

SUGAR

IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

During World War I



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatih DAMLIBAĞ



LIVRE DE LYON

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HISTORY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEO	Bâb-ı Âlî Evrak Odası
BOA	Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Presidency Ottoman Archive)
DH.EUM.5.Şb.	Dâhiliye Nezareti Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Beşinci Şube
DH.İ.UM	Dâhiliye Nezareti İdare-i Umumiye Evrakı
DH.İ.UM.EK	Dâhiliye Nezareti İdare-i Umumiye Evrakı Ek
DH.SYS	Dâhiliye Nezareti Siyasi Kısım Evrakı
DİA	Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi
ed.	editor
et al.	and others
HR.İD	Hariciye Nezareti İdare
HR.SFR.04	Hariciye Nezareti Sofya Sefareti
HR.SYS	Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi
HR.UHM	Hariciye Nezareti Umur-ı Hukuk-ı Muhtalita Müdüriyeti
MV	Meclis-i Vükela Mazbataları
p.	page
tra.	translated by
Vol.	Volume

PREFACE

Mankind needs lots of commodities, during history. Some of commodities had larger some of them had smaller demand. For example, ice freshes people during summer, but there is no demand for it, during harsh winter. Another example paper had smaller demand, like ice. If you know writing and reading, you can demand paper. Otherwise, paper does not mean anything to you. But, sugar was a commodity of greater demand, historically. Everyone loves sugar, both children and adult people. Sugar was used in so many areas, like in kitchen, in confectionery, in drinks or even in pharmacy. It could be demanded either by educated or illiterate people. Sugar could be consumed either in summer or in winter. People of the Ottoman Empire were not also exception for this great demand. As an economic historian, sugar attracted my attention, with this huge demand capacity. From the Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic, there were lots of attempts either for producing or for commerce of sugar. In my previous articles, I have studied about Turkish attempts of production and commerce of sugar, from 19th century up to 1930's. But I could not write the war period of sugar. This book would fill the blank of in my sugar researches.

During World War I, Ottoman consumers suffered from sugar shortages, like some other victuals. For investigating these difficulties, there had been some valuable studies. Especially, print media of the time was an important source of knowledge. But importation part of sugar did not detailed enough, in previous studies. During my archival researches, I met Hariciye Nezareti İdare documents. These documents mostly contain information about the activities of embassies of Ottoman Empire. Most of sugar importers demanded help from embassies. They also explained importation

and transportation problems to the Ottoman ambassadors. Thus, I could reach the hidden part of the Ottoman sugar importation procedure. These details constitute the most important contribution of the book to the literature.

August 5, 2022

Fatih Damlıbağ

1) INTRODUCTION

Sugar was an import commodity for the Ottoman Empire. According to the first statistical yearbook of the Ottoman Empire and for the financial year of 1894, raw sugar was totally imported and its value was 157,582,667 piasters.¹ When manufactured sugar considered a bit of export existed, but imports had reached a level nearly 3.5 times more than to exports. The bill of confectionery imports priced 2,200,838 piasters; whereas export gains reached only 644,966 piasters.² In Ottoman sugar imports, there were two important countries. Austria was the most important sugar exporter to the Ottoman Empire. Its share was steadily increased in the Ottoman imports; in years between 1891-93 %17.4, 1900-02 %31.9 and 1910-12 %29.2. Russia was the second important country in this trade. Its share was %10.1 in 1900-02 and %18 in 1910-12.³

Russian trade report of 1913 gave some information about Ottoman sugar market. Although Russian sugar contained higher saccharine and it was refined with more quality, it was sold with some difficulty in Near Eastern markets. Local customers preferred Austrian sugar, because it was dissolved more rapidly in coffee and tea according to Russian sugar. Russia mostly sold its granule sugar to Near Eastern markets. But their exports were fluctuated from year to year. In good production years such as 1912, Russian granule

¹ According to 1893-1894 (1309) financial year budget, state expenditure totaled 2.142.220.051 piasters. As to amount of money to spend for sugar imports, it consisted of 7.35% of state budget. This shows that sugar had a great market in Ottoman Empire. Tefvik Güran, **Osmanlı Mali İstatistikleri Bütçeler 1841-1918**, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara 2003, p.124

² Tefvik Güran, **Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yılı 1897**, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara 2011, p.202.

³ Şevket Pamuk, **19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Dış Ticareti**, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara 2011, p.66-67.

sugar mostly controlled the market. Its quality higher than Austrian sugar and its price lower than it. As to cause of its lower price, it was originated only from poor packaging. Trade report about sugar ended with a proposition. Russian lump sugar must be introduced in these markets.⁴

According to 1913 and 1915 industrial censuses, the only firms were counted that working with engine and minimum 10 workers or without engine working with at least 20 workers. Under these requirements there were 18 firms in the Ottoman Empire. In confection production, factories concentrated in two cities that 13 of them in İstanbul and five of them in İzmir. All factories had private ownership and were managed by their owners. Factories mostly produced local tastes such as Turkish delight (lokum), sesame oil (tahin) and some other candy types. Ottoman confection products were well known in Europe for a long time. But production was restricted in 1915 because of World War I. Sugar which was the main raw material of this sector had imported completely. Importation difficulties and extreme price increases caused enormous decreases in production. Total amount of confectionery products were 6,997,110 kg in 1913. But this figure dropped 527,750 kg in 1915. Sector confronted 92.46% of decrease in production.⁵

In this book, Ottoman sugar importation efforts would be evaluated, during World War I. The Ottoman Empire provided its sugar needs by importation, in a great extent. But outbreak of war caused enormous difficulties over international trade. Ottoman consumers could hardly meet their sugar needs, like some other victuals. Ottoman government tried to regulate sugar market within war conditions. But lack of sufficient amount of goods prevented success, in providing peoples' needs. Entente States had blockaded

⁴ Charles Issawi, **the Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914**, the University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1980, p. 139, 143.

⁵ A. Gündüz Ökçün, **Osmanlı Sanayii 1913, 1915 Yılları Sanayi İstatistiki**, Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara 2003, p.7, 51-52, 55.

most of trade routes. Ottoman government used all available trade sources. Up to its entrance to the war, Italia became main sugar supplier of the Ottoman Empire. There were two routes for Italian oriented trade. First route was in between Trieste and Dedeğaç. Second and much smaller trade practiced, in between Western Anatolia and Rhodes and Kos islands.

During World War I, the most important sugar supplier of the Ottoman Empire was Austro-Hungarian Empire. Allied Austria had already been a historically important sugar producing country. Naturally, both merchants and Ottoman government officials directed their demands to Austro-Hungarian Empire. Vienna Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha wanted to regulate these demands. He tried to obtain necessary permissions and cheaper prices for Ottoman sugar importers. As to other ally, Germany was another sugar supplier, with less scale. Its geographical distance probably caused smaller demand to its sugar. German sugars had to pass through whole Austrian territory. This long distance transportation was not always possible, under war conditions. The final topic of this book was transportation difficulties of sugar trade. Because of Entente States' supremacy in naval forces, sugar was often transported with railways. But most of time, wagons were allocated for military purposes. Sugar had to wait at depots, for the ending military transportation. Changing battle conditions closed some routes and merchants had to find another ways. Sugar transportation generally practiced either in Serbia or Danube route. But both of them assured geographical importance to Bulgaria. Although Bulgaria was another ally of the Ottoman Empire during First World War; Bulgarian authorities sought to exploit their geostrategic location, by excess taxation or partial confiscation.

2) SUGAR SHORTAGE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE DURING THE WAR

Austria declared war to Serbia on 28 July 1914. This declaration was formally started World War I. Four days later, Grand Vizier Sait Halim Pasha and German Ambassador signed defense treaty.⁶ Immediately after the signing of this treaty, Minister of War (Harbiye Nazırı) Enver Pasha declared himself Lieutenant of the Commander in Chief (Başkomandan Vekili). Enver Pasha also went on to order full Mobilization of the Ottoman armed forces on 3 August 1914.⁷

After these defensive preparations, the Ottoman Empire needed to take some measures against food shortages, because of newly started World War I. A decree announced on 8 August 1914, to prevent profiteering and stocking in victuals. In addition, an officially fixed price (narh) list published to implement against extreme price increases in victuals. According to this list, one okka⁸ loaf sugar (kelle şekeri)⁹ would be sold from 2.72 piasters and one okka cube sugar from 2.84 piasters.¹⁰ But whenever the Ottoman

⁶ Enver Ziya Karal, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, İkinci Meşrutiyet ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1908-1918), Vol. IX, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1999, p. 380.

⁷ Stanford J. Shaw, **The Ottoman Empire in World War I**, Vol. I, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2006, p. 136-137.

⁸ One okka equals to 1282.945 grams. Feza Günergun, “Eski Fransız ve Metre Osmanlı Ölçü ve Tartılarının Sistemlerindeki Eşdeğerleri: İlk Karşılaştırmalar ve Çevirme Cetvelleri”, **Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları**, Issue: 2, İstanbul 1998, p. 39.

⁹ It was a conic and cylindrical shape of old sugar type. It was produced two or three kilograms in size. This bulk of sugar was used by hitting and crushing to it. Aylin Koç, “Doktor Celâl Paşa'nın ‘Şurup İmâlâtı’ Risâlesi”, **Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi**, Issue: 76, 2018, p.103.

¹⁰ Kemal Gurulkan et al., **Osmanlı Belgelerinde Birinci Dünya Harbi I**, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, İstanbul 2013, p .34, 36. According to İstanbul Municipality statistics organization, approximately one okka sugar was sold in August 1913 for 2,5 piasters and in August 1914 2,75 piasters in İstanbul market.

Empire entered to the war, all price control efforts had failed. When the Turkish and Russian battle in Black Sea was heard, sugar price had risen from 3.5 piasters to 10 piasters just only one day. In front of this enormous price increase, İstanbul Mayor Cemil Bey unwillingly imposed officially fixed price. One okka sugar retail price announced as 5 piasters. But price control caused another problem. Merchants began to hide their commodities and sold them secretly with high prices.¹¹ As a second option, merchants preferred to sell sugar to Anatolian provinces where were not imposed officially fixed prices yet. Despite these difficulties, confectioners were still able to reach sugar in November 1914.¹² New İstanbul Mayor İsmet Bey took attention to this problem. Merchants hid the goods to their shops for looking forward to higher officially fixed prices. Although they claimed that they met the needs of customers, in reality, so limited amount people would benefit from their commerce.¹³

Up until to the beginning of war, the Ottoman Empire mostly provided its sugar needs from Austria. But war blocked Austrian road, because Serbia was in the opponent camp. This situation caused to find another way to resolve the problem. Sugar began to import from Italy via Dedeağaç. ¹⁴ But price control deterred merchants and they decided to import more profitable goods. Although some

Vedat Eldem, **Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi**, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1994, p. 31.

¹¹ Zafer Toprak, **Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918**, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul 2012, p.472.

¹² Taylan Esin, “'El-Gasb Habibullah': Savaş, Şeker ve Millî İktisat (1914-1918)”, **Kebikeç**, Issue: 44, 2017, p. 15.

¹³ “...mağazalarına kaldırarak terakki-i narha intizar iden tüccarın iddia itdiği gibi ahaliye furiht idileceği faraziyesi kabul idilse dahi bundan halkın pek az kısmı müstefid olacak...” BOA DH.SYS 123 3/3 12. 6 Safer 1333, 11 Kanunuevvel 1330, 24 December 1914.

¹⁴ “Triesteden Dedeağaç tarikiyle Dersaadete celb itmekte oldukları şekerlerin...” BOA HR.SFR.04 888/116. 28 April 1915. In this example, Caerrea Brothers practiced sugar trade in this route.

wagons were allocated to merchants in Rumelia railways, sufficient amount of sugar could not be imported to the country.¹⁵

Municipality saw that price fixing did not solve the problem. Many different merchants purchased sugar in order to bring to İstanbul. But all of them dispatched these sugars to other Ottoman provinces of free price regions. On the other hand, hardly founded sugar became rarer in İstanbul. People of İstanbul continuously complained from this situation. Under these conditions, municipality decided to implement a new strategy. If sugar merchants transferred the half of their goods to groceries with fixed price, they got permission to sell the other part of their goods freely.¹⁶ But merchants did not incline to commerce with groceries, because they could not make cash payment. As a result of this situation, Heyet-i Mahsusa-i Ticariye¹⁷ began to handle sugar trade. Up until February 1915, this organization collected all sugars which were allocated to İstanbul. It made payments with cash and distributed sugar to artisans. But Italy's entrance to the war also terminated this opportunity. There was nowhere to provide sugar to İstanbul. Lack of import caused rapid increases in sugar prices. Price of a sack of sugar which equaled approximately a kantar¹⁸ became 10 liras. Sugar merchants began to want a price which was higher ten times according to before the

¹⁵ Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul 2012, p.472.

¹⁶ "...eşhas-ı müteaddide taraflarından mubayaa ve İstanbula sevk idilen şekerlerin kâffesi narha tabi tutulmayan vilayât-ı Osmaniyeye sevk idilmek istenilüb esasen Payitahtda nedreti malum olan şekerin gitdikce bulunmamağa başlamış olmasından tolayı halkın müracaat-ı mütevaliyesi üzerine vürüd iden mikdarın ikiye tefrikiyle bir kısmının bakkallara tevzii ve diğer kısmının dahi arzu idilen mahale imrârı ciheti emanetce derpiş olunarak..." BOA DH.SYS 123 3/3 12. 6 Safer 1333, 11 Kanunuevvel 1330, 24 December 1914.

¹⁷ Heyet-i Mahsusa-i Ticariye was a commercial organization that it was established by Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki) Party to provide consumer goods to İstanbul, within war conditions. Zafer Toprak, *İttihad-Terakki ve Cihan Harbi, Savaş Ekonomisi ve Türkiye'de Devletçilik*, Homer Kitabevi, İstanbul 2003, p.129.

¹⁸ One İstanbul kantar equals to 44 okkas and 56.449329 kilograms in 1890's. Cengiz Kallek, "Kantar", *DİA*, Vol. XXIV, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul 2001, p. 319.

war. In that time government enacted a temporary law. This law officially proclaimed that municipality had right to buy all sugar with officially fixed price. Thus free sugar trade was prohibited to public. Artisans and merchants must declare their all sugar stocks.¹⁹ Municipality organized sugar trade via Artisan Society (Esnaf Cemiyeti)²⁰ and then retail price of one okka sugar was decided as 8.5 piasters. Municipality allocated every person 0.2 okka sugars. This sugar would be distributed with Artisan Society's documents. The society would continue for sugar distribution to infants, per month 2.5 kilograms.²¹

But temporary law which was regulated the sugar trade did not pass from Chamber of Deputies (Meclis-i Mebusan). As a result of disapproval, municipality had to free sugar trade. Whenever free sugar trade was legitimized, sugar prices increased in the market and then one okka sugar commenced to sell up to 70 piasters. As to municipality's stocks, one part of it transferred to army from a sack of sugar to 4 liras. Other parts of the sugar were allocated to hospitals, pharmacies and babies. For these sales, municipality determined a price of one okka to 7.5 piasters. But a new development changed the situation. Railway connections again established with Austria, because the defeat of Serbia in the war. After some negotiations between governments, an agreement was reached to import sugar of 833 wagons. Heyet-i Mahsusa-i Ticariye organized sugar imports; it brought 32,897 sack of sugar to İstanbul. 30% of this sugar transferred to army as a requirement of war taxing (tekalif-i harbiyye). Remaining part of this sugar was distributed to people in

¹⁹ Zafer Toprak, **Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918**, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul 2012, p.472-473.

²⁰ Union and Progress Party, especially with the support of Talat Pasha, tried to establish a class of Turkish National Merchant. Kara Kemal and Artisan Society founded some monopolies for the mostly needed goods in İstanbul market during World War I. Şevket Pamuk, **Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi**, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p.170.

²¹ Taylan Esin, "El-Gasib Habibullah": Savaş, Şeker ve Millî İktisat (1914-1918)", **Kebikeç**, Issue: 44, 2017, p. 17.

İstanbul and the other provinces. After 5 May 1916, sugar import and distribution became the mission of another company which had a name of National Importation Scale Incorporated Company (Milli İthalat Kantariye Anonim Şirketi). Half of newly established company's capital transferred from Heyet-i Mahsusa-i Ticariye. As to other parts of the capital, they came from share bonds which were distributed to İstanbul groceries.²²

Near to the end of World War I, Provisioning General Management (İlaşe Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi) prohibited to commerce of many foodstuffs to the public. In this 1 September 1917 dated order; free trade of grain, rice and olive by their side also sugar prohibited.²³ Although Provisioning General Management activities partly solved provisioning problems, Ottoman government was obliged to establish Ministry of Provisioning (İlaşe Nezareti) in July 1918. Kara Kemal became the Minister of Provisioning. This ministry would be in charge of regulations of provisioning up to the end of the war.²⁴

Other than İstanbul, sugar scarcity was also strongly felt in the provinces. Three examples were shown about this famine. Firstly, Hüdavendigâr Governor Hakkı Bey demanded sugar from İstanbul on 13 June 1916, because of upcoming month of Ramadan. Hakkı Bey stated that the old sugar transportation to the province was very limited amount. All transport was completely consumed. He demanded eight wagons sugar for meeting intense sugar demand.²⁵

²² Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918*, Doğan Kitap, İstanbul 2012, p.473.

²³ Kemal Gurulkan et al., *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Birinci Dünya Harbi II*, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, İstanbul 2013, p.175.

²⁴ Deniz Dölek Sever, *War and Imperial Capital: Public Order, Crime and Punishment in İstanbul, 1914-1918*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara 2015, p.54.

²⁵ "Vilayet için evvelce gönderilen şeker pek cüzi olub ol vakit kâmilten sarf idilmesine ve Ramazan-ı Şerifin takribi hasebiyle ihtiyaç pek şedid bulunmasına mebni acilen sekiz vagon olsun şeker...itası hususına..." BOA DH.İ.UM 98 3/1 9. 31 Mayıs 1332, 13 June 1916.

Ministry of Interior (Dâhiliye Nezareti) rejected this offer, because former shipment was sent for the needs of patients and infants and for once. The ministry ordered that required sugar must be provided from market.²⁶

Up to the end of the war, complaints and price of sugar lasted to increase. In the second example, Elaziz Governor Refet Bey sent telegraph to Ministry of Interior on 17 June 1918. Because government sent neither sugar and nor oil to Elaziz, needs of people could not be met and prices were skyrocketed. One okka sugar became seven liras and one can of gas was sold for 36 liras. Although the depreciation of paper money must be considered,²⁷ sugar prices had risen for 70 times, according the beginning of war.²⁸

In the third example, Eskişehir Governorate (Mutasarrıflık) sent two telegraphs to the Minister of Provisioning Kara Kemal on 20 July 1918 and 8 August 1918. Civil servants had been severely suffering from lack of provisioning. For civil servants, the governorship demanded regular and monthly basis supply of sugar, oil and some other victuals.²⁹

²⁶ "...evvelce gönderilen şekerin hasta ve çocuklar için ve bir defalık olduğumı tekrar o suretle şeker irsaline imkân yokdır piyasadan tedarik idilmesi." BOA DH.İ.UM 98 3/1 9. 4 Haziran 1332, 17 June 1916.

²⁷ In İstanbul, exchange rates of banknotes in front of gold were 120 piasters in 1916, 400 piasters in the middle of 1917 and at the end of the war 500 piasters. In the provinces, paper money had much lower value. In August 1917, one gold lira had exchange rate of 430 piasters in İstanbul. At the same time, one gold lira equaled to 450 piasters in Bursa and İzmir, 600 piasters in Adana, 660 piasters in Sivas and Erzurum, 766 piasters in Mosul and 540 piasters in Aleppo. Şevket Pamuk, **Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Paranın Tarihi**, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2012, p.242.

²⁸ "Vilayette şekerin kıyyesi yedi lira ve gazın tenekesi otuz altı lira olub... şimdiye kadar bu vilayete ne gaz ne şeker göndermemiş..." BOA DH.İ.UM 20 3/2 60. 17 Haziran 1334, 17 June 1918.

²⁹ "Temin-i maişet hususunda acınacak bir hale gelmiş olan memurine her ay muntazaman şeker gaz vesair mevâdd-ı iâşenin itası esbabının ikmaline dair Eskişehir Mutasarrıflığından alınmış olan 20 Temmuz 1334 ve 8 Ağustos 1334 tarihli...iki kıta tahrirat..." BOA DH.İ.UM 20 16/10 33. 24 Ağustos 1334, 24 August 1918.

3) BARTER TRADE FOR SUGAR AND SOME OTHER FOODS IN BETWEEN WESTERN ANATOLIA AND RHODES AND KOS ISLANDS

War brought out many difficulties for providing basic needs of people. In Antalya, sugar, coffee and rice stocks were mostly perished. On the other hand, Italian occupied Rhodes and Kos Islands³⁰ had lived wheat and flour famine. Muslim people of these islands applied to governorate for possible trade, for the sake of both parties. For every two sacks of flour, islands people would send one sack of sugar and rice. Coffee was more valuable than rice and sugar. For one sack of coffee, islands people demanded three sacks of flour. Antalya governorate requested permission from Ministry of Interior on 24 December 1914.³¹ Two days later, Adil named representative of Kos Island's Muslim people telegraphed to Ministry of Interior. He expressed that 5000 Muslim people suffered from scarcity of flour. If their needs would not meet, they had to

³⁰ Italy attacked these Ottoman islands on 24 April 1912. After approximately one month lasted battle, Italy controlled these islands. Enver Ziya Karal, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, İkinci Meşrutiyet ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1908-1918), Vol. IX, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1999, p. 284.

³¹ "...Burada şeker ve kahve ve pirinç kalmamış ve bu yüzden ahali müzayakada bulunmuş olduğundan hem bu ihtiyacın temini hem Rodos ve İstanköy ahali-i İslamiyesi tarafından tevali itmekde olan müracaatın isafı zımında getirilecek beher çuval şeker ve pirinç mukabilinde iki ve bir çuval kahveye mukabil üç çuval dakikin bu kez Rodos ve İstanköye ihracı için Meclisi Vükeladan karar istihsaline..." BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 90/63. 11 Kanunuevvel 1330, 24 December 1914.

immigrate to Anatolia. As a result of this immigration, they became miserable. He asked to permission this trade, for once.³²

Ministry of Interior evaluated this demand and gave permission to this trade, with sole condition. Mentioned export could only make to Rhodes and Kos islands. For the practice of this request, Ministry of Interior informed Ministry of War (Harbiye Nezareti) in the following day, because of war conditions.³³ Ministry of War confirmed this trade offer, with some reservations. Because ministry learned that there were transit trade efforts to Greece via these islands. These practices must be prevented.³⁴ Council of Ministers (Meclis-i Vükela) evaluated this trade offer on 6 January 1915. Barter ratio of islands' people was exactly accepted. Council of Ministers underlined the reservation of Ministry of War about probable transit trade to Greece. They ordered to take measurements to prevent these efforts.³⁵

After the formal acceptance of this trade, local people began to prepare. Antalya branch of National Protection Society (Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti)³⁶ sent telegraph to its center that they had access to 1000 sacks of flour. Local people of Antalya did not need to this amount of flour. So, this trade was not causing any shortage. They

³² "...beş bin ahali-i İslamiye mahrum-ı maişet bırakılacak olursa biz-zarure Anadoluya hicrete mecbur bu hal ise ahalinin sefaletine mucib olacağından istirham edilmiş olan dakik... bir defalık imrârına müsaade..." BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 90/63. 13 Kanunuevvel 1330, 26 December 1914.

