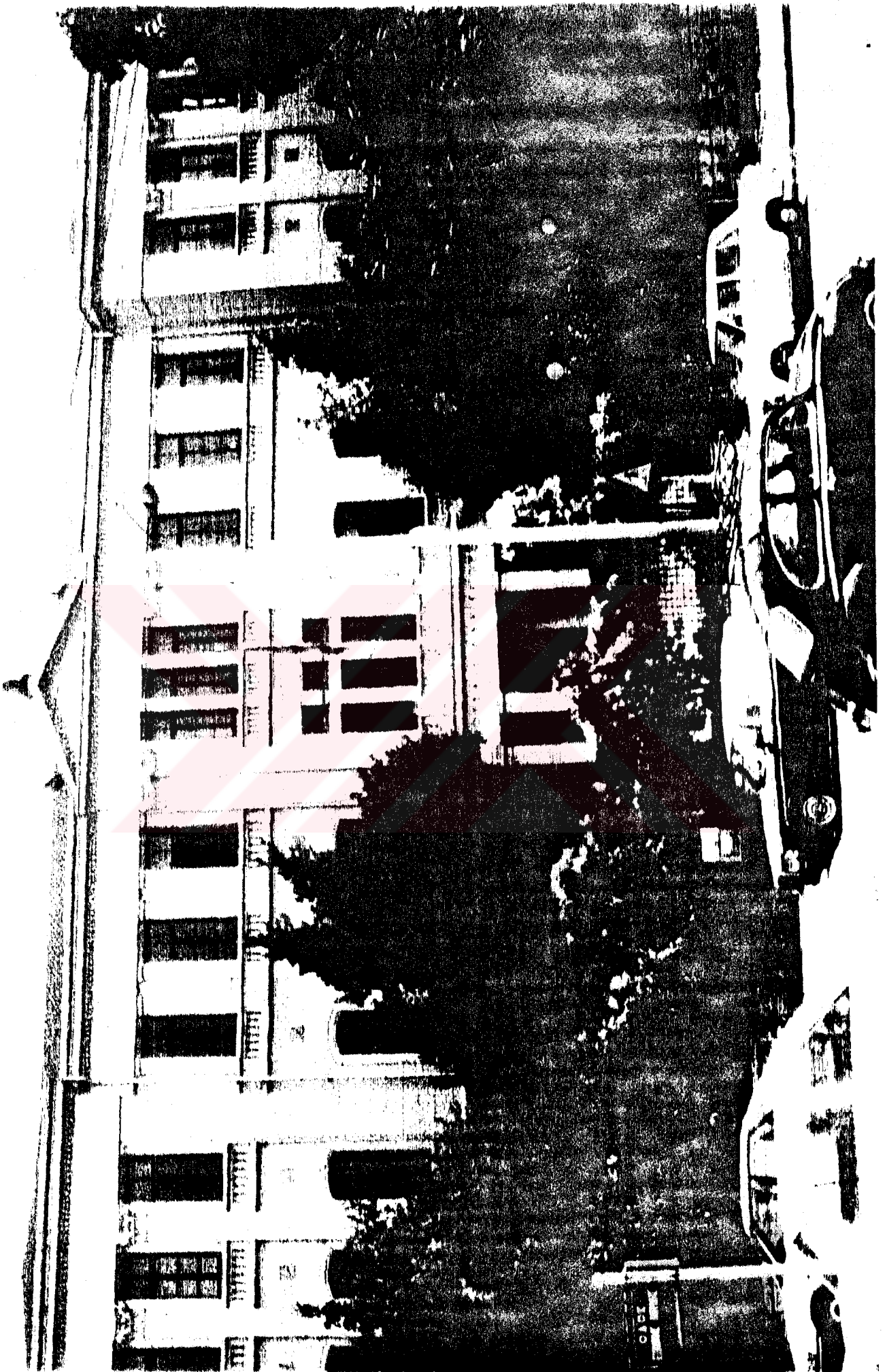


1951 62





7.



8.