³³ "...yalnız Rodos ve İstanköy adalarına ihracına müsaade itası..." BOA BEO 4328/324581. 9 Safer 1333, 14 Kânunuevvel 1330, 27 December 1914.

³⁴ "...yalnız mezkûr atalara ihracı nezaret-i acizanemizce de muvafık görülmüş ancak bu atalar tarihiyle Yunanistana transit bir muamele yapıldığı haber alındığından men idilmek üzere..." BOA BEO 4331/324772. 16 Safer 1333, 21 Kânunuevvel 1330, 3 January 1915.

³⁵ BOA MV 195/133. 19 Safer 1333, 24 Kânunuevvel 1330, 6 January 1915.

³⁶ National Protection Society was established on 1 February 1913. The Society mainly targeted to help fighting Ottoman army in any condition. Ottoman people sincerely accepted this society in a short time. National Protection Society became a center for nationalistic endowments. Erdal Aydoğan, "Paramiliter Bir Kuruluş Olan Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti'nin Kuruluşu ve I. Dünya Savaşında Bazı Çalışmaları", *Atatürk Dergisi*, Vol. III, Issue: 3, 2003, p. 67-68.

demanded official permission to transfer these goods to the islands. If official permission would grant, the branch could purchase mentioned whole flour with the price of one and half liras for one sack.³⁷

Because of transit trade risk to Greece, Ottoman government hesitated to give permission to this proposed trade. But before this risk assessment, Council of Ministers enacted permission to this commerce. Merchants of Antalya had already started this trade, according to former permission. There were also great needs to both sugar and oil in Antalya. Merchants suffered many difficulties to collect these commodities. But government ordered to stop this trade, until further notice. Merchants brought some of commodities to Antalya, not for selling profit oriented. On the other hand, big part of sugar and oil were confiscated in Rhodes. Losses of merchants of Antalya did not limit with this. There was other part for this trade. Merchants prepared to transfer flour sacks to the islands. But they were obliged to wait in depots. If they were not consumed within one or two weeks, they would rot inevitably. This double sided loss would perish so many people.³⁸

Grand Vizierate (Sadaret) granted permission to this trade that needs of Muslim people of these islands must be met. After that,

³⁷ “Teke müdafaa-i milliye şubesinde alınan 27 Kânunuevvel 1330 tarihli... telgrafnamede müdafaa-i milliye namına bin çuval dakik mevcut olup mahallince sarf ve istihlakı kabil olmadığından atalara sevk idilmek üzere müsaade ita olunduğu surette beher çuvalının bir buçuk liraya fûruhtı muhakkak olduğundan mezuniyet-i resmîye istihsalı...” BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 90/90. 29 Kanunuevvel 1330, 11 January 1915.

³⁸ “Memleketin eşidda-i ihtiyacı bulunan gaz ve şeker gibi levazımâtı celb idenlere mukabil Rodos ve İstanköy atalarına dakik müsaadesi hakkında Meclis-i Has-ı Vükelanın... üzere fevkalade fedakârlıklar ile celb idilen mezkûr eşyanın mukabilinde mevûd dakiklerin işar-ı ahire değın men-i imrânî işar buyurulmuş idi hâlbuki acizleri mezkûr atalardan tedarik itdiğimiz eşyanın bir kısmını getirüb burada ticaretsiz fûruht itdiğimiz gibi bir kısmını küllisi de Rodosda alıkonulmaktadır ihzar idilmiş dakikler dahi bir iki hafta zarfında sarf olunmazsa bozulması muhakkak olduğundan her iki cihetten vuku bulacak zarardan mahvolmak...” BOA BEO 4349/326104. 23 Mart 1331, 5 April 1915.

2000 sacks of flour or same amount of wheat could be monthly exported to these islands, with the previous barter ratio.³⁹ Although this commerce had been approved, needs of people did not end under the war conditions. Mahmud beyzade Adil named resident of Kos Island sent telegraph to Ministry of Interior. He thanked to the Ottoman Empire for permitting sugar and coffee return wheat trade. He had one more request from Ministry of Interior. He demanded 10,000 okkas barley to his island up to harvest time via Bodrum governorate.⁴⁰

For the limit of former approved trade, 2000 sacks of flour or wheat had determined. But there were some ambiguities among the ruler of the region. Menteşe Governor Müştak Efendi asked to Ministry of Interior for further explanation. Menteşe region wanted to export this amount separately from Antalya. They requested to permit for this trade.⁴¹ Ministry of Interior evaluated this request and cleared confusion. Trade limit was allocated to whole region. Rulers must obey determined amount for export.⁴² Governor Müştak Efendi directed another trade offer to Ministry of Interior. Within Marmaris district, there were lots of charcoals in forests. These charcoals were more than the needs of local people. Regions' people wanted to export them to Rhodes in return for coffee, sugar and rice like goods.⁴³ But all trade efforts became meaningless.

³⁹ BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 92/69. 11 Cemaziyelahir 1333, 13 Nisan 1331, 26 April 1915.

⁴⁰ “İstanköy için şekere kahveye mukabil virilecek buğday gibi ahalimizin fukaralığına terhimen vakt-i hasada kadar on bin kiyye arpanın da müsaade olunmasına Bodrum kaimmakamlığına emir virilmesi...” BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 92/69. 22 Nisan 1331, 5 May 1915.

⁴¹ BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 93/31. 27 Nisan 1331, 10 May 1915.

⁴² “...ihracına müsaade olunan miktar Teke Sancağı ile müşterekdir bil muhabere fazla ihracat vukuna meydan virilmemesi” BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 93/31. 14 Mayıs 1331, 27 May 1915.

⁴³ “Marmaris kazası dâhilinde mevcut ve ihtiyac-ı mahalliden pek fazla olub ormanlarda çürümekte bulunan odun kömürlerin Rodosa sevkiyle mukabilinde kahve ve şeker ve pirinç gibi eşyanın celbi hakkında Menteşe Mutasarrıflığından alınan... tahrirat...” BOA DH.İ.UM.EK 93/42. 7 Mayıs 1331, 20 May 1915.

Because islands invader Italy entered World War I on 23 May 1915, in the side of Entente States.⁴⁴

44 J. M. Roberts, **Avrupa Tarihi**, tra. Fethi Aytuna, İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul 2010, p. 603, 606.

4) SUGAR IMPORTATION FROM AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

Austrian people consumed more than two thirds of their sugar needs from colonial cane sugar in 1850. From that time on, sugar beet cultivation was rapidly increased in Austria. After 1860's, sugar became an exportation commodity of Austria.⁴⁵ Austro-Hungarian Empire exported three-fourths of her beet sugar production in 1902-03. As to the production quantities, Austro-Hungarian Empire produced 492,590 tons sugar during the campaign of 1882-83. For 1903-04 campaign, this sum reached 1,155,430 tons sugar.⁴⁶ By 1913, Austria produced 1,710,000 tons sugar. Austrian sugar exports reached 1,056,000 tons in this year. Austrian producers exported more than 60% of their production. This important beet sugar production country had 201 factories in 1914.⁴⁷

After the outbreak of First World War, sugar scarcity reached critical amount both in İstanbul and provinces. İstanbul Municipality tried to import sugar from Austria. Since Austria was both ally and important sugar exporting country, the municipality primarily applied this country. However, Austrian government did not permit to sugar importation. İstanbul Municipality requested from Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Nezareti) to make necessary attempts for obtaining this permission.⁴⁸ Vienna Ambassador Hilmi Pasha explained Austria-

⁴⁵ F. W., "The Sugar Situation in Austria", **Political Science Quarterly**, Vol. XVIII, Issue: 4, 1903, p. 565-566.

⁴⁶ Frank R. Rutter, **International Sugar Situation**, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 1904, p. 14, 45.

⁴⁷ Edward R. Davson, "Sugar and the War", **Journal of the Royal Society of Arts**, Vol. LXIII, Issue: 3248, 19 February 1915, p. 263, 265.

⁴⁸ "Şehrimizin şeker mevcudu... ihtiyaca kâfi gelmeyecek derecede kalil olmasına mebni..." BOA HR.ID 1272/41. 16 Zilkade 1333, 12 Eylül 1331, 25 September 1915.

Hungarian planned procedure. Austria-Hungarian government had prepared sugar consumption statistics for local people. After completing this investigation, precise answer could be given to the Ottoman Empire for sugar exportation.⁴⁹ The following day, Vienna Ottoman Embassy sent telegraph to Ministry of Foreign Affairs about sugar importation. Because permission would very likely grant, İstanbul Municipality must declare its demanded quantity.⁵⁰

İstanbul Municipality declared that both for İstanbul and the provinces, there were needed to 1000 wagons sugar. Embassy must prepare according to this quantity. Embassy would also thoroughly investigate the kind and price of available sugar, because İstanbul Municipality wanted to learn coming cost of one sack or kilogram of sugar in İstanbul. Thus required money could be prepared as soon as possible.⁵¹

Other than municipality, some merchants also tried to import sugar from Austria. Babanzade Hikmet and İhsan Beys wanted to bring 200 wagons sugar to the Ottoman Empire. They declared that this amount of sugar would only allocate to Ottoman consumers. They requested the help of Vienna Ottoman Embassy via Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵² Ministry of Foreign Affairs permitted their

⁴⁹ “Avusturya Macaristanda mevcut şekerin ihtiyacât-ı mahalliyyeye kâfi olub olmadığına dair iki memleket Ticaret Nezaretlerince sebt idilmekte olan istatistiklerin henüz hitam bulmamasından dolayı mubayaa ideceğimiz şekerin ihracı mümkün olub olmadığı takdir idilemediği ve cevab-ı kati hitam-ı tahkikata vabeste olduğu...” BOA HR.İD 1272/43. 9 November 1915.

⁵⁰ BOA HR.İD 1272/43. 10 November 1915.

⁵¹ “...gerek İstanbul ve gerek taşra için Avusturyadan şimdilik mubayaa idilecek mikdar laakal bin vagonluk olduğundan sefaret-i seniyyece ana göre teşebbüsât-ı mahsusada bulunmak ve buraca da parası alınacak malumata göre şimdiden tedarik ve ihzar idilmek üzere hangi cins şekerin kaç guruşla fabrikasından mubayaa idileceğinin ve şehrimize beher çuval veya kilosunun kaç mal idilebileceğinin ve ne gibi şerait tahtında mubayaa olunacağıının bil-etraf tahkikiyle...” BOA HR.İD 1272/44. 2 Teşrinisani 1331, 15 November 1915.

⁵² “...Memalik-i Osmaniyede sarf ve istihlak idilmek üzere Avusturyadan iki yüz vagon şeker celb itmek istediğimizden mezkûr-ül mikdar şekerin Memalik-i Osmaniyeye ihracına müsaade idilmesi zımında Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesinin tavassutuna...” BOA HR.İD 1272/45. 9 Teşrinisani 1331, 22 November 1915.

importation, because they gave commitment to Ministry of Trade and Agriculture (Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezareti) that imported sugar would be sold and consumed only within the Ottoman Empire.⁵³

Austro-Hungarian Empire decided to notify the amount of marketable sugar to Vienna Embassy. As of 500 wagons sugar from Austria and 333 wagons sugar from Hungary, total 833 wagons would be able to exported to the Ottoman Empire. For purchasing this sugar, Vienna Embassy should apply to Vienna and Budapest trade unions (sendika). Although trade union term was used to explain sugar sellers, they more likely resembled to cartel type organization rather than workers union. For the price of 100 kilograms, they determined 80 kronen for granulated sugar, 83 kronen for loaf sugar and 85 kronen for cube sugar. Payment must be made during delivery. Vienna Ambassador Hilmi Pasha objected to these prices and demanded ten percent discount. As to transportation expenditure, one wagon sugar which contained 10,000 kilograms would cost 2000 kronen from Austria and 1500 kronen from Hungary. It was not considered possible to purchase with a deferred payment. Above mentioned price and transportation cost, 215,000 Ottoman liras were needed for this sugar import. After the addition of custom duty, one kilogram sugar would cost four piasters to İstanbul market. Prices had been increased. Decision should be taken as soon as possible.⁵⁴

⁵³ "...mezkr-ül mikdar şekerî Memalik-i Osmaniye dâhilinde tamamen sarf ve fûruht ideceklerini Ziraat ve Ticaret Nezaretine karşı taahhüd eyediklerinden..." BOA HR.İD 1272/45. 17 Teşrinisani 1331, 30 November 1915.

⁵⁴ "Avusturya devleti beş yüzi Avusturyadan üç yüz otuz üçü Macaristandan sekiz yüz otuz üç vagon şeker ihracına müsaade ve mubayaa için Viyana ve Peşte sendikalarına müracaatımızı tavsiye itmiştir. Şeker fabrikaları öteden beri sendika halinde ve bankaların himayesinde bulunduğundan cevabın ahzından evvel müracaat idilüb toz şekerin yüz kilosuna seksen kelle şekerin seksen üç kesme murabba şekerin seksen beş koron ve esmânının hin-ü teslimde defaten tediyesi şartı esas olarak dermeyer olunmuş idi. Bu fiatı red ile tadilini tebliğ itdim. Cevab-ı katiye intizar ve yüzde on nisbetinde tenzilat vukuını ümid idiyorum. Dersaadete kadar on bin kilogramlık bir vagonun nakliyesi Avusturyadan iki bin ve Macaristandan bin beş yüz korondur. Vade ile mubayaa mümkün görülmemektedir. Baladaki fiyat ve nakliye ile... meskukat-ı Osmaniye rayiciyle iki yüz on beş bin liraya karfıdır..."

Austrian government permitted to export 833 wagons sugar to İstanbul Municipality. But before this demand, some merchants had ordered 174 wagons sugar. Austrian government declared that former demand would be merged to 833 wagons sugar. Hilmi Pasha requested separate importation. On the other hand, İhsan and Hikmet Beys had planned to import 200 wagons sugar. Hilmi Pasha mentioned that there was not any possibility to take permission to this demand.⁵⁵

Although sugar importation permission had been granted to İstanbul Municipality, there were financial problems. Austro-Hungarian sellers demanded hard cash. A firm had been arranged to meet the expenses of price, transportation and insurance. This firm would transport this sugar to İstanbul and deliver it in Sirkeci, with whole responsibility. As to the cost of 100 kilograms sugar, price was determined as 260 piasters without custom duty and 340 piasters with custom duty. If this sugar would distribute to artisans with the price of 450 piasters, there would be great profit in 600 wagons around 66,000 liras. If artisans would sell this sugar for six and half piasters per okka, people could cheaply consume sugar one or two piasters below from current price. Thus people would become grateful to the government. The firm's plan would be easily acceptable, because two thirds of profit would be allocated to social assistance institutions. One third of 66,000 liras would direct to Red Crescent. Another one third share would be separated to martyrs children and wounded soldiers. After this social promise, this firm declared that they would smoothly pay the worth of sugar; either whole commodity would be sent once or part by part. The

gümrük resmi zam olundukda bir kilo şeker Dersaadete takriben dört guruşa mal olacaktır... Fiyatlar tezayid itmektedir. Virilecek kararın biran evvel işarı babında. BOA HR.İD 1272/46. 23 November 1915.

⁵⁵ “Avusturya devleti şehremaneti için yalnız 833 vagon şeker müsaade etmekle beraber evvelce bazı tüccarın aldıkları 174 vagonu da bundan tenzil ideceğini beyan itmesi üzerine itiraz ile 833 vagonun ayrıca ihracında ısrar eyledim. İhsan ve Hikmet Beyler namına 200 vagon için yeniden müsaade istihsali gayri kabildir.” BOA HR.İD 1272/48. 24 November 1915.

firm also requested two conditions from government. Firstly, if one part of this sugar would allocate to army, worth of it must be paid immediately. Secondly, for the transport of sugar in between Bulgaria and İstanbul, government should supply wagons whenever necessary.⁵⁶

Vienna Embassy had been lasting market research for sugar import. 400 wagons sugar planned to import from Hungary. A Hungarian bank demanded 65 kronen for every 100 kilograms sugar. But Ambassador Hilmi Pasha founded more convenient offer than this bank's price. One of the important sugar factories of Hungary wanted 59 kronen 72 hellers for the same amount. Factory's 6 kronen lesser offer must take into account rather than the bank's bid.⁵⁷

Midhat Bey departed from İstanbul on 30 November 1915 morning. He would purchase sugar from Vienna for the name of İstanbul Municipality. Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanded that Vienna Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha would show necessary ease to him.⁵⁸ For the name of Midhat Bey, 500,000 kronen was drawn

⁵⁶ "Esmâniyla nakliye ve sigorta ve sair masrafları bit-tediye mezkûr şekeri mesuliyeti tahtında Dersaadete nakl ile Sirkeci de teslim idecek bir şirketi dahi ikna eyledim. Gümrük resmi dâhil olmaksızın lira yüz guruş hesabıyla takriben iki yüz altmış ve gümrük resmi ile beraber üç yüz kırk guruşa mal idilmesi memuldür. Esnafa yüz kilosu dört buçuk liraya tevzi olunursa altı yüz vagona altmışaltı bin liralık bir menfaat-ı azîme hâsıl olacağı ve esnaf tarafından da kıyyesi altı buçuk guruş fûruht idilürse ahalimiz şimdiki fiatından bir iki guruş noksanıyla şeker mubayaa idüb müstefid ve hükümete müteşekkir olacaktır. Bu tasavvuru mevki-i file isale itmekliğim şeraitinin tasvib idileceğine dair... altmış altı bin lira temettüânın sülüsünü Hilali Ahmer Cemiyetine ve sülüsünü evlad-ı şüheda ve malûlîn-i askeriyenin terfiyelerine terk ve tahsis olunmak saniyen şeker İstanbulda defaten veya tedricen teslim idildikçe esmâni tediye idilmek salisen ordumuzun ihtiyacı için bu şekerin bir kısmı alınacak olursa esmâni keza evvel emirde tesviye olunmak rabian Bulgaristandan Dersaadete kadar nakilde indül-hace vagon tedariki hükümetce ifa idilmek." BOA HR.İD 1272/50. 29 November 1915.

⁵⁷ "...Peştedeki bank dört yüz vagon için yüz kilograma altmış beş koron talep itmiş... Macaristanda en büyük bir şeker fabrikasının elli dokuz koron yetmiş iki heller istediği yazılmış idi bankanın teklifini red ile beher yüz kilogramda altı koron noksan olan ikinci teklifin nazar-ı dikkate alınması lazım geleceğinden..." BOA HR.İD 1272/50. 30 November 1915.

⁵⁸ "Şehremaneti hesabına şeker mubayaası zımında Midhat Bey dün sabah hareket itmiştir. Mazhar-ı teshîlât buyurılması..." BOA HR.İD 1272/51. 1 December 1915.

to Hungarian General Credit Bank.⁵⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested that demanded sugar must be sent as soon as possible.⁶⁰ But Ambassador Hilmi Pasha mentioned some reservations. If sugar transport would be practiced part by part, dealers and transport firms would demand written governmental guarantee. All sugar importation procedure must be maintained with name of Ottoman government. Midhat Bey signed contracts as a government delegate. Former governmental notification recommended that embassy should aid him. But for providing necessary guarantee, there were some doubts. If governmental guarantee would not grant, this sugar importation would meet some difficulties.⁶¹ Six days later, Ministry of Foreign Affairs permitted that Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha could grant governmental guarantee to any necessary people.⁶²

İstanbul Municipality had already obtained importation permission of 833 wagons sugar. But some merchants also wanted to import sugar for their own profits. Municipality considered this type of attempts beneficial, because İstanbul people severely needed sugar. Salih İhsan Bey planned to bring 100 wagons sugar from Austria. He requested support of Vienna Embassy in his petition to

⁵⁹ Hungarian General Credit Bank was established in 1867. The bank was the first financial institution of Hungary that it combined the models of commercial and investment banks in one financial institution. Tamas Kovacs, Levente Kovacs, "Banking Leaders Who Made the Hungarian General Credit Bank Great", **Economy and Finance, English–Language Edition of GAZDASÁG ÉS PÉNZÜGY**, Vol. IV, Issue: 3, 2017, p. 153.

⁶⁰ "...keşide edilmiş beş yüz bin koron..." BOA HR.İD 1272/52. 13 December 1915.

⁶¹ "Şeker sevkiyatı tedrici idilecek ise mubayaât ve sevkiyatında hükümetin hesabına icra idildiğine dair sefaret-i seniyyeden bayilere ve nakliye şirketlerine icabına göre tahriren teminat virmek icab ıder. Midhat Bey mukaveleleri hükümet delegesi sıfatıyla imza eylemektedir. Tebligat-ı sabika-i devletlerinde ise mumailiye yalnız muavenet ifası tavsiye buyruluyor. Teminat-ı lazimenin itasında bit-tabî tereddüd olunuyor. Hükümet-i seniyye namına ve hesabına teminat itası ciheti tasvib buyurulmaz ise işin müşkilata düşer olacağını..." BOA HR.İD 1272/53. 15 December 1915.

⁶² "İcab idenlere hükümet-i seniyye namına ve hesabına teminat ita buyrulabilir..." BOA HR.İD 1272/53. 21 December 1915.

grant permission from Austro-Hungarian government to bring sugar. Municipality's Commission of Essential Needs (Havaic-i Zaruriye Komisyonu) decided that Salih İhsan Bey's importation should be excluded from former 833 wagons sugar. Because every additional source of sugar would simplify the complement of İstanbul needs. Thus, the people of İstanbul would easily reach sugar.⁶³

Another merchant named Hacı Ali Muhiddin from Hacı Bekir Company in İstanbul Bahçekapı;⁶⁴ he wanted to bring 15 wagons sugar from Austria to sell in his shops. Company had stores in İstanbul, Beyoğlu and Kadıköy. Municipality's Commission of Essential Needs decided as the same way like Salih İhsan Bey. Hacı Ali Muhiddin should be supported, because of increasing sugar needs of İstanbul market.⁶⁵

Sugar scarcity became so severe in İstanbul. Even Sultan and the people of the palace suffered from sugar shortage. Hazine-i

⁶³ "İstanbulun şu günlerde iştîdâd iden şeker ihtiyacının bir dereceye kadar olsun tehvinine hizmet eylemiş olmak üzere Avusturyadan celbine teşebbüs ideceği yüz vagon mikdarı şekerin Avusturya ve Macaristan hükümetince imrârına aid müsaadenin istihsaline Viyana sefaret-i seniyyesince delalet buyurulması... Salih İhsan Bey tarafından virilen arzuhalde istida idilmesi üzerine... şehir ihtiyacı için emanet-i âcizi namına Avusturyadan celbine müsaadesi istihsal idilen sekiz yüz otuz üç vagonluk şekerden haric olmak üzere müstedi-i mumaileyhimin dahi kendi hesabına olarak yüz vagon şeker celb eylemesi şehrin ihtiyacını bir derece daha tehvine medar olmak itibariyle muvafık-ı maslahat olacağından... emanet-i âcizi havaic-i zaruriye komisyonunca karar virilmiş olmağla..." BOA HR.İD 1272/54. 3 Rebiülevvel 1334, 27 Kanunuevvel 1331, 9 January 1916.

⁶⁴ Hacı Bekir founded this company in İstanbul Bahçekapı, during the late 18th Century. He introduced Turkish delight and rock candy (akide şekerı) to world market. His company has lasted its activity more than two centuries up to today. As to sugar demanding Hacı Ali Muhiddin, he had managed this company during the early Republican period. Oktay Güvemli, "Türkiye'nin Yaşayan En Eski İşletmesi: Hacı Bekir Şekerleme 1777-2018", **Muhasebe ve Finans Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, İşletme Tarihi Özel Sayısı**, Issue: 9, 2018, p. 77, 80.

⁶⁵ "İstanbul ve Beyoğlu ve Kadıköyündeki mağazalarında fûruht eylemek üzere Avusturyadan celbine teşebbüs ideceği on beş vagon mikdarı şekerin celbine müsaade-i mahsusa istihsalı Bağçe Kapusunda Hacı Bekir ticarethanesi Hacı Ali Muhiddin imzasıyla virilen arzuhalde istida kılınması üzerine..." BOA HR.İD 1272/56. 7 Rebiülevvel 1334, 31 Kânunuevvel 1331, 13 January 1916.

Hassa Müdüriyeti⁶⁶ demanded to be purchased three wagons sugar from Vienna Embassy, because of impossibility of sugar procurement in İstanbul. Vienna Embassy declared that former 833 wagons sugar importation permission had already granted. But there was not any possibility to obtain new importation consent. Because Austrian merchants complained that they could not import their purchased materials from the Ottoman Empire. Due to they met some difficulties in their trades, they made some trouble to Ottoman imports. Only 90 wagons sugar would be exported to the Ottoman Empire. Embassy mentioned that one or two wagons should allocate to the needs of Hazine-i Hassa Müdüriyeti.⁶⁷ After the order of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, İstanbul Municipality accepted the offer of Vienna Embassy. Municipality's sugar order had been in Ruse during that time. Whenever this sugar would come to İstanbul, one wagon sugar would be separated to the usage of Hazine-i Hassa Müdüriyeti.⁶⁸

Nine months later, another attempt was made for the needs of Imperial Palace. İstanbul Ambassador of Austro-Hungarian Empire offered one wagon sugar to Ottoman government, for Imperial Palace. Austrian Ministry of Finance granted permission for this

⁶⁶ This organization was responsible to manage Ottoman Sultans incomes and expenses. Arzu Tozduman Terzi, *Hazine-i Hâssa*, **DiA**, Vol. XVII, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul 1998, p. 137.

⁶⁷ "Hazine-i Hassa-i Mülükane müdüriyet-i umumiyesinden... ihtiyâcâtı için Dersaadette şeker tedariki mümkün olamadığından bahisle üç vagon şekerin iştirası işar olunmuş ve Şehremaneti hesabına evvelce ruhsatı alınan 833 vagonun fazla ihracat için yeniden müsaade istihsali esasen gayri memul olduktan başka Avusturyalılara aid mubayaâtın ihracatında bizce ika idildiği iddia olunan müşkilatın henüz men-i def olmadığı sırada gayri mümkün bulunmuş olduğundan Şehremaneti için evvelce sevk edilmiş olan toksan vagonun şimdilik bir veya iki vagonun hazine-i müşarünileyhaya ita itdirilmesi..." BOA HR.İD 1272/55. 11 January 1916.

⁶⁸ "...taleb edilmiş olan şekerin emanet-i âcizi namına müsaadesi istihsal edilmiş olubda eylevm Ruscukda bulunan şekerlerin İstanbul vürûdunda bir vagonun ba-tefrik ber-vechi emri ali itası takrir eylemiş olmağla..." BOA HR.İD 1272/55. 25 Rebiülevvel 1334, 18 Kânunusani 1331, 31 January 1916.

importation. As to source of sugar, Schönpriesen Sugar Factory from Bohemia would send this mentioned sugar to İstanbul.⁶⁹

4-1) SUGAR CARTELS

Allies of the Ottoman Empire had historical background in cartels. These organizations gained great importance during World War I. Especially Germany founded so many industrial cartels, up to 1910's. In 1865 4, in 1875 8, in 1885 90, in 1890 210, in 1906 385 and in 1911 approximately 550 to 600 cartels continued their activities in Germany.⁷⁰ Cartels were also popular phenomenon in Austrian industrial circles. Austrian refiners had reached an agreement for cartel organization on 8 July 1891. The first cartel was broke down in 1894. Later, friendlier sugar cartel was founded on 26 July 1897, for five years. Cartel guaranteed minimum 15 florins⁷¹ to the raw sugar manufacturers. The raw sugar manufacturers obliged to sell only to the refiner's cartel in the home market. As to the agreement of refiners, they gave two promises. Firstly, they did not manufacture raw sugar. Secondly, they did not buy raw sugar from outsiders.⁷² Hungarian sugar manufacturers also established cartel. The Hungarian General Credit Bank acted like sugar cartel bureau from 1891 on. The bank had partnership with seven sugar refineries in 1914. In five of them, the bank was majority shareholders.⁷³

⁶⁹ BOA HR.İD 1273/4. 16 October 1916.

⁷⁰ Ömer Celâl Sarc, *Ziraat ve Sanayi Siyaseti, (Ziraî ve Sinaî İktisat)*, Arkadaş Matbaası, İstanbul 1934, p. 455, 464.

⁷¹ The krone was worth half a florin. Cartel's 15 florins was guaranteed price for 100 kilograms sugar. Yves Guyot, "The Sugar Question in Europe", *the North American Review*, Vol. CLXXIV, Issue: 542, p. 88.

⁷² F. W. "The Sugar Situation in Austria", *Political Science Quarterly*, the Academy of Political Science, Vol. XVIII, Issue: 4, 1903, p. 567-569.

⁷³ Agnes Pogany, "Bankers and Families, the Case of the Hungarian Sugar Industry", *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. XXXV, Issue: 1/4, 1989, p. 171.

4-2) INTERVENTION OF AUSTRIAN CARTEL TO SUGAR IMPORTATION

Ottoman government had already provided the consent of Austrian Foreign Ministry for sugar importation. Midhat Bey signed a contract with a merchant. But former sugar cartel, who gave price of 85 kronen for 100 kilograms sugar, disrupted the agreement. This cartel's intervention stopped the exportation. Cartel accepted Midhat Bey's contract null and invalid. Cartel also claimed that Ottomans could purchase sugar only from themselves. All applications and attempts became inconclusive.⁷⁴

In contrary to cartel's uncompromising attitude, Vienna Embassy offered reciprocal action. Like Ottoman people needed sugar from Austria, Austrian people also required to import some goods from the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman government should not permit to be directly purchased these commodities. Artisan Society could be seen as cartel. Austrian Ambassador should be informed that their merchants must apply to Artisan Society. Their demanded goods should be sold with this society's high prices. Even exportation could be banned for a while. Ottoman government should consider all of these reactions.⁷⁵

Ministry of Foreign Affairs tried to found a middle way. Ministry informed Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha that the

⁷⁴ “Avusturyadan alınacak beş yüz vagon şekerin ihracına Hariciye Nezareti resmen müsaade ve Midhat Bey bir tacirle mukavele akd itdikten sonra vaktiyle bizden yüz kilogram için seksen beş koron talep iden sendikanın müdahalesiyle ihracatı şimdi men ve mukaveleyi ke-en-lem-yekün add eylemekte ve herhalde sendikadan şeker almaklığımız lazım geleceğini beyanda ısrar itmektedir müracaatlar ve teşebbüsât neticesiz kalmıştır...” BOA HR.İD 1272/58. 28 January 1916.

⁷⁵ “...bu hareket-i gayri layıkaya karşı bizim dahi mukabele-i bi-misilde bulunmaklığımız menafimiz icabından olacağı cihetle Avusturyalıların Memalik-i Şahanedan tedarik ve celbine mecbur oldukları bilcümle eşyayı toğrıdan toğrıya mubayaa itmelerine müsaade olunmayarak sendika halinde telakkisi mümkün olan esnaf cemiyetine müracaat itmeleri lazım geleceğini sefire anlatmak ve alacakları şeyleri cemiyetce tayin idilecek yüksek fiyatlar ile satmak ve hatta ihracata bir müddet için asla müsaade itmemek şıklarının ihtiyarı kesb-i zaruret itmışdir fikrindeyim...” BOA HR.İD 1272/58. 28 January 1916.

Ottoman Empire permitted for copper and some other materials exportation. In return for this convenience, Vienna administration should not forbid Ottomans' importation.⁷⁶

Like Austria, other part of the empire Hungary cancelled the importation permission of private merchants. 333 wagons sugar could be exported to the Ottoman Empire, only for government account. Vienna Embassy requested that Midhat Bey should be informed about situation.⁷⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs replied that Vienna Embassy must accelerate the importation of Austrian sugar.⁷⁸

Although Vienna Embassy founded a marquis and he gave some advice, sugar cartel had been protected its position. Austrian Foreign Affairs Ministry verbally declared that sugar purchasing other than cartel was not permissible. Sugar cartel would sell 100 kilograms sugar to 75 kronen. Price difference for 500 wagons reached nearly 800,000 kronen. More than price difference, Vienna Embassy accepted this behavior against national dignity. He thought that Austrian Foreign Affairs Ministry's offer should be rejected. Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha insisted to practice his former measurements against Austrian demands from the Ottoman Empire. Thus, improper practices could be prevented and these could not be repeated. Ambassador emphasized the existence of World War I. He secretly declared that Ottoman government should be focused to War Ministry of Austro-Hungarian Empire. If the needs of this ministry would be prevented to export and transport, War Ministry would

⁷⁶ "...şimdi ise buraca bakır vesairenin ihracına müsaade idildiğinden Viyanaca dahi eşyamızın ihracına bir güne mümanaat idilmemesini..." BOA HR.İD 1272/58. 18 Kanunusani 1331, 31 January 1916.

⁷⁷ "Macaristandan efrad namına virilmiş olan müsaadenin ibtaliyle 333 vagon şekerin hükümet-i seniyye hesabına ihracına müsaade olundığının Midhat Beye tebliğ itdirilmesi..." BOA HR.İD 1272/59. 9 February 1916.

⁷⁸ "...Avusturyadan mubayaa olunan şekerin tesri-i ihracı hususunda..." BOA HR.İD 1272/59. 1 Şubat 1331, 14 February 1916.

take immediate action. This ministry would repeal the decision of Austrian Foreign Affairs Ministry and sugar cartel.⁷⁹

Ottoman government tried to understand the structure of cartel. Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked three questions to Vienna Embassy. Firstly, did mentioned cartel consist of which persons or institutions? Secondly, did cartel have been granted their monopoly right by law or by administrative decision? Thirdly, did cartel only have exportation monopoly on sugar? Or this monopoly included all of the commodities?⁸⁰

Although there were some problems in sugar importation, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha called Midhat Bey to Vienna. Because he had a dense workload and he could not follow sugar trade. If an agreement could be reached, Midhat Bey would interest transport, payment and account of both Austrian and Hungarian sugar.⁸¹ Four days later, Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed that Mithat Bey departed from İstanbul towards Vienna.⁸²

⁷⁹ "...Hariciye Nezaretinden varid olan takrir-i şifâhîde sendikadan başka mahalden şeker mubayaası caiz olmadığı ve sendikanın yüz kilogram parça şekerî yetmiş beş korona vireceğini bildirmiştir. Beş yüz vagonda fiyat farkı sekiz yüz bin korona karîbidir. Mesele fiyat farkından ziyade esasen ve haysiyete tealluk itdiğiinden nezaret-i müşarünileyhanın teklifini red itmek fikrindeyim. Bize karşı pek na-münasib olan bu muamelenin ref ve adem-i tekriri imkanının istihsalı için... arz olunan tedbirin hemân tatbik buyurulmasını rica iderim. Gayet mahremane olarak ilave iderim ki Avusturya ve Macaristan Harbiye Nezaretine aid mubayaâtın ihracı ve sevki bizce men idildiğine dair nezaret-i müşarünileyhaya malumat vürüd itdiği dakikada Harbiye Nezareti müessir ve seri çarelere müracaatla gerek Hariciye Nezaretinin ve gerek sendikanın kararını ilga itdirmeğe mecbur olacaktır..." BOA HR.İD 1272/60. 13 February 1916.

⁸⁰ "...Avusturya nezaretinin takrir-i şifâhisinde bahs olunan sendika kimlerden ve hangi müesseselerden mürekkeb ve eşya ihracına delalet hakkının sendikaya kanunla mı yoksa karar-ı idari ile mi bahş idilmiş ve bu sendikanın yalnız şeker mi yoksa bilumum eşya ihracını mı taht-ı inhisara almış olduğunun..." BOA HR.İD 1272/60. 15 February 1916.

⁸¹ "...şekerlerin sevkiyat ve tediyât ve hesâbâtıyla iştigal itmek üzere Midhat Beyin avdeti lazım gelür..." BOA HR.İD 1272/61. 15 February 1916.

⁸² "...Mithat Bey bugün Viyanaya müteveccihen hareket itmiştir." BOA HR.İD 1272/61. 19 February 1916.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs contacted with İstanbul Ambassador of Austria. With this interview, ministry would be able to reach an appropriate agreement for Ottoman interests. Ambassador promised to notify Vienna this agreement as necessary way.⁸³ Vienna Embassy informed ministry that sugar problem had been solved according to requisition of Ottoman representative.⁸⁴

4-3) BEGINNING OF SUGAR IMPORTATION FROM AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

Meetings for sugar importation had been lasted nearly four months, in between Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. At the end, both parties reached an agreement. 75 kronen was decided as a cost of 100 kilograms sugar. This price provided a 500,000 kronen discount according to first price of sugar cartel. Although Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha arranged lower prices, resistance of sugar cartel forced to accept Ottoman government this price. War conditions and increasing sugar scarcity left no room to differently behave Ottoman officials.⁸⁵

After the completion of sugar agreement with Austria, merchants lasted their attempts to import sugar. Rafael Kamhi and his sons from İstanbul Marpuççular Boyacı Khan wanted to bring 25 wagons Austro-Hungarian sugar. They promised that this sugar would be completely consumed and sold within the Ottoman Empire. They guaranteed this promise by giving strong assurance to Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture. After this assurance,

⁸³ "...Avusturya sefirine icab iden sözleri söyledim. Müşarünileyh meselenin arzumuz muvafik bir suretde bitirilmesi için suret-i mültezimanede Viyanaya tebligatda bulunacağını vaad itdiler..." BOA HR.İD 1272/63. 23 February 1916.

⁸⁴ "...şeker meselesi murahhasımıza muvafik suretde hal idilmiştir." BOA HR.İD 1272/63. 6 March 1916.

⁸⁵ "...teşebbüsât-ı lazıme icra idildiği ve bunun neticesi olarak beher yüz kilo için şekerin fiyatı 85 korondan 75 korona tenzil edilmiş olmasından dolayı minhaysil-mecmu 500.000 koron kadar tenzilat icra edilmiş olduğu..." BOA HR.İD 1272/64. 23 Şubat 1331, 7 March 1916.

ministry granted six months lasted document, which was started from 26 March 1916.⁸⁶ Later, Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture reflected the demand of Rafael Kamhi and his sons to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This ministry asked that Vienna Embassy must take necessary measurements about this issue, in front of Austro-Hungarian government. Then, the ambassador would notify the result.⁸⁷

Another initiative, Nafi Efendi and his partners committed to import 20 wagons sugar from Austro-Hungarian Empire. They demanded to include these 20 wagons sugar to former permission granted 800 wagons sugar.⁸⁸ This demand was accepted and mentioned sugar would be given to Nafi Efendi on 22 May 1916.⁸⁹

İstanbul Municipality formerly ordered more than 800 wagons sugar for his city. But Anatolian provinces also needed sugar. Thessaloniki of İhsan Bey from İstanbul gave a petition about this situation. He planned to supply this demand, if Vienna Embassy granted a guarantee for free trade. 500 wagons sugar would be allocated to needs of Anatolian provinces. This sugar must be freely delivered and sold to Anatolia, without meeting conditions of war taxing. If Vienna Embassy would provide this requested guarantee, İhsan Bey strongly hoped that Austrian authorities would permit

⁸⁶ “İstanbulda Marpuçılarda Boyacı Hanında Rafael Kamhi ve mahdumları Avusturya ve Macaristandan celb idecekleri yirmi beş vagon şekeri tamamen Memalik-i Osmaniye dâhilinde sarf ve fûruht eyleyeceklerini nezaret-i aciziye teminat-ı kaviye itasıyla taahhüd itdiklerinden yedlerine altı ay müddetle muteber olmak üzere 13 Mart 1332 tarihli bir vesika virilmiş olmağla...” BOA HR.İD 1272/68. 24 Cemaziyevvel 1334, 16 Mart 1332, 29 March 1916.

⁸⁷ “...Avusturya ve Macaristan hükümeti nezdinde teşebbüsât-ı mukteziye ifa ve neticesinin ışarı...” BOA HR.İD 1272/68. 10 April 1916.

⁸⁸ “...Nafi Efendi ve şürekâsının ba-mukavelename itasını taahhüd itdiği yirmi vagon şekerin mezkûr sekiz yüz vagona mahsuben itasına muvafakat olunması taleb ve rica olunmaktadır.” BOA DH.İ.UM 89 9/1 16. 17 Nisan 1332, 30 April 1916.

⁸⁹ “...Avusturya hükümetinin Devlet-i Aliyye namına itasına muvafakat eylediği sekiz yüz kûsur vagon şekere mahsuben ve bir haftaya kadar... memur-ı mahsus tarafından mahallinde müteahhid-i mumaileyhe teslimine muvafakat idilmiş olmağla...” BOA DH.İ.UM 89 9/1 16. 2 Mayıs 1332, 15 May 1916.

sugar exportation. İhsan Bey made some preparations for this trade, he signed some contracts with Viennese merchants.⁹⁰

Although İhsan Bey made some preparations to sell sugar for Anatolian provinces, Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha saw weak possibility to realize this demand. First of all, merchants could not purchase and import sugar for themselves. Austrian government would not grant consent more than former 830 wagons sugar for importation. Austrian sugar cartel had also suffered from scarcity. From March, free sugar trade was banned in Austria. Government monthly allocated 1250 grams sugar to every citizen. During the former bargain for municipality, sugar cartel offered this 500 wagons sugar. But cartel stipulated that sugar must be freely sold without war taxing. If Ottoman government would ensure this condition, sugar cartel would promise to sell 100 kilograms sugar for 64 kronen. But Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha did not accept this conditional offer. When Babanzade Hikmet Bey came to Vienna for sugar importation, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha explained him this situation. Other than the demand of municipality, importation of additional sugar was not possible. In this conversation, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha also mentioned cartel's offer. Pasha saw probable that Hikmet Bey and sugar cartel could reach an agreement. Request of İhsan Bey should stem from this meeting. But mediator of this offer went to Holland, in those days. When he would return to Austria, the pasha could report the result of negotiation. But Ottoman government should inform him about the conditions of sugar cartel, either they would be accepted

⁹⁰ “Avusturyadan şehremaneti namına ihracına müsaade olunan sekiz yüz küsur vagon şekerden maada beş yüz vagon şekerin Anatoli vilayâtı ihtiyâcâtına tahsis idileceği ve bunların tekâlif-i harbiye usuliyile ahz ve mubayaa olunmayub serbestce Anatoliya sevk ve fûruht itdirileceği hakkında Viyana sefaret-i seniyyesi vasıtasıyla teminat-ı lazıme ita kılındığı takdirde ihracına müsaade istihsali kaviyen memul bulunduğu ve bu babda Viyana tüccarıyla akd-i şirket ve mukavele olundığı beyanıyla icra-yı icabı İstanbulda Selanikli İhsan Bey tarafından virilen istidanamede bildirilmiştir BOA HR.İD 1272/70. 25 Cemaziyevlevvel 1334, 17 Mart 1332, 30 March 1916.

or rejected.⁹¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepted the conditions of sugar cartel one week later. Vienna Embassy could give necessary guarantee for this importation.⁹²

Austrian government promised that 500 wagons sugar would be sold to İstanbul Municipality. Although long time had passed, Vienna Embassy did not informed yet about this issue. Ministry of Interior repetitively asked on 19 August 1916 that Vienna Embassy must take necessary actions as soon possible for this importation.⁹³

4-4) SUGAR RE-EXPORT OFFER OF THE SWISS COMPANY

Bern Embassy offered 80 wagons sugar load. A firm purchased this amount of sugar from Austria, for selling in Switzerland. But this firm could not take the consent of Austrian government for exportation to Switzerland. After this interdict, this firm offered 80 wagons sugar to Ottoman government, with the price of lower

⁹¹ “Tüccar tarafından şeker fûruhtı ve ihracı memnudur sekiz yüz otuz vagon dan fazla mikdar için müsaade alınamaz şeker sendikasının yedinde hayli nedretine mebni Martdan itibaren nüfus başına ayda 1250 gram şeker vesika ile satılmaktadır sekiz yüz otuz vagonun yüz kilosuna sendika yetmiş beş koron taleb itdiği... sırada kendü hesabına ayrıca beş yüz vagon şeker sevk ve serbestce fûruht itmesine muvafakat ve cihet-i askeriyece vaz-ı yed idilmeyeceğini temin idersek aldığımız beş yüz vagonun beher yüz kilosunu altmış dört korona tenzil ideceğini sendika bilvasıta teklif itmiş ve fakat taraf-ı âciziden red idilmiş idi şeker mubayaası için Viyanaya gelen Hikmet Beye müsaade istihsali mümkün olamadığını tebliğ itdiğim esnada bu teklifden dahi bahs... sendika ile kendüsi arasında böyle bir mukavele akdi muhtemel olduğunu hikaye itmişdim İhsan Beyin ifadesi bundan galat olmak melhuzdur mamafih teklife vesâtet iden zat el-yevm Felemenkdedir avdetinde bil-müzakere neticesi bildirilmek üzere sendikanın dermeyan itdiği şeraite hükümetce muvafakat ve riayet olunub olunmayacağıın işarı lazımdır” BOA HR.İD 1272/71. 4 April 1916.

⁹² “...teminat-ı lazıme itasıyla salifüz-zikr beş yüz vagon şekerin ihracına müsaade istihsaline himmet ve delalet idilmesinin sefaret-i seniyyelerine işarı...” BOA HR.İD 1272/71. 11 April 1916.

⁹³ “...beş yüz vagon şeker meselesinin bir neticeye iktiran idüb itmediği hakkında henüz bir işar-ı sefaretpenahileri sebk eylememiş ve keyfiyet 6 Ağustos 1332 tarihli tezkire ile Dâhiliye Nezaret-i celîlesinden tekîden işar kılınmış olmağla ol-babdaki teşebbüsât-ı celîleleri neticesinin tesri-i izbarı...” BOA HR.İD 1272/88. 3 September 1916.

than one frank for one kilogram. This firm could not practice the marketing of 80 wagons sugar, because exportation permission from Austria was not granted to them. This firm also did not have retail sale permission within Austria. The firm requested that the Ottoman Empire could be able to obtain exportation permission from Austrian government.⁹⁴

Ottoman government accepted this offer. If Austrian government granted exportation permission for this 80 wagons sugar, this amount of sugar could be purchased by the Ottoman Empire. Ministry of Interior, Commission of Essential Needs declared that all details, type of sugar and its price would notify after obtaining permission.⁹⁵

Austrian Foreign Ministry informed that his government would not grant permission to sugar exportation, unless sugar cartel had approved this demand. Every sugar importer had to apply sugar cartel, in order to take its consent. Formerly sugar cartel granted 80 wagons sugar exportation to Switzerland. But this export permission could not be converted for another country, according to Austrian Foreign Ministry.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ “Avusturyadan seksen vagona karîb şeker mubayaa idüb Avusturya hükümetinden İsviçre için ihrac müsaadesi alamayan bir şirket mezkûr mikdarı kilogramı bir frankdan dün fiyatla hükümet-i seniyyeye terk itmek teklifinde bulunmuşdır. Avusturyadan ihracına veya orada perakende suretde fûruhtına müsaade olunmayub mezkûr şirket uhdesinde kalmış olan bu malı ihrac müsaadesi istihsal olunub olunamayacağı Avusturya devletinden bades-sual...” BOA HR.İD 1272/73. 15 May 1916.