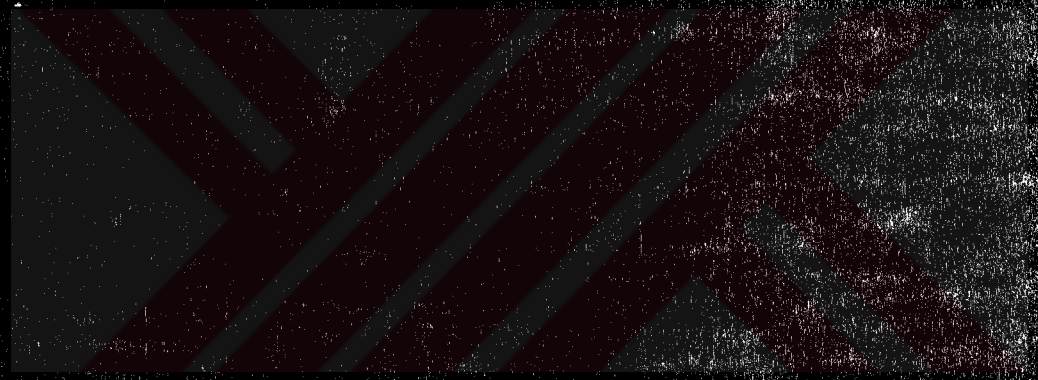


1910
L'Institut d'Electrotechnique
Academy of Sciences



Photograph of the building of the Institute of Electrotechnics, Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1910.

11.