⁹⁵ “...seksen vagon şekerin Memalik-i Osmaniyyeye ihracına Avusturya hükümeti müsaade itdiği takdirde mubayaa olunabileceğinden müsaade istihsalinden sonra keyfiyetinin ve şekerin cinsi ve fiyatının işar buyurulması...” BOA HR.İD 1272/75. 21 Receb 1334, 11 Mayıs 1332, 24 May 1916.

⁹⁶ “Hariciye Nezareti şeker sendikasından müracaat vuku bulmadıkça şeker ihracına hükümetce müsaade olunamayacağını ve evvel emirde sendikanın istihsal-i muvafakati lazım geleceğini ifade ve sendikaya filvaki İsviçreye ihrac olunmak üzere vaktiyle seksen vagon için müsaade virildiğini ve fakat bu müsaadenin diğer bir memleket namına tahvili kabil olamayacağını beyan eylemiştir...” BOA HR.İD 1272/76. 30 May 1916.

Ottoman Foreign Ministry questioned this decision. If Austrian government would avoid exporting sugar, this decision must rely on a plausible reason, like allocating this sugar to the needs of their citizens. But exporting permission to neutral Switzerland showed that country had sugar more than their needs. Under this condition, mentioned sugar should be exported to friend and ally Ottoman Empire.⁹⁷

After this objection, Austrian Foreign Ministry demanded additional knowledge. Ottoman Foreign Affairs Ministry asked to Bern Embassy two questions. Firstly, what was the name of this sugar dealer and where was the mentioned sugar within Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁹⁸ Petitpierre named company from Neuchatel sent letter to Ottoman embassy on 17 June 1916. In this letter, this company offered 79 wagons sugar to the Ottoman Empire. The company demanded 90 francs for 100 kilograms sugar.⁹⁹ Company made contracts with three sugar refineries of Austro-Hungarian Empires. These were 54 wagons sugar from Skrivan, 20 wagons sugar from Austerlitz and 5 wagons sugar from Dobrovitz refineries. Every wagon would contain 10,000 kilograms sugar.¹⁰⁰

But Swiss company did not reach a rapid answer to its offer. The company requested clear reply via Bern Embassy that mentioned sugar would be purchased or not. If this offer would not

⁹⁷ “Avusturya hükümetinin şeker ihracından imtinaı madde-i mezkûrayı ihtiyâcât-ı dâhiliyesine hasır itmek gibi bir sebebi makule müstened olmak lazım gelir. Bu ihtiyacdan fazla kalmasından dolayı İsviçre gibi bitaraf bir hükümete ihracına müsaade edilmiş olan bir maddenin dost ve müttefik bir devlete ihracına müsaade itası...” BOA HR.İD 1272/76. 11 June 1916.

⁹⁸ “...Mevzubahis şekerin ihracı mümkün olub olmadığını kararlaştırılması için Avusturya Hariciye Nezaretince bayiin ismiyle şekerin hangi mahalde bulunduğının bilinmesine lüzum gösterildiğinden...” HR.İD 1272/78. 1 July 1916.

⁹⁹ “Neuchatelde Petitpierre ve kumpanyası tarafından sefaret-i seniyyeye dahi gönderilen ve aynen ve leffen takdim kılınan 17 Haziran 1916 tarihli mektubda mevzubahis olan 79 vagon şekerin beher yüz kilosı toksan frank fiyat ile teklif edilmiş...” BOA HR.İD 1272/81. 12 July 1916.

¹⁰⁰ BOA HR.İD 1272/81. 17 June 1916.

come rapidly, they would sell sugar to others.¹⁰¹ Vienna Embassy replied company's request on 30 August 1916. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha lasted his attempts to reach a successful result for importing this 79 wagons sugar. He renewed his written request for permission. He also repeated verbally this demand once or twice a week. Although his all attempts, he could not obtain positive answer. In his last verbal special application, Austrian officials claimed that this demand would be rejected. After the end of continuing investigation, Austrian officials would negatively reply this request. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha lasted his explanations by presenting Austrian officials objections. Firstly, this sugar was contraband and out of the control of Austrian Sugar Cartel. Secondly, this cartel did not accept the Swiss company's price. Even 50% higher prices, one and half frank per one kilogram sugar would not be accepted as serious. Because of export permission would not be accessible to any merchant; the Swiss company's claim to Bern Embassy became idle. No one could export this sugar.¹⁰² Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed about this situation to Minister of Interior Talat Bey on 6 September 1916.¹⁰³ Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that his

¹⁰¹ "Mevzubahis şekerin mubayaa idilüb idilmeyeceği hakkında mümkün olduğu kadar kısa bir müddet zarfında cevab itası lazım geleceği ve aksi halde şekerlerin ahire fûruht idileceği Bern Sefaret-i seniyyesinin..." BOA HR.İD 1272/81. 29 July 1916.

¹⁰² "...yetmiş dokuz vagon şekerin hükümet-i seniyye hesabına mubayaasıyla ihracına müsaade itası hakkındaki teşebbüsât-ı sabıka tahriren tecdid idildiği gibi şifahen dahi haftada bir iki defa tekîd olunduğu halde bu güne kadar cevab-ı muvafık alınmamışdır en son müracaat-ı mahsusaya virilen cevab-ı şifahide talebimizin kabil-i tervic olmadığı ve derdest-i icra bulunan tahkikatın hitamını müteakib yazılacak cevabın menfi olacağı ve çünkü mezkûr şeker sendika haricinde ve kaçak suretle... bulunduğu ve bir değil hatta bir buçuk franga dahi vuku bulacak tekliflerin ciddi telakki idilmemesi lazım geleceği beyan olunmuşdur... ihrac müsaadesinin istihsali mümkün olamayacağı ve şekerin ahire fûruhtı hakkında Bern Sefaret-i seniyyesine vaki olan ifadenin ehemmiyetten ari olduğu ve çünkü herkim mubayaa idecek olsa ihrac idemeyeceği..." BOA HR.İD 1272/89. 30 August 1916.

¹⁰³ BOA HR.İD 1272/90. 24 Ağustos 1332, 6 September 1916.

government would not currently permit export permission for such a large amount of sugar.¹⁰⁴

4-5) OFFERS OF OLIVE OIL FOR SUGAR IMPORTATION

Within the war conditions barter could be a good option to merchants. Thus, both nations could meet their needs. In first example, one merchant presented its demand to Ministry of Interior. This merchant wanted to import ten wagons sugar from Austria, in return for five wagons olive oil exportation. Ministry of Interior diverted this demand to Ministry of Trade and Agriculture, because of relevancy of this institution.¹⁰⁵

Another more detailed example was given for social institutions. Ministry of Pious Foundations (Evkâf Nezareti) demanded the importation of 20,000 or 30,000 okkas sugar, for the needs of Bezmi Âlem Valide Sultan Hospital and some other social institutions on 11 June 1916. In return for this, 60,000 okkas olive oil would be exported to Austro-Hungarian Empire. Council of Ministers found appropriate this offer and gave positive answer to Ministry of Pious Foundations.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ "...şu aralık böyle külli miktarda şeker ihrac itdirilmeyeceğine dair Avusturya Macaristan Hariciye Nezaretinden..." BOA HR.İD 1273/2. 27 September 1916.

¹⁰⁵ "Avusturyadan on vagon şeker celb itmek şartıyla beş vagon zeytun yağı ihrac eylesmesine müsaade itası istidasına dair virilen arzuhali aidiyeti cihetiyle..." BOA DH.İ.U.M 77 2/1 19. 1 Mayıs 1332, 14 May 1916.

¹⁰⁶ "Bezmi Âlem Valide Sultan Hastahanesi ile imarât ve hayrât-ı şerifeye muktezi yirmi binden otuz bin kıyyeye kadar şekerin celb ve idhali mukabilinde altmış bin kıyye zeytun yağının Avusturya ve Macaristana ihracına müsaade itası istizanına... dair Evkâf-ı Hümayun Nezareti Vekâletinin 29 Mayıs 1332 tarihli tezkiresi... tensib idildiğinin devair-i müteallikaya tebliğine ve vekâlet-i müşarünileyhaya bu suretle cevab..." BOA MV 202/67. 17 Şaban 1334, 5 Haziran 1332, 18 June 1916.

4-6) MERCHANTS' INDIVIDUAL ATTEMPTS TO IMPORT SUGAR FROM AUSTRIA

Sugar had great demand in the Ottoman Empire, because of war conditions. Many merchants continuously tried to import sugar from Austria. But granting exportation permission from Austria was not very easy in that time. Alfred Azvesend named merchant from Austrian Brasov city purchased 50 wagons sugar from different factories. His partner Alfred Alberti from İstanbul Galata Aleksiyadi Inn gave petition to Ottoman government. He requested to help of Ottoman officials for obtaining importation permission from Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁰⁷

For Austrian sugar, Ottoman Ministry of Trade and Agriculture granted six month lasted importation licenses to merchants. Three examples were shown for this issue among merchants of İstanbul. First merchant Sabur Bey, probably man or partner of Alfred Alberti, demanded permission from Ministry of Trade and Agriculture. He would import 50 wagons sugar from Austria. Sabur Bey committed that this amount of sugar would be consumed and sold only within the Ottoman Empire. Because he strongly guaranteed this issue, ministry granted six month lasted importation license to him on 13 July 1916. Ministry of Trade and Agriculture informed Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Vienna Embassy should make necessary attempts in front of Austro-Hungarian government for sugar importation.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ “Avusturyada Braşov şehrinde mukim tüccardan Mösyö Alfred Azvesend muhtelif fabrika mamulâtı olmak üzere mubayaa itdiği elli vagon şekerin ihracına Avusturya Macaristan hükümetinden müsaade istihsali ricasını havi olarak Galatada Aleksiyadi Hanında tüccardan Alfred Alberti tarafından virilen arzuhal...” BOA HR.İD 1272/80. 23 Haziran 1332, 6 July 1916.

¹⁰⁸ “...Sabur Bey Avusturyadan celb ideceği elli vagon şekerini tamamen Memalik-i Osmaniye dâhilinde sarf ve fûruht eyleyeceğini nezaret-i aciziye teminat-ı kaviye itasıyla taahhüd itdiğinden yedine altı ay müddetle muteber olmak üzere 30 Haziran 1332 tarihli bir vesika virilmiş olmağla bu babda Avusturya Macaristan hükümeti nezdinde teşebbüsât icrası hususunun Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesine tebliğ...” BOA HR.İD 1272/83. 12 Ramazan 1334, 30 Haziran 1332, 13 July 1916.

Another merchant Nesim İlya Fresko Efendi demanded permission from Ministry of Trade and Agriculture. He would import 10 wagons sugar from Austria. Nesim İlya Fresko Efendi promised that this amount of sugar would be consumed and sold only within the Ottoman Empire. Because he firmly guaranteed this issue, ministry granted six month lasted importation license to him on 29 July 1916. Ministry of Trade and Agriculture informed Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Vienna Embassy should make necessary arrangements in front of Austro-Hungarian government for the importation of this sugar.¹⁰⁹

Third example merchant Hayri Bey demanded permission from Ministry of Trade and Agriculture. He would import 20 wagons sugar from Austria. Like other merchants, Hayri Bey promised that this amount of sugar would be consumed and sold only within the Ottoman Empire. Because he firmly guaranteed this issue, ministry granted six month lasted importation license to him on 15 August 1916. Ministry of Trade and Agriculture informed Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Vienna Embassy should make necessary arrangements for this importation, in front of Austro-Hungarian government.¹¹⁰

109 “...tüccardan Nesim İlya Fresko Efendi Avusturya Macaristandan celb ideceği on vagon şekeri tamamen Memalik-i Osmaniye dâhilinde sarf ve fûruht eyleyeceğini nezaret-i aciziye teminat-ı kaviye itasıyla taahhüd itdiğinden yedine 16 Temmuz 1332 tarihinde altı ay müddetle muteber olmak üzere bir kıta vesika virilmiş olmağla bu babda Avusturya ve Macaristan hükümeti nezdinde teşebbüsât icrası hususunun Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesine işar buyurulması...” BOA HR.İD 1272/86. 10 Şevval 1334, 28 Temmuz 1332, 10 August 1916.

110 “...tüccardan Hayri Bey Avusturya ve Macaristandan celb ideceği yirmi vagon şekeri tamamen Memalik-i Osmaniye dâhilinde sarf ve fûruht eyleyeceğini nezaret-i aciziye teminat-ı kaviye itasıyla taahhüd itdiğinden yedine altı ay müddetle muteber olmak üzere 2 Ağustos 1332 tarihli bir kıta vesika virilmiş olmağla bu babda Avusturya ve Macaristan hükümeti nezdinde teşebbüsât icrası hususunun Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesine tebliğ ve işar buyurulması...” BOA HR.İD 1272/87. 15 Şevval 1334, 2 Ağustos 1332, 15 August 1916.

4-7) REPLY OF HÜSEYİN HİLMİ PASHA TO THE INCREASING DEMANDS OF SUGAR IMPORTERS

Increasing local prices encouraged Ottoman merchants to import sugar from Austro-Hungarian Empire. But Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha explained his reservations, about this issue. First of all, Austrian officials formally and repetitively offered that Ottoman merchants must vary their commercial sources. These merchants should apply to other ally and neutral states for their demanded goods. Secondly, so many Ottoman merchants had been working currently in Vienna. They tried to establish commercial linkages. Although some merchants requested state support, Ottoman sugar importers were not just limited with only them. Hundreds of merchants applied to Austrian officials to import caustic soda and sugar. Their demands had been exceeded the reasonable level. Ottoman merchants demanded to import 3000 wagons sugar from Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹¹¹

Finally, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha complained that Ottoman merchants' great demand caused rapid increases in sugar prices. Austro-Hungarian banks largely profited from this demand. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha mentioned sugar prices of Austria. 100 kilograms sugar had been sold 40-50 kronen. Retail price of one kilogram sugar was one krone in Vienna. Although these lower prices, Austrian banks and cartels benefited from this huge demand. They sold 100 kilograms sugar to the Ottoman Empire for 300-400 kronen.¹¹²

¹¹¹ "...Osmanlı tacirlerinin Avusturya Macaristana hasr-ı mutalibe itmeyüb müttelik ve bitaraf memleketlerden de eşya tedarik itmeleri lazım geleceğini resmen ve mükerreren beyan itmekte olduklarından... Osmanlı tacirlerin adedi ve mütalibatı nezaret-i celilelerinden vuku bulan tebligata münhasır kalmayub burada yüzlerce tacir müracaat ve ekseriyet-i azamisi soda ile şeker hasr-ı emel ve ticaret itdiğinden bunların talep ve arzuları madde-i kabil-i isaf olamayacak bir dereceye vasıl oluyor şeker ihracına müteallik müstedyatın yeküni üç bin... vagonı tecavüz itmektedir..." BOA HR.İD 1273/1. 22 September 1916.

¹¹² "...Avusturya Macaristan bankaları tasavvur fevkinde müstefid idilmektedir şekerinde yüz kilosu kırk elli korondan ibaret olduğu ve Viyanada kilosu bir korona satıldığı halde yine tüccarımızın tehalik-i ifratkâranelerini Avusturya bankalarıyla sendikaları fırsat itihaz iderek Memalik-i Osmaniyeye ihrac idilecek şekerin yüz

4-8) DOCUMENT OBTAINING OBLIGATION FOR SUGAR MERCHANTS

War conditions caused enormous shortages in many goods, because of drastically diminishing foreign trade. Under these conditions, existing trade with ally countries obtained great importance. But Ministry of Foreign Affairs determined some inappropriate practices. Embassies should not interest with granting export permission. Ministry of Trade and Agriculture prepared foreign trade documents for the merchants within the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman government granted these documents for meeting the basic needs of Ottoman people. When Ottoman government granted a document, officials demanded that these imported goods must be consumed within the Ottoman Empire. In order to provide this demand, document holder merchants must deposit guarantee money to government. But some merchants found an escaping way from this responsibility. Many merchants went to Berlin and Vienna and applied directly to these embassies. Thus, they obtained export permission from the embassies without depositing guarantee money. In this point, Ministry of Foreign Affairs explained the drawback of situation. Because these merchants did not deposit guarantee money, they did not struggle to transport these goods to the Ottoman Empire. They sold their merchandises for a small profit to the merchants of other countries. This practice did not bring a solution for severe needs of Ottoman people. Ottoman government planned to block this practice. Every merchant must bring their goods to the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman government demanded from every merchant to pay guarantee money, in any case. If these merchants had a partner in İstanbul, this partner must apply to Ministry of Trade and Agriculture for obtaining foreign trade documents. If these merchants did not have a partner, they would pay guarantee money to the embassies. Later, these merchants would apply to Ministry of Trade and Agriculture via kilosını üç dört yüz korona isad itmişlerdir...” BOA HR.İD 1273/1. 22 September 1916.

embassies for obtaining required document. Merchants could only apply for export permission, after completing mentioned procedure. Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested that this practice should be accepted as customary procedure by Ottoman government.¹¹³

4-9) NAVAL BLOCKADE OF ENTENTE STATES TO THE OTTOMAN MERCHANTS

Long before the Ottoman Empire entered World War I, British and French Navies commenced to blockade the Ottoman coasts in Eastern Mediterranean, since the summer of 1914. When the war actually started, they tightened the blockade. Officially announcement of this practice was happened one year later, by the British on 2 June 1915 and the French on 27 August 1915. With this blockade, British naval forces stepped up their efforts to starve the people of the area. They wanted to get the population into submission, by causing increasing food shortages and the resulting famine and disease.¹¹⁴

This blockade also affected the sugar merchants. Çorbacı Abidin Efendi from the merchants of Aleppo made a contract for sugar importation with Es-Seyyid Beşir Budakçı. Beşir Budakçı

¹¹³ "...ihrac müsaadelerinin istihsali için yine sefarât-ı seniyyenin meşgul olmamaları icab itmekde olub ancak Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezaret-i celilesince burada tacirlere virilmekde olan vesikalar memleketin en mübrem ihtiyacâtı için ve Memalik-i Osmaniyyede sarf olunacağı teminat-ı kaviyesiyle meşrut olduğu halde bir takım tacirlerin Berlin ve Viyanaya giderek doğrudan doğruya sefarât-ı seniyyeye müracaatla ihrac müsaadesi istihsal itmeleri buradaki tacirlerin bu hususda itasına mecbur oldukları teminat akçesinden kurtulmalarını... teminatsız ihrac müsaadesi istihsal iden tacirlerin aldıkları emvali Memalik-i Osmaniyyeye kadar getirmeksizin cüzi bir kârla yolda diğer memalik tacirlerine satdıkları da anlaşıldığı cihetle bu gibi yolsuzluk... öni alınmak üzere badema tüccarın sefarât-ı seniyyeye müracaatdan evvel İstanbulda şerikleri varsa anlar vasıtasıyla Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezaret-i celilesinden vesika istihsal itmeleri ve İstanbulda şeriki olmayanların teminat-ı matlubeyi oraca ifa itdikden ve sefaret-i seniyye vasıtasıyla vesika-i mutade Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezaret-i celilesinden istihsal olunduktan sonra ihrac talebi teşebbüsünde bulunmalarının Hükümet-i seniyyece usul ittihaz buyurulmasını..." BOA HR.İD 1273/6. 27 Kanunuevvel 1332, 9 January 1917.

¹¹⁴ Stanford J. Shaw, *The Ottoman Empire in World War I*, Vol. II, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2008, p. 1237.

would bring this sugar from Trieste and Fiume in between 5 October-5 November 1914 to December 1914-January 1915. Sugar consignment would be practiced to one of the ports of İskenderun, Beirut or Tripoli. But Contractor Beşir Budakçı did not deliver mentioned sugar. He justified this behavior with the war conditions. Sugar would be accepted as war booty. The contractor could not keep his promise, under these conditions. But lawyer of Abidin Efendi objected these claims. The contractor had ability to deliver mentioned sugar according to agreed timeline. The contractor would plan to import sugar from Adriatic Sea ports of Trieste and Fiume. These ports were located in between Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy. Within the determined timeline, these two states were not at war. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire was neutral at the beginning. Although the first date of contract was 5 October, Russia declared war in 4 November and Great Britain and France in 5 November to the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁵ The contractor could bring sugar this one month lasted period.¹¹⁶

On the other hand, 16 April 1856 dated Declaration of Paris could not be accepted as an excuse for unfulfilling conditions of the contract. The Declaration guaranteed the rights of neutral states. The declaration expanded the freedom of neutral trade in wartime to an unprecedented degree. It also put great limits on a belligerent's

¹¹⁵ Ahmet Emin Yalman, **Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Türkiye**, tra. Birgen Keşoğlu, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2019, p. 91.

¹¹⁶ "Haleb tüccarından Çorbacı Abidin Efendi ile şeker tüccarından Es-Seyyid Beşir Budakçı arasında mütehaddis ve Trieste Fiumeden ba-celb 5 Teşrinievvel 5 Teşrinisani 1914den Kânunuevvel-i Kânunusani 1915 tarihlerinde İskenderun, Beyrut, Trablusşam iskelelerinin birinde teslimi ba-mukavelename meşrut şeker münazaasına müteallik davanın istinafen esna-yı rüyet ve tedkikinde hal-i harbin tahdisi ve şekerin harb kaçağı addolunması hasebiyle hükm-ü mukavelenamenin ifası gayri mümkün bulunduğuy bayi-i müteahhid tarafından müdafaaten beyan ve müdde-i müşteri canibinden dahi şekerin teslimi meşrut olan müddet zarfında Avusturya ve Macaristan devleti ile İtalya hükümeti arasında hal-i harb mevcut olmamağla beraber Devlet-i Osmaniye dahi o vakit hal-i bitarafide bulunduğundan bahisle şekerin mezkûr limanlardan celbi kabil idüğü..." BOA HR.UHM 191/2. 18 Şevval 1334, 5 Ağustos 1332, 18 August 1916.

right to search or seize neutral vessels.¹¹⁷ Under these conditions, the contractor could bring mentioned sugar with neutral states like USA and Italy. Especially in the beginning, merchant vessels of neutral states could transport commercial goods from Trieste and Fiume to Ottoman coasts. In this point lawyer of Abidin Efendi tried to strength his arguments with every possible detail. Did enemy states France and England put blockade Trieste and Fiume ports, whenever Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war to Serbia? He also questioned the transportation possibilities of neutral Ottomans goods with neutral states' trade vessels from these two ports to the port of İskenderun, Beirut or Tripoli. His last question was about the belligerents' right of confiscation. Did warring states have right to confiscate this sugar, if other neutral states accepted to transport neutral Ottoman citizens' goods. The lawyer requested the answers of these three questions from both Embassy of Austro-Hungarian Empire and Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹¹⁸

Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed about Italian blockade over Austrian coasts. Italian blockade started on 26 May 1915.

¹¹⁷ Jan Martin Lemnitzer, “‘That Moral League of Nations against the United States’: The Origins of the 1856 Declaration of Paris”, **the International History Review**, Vol. XXXV, Issue: 5, 2013, p. 1068.

¹¹⁸ “ve harb kaçacağı kavaidini mutazammın olan 1856 tarihli Paris beyannamesinde bu babda bir memnuiyet kaydını havi olmadığı ve zaman davadan bir müddet sonraya kadar İtalya Amerika ve sair bitaraf devletler sefain-i ticariyesi Trieste ve Fiume ile sevhil-i Osmaniye arasında seyir ve sefer ile eşya-yı ticariye nakil eyledikleri dermeyan kılınmasına binaen Avusturya ve Macaristan devletinin Sırbistan hükümetine ilan-ı harb itdiğini müteakib devlet-i müşarünileyhaya karşı ilan-ı husumet iden Fransa ve İngiltere devletlerinin marüz-zıkr Trieste ve Fiume limanlarını abluka altına alub almadıklarının ve Devlet-i Aliye-i Osmaniye'nin bitaraflığını muhafaza itdiği müddetce bitaraf devletler sefain-i ticariyesinin atfüz-zıkr iki limandan Beyrut, Trablusşam ve İskenderun iskelelerine mevâdd-ı gıdayeden ve harb kaçacağı cümlesinden idüğü nezaret-i celilelerinden işar kılınan şekerin naklini kabul idüb itmediklerinin kabul itdikleri takdirde muhasım devletlerin böyle bitaraf devlet tebaasına aid şekerî müsadereye hakları olub olmadığıнын istilamı kararı mahkeme iktizasından bulunduğu beyanıyla keyfiyetin Avusturya ve Macaristan sefaretiyle nezaret-i celilelerinden bit-tahkik inbası...” BOA HR.UHM 191/2. 18 Şevval 1334, 5 Ağustos 1332, 18 August 1916.

Italian government blockaded all Austrian coasts from Italian border in north to Montenegro in south. This blockade was also included all ports and gulfs of Islands Bay in Adriatic Sea. Embassy of Rome informed this event on 31 May 1915. Vienna Embassy gave same information on 15 June 1915. Although Italian blockade was clearly understood, fate of English and French activities kept their ambiguities. Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not have information about the existence of French and English blockade over Trieste and Fiume ports. The ministry also did not have any knowledge about the sugar transportation facilities of other neutral states, during Ottoman government maintaining its neutrality.¹¹⁹

Ottoman Trieste Consulate informed Ottoman Vienna Embassy about the execution of sea trade. After the Austro-Hungarian announcement of war to Serbia, the Ottoman Empire kept its neutrality for a while. Italian and Greek commercial vessels maintained naval trade transactions of Trieste port, during this neutrality. With this two neutral states' commercial vessels, 675,120 kilograms of sugar was transported to Ottoman ports. From this sum, there were transportation 554,320 kilograms to İzmir, 110,720 kilograms to İstanbul and 10,080 kilograms to Jaffa. In addition to this specifically Ottoman oriented transportation, there were two probable shipments to which could be directed to Syrian ports. From Trieste, approximately one million kilogram to Venice and nine million kilogram sugar to Greece were exported. These sugars could be transit diverted to Syrian ports. But Ottoman

¹¹⁹ “İtalya hükümeti tarafından şimalen İtalya hududı ile cenuben Karatağ hududı arasındaki Avusturya sevahiline Atalar Körfezi limanları ve koyları dahi dâhil olmak üzere 26 Mayıs 1915 tarihinden itibaren abluka vaz idilmiş olduğu Roma Sefaret-i seniyyesinden 31 Mayıs 1915 tarih... ve kezalik Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesinin 15 Haziran 1915 tarih... tahriratından müstefad olmakda ise de... Fransa ve İngiltere devletlerinin Trieste ve Fiumeyi abluka altına aldıklarına dair nezaret-i celîleleri evrakında bir kayda tesadüf idilmemiş olmağla... Devlet-i Aliyye bitaraflığını muhafaza itdiği müddetce bitaraf devletler sefain-i ticariyesinin... şeker nakil idebilmiş olub olmadıklarının ba-tahkik işarı...” BOA HR.UHM 191/2. 11 Eylül 1332, 24 September 1916.

Trieste Consulate could not have very clear information about this issue. As to Fiume port, the consulate thought that there were not any commercial relations in between Fiume and Ottoman coasts, during the mentioned period. Probably, there were not any canalized shipments to the Ottoman Empire.¹²⁰ Although this information was shown about sugar transportation, no information could be obtained about the outcome of court, in between with Çorbacı Abidin Efendi and Es-Seyyid Beşir Budakçı.

¹²⁰ “...Avusturya Macaristanın Sırbistana ilan-ı harbini müteakib ve Hükümet-i seniyye bitaraflığını muhafaza itdiği müddetce Triestenin muamelât-ı ticariye-i bahriyesinin yalnız İtalyan ve Yunan sefain-i ticariyesi tarafından temin idilmekte idi müddet-i mezkûra zarfında işbu iki bitaraf hükümet sefain-i ticariyesi vasıtasıyla toğrıdan toğrıya Memalik-i Osmaniye limanlarına ceman yekûn 675120 kilogram şeker nakl idilmiştir bu mikdar üzerinden 110720 kilosu Dersaadete 554320 kilosu İzmire ve 10080 kilosu Yafaya aiddir fakat Venedik limanına sevk idilmiş olan takriben bir milyon ve Yunanistana ihrac idilen takriben tokuz milyon kilogram şekerden bir kısmının transit suretle bilahire Suriye sevahiline sevk idilmiş olması dahi muhtemel ise de bu cihetin buraca tahkiki mümkün olamamıştır Fiumeye gelince bu limanın müddet-i mezkûra zarfındaki muamelât-ı ticariye-i bahriyesi bahusus sevahil-i Osmaniye ile tamamıyla sakit olmuş add idilebilir...” BOA HR.UHM 191/2. 8 November 1916.

4-10) SUGAR DEMANDS FROM PROVINCES AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Other than İstanbul, provinces in Anatolia also suffered from sugar shortages during World War I. Some Anatolian trade houses organized to meet this demand. They declared that almost all importable sugar was allocated to the needs of İstanbul. There was nothing to spare for Anatolian provinces. On the other hand, sugar prices were skyrocketed in İstanbul. Merchants demanded 25-30 liras for 100 kilograms sugar. These trade houses applied to Vienna Embassy to solve this problem. They promised to sell sugar with reasonable profit of 25 to 30%. They would give priority for supplying sugar to provincial municipalities. For the name of these trade houses, Vienna Embassy obtained importation permission for 200 wagons sugar. They would offer 100 kilograms sugar to Anatolian municipalities for 12.5 liras. These trade houses demanded this price as a Sirkeci train station delivery. All other expenditures would be paid by demanding municipalities. The trade houses gave letter of undertaking that they would not give up from this offer. After this undertaking, Vienna Embassy asked that willing municipalities would inform them about the demanding quantity of sugar.¹²¹

¹²¹ “Vilayât-ı şahanede şekerin fikdanından hâsıl olan ıztırabı mümkün mertebe tahfife hizmet itmek mukteza-yı vezâif-i vatanperveriden olduğu ve Memalik-i Şahaneye idhal olunmak üzere ihrac müsaadesi istihsal olunan şekerlerin hemân suret-i umumiyede Dersaadet ihtiyacâtına hasr ile vilâyâta hiç bir şey ifraz ve irsal kılınmadığı ve Dersaadete de beher yüz kiloluk çuvalın yirmi beş otuz lira derecesinde gayet fahiş fiyatlarla satıldığı nazar-ı dikkate alınarak badema ihrac müsaadesi için sefaret-i seniyyeye müracaat idecek tüccarın alacakları şekeri nihayet yüzde yirmi beş otuz derecesinde bir temettü-i makule ile evvel be-evvel vilayât devair-i belediyesine muayyen bir fiyatla fûruht ideceklerine dair... beş ticarethane namına bu kere müsaadesi derdest-i istihsal bulunan iki yüz vagon şekerin Sirkeci istasyonunda kaffe-i mesarifi ve hasarı kendilerine aid olmak üzere yüz kiloluk bir çuvalı on iki buçuk liraya vilayât belediyelerine teklif ve fûruht ideceklerine dair yedlerinden tahiren taahhüdname alınmış olmağla vilayet-i cefileleri devair-i belediyesi için şekere ihtiyac olduğu ve iştirası tensib buyurulduğu takdirde münasib mikdarın ifrazı ve kendilerine tebliğat-ı lazıme ifası...” BOA HR.ID 1273/13. 18 December 1916.

Orphanages also suffered from sugar shortages. Darüleytam was founded as an orphanage administration on 25 November 1914. After the outbreak of World War I; English, French and Italians left their schools and dormitories. Many children became abandoned. Ongoing wars increased the number of orphans. The Ottoman Empire established this institution to help the needy children.¹²² For the necessities of its boy and girl students and pharmacies, Darüleytam administration needed 10 wagons sugar. This institution appointed Mahmud Alâeddin Bey to bring this sugar from Austria. Darüleytam administration committed that this 10 wagons sugar would be completely consumed within the Ottoman Empire. Because Darüleytam administration strongly guaranteed this commitment, Ministry of Trade and Agriculture granted import license to this institution. From the beginning of January 1917, this license would be valid for six months. Ministry of Trade and Agriculture requested that Vienna Embassy would make some attempts in front of Austrian government about this demand.¹²³

On the other hand, other boarding schools of İstanbul also needed sugar. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha evaluated the demands of Ministry of Education (Maarif Nezareti). Different contractors' demands reached 40 wagons sugar, for the name of this ministry. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha found this requested quantity unrealistic, because Austro-Hungarian Empire also suffered from sugar shortages. The empire set some limits for the local consumption of

¹²² Hidayet Y. Nuhoglu, "Darüleytam", *DİA*, Vol. VIII, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul 1993, p. 521.

¹²³ "Darüleytam talebe ve talibatıyla eczahaneleri için dar-ı mezkûr memurlarından Mahmud Alâeddin Bey marifetiyle Avusturyadan celb idilecek on vagon şekerin tamamen Memalik-i Osmaniyyede sarf ve istihlak olunacağı Darüleytam müdiriyet-i umumiyesi canibinden nezaret-i aciziye teminat-ı kaviye itasıyla taahhüd idildiğinden Kânunuevvel 1332 tarihinden altı ay müddetle muteber olmak üzere bir kıta vesika virilmiş olmağla husus-ı mezkûr hakkında Avusturya hükümeti nezdinde teşebbüsât icrası hususunun Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesine işar buyurulması..." BOA HR.İD 1273/7. 7 Rebiülevvel 1335, 19 Kanunuevvel 1332, 1 January 1917.

sugar. For the needs of Darüleytam and boarding schools, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha offered a plausible plan and much lower quantity. Other than İstanbul, Anatolian provinces also strongly needed sugar. For the consumption of these provinces, their municipalities had repetitively applied to Austro-Hungarian government. After six months lasted struggles, municipalities' merchants succeeded to obtain importation permission for some amount of sugar. In this point, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha offered that 20 wagons should be allocated from this sugar to the needs of institutions of Ministry of Education. 100 kilograms sugar would be valued 12.5 Ottoman liras. Ministry of Education would pay same price as province municipalities. This price included also transportation cost up to İstanbul. After completing necessary warnings to related people, worth of 20 wagons sugar would be transferred to Austro-Hungarian bank as Ottoman liras. After this transfer, the bank would convert liras to cronen. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha ended his words that 25,000 liras must be sent for the worth and cost of 20 wagons sugar. After this transfer, dealers would send mentioned sugar to İstanbul.¹²⁴

After the demands of Ministry of Education and provincial municipalities, sugar importation possibilities attracted İstanbul branch of İzmir Teshilat Company.¹²⁵ Anatolian provinces suffered

¹²⁴ "...nezaret-i müşarünileyha namına müteaddid müteahhidler marifetiyle alınacak şekerin mikdarı kırk vagona baliğ olmuştur. Avusturya Macaristanda şekerin killetinden tolayı istihlakât-ı dâhiliyenin bile ne derecelerde taklil idildiği... Mamafih Darüleytamın ve Mekatib-i Leyliyenin tehvin-i ihtiyacına çare... vilayat belediyeleri için altı aydan beri müracaat-ı mükerrere ile bazı tüccar namına müsaadesi alınan şekerden yirmi vagonun Dersaadete kadar mesarif-i nakliyesi dâhil olduğu halde vilayat belediyeleri için tekerrür iden fiyatla yani yüz kilosu on iki buçuk lira bedel ile nezaret-i müşarünileyha idaresindeki müessesâta tefrik ve itası tensib olunarak icab idenlere ihtarât-ı lazıme ifa idildikten ve esmânının Avusturya Macaristan bankasına Osmanlı lirası olarak havalesi ve burada mezkûr banka tarafından korona tahvili... mezkûr yirmi vagonun esmâniyle mesarifi olan yirmi beş bin lira gönderildiği takdirde bayilere bit-teslim şekerin sevkine ibtidar itdirilmek mümkündür..." BOA HR.İD 1273/10. 10 February 1917.

¹²⁵ After Crete crisis and later Balkan Wars, there were some boycotts in Aegean region to the Greek owned companies and their goods. This firm was established

from sugar shortages. Sugar demands of these provinces had been continuously increased. This company got news that Vienna Embassy obtained sugar exportation licenses from Austrian government for the name of some firms. According to this news, these sugars were allocated to the needs of Anatolian provinces and their municipalities. These sugars would also be delivered at the Sirkeci train station. İzmir Teshilat Company requested knowledge from Ministry of Interior that this news was true or not. If it was true the company wanted to learn the way of importing these sugars.¹²⁶

After the increasing demand of Anatolian provinces, Vienna Embassy obtained export permission for 200 wagons sugars. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha gave some details about this transportation. First of all, no one applied to import sugar for the name of provincial municipalities. Secondly, high sugar prices attracted new entrepreneurs for importation and exportation business. There were five Muslim trade houses to import this mentioned amount of sugar. Hasan Rıza, Kemal ve şürekası 50 wagons, Kibar Ali ve mahdumları 45 wagons, Kemal Ömer ve şürekası 30 wagons, Rıfat ve mahdumları 45 wagons and Emin Fuad 30 wagons sugar purchased.¹²⁷

within this context. Evren Haspolat, “Meşrutiyetin Üç Halkçılığı ve Kemalist Halkçılığa Etkileri”, *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Vol. XII, Issue: 47, 2011, p. 569.

¹²⁶ “Vilayat ve elviyece şekere pek ziyade lüzum ve ihtiyac gösterilmekte ve mütalibat günden güne tevali ve teşeddüd eylemekte bulunduğu ve bu kere İzmir Teshilat Şirketinin İstanbul şubesi tarafından muti arzuhalde Viyana Sefir-i Kebiri tarafından vilayat ve devair-i belediyesi için bazı ticarethaneler namına şeker ihracı zımında Avusturya Devletinden ruhsat istihsal edilmiş ve bunların Sirkeci istasyonunda teslim olunacağı ifade kılınmış olduğu cihetle bu babda nezaret-i celilelerince malumat mevcut ve ifade-i vakıa sahih bulunduğu takdirde şekerlerin celbi esbabı istikmal...” BOA HR.İD 1273/11. 18 Rebiülahir 1335, 29 Kanunusani 1332, 11 February 1917.

¹²⁷ 1) Vilayât belediyeleri namına şeker mubayaası ve ihrac müsaadesi istihsali için hiçbir taraftan müracaat ve işar vuku bulmamıştır 2) Ahval-i hazırardan bil-istifade Avusturya Macaristanda ticarethane küşad ve idhalat ve ihracat ile iştilal iden Müslüman ticarethanelerden isimleri mefuf pusulada muharrer beş ticarethane Memalik-i Mahruseye sevk ile orada fûruht itmek üzere şeker ihracı için müsaade istihsalini istida itmiş ve müfredatı... muharrer olduğu üzere iki yüz vagon için müsaade alınmıştır. BOA HR.İD 1273/13. 28 February 1917.

Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha explained the continuously increasing sugar prices. Up to the beginning of 1917, Ottoman merchants purchased sugar for maximum ten liras. This price also included the transportation cost up until to İstanbul. But in those days, one okka sugar had been sold in İstanbul up to seventy piasters, according to the visitors who came to Vienna. As a result of these high prices, Darüleytam administration could not provide sugar. In order to provide sugar, some merchants had been in Vienna. Merchant Rıza Bey came to Vienna from İzmir. Deputy Faik Bey and Edirne mayor also tried to obtain sugar from Austrian market. But all of them had to pay extreme prices to provide the needs of their provinces. In this point Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha got their written commitments of five trade houses' representatives for discounted prices. Trade houses would sell sugar to provincial municipalities for one third profit.¹²⁸

After obtaining commitments, Vienna Embassy requested knowledge from the provinces of Aydın, Hüdavendigâr, Konya, Ankara and Edirne. 200 wagons sugar importation permission had been granted for the mentioned trade houses. For the needs of provincial municipalities, these trade houses would sell 100 kilograms sugar from 12.5 liras. Vienna Embassy asked that how much sugar was demanded from these municipalities. There were demands of Edirne 35, İzmir 20, Konya 18 and Hüdavendigâr and

¹²⁸ 3) Şimdiye kadar Osmanlı tacirlerin mubayaa itdikleri şekerin esmâniyle mesarifi Dersaadete kadar on lirayı tecavüz itmediği halde bir kıyye şekerin Dersaadetde yetmiş guruşa kadar satıldığı gelüb gidenlerin ifadâtından maatteessüf sebat olmasına Darüleytama gelince oralarda şeker tedariki külliyyen mümkün olmadığı anlaşılmasına ve geçende İzmirden Viyanaya gelen tacir Rıza Bey ile Edirne Belediyesi namına hareket iden mebus Faik ve Edirne Belediye reisi beyefendilerin de mezkûr vilayetlere sevk itdikleri şekerleri gali fiyatlarla mubayaaya mecbur olmalarına... kendi namlarına müsaadesi alınacak şekerî sülüs derecesinde bir temettü ile vilayât belediyelerine fûruht ideceklerine sefaret-i seniyyeye tahriren taahhüdde bulunmaları mezkûr ticarethanelerin vekillerine teklif ve muvafakatleri istihsal olunmuş idi. BOA HR.İD 1273/13. 28 February 1917.

Ankara provinces 10 wagons sugar. A total of 93 wagons of sugar were wanted to purchase, by municipalities.¹²⁹

After these 93 wagons sugar, trade houses would freely sell remaining 107 wagons sugar. But some other governmental institutions; boarding schools of Ministry of Education, Darüleytam, Ministry of Pious Foundations, medical institution and civil servants of Ministry of Foreign Affairs also needed sugar. Trade houses would have to sell 25 wagons to Ministry of Education, four wagons to Ministry of Pious Foundations, three wagons to Ottoman Imperial Treasury Department (Hazine-i Hassa), two wagons to one wing of Ottoman Parliament (Âyân Meclisi) and two wagons to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Apart from these 36 wagons, trade houses could freely sell 71 wagons sugar. If provincial municipalities would demand remaining sugar, trade houses had to sell all of them. Vienna Embassy asked from Ministry of Interior that would require allocating how much sugar to which municipalities.¹³⁰

Within the war conditions, communication in between trade houses and provincial municipalities could be performed with some difficulties. In order to provide easiness in mercantile

¹²⁹ 4) İşbu muvafakat istihsalinden sonra Aydın, Hüdavendigar, Konya, Ankara ve Edirne vilayetlerine yazılan... tahrirat-ı acizide mezkûr ticarethaneler namına müsaadesi alınan iki yüz vagon şekeri vilayât belediyelerine muayyen fiyat ile yani yüz kilosu on iki buçuk lira bedel ile fûruht itmeğe istihsal-i muvafakat idildiğinden bahisle ne mikdar şekere ihtiyacları olduğu sual idilmiş ve alınan cevaplarda Edirne vilayeti otuz beş ve İzmir vilayeti yirmi ve Hüdavendigar ile Ankara vilayetleri onar ve Konya vilayeti de on sekiz ki ceman toksan üç vagonı mubayaa ideceklerini bildirmişler idi. BOA HR.İD 1273/13. 28 February 1917.

¹³⁰ 5) Vilayetlerce talep olunan salifüz-zikr toksan üç vagonun fazla kalan yüz yedi vagonı ticarethaneler serbestce fûruht itmekte bit-tabii muhtar iseler de Maarif Nezareti mekatib-i leylîye ile Darüleytam ve Evkaf Nezareti müessesâtı Tıbbiye ve nezaret-i celîleleri de memurin-i nezaret için şeker mubayaasına lüzum gösterdiklerinden mütebaki yüz yedi vagonun yirmi beşi Maarif ve dördü Evkaf ve üçü Hazine-i Hassa ve ikisi Âyân ve diğer ikisi de nezaret-i celîleleri için tefrik itirilerek bunların baliğ olduğu otuz altı vagonun dahi tenzilinden sonra ticarethanelerde yetmiş bir vagon şeker kalıyor. Belediyeler talib olduğu takdirde tüccar mütebaki yetmiş bir vagonı da belediyelere satmağa müteahhid olduklarından hangi belediyeler namına tahsisi lazım geleceğinin Dâhiliye Nezaret-i celîlesince tayin ve takdir buyurularak neticesinin işarı... BOA HR.İD 1273/13. 28 February 1917.

operations, mentioned trade houses assigned Rıza Kemal Company as representative for their affairs. This company ran its business at Erzurum inn in İstanbul. Representatives of provincial municipalities should apply mentioned company's manager Hasan Rıza Pasha for bargaining and commercial negotiations.¹³¹

Although these convenient prices, some merchants agreed on much higher prices with Austrian sugar factories. 2000 wagons for İstanbul delivery, Austrian factories demanded 354 kronen for 100 kilogram sugar in this order. On the other hand, five trade houses had already agreed for 200 wagons sugar as a price of 100 kilograms 200 kronen. This exorbitant price difference increased the greed of Austrian sugar factories. They put some unrealistic obstacles to the delivery of former 200 wagons sugar. These five trade houses had been struggled for five-six months to obtain importation permission. They spent serious amount of money for this purpose. Vienna Embassy claimed that their duty was the prevention of these trade houses' losses. Vienna Embassy would apply to Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to prevent the inappropriate behavior of Austrian factories, for regaining these trade houses' rights. But in anyway, provincial municipalities and other governmental offices would meet some delays in sugar obtaining.¹³²

¹³¹ 6) Belediyeler ile ticarethaneler arasındaki muamele ve mukavelenin muhabere ile halli müşkil olduğundan mezkûr ticarethaneler belediyelerle müzakere ve akd-i mukaveleye... Dersaadetde Erzurum hanında Rıza Kemal şirketini tevkil itdiklerinden mezkûr şirketin müdiri Hasan Rıza Paşa ile müzakere ve tesviye-i keyfiyet itmelerinin müracaat iden vilayât belediyeleri vekillerine tefhim itmek münasib olur. BOA HR.İD 1273/13. 28 February 1917.