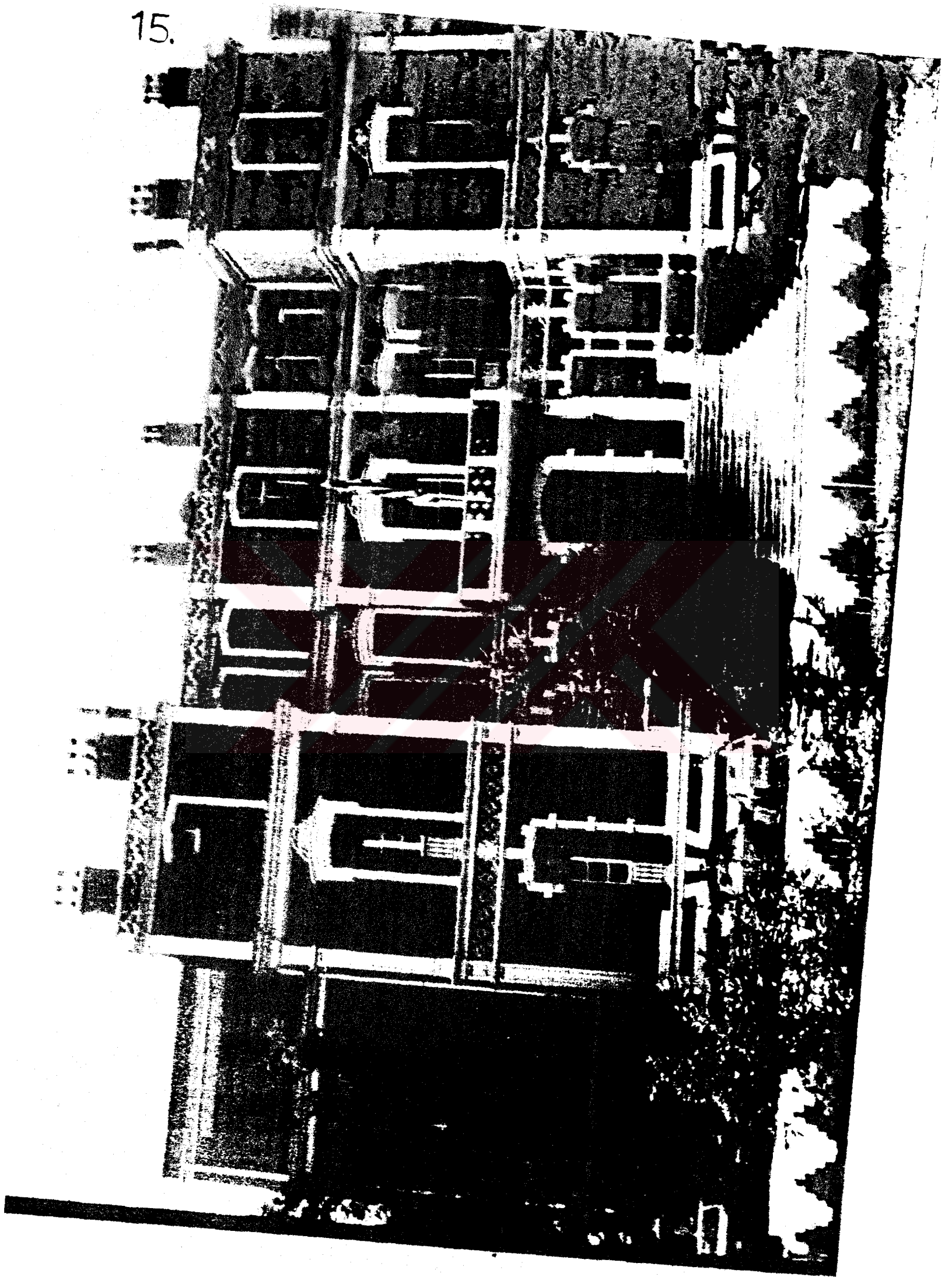


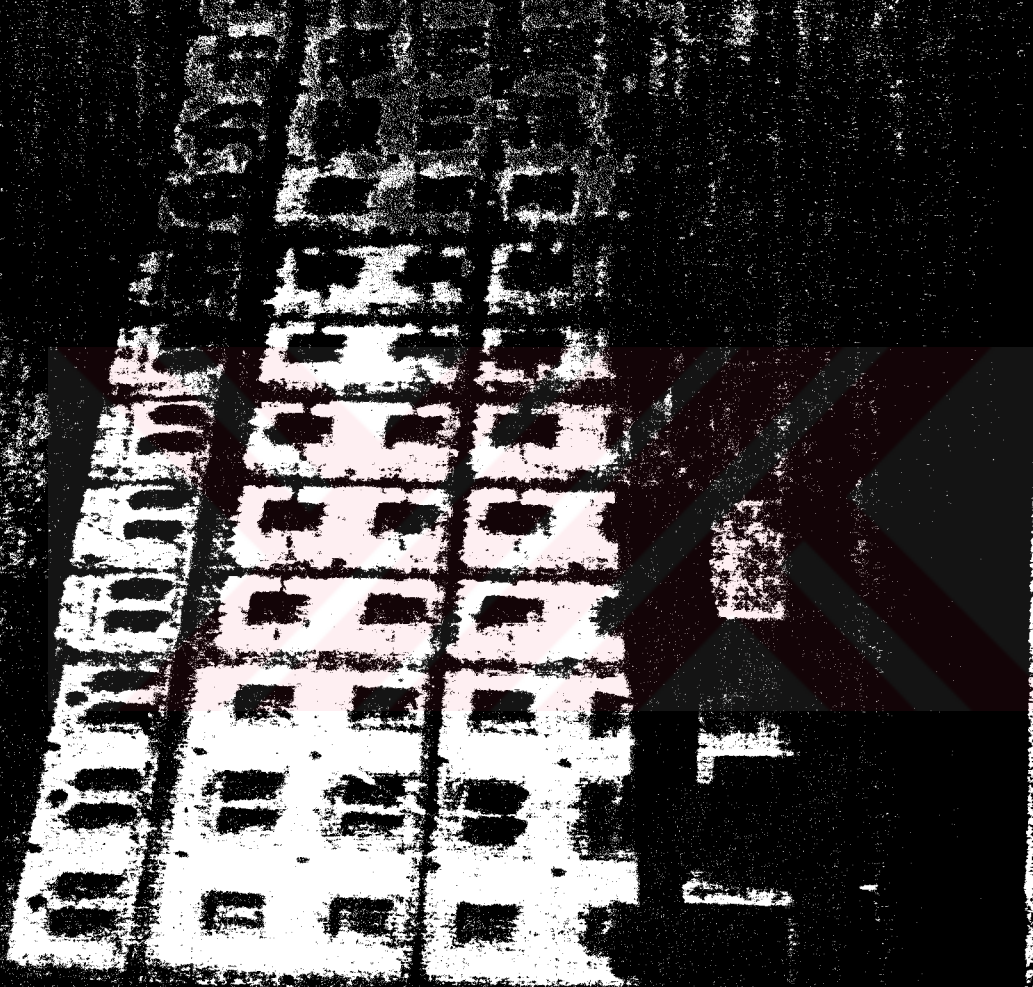