¹³² 7)... anlaşıldığına göre Avusturya şeker fabrikalarıyla Dersaadetde iki bin vagon için beher yüz kilo üç yüz elli dört koron hesabıyla akd-i mukavele olunduğu ve hâlbuki... beş ticarethane namına müsaadesi alınan iki yüz vagon şekerin beher yüz kilosu... iki yüz korona mukavele edilmiş iken İstanbulda gayet fahiş bir fark ile yani üç yüz elli korondan fazla fiyat ile iki bin vagonun mubayaasına muvafakat edilmesi şeker sendikasının arun-ı hasta-i ihtikarını tahrik ederek zikrolunan iki yüz vagonun tesliminde tarik-i teallüle süluk edilmiştir. Beş altı aydan beri istihsal-i müsaade ile uğraşan ve bit-tabii haylice masraf ihtiyarına mecbur olan ticarethanelerinin ızzar itdirmemek vazifemiz icabından olduğu cihetle şeker sendikasının işbu hareket-i gayr-i layıkasından tolayı Hariciye Nezaretine bil-müraca müsaade-i vakıadan istifade itmelerinde ısrar idilecek ve belediyeler ile nezaret-i celilelerine ve devair-i

For the needs of boarding schools of Ministry of Education and Darüleytams, the ministry ordered 2100 sacks granule sugar from Austria via Constanta to İstanbul. The ministry paid all the cost of these sugars. Contracted company from İstanbul Sultan Hamam delivered 1800 sacks sugar to the ministry in different dates. But remaining 300 sacks sugar was not delivered. For this incomplete agreement, the company declared excuse that Austrian government confiscated this shipment. The government pretexted that remaining sugar was not shipped in time. Contracted company obtained this knowledge from the letters of the exporting bank. Ministry of Education did not believe the possibility of this confiscation. The ministry asked the fate of this sugar to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. If Austrian government really confiscated this sugar, Ministry of Foreign Affairs must solve this problem. Austrian officials should not prevent the exportation of the sugar of the ministry to İstanbul.¹³³ Ottoman Vienna Embassy sent the verbal statement of Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to İstanbul on 25 June 1918. According to Austrian officials, the confiscation was really happened. Before everything else, they wanted to learn the place of this event, where either in Austria or in Hungary.¹³⁴

saireye aid şekerlerin teslim ve sevki biz-zarure şimdilik duçarı teehhür olacaktır. BOA HR.İD 1273/13. 28 February 1917.

¹³³ “Mekatib-i leyliye ile Darüleytamlara muktezi şekerî Köstence tarikiye Dersaadete celb itmek üzere... ve esmânını tamamen tediyeye itdikleri iki bin yüz çuval toz şekerin teslimini taahhüd iden Sultan Hamamında... şirketi tarafından bin sekiz yüz çuvalı tevarih-i muhtelifede teslim edilmiş ise de mütebaki üç yüz çuvalına vakt-i muayyeninde kaldırılmadığı bahanesiyle Avusturya hükümetince vaz-ı yed idildiği mezkûr bankadan aldıkları... mektublarda gösterildiği beyanıyla taahhüdlerini ifa idemeyeceklerini bildirmişlerdir nezaret-i âciziye aid bulunan üç yüz çuval şekerle vaz-ı yed idilmesi gayr-i melhuz olmasına binaen salif-ül-arz şekerlere vaz-ı yed idilüb idilmediğinin ve vaz-ı yed idilmiş ise ihracına mümanaat itdirilmeyerek doğrudan doğruya nezaret-i âcizi namına Dersaadete imrârına müsaade idilmesi...” BOA HR.İD 1273/52. 7 Şaban 1336, 18 Mayıs 1334, 18 May 1918.

¹³⁴ “...Avusturya Macaristan Hariciye Nezaretinden varid olan takrir-i şifahide evvel be-evvel mezkûr şekerlere Avusturyada mı, yoksa Macaristanda mı vaz-ı yed idildiğinin bilinmesi lazım geldiği...” BOA HR.İD 1273/54. 16 Ramazan 1336, 25 June 1918.

At the end, Ministry of Education learned the fate of this 300 sacks of sugar. 200 sacks of sugar had been in Hungary Oradea. For this sugar, Hungarian government did not allocate wagon. As to remaining 100 sacks of sugar, Hungarian government provided transportation facility. But Hungarian officials unloaded this sugar from 15805 numbered wagon in Brasov. Later they confiscated this sugar. Exporter Hungarian bank would provide detailed information about this issue. Ministry of Education repeated that Hungarian officials should not block the exportation of these 300 sacks of sugar to İstanbul.¹³⁵

Other than five trade houses, Kastamonu Milli Ticaret Corporation also attempted to bring sugar to its city. This corporation was established on 20 February 1917, with 15 years period and 15,000 liras capital. Kastamonu centered this corporation would engage with commerce, industry and transportation.¹³⁶ The corporation wanted to import sugar, because besides İstanbul, Anatolian provinces also suffered from sugar shortages, during the late periods of World War I. Kastamonu Governor sent telegraph to Ministry of Foreign Affairs about this issue. Kastamonu Milli Ticaret Corporation wanted to bring 10 wagons sugar from Vienna. The governor asked to learn that what would be the price of one okka sugar. The governor also requested the help of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, about bringing mentioned sugar to İstanbul.¹³⁷ Two

¹³⁵ "...mütebaki üç yüz çuvaldan iki yüz çuvalına vagon virilmemesinden tolayı Macaristanın Sarkat prés Grosswardein fabrika deposunda ve yüz çuvalına ise yine Macaristanın Brasso Kronstadt şehrinde 15805 numarolu vagona tahmil idildiği halde vagondan indirilerek hükümetce vaz-ı yed idildiği bit-tahkik anlaşılmış ve mezkûr bankadan bu babda daha ziyade izahat alınacağı tabi bulunmuş olmağla salifü'z-zikr üç yüz çuval şekerin işar-ı sabık vechiyle nezaret-i âcizi namına Dersaadete imrârına mümanaat idilmemesi..." BOA HR.İD 1273/55. 9 Şevval 1336, 18 Temmuz 1334, 18 July 1918.

¹³⁶ Celali Yılmaz, **Osmanlı Anonim Şirketleri**, Scala Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2011, p. 301.

¹³⁷ "Vilayetin şekere olan ihtiyacını tehvin için Kastamonu Milli Ticaret Anonim Şirketi tarafından Viyanadan celbine teşebbüs idilen on vagon şekerin beher kıyyesi

days later, Foreign Affairs Minister Ahmed Nesimi Bey directed this demand to Provisioning General Manager Talat Pasha.¹³⁸

4-11) SUGAR IMPORTATION BY NATIONAL IMPORTATION SCALE INCORPORATED COMPANY

For 2000 wagons sugar importation, National Importation Scale Incorporated Company made an agreement with Austrian Sugar Cartel (Zuckercentrale of Vienna) on 2 February 1917. Minister of Commerce Ahmet Nesimi Bey appointed National Importation Scale Incorporated Company as buyer in this contract. According to this contract, Austrian Sugar Cartel was the only authorized institution to export sugar to the Ottoman Empire from Austro-Hungarian Empire, up to the end of December 1917. As the delayed demand of provincial merchants, İstanbul Embassy of Austro-Hungarian Empire stipulated two conditions. If these two conditions were granted, five trade houses could bring 200 wagons sugar to the Ottoman Empire, according to former agreement. Firstly, Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs must not find contrary to this sale against the agreement of in between Austrian Sugar Cartel and National Importation Scale Incorporated Company. Secondly, the Incorporated Company must send a letter to Vienna for Austrian Sugar Cartel that the corporation would not recognize this 200 wagons sugar sale as disruptive effect over their agreement.¹³⁹

Provisioning General Management purchased 2000 wagons sugar for the needs of İstanbul and provinces' people. From this sugar, Provisioning General Management allocated suitable amount of sugar to the needs of provincial municipalities. Earlier

mahallince kaç guruşa satılmakda olduğunun tahkik ve tesbitiyle Dersaadete nakline müsaade istihsali..." BOA HR.İD 1273/38. 10 Haziran 1333, 10 June 1917.

¹³⁸ BOA HR.İD 1273/38. 12 Haziran 1333, 12 June 1917.

¹³⁹ BOA HR.İD 1273/16. 17 March 1917.

importation permission granted 200 wagons sugars were not brought the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁰

Austrian Sugar Cartel prepared the first delivery of 2000 wagons sugar order. The cartel would send 250 wagons sugar up to the end March 1917. There were determined three refineries that 100 wagons big and roll sugar from Nestonitz, 25 wagons big and roll sugar and 25 wagons sugar in cases and cartons from Rossitz and 25 wagons cube sugar in cases and cartons and 75 wagons granulated and other qualities sugar in bags from Schönpiresen. İstanbul Embassy of Austro-Hungarian Empire reminded the need of special permission taking according to article 14 of the contract. This article provided that the special permits for the shipment of sugar would have to be requested by the buyer from Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Finance and also from Vienna Embassy of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Vienna Embassy had not granted permission yet. If the Embassy would give the necessary instructions, the 250 wagons of sugar can be shipped.¹⁴¹

Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha criticized the permission imposition of Austrian Sugar Cartel to his embassy. He did not have any information about the legal status and compulsions of the agreement of in between the cartel and National Importation Scale Incorporated Company. On the other hand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not notify the Embassy. Under these circumstances, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha could not officially approved this agreement. He also warned that there was no need to panic about sugar shortages in the Ottoman Empire. Formerly, İstanbul Municipality purchased 350 wagons sugar from Austria. This sugar party had not delivered yet. In addition, National

¹⁴⁰ "...iki bin vagon şeker İaşe-i Umumiye merkez heyetince Dersaadet ve taşra ahalişi ihtiyacâtı için mubayaa idilmiş ve bundan münasib mikdarının heyet-i müşarünileyhaca vilayât ve elviye devair belediyesine irsali mukarrer bulunmuş ve sefaret-i seniyyece belediyelere virilmek şartıyla ihracına ruhsat istihsal kılınan şekerlerin ihrac idilmediği ve buraya gelmediği..." BOA HR.İD 1273/18. 28 Cemaziyelevvel 1335, 22 Mart 1333, 22 March 1917.

¹⁴¹ BOA HR.İD 1273/19. 28 March 1917.

Importation Scale Incorporated Company purchased more than 800 wagons sugar past year. From this amount, 300 wagons sugar had been on the way to the Ottoman Empire, at the moment.¹⁴²

National Importation Scale Incorporated Company had sugar importation monopoly, for the rest of 1917. Ministry of Postage, Telegraph and Telephone (Posta, Telgraf ve Telefon Nezareti) wanted to purchase 60,000 kilograms sugar via İstanbul branch of Hungary Bank. The ministry demanded this sugar for the name of its solidarity box. But Austro-Hungarian Finance Ministry declared that this ministry could not separately obtain exportation permission. According to 16th article of the contract of in between Austrian Sugar Cartel and National Importation Scale Incorporated Company, mentioned amount sugar could be sold, only within the agreed amount of 2000 wagons. Ottoman government could obtain exportation permission only by diplomacy.¹⁴³

¹⁴² "...beyan buyurulan ve mahiyeti mechulim olan usul-i mevzuanın hangi daire tarafından ve hangi salahiyet-i kanuniyeye ve ne dürlü esbab ve ilcaata müsteneden ittihaz ve sefaret-i seniyyeye hangi tarihlerde tebliğ ve tekrar olunduğının izah buyurulmasını temenni eylerim. ...Memleketin şekeriz kaldığından bahse ve izhar-ı telaşe asla mahal yokdur. Evvelce işar olunduğı üzere Şehremanetin Avusturyadan elyevm sevk idilmemiş üç yüz elli vagon şekerden başka Kantariye Şirketi için sene-i sabıkada mubayaa itdirilen sekiz yüz küsur vagon dan da üç yüz vagon şeker yoldadır." BOA HR.İD 1273/22. 7 April 1917.

¹⁴³ "...Nezaret-i aliyye-i asifaneleri tarafından Macar Bankasının Dersaadet şubesi vasıtasıyla nezaret-i aliyyelerinde müteşekkil muavenet sandığı namına iştır idilmek istenilen altmış bin kilo şeker için Avusturya Macaristan Maliye Nezaretinden ihrac müsaade namesi taleb olunduğı beyan idilmekte ve Avusturya şeker idare-i merkeziyesi ile Milli İdhalat Kantariye Şirketi beyninde münakid mukavelenamenin on altıncı maddesi mucibince matlub altmış bin kilo şekerin salifüz-zıkr Kantariye Şirketine satılmış bulunan mikdara mahsuben virilebileceğı ve ihrac müsaadesinin hükümet-i seniyye canibinden diplomasi tarihiyle istihsali lazım geleceğı..." BOA HR.İD 1273/26. 6 Mayıs 1333, 6 May 1917.

4-12) THE GUARANTEE DEMAND OF AUSTRIAN SUGAR CARTEL FROM PROVISIONING GENERAL MANAGEMENT

Provisioning General Management began to control the trade of victuals.¹⁴⁴ After this administrative change, Austro-Hungarian Embassy doubted the future of the agreement of 2000 wagons sugar. National Importation Scale Incorporated Company notified the demand of the Embassy to Provisioning General Management. With this demand, Austrian Sugar Cartel said that their contract could only transfer to Provisioning General Management, if the management would exactly accept the former agreement. The management accepted this condition on 1 November 1917.¹⁴⁵

4-13) SALE OFFER OF AUSTRIAN SUGAR FROM A BULGARIAN MERCHANT

Austrian Sugar Cartel allocated 1000 wagons sugar to Bulgaria. Christo Ghendovitch named Bulgarian merchant wanted to re-export eight wagons sugar to the Ottoman Empire. This amount sugar would be deducted from mentioned 1000 wagons quantity.¹⁴⁶ For this sale, Bulgarian Vienna Embassy applied to Austrian Ministry

¹⁴⁴ Ottoman government abolished Provisioning Commission Law and Prevention of Black Market Law (Men-i İhtikar Kanunu) on 18 August 1917. According to this newly enacted law, Provisioning General Management was established with the management of Ministry of War. The management would try to comfort Ottoman market and wanted to solve economic problems. Savaş Sertel, Şahin Yedek, "İttihat ve Terakki'nin Küçük Efendisi: İaşe Nazırı Kara Kemal Bey'in Hayatı ve Faaliyetleri", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi*, Issue: 24, 2015, p. 385.

¹⁴⁵ "Şeker santedatı ancak Avusturya Sefareti İaşenin kontorat ahkâmına riayet ideceğini bildirmek şartıyla iki bin vagon şeker hakkında evvelce akd edilmiş olan kontoratonun müdiriyyet-i âcizi namına devri hususuna muvafakat ideceği Milli İdhalat Kantariye Anonim Şirketi tarafına vasıl muhtırada beyan edilmiş olduğundan mail-i eşara nazaran müdiriyyet-i umumiyenin tamamen deruhde itdiğinden lütfen işar buyurılması..." BOA HR.İD 1273/44. 1 Teşrinisani 1333, 1 November 1917.

¹⁴⁶ "...bu sekiz vagon Avusturya şeker idare-i merkeziyesi tarafından Bulgaristana fûruht idilen bin vagon dan tenzil idilecektir..." BOA HR.İD 1273/48. 12 Mart 1334, 12 March 1918.

of Foreign Affairs. Austrian officials requested the approval of Ottoman government. This demand must not find contrary to the agreement of the cartel and National Importation Scale Incorporated Company.¹⁴⁷

Against this demand, Ministry of Trade and Agriculture set some rules to follow for foreign trade in the war conditions. Merchants who wanted to bring goods and merchandise from ally and friend countries must directly apply to the ministry. They guarantee that these materials must be consumed within the Ottoman Empire. Imported goods must be allocated to Ottoman consumers. In order to provide this aim, merchants had to pay collateral money. This money would consist of 15% percent of value of brought goods. After this payment, Ministry of Trade and Agriculture would grant necessary license to the merchants. The ministry would follow the same procedure for eight wagons Austrian sugar of Christo Ghendovitch.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ “Viyanadaki Bulgaristan Sefaretinin Sofyada Bulgar tacirinden (Christo Ghendovitch)in Memalik-i Osmaniyyeye sekiz vagon şeker ihracı için bir ruhsatname istihsalı zımında Avusturya Hariciye Nezaretinin vasıtasına müracaat eylediği ve Avusturya Şeker İdare-i Merkeziyesiyle Osmanlı Milli Kantariye Anonim Şirketi beyninde münakid...mukavelenamenin...münderecatına rağmen Hükümet-i Seniyye-i Osmaniye resmen beyan-ı muvafakat eylediği takdirde...” BOA HR.İD 1273/48. 13 Mart 1334, 13 March 1918.

¹⁴⁸ “...müttefik ve dost devletler memalikinden celb ve idhal idilecek eşya-yı ticariye hakkında eshabı tarafından toğrıdan toğrıya nezaret-i âciziye bil-müracaa getirilecek emvalin tamamen Memalik-i Osmaniyyede sarf ve istihlak olunacağına dair kıymeti üzerinden yüzde on beş nisbetinde teminat-ı kaviye itasından sonra vesika ahz eylemeleri usul ittihaz idilmiş olduğundan ...Christo Ghendovitch’in Avusturyadan getireceği sekiz vagon şeker hakkında dahi olvechle muamele ifası lazım geleceğinin...” BOA HR.İD 1273/50. 11 Cemaziyelahir 1336, 24 Mart 1334, 24 March 1918.

4-14) ANOTHER MERCHANT FOR AUSTRIAN SUGAR IN 1918

Raffinery Goedding ed Radbor named trade house in Austria allotted 30 wagons sugar for Tobler Company.¹⁴⁹ But Merchant Malik Ahmed Bey purchased this sugar and planned to import them to the Ottoman Empire. Probably, Tobler Company could not complete this importation. Malik Ahmed Bey gave necessary guarantee money to Ministry of Trade and Agriculture, that this sugar would be consumed within the Ottoman Empire. The ministry granted six month lasted license to him from the beginning of 16 June 1918. The following day, Ottoman Vienna Embassy was informed about this situation. The embassy was assigned for facilitating the importation procedure of this sugar.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ The Swiss confectionery business Tobler Company was founded in 1867. Pamela Tortora, **Global Processes and Local Effects: Food Processing Transnational Corporations in the Developing World**, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, London Scholl of Economics, London 2001, p. 223.

¹⁵⁰ “...tüccardan Malik Ahmed Beyin Avusturyada Raffinery Goedding ed Radbor Ticarethanesinde Tobler Şirketi hesabına mevcut olub mubayaa eylediği otuz vagon şekeri bit-taleb Memalik-i Osmaniye istihlakatına tahsis ideceğini nezaret-i âciziye teminat-ı kaviye itasıyla taahhüd itdiğinden mir-i mumaileyhe 16 Haziran 1334 tarihinden altı ay müddetle muteber olmak üzere bir kıta vesika virilmiş olmağla... mezkûr şekerin Memalik-i Osmaniyyeye sevki için müsaade-i lazimesinin istihsal ve celbi zımnında... teşebbüsât-ı mukteziye icrası hususunun Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesine işar buyurulması...” BOA HR.İD 1273/53. 7 Ramazan 1336, 16 Haziran 1334, 16 June 1918.

4-15) IMPORTATION REGULATION AGAINST SUGAR BLACK MARKET

Against hardened sugar scarcity, a new regulation was enacted on 19 June 1918. Provisioning General Management would determine warehouses for imported sugars to the Ottoman Empire. Sugars would be sold according to 4 Nisan 1918 dated law and with precautions for taken against black market.¹⁵¹

4-16) LAST TRIALS IN SUGAR IMPORTATION AND UNPAID TRANSPORTATION BILL

Near the end of First World War, Provisioning General Management tried to bring sugar of former agreements. Provisioning General Management collected the rights of agreements of all merchants either with abolished or renewed contracts. According to these contracts, there had been purchased 565 wagons sugar. Provisioning General Management also transferred the sugar contract of İstanbul Municipality to themselves. The municipality had already paid the price of 310 wagons sugar. Although Ottoman officials and merchants had paid for 875 wagons sugar, there were already just 759 wagons sugars in Vienna. Provisioning General Management wanted to bring this available sugar immediately to İstanbul. Vienna Embassy must take necessary actions, in front of Austrian government to transport this sugar. Austrian government should allocate enormous amount of freighters for this transportation via Danube River.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ “Memalik-i Osmaniyye idhal olunacak şekerler İaşe Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi tarafından tayin ve irae idilecek müdahharlara vaz olunarak İaşe Meclisince 4 Nisan 1334 tarihli kanun ahkâmına tevfikân ihtikâra mani olmak üzere tayin olunacak şerait dâhilinde bey idilecektir.” BOA MV 249/118. 10 Ramazan 1336, 19 Haziran 1334, 19 June 1918.

¹⁵² “İaşe Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesince mah-ı mah ahaliye muntazaman şeker tevzii imkânını teminen gerek münfesih ve gerekse yeniden teccid idilen mukavelenameler ahkâmına nazaran esmâni tesviye idilen beş yüz altmış beş vagonluk şekerle Şehremanetinden müdiriyyet-i umumiyye müdevver olub kezalik esmâni tesviye kılınan üç yüz on vagonluk şekerden... elyevm Viyanada mevcut bulunan yedi yüz elli tokuz vagon şekerin Avusturya hükümeti nezdinde teşebbüsât-ı lazime

Schenker Company proceeded this sugar transportation. From 310 wagons sugar, 75 wagons sugar, 18,507 crates and 1,006,419 kilograms, had been transported with railway. 101 wagons sugar, 22,502 crates and 1,217,944 kilograms, had been also delivered via Cernavoda and Danube River. Schenker Company possessed enough amount freighters. Because Danube River transportation did not subject to any registration, Vienna Embassy did not have to attempt acceleration initiative in front of Austro-Hungarian government. Delays in sugar transportation caused from Schenker Company. The company did not send remaining 134 wagons sugar, due to unpaid transportation bill. Provisioning General Management and Ministry of War must have to pay more than 150,000 liras to the company for transportation of sugar and some other goods. The company declared to Vienna Embassy that up to the payment of this debt, Schenker Company would transport nothing to the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵³

ve müessirede bulunularak Tuna tarikiyle nakilleri için mebzulen şilep tahsisi suretiyle biran evvel İstanbulla celbi vesailinin istikmalı...” BOA HR.İD 1273/56. 29 Temmuz 1334, 29 July 1918.

¹⁵³ “Şeker nakliyatı hakkında Schenker kumpanyasından istihsal idilen malumata nazaran şehremanetinden İlaşeye müdevver üç yüz on vagon dan yetmiş beş vagon (on sekiz bin beş yüz yedi sandukda bir milyon altı bin dört yüz on tokuz kilo) şimendüfer ile ve yüz bir vagon (yirmi iki bin beş yüz iki sandukda bir milyon iki yüz on yedi bin tokuz yüz kırk dört kilo) Tuna ve Çarnavoda tarikiyle sevk edilmiştir Schenker kumpanyasının mikdarı kâfi şilepleri olduğu gibi Tuna üzerinde nakliyat hiçbir kayda tabi olmadığından tesri-i nakliyat için Avusturya Macaristan hükümeti nezdinde sefaret-i seniyyece teşebbüsât icrasına ihtiyac görülmemiştir Memalik-i Osmaniye için mubayaa olunan... mütebaki kalan şekerin tesri-i nakli Schenker kumpanyası müdiriyetine tavsiye edilmesi üzerine mumaileyh şimdiye kadar sevk itdiği şekerle eşya-yı sairenin nakliyesinden tolayı İlaşe İdaresiyle Harbiye Nezaretinde müterakim ve yüz elli bin lirayı müteceviz matlubı tediye olunmadığı için nakliyatı tatil itmeğe mecbur kaldığını ve tediye tehhür devam itdikce hiçbir şey nakl itmeyeceğini beyan eylemiştir...” BOA HR.İD 1273/59. 27 Zilkade 1336, 3 September 1918.