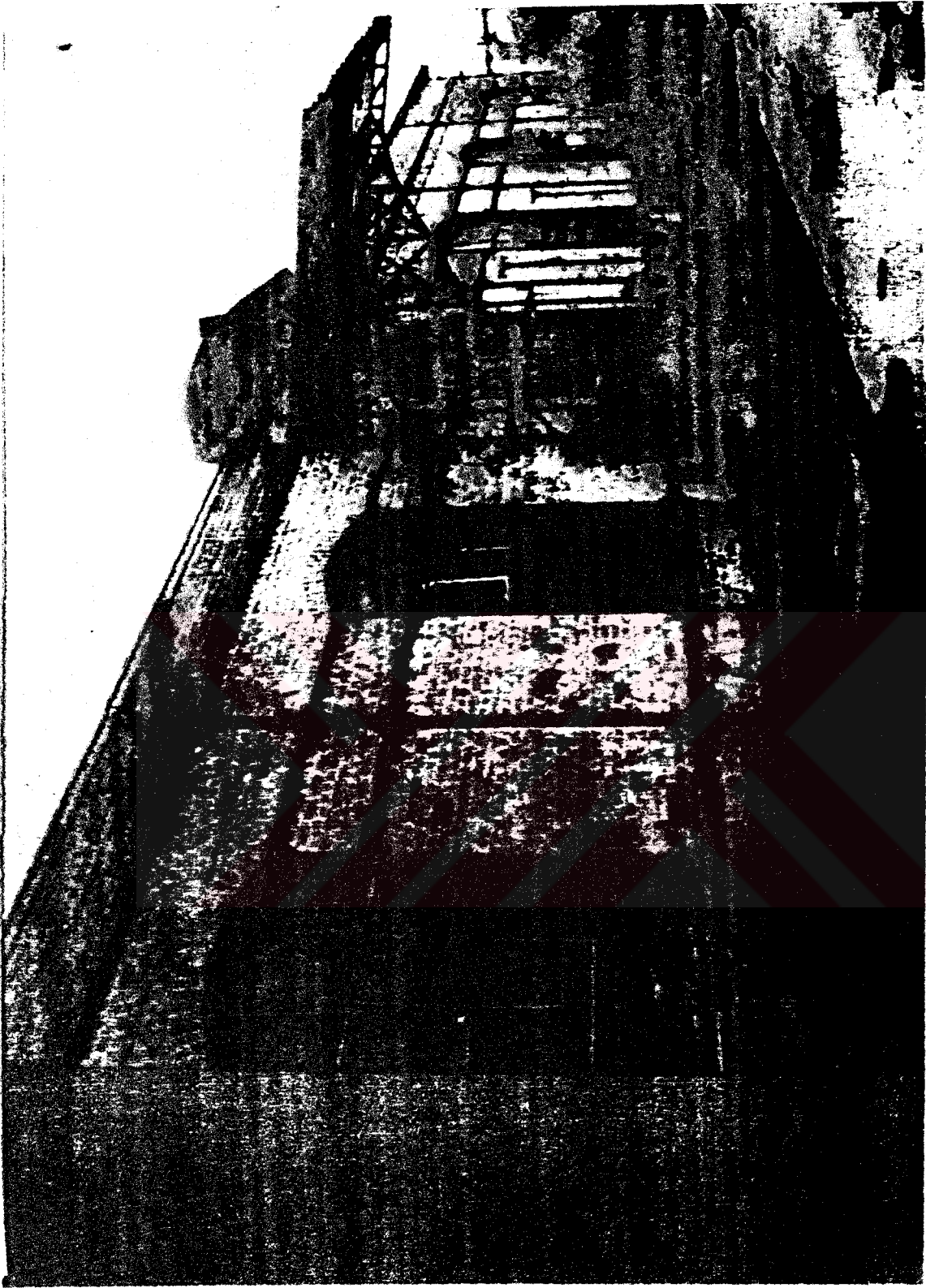


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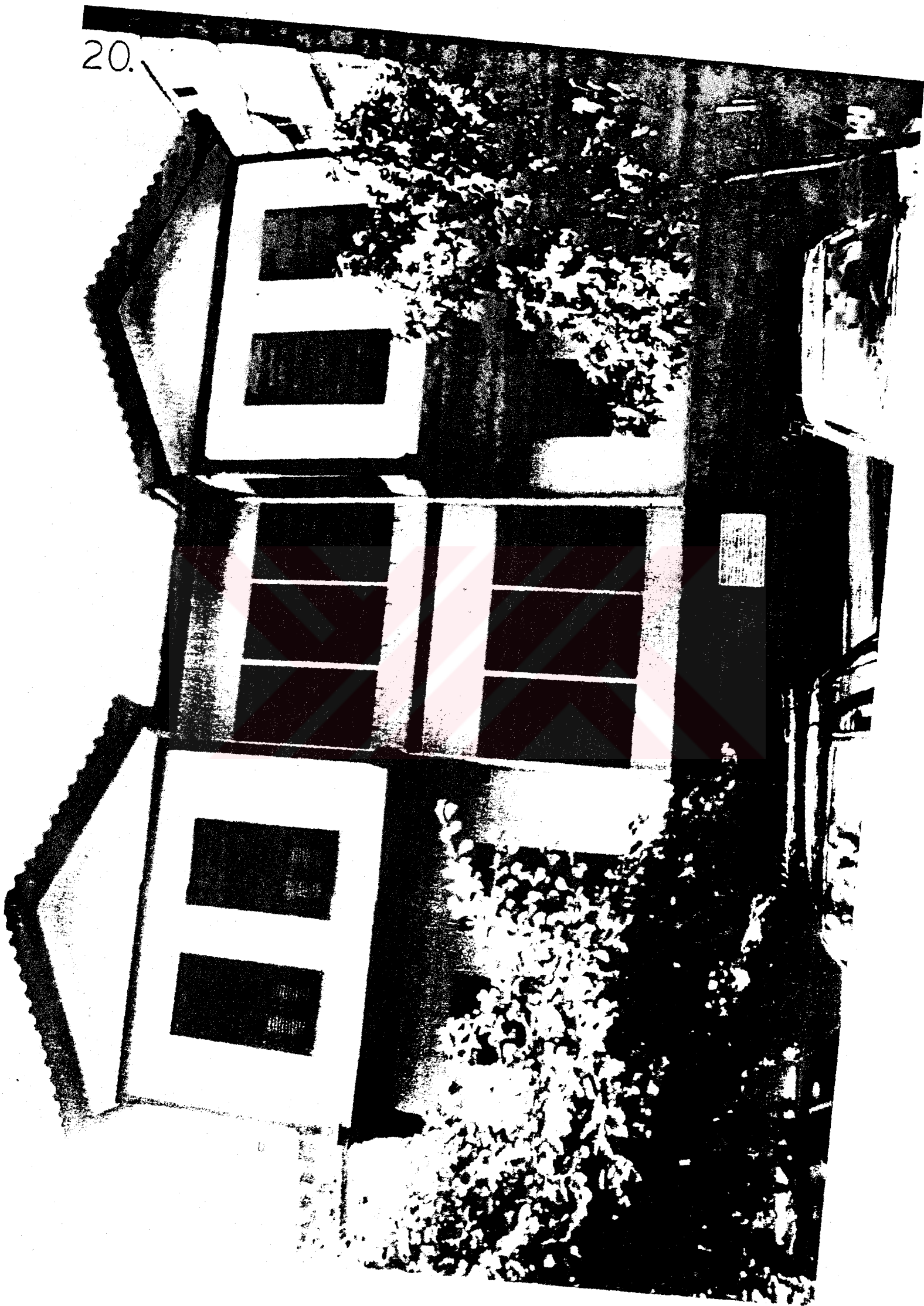
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