Vienna Embassy gave additional information about the ownership of non-transported sugar. Two institutions owned remaining sugar. Provisioning General Management took over some sugar from İstanbul Municipality. 1.114.500 kilograms sugar belonged to this institution. National Importation Scale Incorporated Company also had 1.000.000 kilograms from this shipment. Schenker Company informed its İstanbul representative about unpaid transportation bill on 10 August 1918. The representative declared the situation to concerned institutions. Up to the necessary payment would be done, transportation was cancelled.¹⁵⁴

Near the end of First World War, there were some disconnections in sugar trade. Vienna Embassy sent telegraph to Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 31 July 1918. In this telegraph, one company claimed that it had sent 95,822.5 kilogram weighed 305 crates sugar to İstanbul on 30 August 1917. The embassy requested that this claim should be investigated. Was this sugar come to İstanbul or not? In addition to 305 crates sugar, there was an additional allegation. From municipality owned sugar, there were also 113 crates missing. The embassy wanted that real situation should be revealed rapidly.¹⁵⁵ Provisioning General Management mentioned that this institution did not have any knowledge about the arrival of 305 crates sugar. İstanbul Municipality also investigated the situation carefully, but

¹⁵⁴ “...Schenker nakliye kumpanyasından istihsal olunan malumat-ı mütemmimene göre Şehremanetinden laşeye devr idilen şekerden... (1,144,500 kilo sıklet-i gayri safiye) ve Kantariyeye aid şekerden bir milyon kilo sevk idilmeyub kalmışdır mezkûr kumpanya 10 Ağustos tarihinde Dersaadetdeki vekiline...matlubı olan mebalîğın tesviyesine değın nakliyatı tamamiyle tatil itdiğini alakadar devaire tebliğ eylesesini işar itmişdir...” BOA HR.İD 1273/60. 30 Zilkade 1336, 7 September 1918.

¹⁵⁵ “Viyana sefaret-i seniyyesinden alınan 31 Temmuz 1918 tarihli telgrafnamede... şirketinin 30 Ağustos 1917 tarihinde...vagonla toksan beş bin sekiz yüz yirmi iki buçuk kilogram sıkletinde üç yüz beş sanduk şekerin Dersaadete vasıl olduğımı iddia eylediğı bil-beyan işbu iddianın mukarın-i hakikat olub olmadığının ve şehremanetine aid şekerden yüz on üç sanduğın noksan zuhur itdiğı İstanbulda resmen kayıd ve tesbit idilüb idilmediğinin serian işarına...” BOA HR.İD 1273/57. 5 Ağustos 1334, 5 August 1918.

they could not reach any information about these sugars.¹⁵⁶ Ministry of Finance (Maliye Nezareti) had some information about this issue, from the declaration of Sirkeci Central Custom Management (Sirkeci Merkezi Rüsumat Müdüriyeti). In this 305 crates transportation, 16,622 kilogram sugar had been brought to İstanbul for the name of the municipality. Provisioning General Management prepared importation declaration for İstanbul Municipality on 10 September 1917. With this document, mentioned amount of sugar was entered to İstanbul. But fate of remaining sugar was not known.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ "...üç yüz beş sanduk şekerin vürûdına dair İaşece bir malumat bulunmadığı ve şehremanetinden suret-i hususide icra kılınan tahkikatda dahi oraca malumat olmadığı anlaşılmiş olmağla..." BOA HR.İD 1273/58. 1 Eylül 1334, 1 September 1334.

¹⁵⁷ "...üç yüz beş sandukda on altı bin altı yüz yirmi iki kilo şeker İaşe-i Umumiye Komisyonu tarafından Şehremaneti namına tanzim ve ibraz olunan... 10 Eylül 1333 tarihli idhalat beyannamesi üzerine kanun-ı mahsusa tevfikan ve muafan imrâr idilmiş olduğu... Sirkeci Merkezi Rüsumat Müdüriyetinin işarından anlaşılmağla..." BOA HR.İD 1273/61. 5 Zilhicce 1336, 12 Eylül 1334, 12 September 1918.

5) OTTOMAN SUGAR IMPORTATION FROM GERMANY

Germany had a long past in sugar industry. Andrew S. Marggraf, a German Chemist of Berlin University, discovered sugar extracting from beet in 1747. His discovery did not yield immediate benefits. Half century later, his pupil Francis Karl Achard invented an elaborate method of sugar extracting for greater scales. Achard's method was rapidly spread in Europe. Countries began to establish beet sugar investments.¹⁵⁸ In 19th century, Germany experienced important production increases in sugar production. Germany produced 13,445 tons sugar in 1840 and this production reached 1,213,689 tons in 1890.¹⁵⁹ During the production campaign of 1910-11, German sugar output doubled this amount. German producers obtained 2,589,900 tons sugar, in this campaign. This production increases was achieved, largely because of the skill and ingenuity of the chemists and engineers, who had steadily improved processes. The consolidation of a number of the smaller sugar factories with the larger ones had also been a factor in German production efficiency.¹⁶⁰ German producers gave great importance to proper seed selection. This selection increased the productivity of sugar beet. German sugar factories also paid to farmers, according to sucrose contents of beet. All of these efforts

¹⁵⁸ Torsten A. Magnuson, "History of the Beet Sugar Industry in California", **Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California**, Vol. XI, Issue: 1, 1918, p. 68.

¹⁵⁹ E. Sowers, "An Industrial Opportunity for America", **the North American Review**, Vol. CLXIII, Issue: 478, 1896, p. 321.

¹⁶⁰ Eugene Van Cleef, "the Sugar Beet in Germany, with Special Attention to Its Relation to Climate", **Bulletin of the American Geographical Society**, Vol. XLVII, Issue: 4, 1915, p.254.

showed their consequences. In order to make one ton of sugar in Germany, there were required 11.37 tons of beet roots in 1880-81. This amount decreased to 7.37 tons of beet roots in 1899-1900. There were needed 40% lower raw materials, for the same quantity of sugar within 20 years.¹⁶¹ At the beginning of World War I, Germany produced more than 25% of world beet sugar supply. In that period, Germany also controlled in a great extent of the beet seed market. In 1913, three-fourths of world beet sugar production was produced from German seed.¹⁶²

As to commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire, German commerce rapidly developed coming into 20th century. But German share from Ottoman total trade restricted and it never exceeded 10%. Although German export goods were numerous, they were limited in quantity and volume. Germany did not have any mass consumption goods in its exportation, like Manchester products of England, cement and flour products of France, cotton fabrics and yarn of Italy and Austro-Hungarian sugar and spirit. According to German trade statistics of 1910 and 1913, the Ottoman Empire imported 3,648,900 and 2,834,250 Ottoman liras worth sugar and confectionery products respectively. When it came to Germany's share from this trade, it happened 92,830 liras and 2.54% in 1910 and 186,150 liras and 6.56% in 1913.¹⁶³

But war changed all trade dynamics. Ottoman government had limited amount of trade opportunities in this period. İstanbul Municipality also tried to purchase sugar from Germany, other than Austria. Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked to investigate Berlin Embassy about quantity and price of salable sugar. In addition to

¹⁶¹ William G. Freeman, "Current Investigations in Economic Botany (Continued)", **the New Phytologist**, Vol. VI, Issue: 1, 31 January 1907, p. 22.

¹⁶² E. Muriel Poggi, "the German Sugar Beet Industry", **Economic Geography**, Clark University, Vol. VI, Issue: 1, 1930, p. 84, 91-92.

¹⁶³ Rifat Önsoy, **Türk-Alman İktisadî Münasebetleri (1871-1914)**, Enderun Yayınları, İstanbul 1982, p. 74-75, 89.

this, Berlin Embassy was commissioned that he must take necessary action for the supply of sugar for private dealers. Thus, sugar exportation towards the Ottoman Empire would be increased.¹⁶⁴ During World War I, German sugar exportation was not so widespread for the Ottoman Empire. All of determined sugar bringing attempts happened in 1916. Although German sugar production reached in huge amount, there were two main restrictions for importation to the Ottoman Empire. Firstly, German producers were not historically important sugar suppliers of Ottoman market. Austria and Russia were the main sugar suppliers of Ottoman market, before the war. Secondly, geographical distance would cause some difficulties, especially during the late stages of World War I.

After the ministry's directive, Berlin Embassy founded 500 wagons sugar that each of them weighed 10,000 kilograms. Embassy could not find sugar much more. As to price, granulated sugar and cube sugar were respectively 53 and 54 marks, for Berlin delivery. Germany had limited amount of sugar and their stocks continued to decrease. If the price would be approved, mentioned sugar should be immediately purchased and stored in Berlin, for the name of İstanbul Municipality. Payment must be made in Berlin through Deutsche Bank. Sugar would be sent part by part, as road security would be provided.¹⁶⁵

Berlin Embassy followed the order of İstanbul Municipality. Embassy formerly presented the necessary documents for purchasing of 500 wagons sugar. But German government's

¹⁶⁴ “Şehremaneti Almanyanadan külli mikdarda şeker mubayaa itmek istiyor satılabilecek şekerin mikdar ve fiyatının tahkik ve işarı ile beraber Memalik-i Osmaniyeye idhal itmek üzere hususi bayilere şeker virdirilmesi zmnında teşebbüsâtda bulunulması...” BOA HR.İD 1272/67. 18 March 1916.

¹⁶⁵ “...beheri on bin kilogram olmak üzere beş yüz vagon şeker bulunmuşdur. Daha fazla bulmak mümkün olamamışdır. Beher yüz kilogramın fiyatı Berlinde teslim olmak üzere... elli üç kübi elli dört markdır şeker Almanya da dahi azdır ve gitdikce azalmaktadır. Fiyatı tensib buyurıldığı takdirde mezkûr mikdar şekerin şimdiden emanet-i alileri namına iştirası ve burada muhafaza idilmesi muvafıktır. Esmânının Döçe Bank vasıtasıyla Berlinde tesviyesi meşrutdur. Yol müsaid oldukça ceste ceste sevk idiliyor...” BOA HR.İD 1272/69. 30 March 1916.

actions were changed the importation procedure. Germany began to limit its sugar trade. German government also declared that all sugar stocks of the country must be officially recorded on 25 April 1916. After this recording, government would give license for exportation. Berlin Embassy noticed that Ottoman government should take required action. Agreement of 500 wagons sugar had formerly reached before German government regulations. Thus, this amount of sugar must be registered as the Ottoman Empire's commodity, during official recording. In order to provide this type of recording, sugar importation contract was signed with the date of 11 April 1916. After this procedure, increasing price became another problem. After state controlled in sugar market, prices rose in Germany. Private customers approved higher prices. Under these conditions, dealers had demanded higher prices up to 66 marks. Sugar dealers did not consent a price of lower than 60 marks for 100 kilograms. Berlin Embassy had to accept this offer, because importation would become difficult in the future, or even maybe impossible. After obtaining importation permission, additional sum of money must be sent to Berlin, for transportation of sugar. Sugar transportation would be practiced in Germany via rivers and canals, because of lower cost and faster transport.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ "...beş yüz vagon şekerin mubayaasına dair mukavele ve evrak-ı müteferriası mukaddema takdim kılınmıştır. Almanyada şeker ticaretinin tahdidi ve nisan-ı efreninin yirmi beşinde hükümet tarafından ne kadar şeker mevcut ise tahrir idilerek ihraca ruhsat virilecek olmuş ve hâlbuki miktar-ı mezkûr şekerin mubayaası evvelce konuşulduğundan hin-ü tahrirde bunun Devlet-i Aliyye-i Osmaniye'nin malı olduğu beyan idilebilmesi ehemmiyetli ve elzem bulunduğu cihetle mukavele yirmi tokuz Mart tarihiyle imza edilmiştir. Yine usul-i mezkûra ve Almanyada şeker fiyatının terfi ve hususi müşterilerin yüksek fiyatlara rıza göstermeleri hasebiyle evvelce arz edildiği vechiyle evvela bayi altmışaltı mark taleb ile altmışdan aşağısına rağb olmamış ve bu muamele atiyen daha müşkil ve belki gayri kabil olacağından buna muvafakat zaruri olmuştur. İhrac ruhsatı alındıkda şekerin sevk idilebilmesi için bakiye fiyatının burada bulundurulması lazım gelecektir. Almanya dâhilinden sevkîyatın nehir ve kanallarla icrası sürat ve killet-i mesarif itibariyle münasib görülmektedir..." BOA HR.İD 1272/72. 1 May 1916.

Although former 500 wagons agreement, 350 wagons sugar had been sent from Germany. There is some ambiguity about quantity. Maybe Germany did not grant permission more than 350 wagons sugar for exportation. Another possibility could be that it was the first transportation of İstanbul Municipality's order. Geographical distance of Germany caused some transportation difficulties. This amount of sugar would be carried via rivers in Germany, up to Austrian border. River carriage had been planned formerly. Later this sugar would be transported by train, within Austro-Hungarian Empire. But for this transit transportation, Vienna Embassy must take permission from Austrian foreign ministry. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha accepted requests of Berlin Embassy. But he demanded a special officer for interesting this carriage. This officer would meet the sugar in the border and he would order to carry it to trains. Vienna Embassy could not interest with these affairs.¹⁶⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed municipality about this demand. This officer would be necessary for smooth transportation.¹⁶⁸

Mister Zuckschwerdt was one of the great sugar brokerage and banking house of Zuckschwerdt et Beuchel of Magdeburg in 1908.¹⁶⁹ This German company wanted to sell 25 wagons sugar to İstanbul. The company promised that this sugar would be sold and consumed only within the Ottoman Empire. After this guarantee,

¹⁶⁷ “Şehremaneti hesabına Almanyada mubayaa olunan üç yüz elli vagon şekerin Almanyadan Avusturya hududına kadar nehren sevk idileceği ve Avusturyadan dahi şimendüfere tahmil olacağı Berlin Sefaret-i seniyyesinden işar olunması üzerine Avusturya Macaristandan imrârı için müsaade itası Hariciye Nezaretinden rica olunmuş ise de mezkûr şekerlerin hududda teslimiyle şimendüfere tahmil ve sevkiyle işğal idecek bir memur-ı mahsusa lüzum olduğu ve sefaret-i seniyyenin sevkiyat ile meşgul olması gayri mümkün bulunduğu cihetle...” BOA HR.İD 1272/82. 13 July 1916.

¹⁶⁸ “...tehirat ve ziyat vuku bulmamak üzere... bir memur-ı mesulün izam-ı lüzümü...” BOA HR.İD 1272/82. 7 Temmuz 1332, 20 July 1916.

¹⁶⁹ Truman G. Palmer, “Brief Submitted by Truman G. Palmer, Secretary of the American Beet Sugar Association”, **Tariff Hearings, Before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, Sixtieth Congress 1908-1909**, Vol. III, Government Printing Office, Washington 1909, p.3458.

Ministry of Trade and Agriculture granted six month lasted license to the company on 28 August 1916. According to procedure, this situation would be reported to the Berlin Embassy.¹⁷⁰

5-1) SUGAR SELLING OFFERS FROM HOLLAND

Berlin Embassy offered 90 wagons refined sugar to İstanbul Municipality from Holland. Holland government granted exportation permission for this sugar. The sugar would be delivered either in Rotterdam or Amsterdam. So, Dutch firm did not take risk for transportation. As to payment, one third of money must be paid immediately. Remaining part of money must be deposited to the bank. For 100 kilogram sugar, Dutch firm would demand 160 Deutsche Marks. Berlin Embassy warned that this sugar was the last exportable party in Holland.¹⁷¹

Another Dutch oriented sugar sale proposal was made by Friedrich Goldwerm named Ottoman citizen merchant. But he offered 10,000 sacks sugar to the Ottoman Empire via Hague Embassy, not by Berlin Embassy. This sugar would be available to import at the end of January 1917. Hague Embassy notified to himself that he must apply in writing. Friedrich Goldwerm sent a letter to the embassy, for this sugar selling offer. He verbally requested that if Ottoman government would want to buy this sugar, he should be informed by telegraph. He demanded 80 florins for 100 kilograms sugar. Hague Ambassador found this price so high

¹⁷⁰ "...Zuckschwerdt et Beuchel Almanyadan Dersaadete göndereceği yirmi beş vagon şekeri tamamen Memalik-i Osmaniye dâhilinde sarf ve fûruht eyleyeceğini nezaret-i aciziye teminat-ı kaviye itasıyla taahhüd itdiğinden müessesesi-i mezkûraya altı ay müddetle muteber olmak üzere 15 Ağustos 1332 tarihli bir kıta vesika virilmiş olmağla keyfiyetin alelusul Berlin Sefaret-i seniyyesine tebliğ..." BOA HR.İD 1272/89. 29 Şevval 1334, 16 Ağustos 1332, 29 August 1916.

¹⁷¹ "Felemenk hükümetinden ihrac müsaadesi istihsal olunmuş toksan vagon rafine şeker Roterdam veya Amsterdamda teslim olmak ve esmânının üçde biri hemen tesviye ve kısmı mütebakisi bankaya depo idilmek üzere yüz kilogramı yüz altmış marka teklif ve bunun kabil-i ihrac son parti olduğu beyan idiliyor..." BOA HR.İD 1272/91. 11 September 1916.

against local prices. Friedrich Goldwerm clarified the reasons of price difference. He claimed that sugar exportation ban held local prices in this low level. In anyway, Hague Ambassador finished his report by attracting attention to this important price difference.¹⁷²

5-2) BAGHDAD RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION COMPANY'S SUGAR DEMAND

Baghdad Railway Construction Company¹⁷³ ordered some sugar in 1916 from Germany. The company aimed to distribute this sugar to their 420 civil servants and 35,000 workers. Although they obtained permission from German officials with this reason, their order was obstructed by Provisioning Commission (İaşe Komisyonu). Under war conditions, the company claimed that provisioning of their personnel must be accepted within military perspective. Open and active railway was an obviously important tool for Ottoman military. 50,000 kilograms sugar was transported to the company as military load on 29 April 1917, with four wagons. But when mentioned sugar was brought to the Ottoman Empire, Provisioning Commission intervened this load. The commission broke the locks of wagons and confiscated all sugar. Because of this action, Baghdad Railway Construction Company could not distribute the

¹⁷² “Tebaa-i Devlet-i Aliyyeden Friedrich Goldwerm nam zat sefaret-i seniyyeye müracaat iderek iştirası ve ihracı mümkün olabilecek on bin çuval şekerin kânunusani nihayetinde... mezkûr şekere hükümet-i seniyyece lüzum olub olmadığımı sormuşdur teklifini tahriren beyan itdiği takdirde hükümet-i seniyyeye arz-ı malumat idileceği kendüsine bildirilmiş olduğundan... mektubu sefaret-i seniyyeye göndermiş ve mezkûr şekerin iştirası arzu idildiği takdirde telgrafla malumat itasını şifahen rica eylemişdir her yüz kilosu için talep idilen seksen filorinin bura şeker fiyatlarına nisbeten pek bahalı olduğunu merkuma ihtar itdiğimde bura fiyatlarının ihracat hakkındaki memnuiyet tesiriyle dün bulunduğunu beyan itmişdir herhalde fiyatlardaki ehemmiyetli farkı nazar-ı dikkat-i sehimelerine arz itmeği kendime vazife add iderim...” BOA HR.İD 1273/9. 30 December 1916.

¹⁷³ Baghdad Railway Company was founded on 5 March 1903 with 15 million franc capital. This company was established to build Konya-Basra railway line. Bilmez Bülent Can, **Demiryolundan Petrole Chester Projesi (1908-1923)**, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2010, p.62.

sugar to their employees. Although company rapidly applied to the commission, they could not get any answer. German Embassy requested that confiscated or same amount of sugar must be returned to the company, as soon as possible.¹⁷⁴

5-3) GERMANS' ATTEMPT OF SUGAR FACTORY ESTABLISHMENT DURING WORLD WAR I

Germany established military alliance with the Ottoman Empire during World War I. Before this military alliance, they had planned and practiced some economic investments in the Ottoman Empire. Primarily, German investments were made for railway construction in the Ottoman Empire. Anatolian Railway Company (Anatolische Eisenbahn-gesellschaft) was established on 23 March 1889. Otto von Kühlmann was appointed as General Manager to this company. During the early 20th Century, German investments directed to agricultural matters, because of rapidly increasing Germany's population. In addition to this increase, presence of railways enabled agricultural investments. Anatolian Railway Company obtained the privilege of Konya Plain Irrigation Project on 27 November 1907. German investors wanted to increase wheat, cotton and potato

¹⁷⁴ “Bağdad Şimendüferi İnşaat Şirketinin dörd yüz yirmi memuru ile otuz beş bin ameleyle tevzi itmek üzere geçen sene Almanya sipariş itmiş olduğu şekerin münhasıran mezkûr memurlar ile ameleyle tahsis idilmek şartıyla ihracına Alman memurlarından müsaade istihsal idilmek ve eşhası mezkûranın ahval-i hazırada işleri menafi-i askeriye nokta-i nazarından kesb-i ehemmiyet itmesine mebni mezkûr şeker askeri hamulesi olarak sevk olunmuş olub elli bin kiloluk birinci kısım şeker geçen Nisanın yirmi tokuzuncu günü dört vagon derununda buraya vasıl olduğunda İlaş Komisyonu müdahale ve vagonların kilidleri kırılarak bütün hamuleyi zabt itmiş olduğu cihetle şirket-i mezkûra şekerini teslim idemediği gibi komisyona derhal vaki olan müracaatında şimdiki kadar hiçbir cevap alamadığı Almanya Sefaretinden işar ve zabt olunan şekerin yahud aynı miktarda bir şekerin sürat-i mümkünine ile şirkete teslimi...” BOA HR.İD 1273/30. 22 Mayıs 1333, 22 May 1917.

production within the railway region. Irrigation project had been completed before the outbreak of World War I.¹⁷⁵

Foundation of sugar factories was included these investment plans. Hamburg Sugar Union wanted to make some ventures about this subject, during World War I. The Ottoman Empire also interested with this sugar factories establishment plan. Minister of Trade and Agriculture Ahmed Nesimi Bey gave an interview to *İktisadiyat Mecmuası* on 10 February 1916. The minister emphasized the importance of industrial agriculture. Within the Ottoman Empire, there were lots sugar beet cultivable potential regions. Ottoman government decided to call an expert for controlling and determining these kinds of areas. Upon completion of this expert's investigations, the ministry would hope to be established a few sugar factories within the Ottoman Empire, by new entrepreneurs. Although the minister claimed that the expert about to come soon, this attempt could be achieved more than one year later.¹⁷⁶ Hamburg Sugar Union wanted to establish sugar factories in the Ottoman Empire. They also planned to cultivate sugar beet and sugar cane by supplying all necessary expenses. For choosing and determining suitable places, engineer Osman Vehbi Bey and Minister of Trade and Agriculture signed a privilege draft on 18 March 1917.¹⁷⁷

This draft was consisted of five articles. In the first article, the union would send specialists to the Ottoman Empire, in order to search and determine available places for beet and sugar cane

¹⁷⁵ Murat Özyüksel, **Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Nüfuz Mücadelesi, Anadolu ve Bağdat Demiryolları**, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, p. 58, 265-266.

¹⁷⁶ ..., "Ticaret ve Ziraat Nazırıyla Mülakat", *İktisadiyat Mecmuası*, Year. 1, Issue: 1, 10 February 1916, İstanbul, p. 6-7.