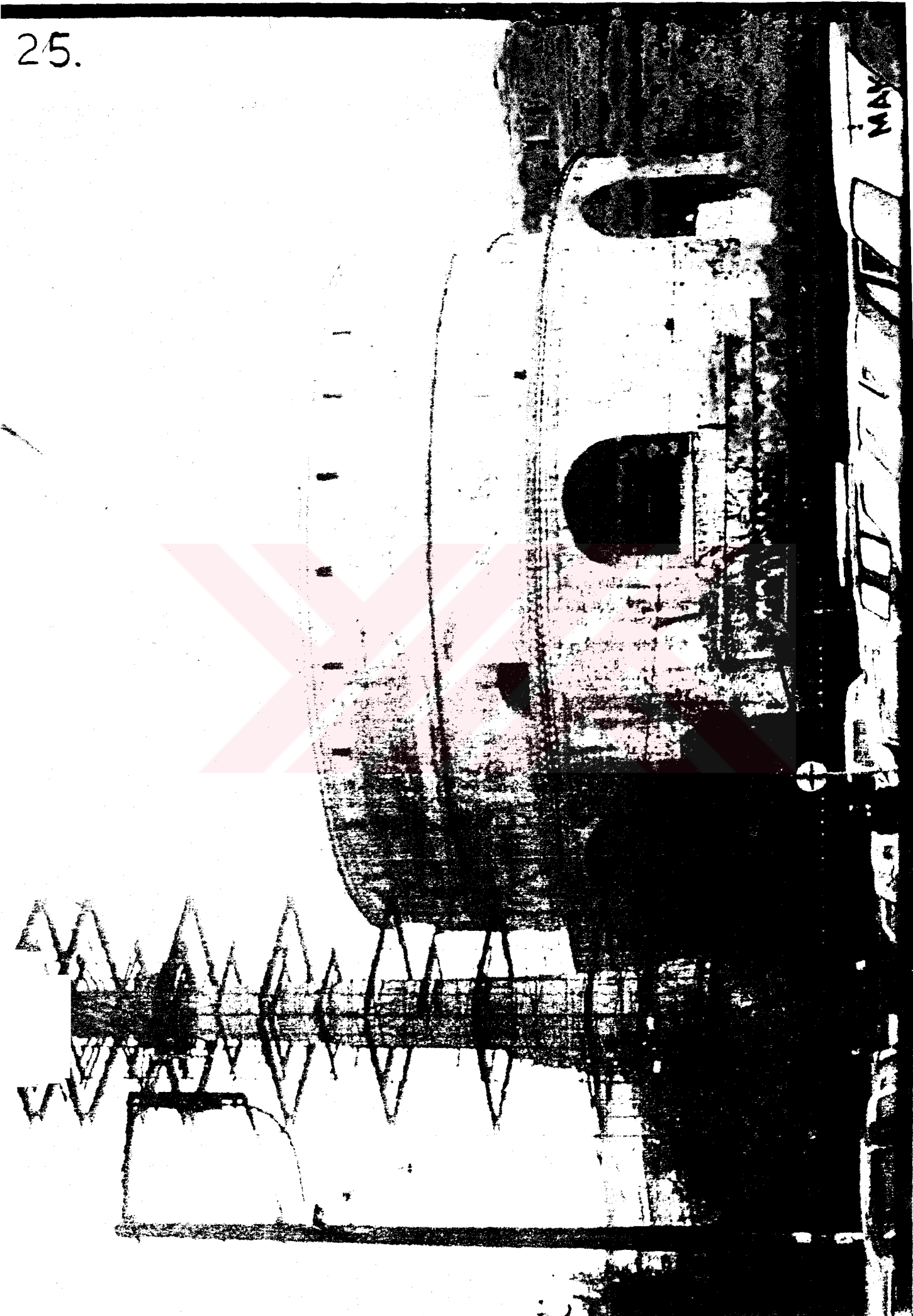


23.



24





MAY



27.



28.