¹⁷⁷ "Hamburgda müteşekkil sendika namına ilerüde Memalik-i Osmaniyenin bazı mahallerinde şeker fabrikaları inşa ve işledilmesi imtiyazı talep olunmak ve bilcümle mesarifi kendilerine aid olmak üzere pancar ve şeker kamışı ziraatına ve fabrika tesisine elverişli menatık intihab ve tayin indirmek için mühendis Osman Vehbi Beğle nezaret-i âcizi arasında akd olunmak üzere kaleme alınmış ve 18 Mart 1333 tarihli... mukavelename layihası üzerine..." BOA BEO 4461/334562. 1 Cemaziyelahir 1335, 25 Mart 1333, 25 March 1917.

cultivation and establishment of factories. All the research must be completed up to the end of December 1917. According to second article, if the union would require agricultural survey after end of its scientific research, it must practice under the supervision of Ottoman government. The union would have time to complete this survey up to the end of 1920. In third article, after the end of research, union could decide that agricultural survey would not to be necessary. But this decision must confirmed by Ministry of Trade and Agriculture. Or, after completion of all scientific researches and agricultural experiments, Ottoman government would evaluate all data. After this evaluation, the government would not oblige to grant privilege to the union.¹⁷⁸

In the fourth article, fate of investigation documents was determined. If the union and Ottoman government would not agree about the conditions of privilege, or, if Ottoman government would prefer not to grant privilege to the union; Ottoman government would demand documents of all scientific investigations and agricultural experiments, about the project of union. If these documents would deliver to Ottoman government, the government would pay the cost of investigations and experiments, after checking the expenses of union. But, this payment would not be above 5000 liras. Both parties would demand nothing than this sum. In the last and fifth

¹⁷⁸ 1) Taraf-ı hükümetden tahsis olunan ruhsat mucibince sendika mesarifi kendisine aid olmak üzere Memalik-i Osmaniyye mütehasıslar izam idecek ve pancar ve şeker kamışı ziraatına ve fabrikalar tesisine elverişli menatıkı tayin ve intihab itdirecek ve işbu mukavelename tarihinden itibaren nihayet 1917 senesi Kânunuevveli gayesine kadar tedkikat-ı lazımeyi ikmal eyleyecektir.

2) Sendika tedkikatı fenniye-i vakıa neticesinde kabul ve intihab ideceği menatıkda ziraat tahrirlerine lüzum görür ise bu gibi menatık dâhilinde hükümetin taht-ı murakabesinde olarak ziraat tahrirleri icra itmek üzere kendisine işbu mukavelename tarihinden itibaren 1920 senesi Kânunuevveli gayesine kadar mühlet...

3) Sendika tedkikat-ı fenniyenin ikmalini mütekebb ayrıca ziraat tahrirleri icrasına lüzum görmez ve nezaretce bu nokta-i nazar muvafık görilür veyahud tedkikat-ı fen-ni ve tecarib-i ziraiye tamamen icra idilmiş bulunursa netice-i tedkikat ve tecaribde Hükümet-i Osmaniye imtiyaz mukavelesi müzakeresine girüb girmemekte muhtardır. BOA BEO 4461/334562.

article, Ottoman government underlined the importance of following determined time set. Other than the existence of force majeure, the union would complete its entire works within determined timescale. Otherwise, this contract would be accepted null and void. For this acceptance, both parties would demand nothing as loss and damage.¹⁷⁹ Council of Ministers accepted this privilege draft on 25 March 1917. Ministry of Trade and Agriculture was assigned to maintain the offer of Hamburg Sugar Union.¹⁸⁰

Hamburg Sugar Union established a three person committee for investigations in the Ottoman Empire. The committee consisted of Bromberg resident Professor Gerlach and Breslau resident Grzimek and Wilhelm Vela. The committee wanted to come to İstanbul. For this trip, they needed visas to their passports'. Lieutenant of the Commander in Chief Enver Pasha demanded rapid confirmation for visas from Berlin Ottoman Military Attaché.¹⁸¹

Headquarters General Intelligence Branch (Karargâh-ı Umumi İstihbarat Şubesi) granted permission to the research trip of committee, unless entering restricted zones. The committee

¹⁷⁹ 4) Şerait-i imtiyaziyenin takririnde Hükümet-i Osmaniye ile sendika arasında itilâf hâsıl olamaması veyahud taraf-ı hükümetden imtiyaz virilmemesi şıkkı ihtiyar idilmesi halinde tedkikat-ı fenniye ve tecarib-i ziraiye netayicine dair bilcümle proje evrakı hükümet-i seniyyeye terk ve teslim idilmek şartıyla tedkikat ve tecaribe için vuku bulan mesarif-i mütehakkika hükümet-i seniyyeden tediye ve tesviye idilecek ve tarafeyn-i akideyn yekdiğerinden başka bir güne zarar ve ziyân namıyla mutalebatda bulunamayacaklardır ancak hükümet tarafından tediyesi taahhüd olunan meblağ mikdarı beş bin lirayı tecavüz itmeyecektir.

5) Sendika tedkikat-ı fenniye ve tecarib-i ziraiye icrası için ancak tayin olunan müddetler zarfında esbab-ı mücbire müstesna olarak taahhüdâtını ifa itmediği takdirde işbu mukavele keenlemyekün ad idilecek ve bu hususdan naşi tarafeyn zarar ve ziyân namıyla bir mütalebede bulunamayacaktır. BOA BEO 4461/334562.

¹⁸⁰ “Salifüz-zıkr mukavelename layihası münderecatı muvafık görüldüğünden ifa-yı muktezasının nezaret-i müşarünilehaya havalesi tensib idildi. BOA MV 207/55. 2 Cemaziyelahir 1335, 25 Mart 1333, 25 March 1917.

¹⁸¹ “...heyet azasından Bromberg’de mukim Profesör Gerlach ve Breslau’da mukim Grzimek ve Mösyö Wilhelm Vela’nın İstanbulla gelmek üzere pasaportlarının süratle vize edilmesinin Berlin Osmanlı atışe militerliğine telgrafta tebliğ idildiği...” BOA HR.İD 75/68. 8 Teşrinievvel 1333, 8 October 1917.

would made researches and investigations for sugar production in İzmit, Eskişehir, Ankara, Yozgat, Sivas, Kayseri, Ulukışla, Konya, Akşehir, Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya and İstanbul. But in the list of Trade and Agriculture, there were two names from first committee of the union. Wilhelm Vela excluded from this list. There was not clear information about the reason of this exclusion. Maybe, his coming to the Ottoman Empire found inappropriate by the Ottoman government, later. Or, the war conditions found out another force majeure that he could not come to the Ottoman Empire. But in this point, Ministry of Trade and Agriculture added another person to the committee. Teodor Efendi from the General Directorate of Locust Control of the ministry was appointed as a translator to the committee.¹⁸²

There was not detailed information about the research trip of this committee. The committee reached Konya for making scientific researches to establish sugar factory. From there, they wanted to go to Adana. Konya governorate approved trip documents of Professor Gerlach and Monsieur Joseph Grzimek on 9 November 1917. The governorate informed Ministry of Interior about this practice on 20 November 1917.¹⁸³

¹⁸² “Anatolıda şeker fabrikaları tesisi maksadıyla tedkikat-ı fenniye icra itmek üzere İzmit, Eskişehir, Ankara, Yozgad, Sivas, Kayseri, Ulukışla, Konya, Akşehir, Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya ve İstanbul havalisinde (menatik-ı memnua müstesna) keşt-ü güzar itmelerine müsaade itası Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezaret-i celîlesinden işar buyurılan isimleri melfuf pusulada muharrer zevatın ber-mucibi işar azimetlerinde bir mahzur görülmediğinden...” BOA DH.EUM.5.Şb. 49/8. 23 Teşrinievvel 1333, 23 October 1917.

¹⁸³ “Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdiriyyeti beşinci şubesinde muharrer 10 Teşrinisani 1333 tarihli...tahrirat-ı aliyye-i nezaretpenahilerine cevabdır. Şeker fabrikası tesisi için tedkikat-ı fenniyede bulunmak üzere azimet idecekleri işar buyurılan Profesör Gerlach ile Mösyö Joseph Grzimekin 9 Teşrinisani 1333 tarihinde buradan Atanaya gitmek üzere seyahat varakaları vize idilmiş olduğu arz olunur...” BOA DH.EUM.5.Şb. 49/8. 4 Safer 1336, 20 Teşrinisani 1333, 20 November 1917.

6) SUGAR SELLING OFFER FROM UKRAINE

Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty was signed on 3 March 1918. This treaty officially ended the war in between Russia and Germany, Austro-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria. With this treaty, Soviets also recognized the independence of Ukraine.¹⁸⁴ Ukraine possessed enormous amount of sugar. Newly established Ukrainian government offered to export this sugar to the Ottoman Empire through Kiev Ambassador Muhtar Bey. But 27 April 1918 dated protocol¹⁸⁵ where was signed in Berlin banned this trade. Muhtar Bey took attention to this protocol. He offered that Ottoman officials would take necessary actions to be able to import sugar and other Ukrainian goods, during the renewal of this protocol.¹⁸⁶ On the other hand Austro-Hungary and Germany began to obtain sugar from Ukraine. According to 3 August 1918 dated issue of Magyar Kereskedök Lapja named Hungarian merchant newspaper, combined purchasing committee of Austro-Hungary and Germany managed to buy 65,320,000 kilograms (4 million

¹⁸⁴ Akdes Nimet Kurat, “Brest-Litovsk Müzakereleri ve Barışı (20 Aralık 1917-3 Mart 1918)”, **Belleten**, Vol. XXXI, Issue: 123, 1967, p. 396-397.

¹⁸⁵ Other than political matters, Brest-Litovsk Treaty also included an economic cooperation agreement. According to this agreement, the parties would mutually exchange essential agricultural products according to the requirement, up to July 1918. For the later period, Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire signed 27 April 1918 dated protocol for determining the nature of commercial relations within the various regions of fallen Russia. Mustafa Öztürk, “Turkey and Ukraine during the First World War”, **Problems of History of Central and Eastern Europe-Collection of Scientific Papers**, Vol.VI, 2017, p. 275.

¹⁸⁶ “Ukraynada külliyyetli şeker mevcut olup hükümet tarafından dahi ihracı teklif idildiği halde (Berlinde münakid fi 27 Nisan tarihlü protokol) icab menafi-i mubayaadan memnu olduğumuzdan şeker ve emsali Ukrayna eşyasından müttefiklerimizimizin mubayaadan olduğu mevâdd hususunda mukavele-i mebhuse-i anhanın hin-ü teccidinde serbesti istihsaline gayret idilmesi faideli olacağı tasavvur idilmekte...” BOA HR.İD 1273/63. 17 September 1918.

poods)¹⁸⁷ sugar. As to price of these sugars, most of them were sold for 44 rubles. The committee purchased approximately 16,330,000 kilograms (1 million poods) sugar for 60 rubles and 8,165,000 kilograms (0.5 million poods) sugar for relatively cheaper price. 40% of aggregate sugars were allocated to Austro-Hungarian's share.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ One pood equals to 36 lbs British pounds and 16.33 kilograms. M. E. Falkus, "Russia and the International Wheat Trade, 1861-1914," *Economica, New Series*, Vol. XXXIII, Issue: 132, 1966, p. 423.

¹⁸⁸ "Peştede neşr olunan Magyar Kereskedök Lapja- Macar tüccar gazetesinin 3 Ağustos 1918 tarihli nüshasında görülen bir havadise nazaran Avusturya Macaristan ve Almanya müttehid mubayaât heyeti şimdiye kadar Ukraynadan dört milyon pood şeker iştirasına muvaffak olmuştur. Bunun kısm-ı azamı kırk dört ve takriben bir milyon poodı altmış rubleye ve yarım milyon poodı ise nisbeten daha ucuz bir bedel ile alınmıştır. Bu mikdar mecmu şekerin yüzde kırkı Avusturya Macaristan hissesine aiddir." BOA HR.SYS 2457/34. 7 August 1918.

7) TRANSIT PROBLEMS DURING SUGAR TRANSPORTATION AND INTERVENTIONS OF BULGARIA TO THIS SUBJECT

The Ottoman Empire imported sugar from Austria and Germany during World War I. Italy was also another trade partner of the Ottoman Empire, during early period of the war. Although Bulgaria did not have an important sugar production during the beginning of 20th century, transit transportation provided some importance to Bulgaria. Because of war conditions, sugar trade had to be practiced via Bulgaria. Bulgaria tried to take advantage of its geostrategic location. Up to Italian entrance to World War I, Dedeagaç was the main transit port for Ottoman sugar transportation within the control of Bulgaria.¹⁸⁹

Bulgarian officials caused a lot of problems for transit passing to the Ottoman Empire. Merchants who wanted to transport sugar met three basic difficulties. Firstly, Bulgarian officials kept waiting merchants' goods for long periods with different excuses. Secondly, merchants were obliged to sell some part of their transit passing goods within Bulgaria for cheaper prices. Thirdly, Bulgarian officials wanted to confiscate some part of Ottoman merchants' goods. In the first example of these practices, Caerrea Brothers wanted to import sugar from Trieste to İstanbul via Dedeagaç. The brothers paid all necessary customs and other taxes in Dedeagaç. Although

¹⁸⁹ During Balkan Wars, Bulgarians occupied Dedeagaç from the Ottoman Empire in 1912. Treaty of Bucharest officially recognized Bulgarian occupation over this city in 1913. Dedeagaç served Bulgaria as Aegean port city up to Treaty of Neuilly. Hacı Veli Aydın, "Rumeli Demiryolları Ege Denizi Bağlantı Hattında Yeni Bir Liman Kenti: Dedeagaç (1872-1912)", **Humanitas- International Journal of Social Sciences**, Vol. IX, Issue: 17, 2021, p. 77.

all requisite procedures had been completed, Bulgarian officials did not give permission to transit transportation. The brothers submitted their complaint petition to the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture. Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed Sofia Ambassador Fethi Bey,¹⁹⁰ about this complaint on 28 April 1915. Although petitioners claimed that they had been paid all custom duties, importation tax was not paid. Dedeağaç Custom Administration imposed only transit tax to them, later the administration obstructed this transit trade operation. In front of this impediment, Ministry of Foreign Affairs reminded 29 September 1913 dated İstanbul Agreement to Bulgarian officials. According to second protocol of fourth supplement of this agreement, commercial relations must be protected from any obstacle. Dedeağaç Custom Administration violated mentioned agreement by obstruction of this trade. Although both governments had right to levy regulations over transit trade for control and supervision, this right should not be reached a level of total blocking of trade relations. Under the light of these all arguments, Fethi Bey must rapidly and effectively take necessary steps in front Bulgarian government, for providing smooth transition of sugar and other materials.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Ali Fethi Bey appointed as Sofia Ambassador with the offer of Grand Vizier Said Halim Pasha in 11 October and with the approval of Sultan in 13 October 1913. Fethi Bey lasted his position up to 21 December 1917. Fatih Mehmet Sancaktar, "Ali Fethi (Okyar) Bey'in Bulgaristan Sefirliği Dönemindeki Faaliyetleri, (Ekim 1913-Aralık 1917)", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Vol. XXVII, Issue: 81, 2011, p. 580, 584.

¹⁹¹ "Triesteden Dedeağaç tarihiyle Dersaadete celb itmekde oldukları şekerlerin gümrük ve sair rüsumı Dedeağaçta tesviye olunarak nakilleri için her dürlü muamelat-ı resmiye ikmal idildiği halde mezkûr şekerlerin Bulgaristan hükümetince transit suretiyle nakline müsaade idilmemekte olduğına dair... Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezaret-i celilesine ita kılınan istidaname... sefiranelerine tesyar kılındı. Arzuhalde her ne kadar gümrük resmi tediye olundığı beyan olunmakta ise de sahib-i arzuhalin ifadesine nazaran idhalat resmi tediye idilmemiş olub Dedeağaç gümrüğünce ancak transit rüsumunun istifasıyla iktifa idilmiştir. İmdi 16/29 Eylül 1913 tarihli Dersaadet Muahedenamesinin dört numarolu mehfufını teşkil iden 2 numarolu protokol mucibince münasebet-i ticariye ve sairinin en ufak mevaniden vikayesi icab itdiği halde Dedeağaç gümrük idaresince transit muamelesini men eylemek suretiyle marû'z-zikr protokolün ahkâmı ihlal idilmiş bulunmaktadır.

Sofia Ambassador Fethi Bey applied to Bulgarian government both verbally and literally, for repealing the ban decision as soon as possible. This was contrary to existing agreements and against Ottoman benefits. In front of this application, Bulgarian government promised two phases solution offer, according to 2 April 1915 dated prohibition decision. Firstly, all sugars which were completed their processes up to this date were permitted to transport immediately. Secondly, Bulgarian government promised some easiness, for remaining sugars. Sugars which had been be started their custom processes as of April 2 and later coming sugars from this date to Dedeğaç would be granted permission, for transit transportation. Although these promise, Fethi Bey would continue his efforts, because he did not obtain conclusive reply from Bulgarian officials.¹⁹²

Despite these promises and one month lasted period, transit problems of sugar transportation were not still ended. Another merchant Receb Arslan, from İkinci Vakıf Khan, applied to Ministry of Trade and Agriculture for the same problem. Receb Arslan imported five wagons sugar for the local consumption of Ottoman people. But Bulgarian officials stopped these sugars in Dedeğaç. Ministry of Foreign Affairs similarly directed this demand to Sofia Ambassador Fethi Bey, to remove the transportation ban. Ministry

Her ne kadar hükümeteynden her birinin mezkûr transit muamelatının teftiş ve murakabesi emrini temin için nizamât-ı lazime vazına hakkı var ise de bu hakkın transitin menî derecesine kadar gitmesi mezkûr protokolün elfaz ve ruhuna muhalifdir. Binaenaleyh mezkûr şekerlerin ve emsali eşyanın transitine mümanaat olunmaması zımında Bulgaristan hükümeti nezdinde teşebbüsât-ı müessire ve acile icra...” BOA HR.SFR.04 888/116. 28 April 1915.

¹⁹² “...böyle bir kararın uhud-ı mevcudeye muğayir ve menafi-i Osmaniyyeye menfi olduğundan bahisle bir an evvel refi hususuna dair Bulgar hükümeti nezdinde şifahen ve tahriren teşebbüsât-ı lazime de bulundum Bulgar hükümeti memnuiyet kararının itası tarihi olan 2 Nisana kadar muamelesi gümrükce ibka edilmiş olan şekerlerin derhal nakline müsaade eylemiş ve 2 Nisanda muamele-yi rüsumiyesine ibtidar edilmiş olan ile tarih-i mezkûrdan sonra Dedeğaçta gelmiş bulunanlar hakkında da müsaade idileceği vaadi alınmış ise de henüz bir cevab-ı kati virilmediğinden tekrar teşebbüse devam idilmekte olduğu...” BOA HR.SFR.04 888/116. 5 May 1915.

of Foreign Affairs did not see any reasonable cause in this action. Firstly, practice of Bulgarian government was not based on any agreement. Additionally, Ottoman government did not take any action against Bulgarian commercial interests, for justifying this practice.¹⁹³

Ottoman officials accepted Dedeğaç as an important source for providing sugar. But their efforts were not always fruitful. Bulgarian Ministry of Finance informed that Benbasat Company did not have any sugar in Dedeğaç. For this reason, the company could not import anything to the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹⁴

Juda B. Israel Company from Sofia had 5 wagons of bagged sugar in Dedeğaç. He offered this sugar to Sofia Ambassador Fethi Bey on 13 August 1915. But Bulgarian Ministry of Finance did not grant permission to re-exportation of this sugar. The ministry prohibited the re-exportation of barter sugar. Although there was not clear evidence, this sugar could be the two months earlier offer of Receb Arslan. Emphasis of barter sugar and being same amount implied this.¹⁹⁵

Although these prohibitions, Bulgarian officials considered mutual trade offers differently. Mustafa bin Süleymanoviç from Bucharest demanded transit passage from Bulgarian government for 200 wagons sugar and 50 wagons of dried grape and fig. Over this

¹⁹³ “Memleketimizin ihtiyacât-ı ticariyesine sarf olunmak üzere haricden celb itdiği beş vagon şekerin Bulgaristan hükümetince Dedeğaçta tevkif olunduğuna dair İkinci Vakıf Hanında tüccardan Receb Arslan imzasıyla Ticaret ve Ziraat Nezaret-i celilesine virilen arzuhal sureti leffen savb-ı âli-yi sefiranelerine tesyar kılındı Bulgaristan hükümetinin muamele-i vakıası hiçbir esas-ı ahdiyye istinad eylememekte ve hükümet-i seniyyece Bulgar menafi-i ticariyesine müşkilât-ı mümasile ika olunmamakda bulunduğı cihetle mümanaat-ı vakıanın refi hususunda...” BOA HR.SFR.04 890/5. 7 June 1915.

¹⁹⁴ “Maliye Nezaretinden: icra idilen tahkikatdan Benbasat Ticarethanesinin Dedeğaçta hiç şekeri olmadığı cihetle Türkiyeye ihrac edecek bir şeyi olmadığı...” BOA HR.SFR.04 690/9. 13 August 1915.

¹⁹⁵ “Yuda B. İzrail Kumpanyasının mevzu bahis olan beş vagon şekerinin yeniden ihracına müsaade olunamaz. Trampa şekerin yeniden ihracı memnurdur.” BOA HR.SFR.04 690/9. 2 September 1915.

demand, Custom Administration of Bulgarian Ministry of Finance officially declared that mentioned amount of sugar, grape and fig could be passed in transit from Bulgaria.¹⁹⁶ Bulgarian Custom Administration granted permission to transit passage sugar for the Ottoman Empire and dried grape and fig for Austria.¹⁹⁷

After transportation restrictions, Bulgarian government passed second application in transit trade. For transit permission, all merchants obliged to sell 30% of their goods within Bulgaria. Mentioned amount of all transit passing goods sugar, gas, and gasoline and like that products must be sold within the country for providing local needs. Bulgarian Finance Ministry directed this order to civil servants of Custom Administration on 3 September 1915. Sofia Embassy informed in writing İstanbul about this issue. Ministry of Foreign Affairs directed clear objection to this improper Bulgarian practice. Up to this date, Ottoman officials had shown only ease to Bulgarian transit goods. Bulgarian merchants did not meet similar application like forcefully sale. For this reason, Ottoman government demanded reciprocity in transit trade.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ “İki yüz vagon şeker ve ellişer vagon üzüm ve incirin Bulgaristandan transit suretiyle imrânına müracaatımız üzerine Bulgar hükümetinden müsaade talep olunmuş idi bu kere Maliye Nezaretine merbut gümrük müdüriyetinden alınan bir kıta takrirde iki yüz vagon şeker ellişer vagon üzüm ve incirin transit suretiyle... Bulgaristandan geçirilmesine muvafakat idildiği bildirilmiş olmağla...” BOA HR.SFR.04 690/12. 27 August 1915.

¹⁹⁷ “...Türkiye için şekerin transitine ve Avusturya için kuru üzüm ile incirin yeniden ihracına müsaade olunduğu... gümrük idarelerine bildirilmiştir...” BOA HR.SFR.04 690/12. 29 August 1915.

¹⁹⁸ “Şeker, gaz, benzin... vesairenin Bulgaristandan transit suretiyle imrân ihtiyacât-ı mahalliyeye binaen mevâdd-ı mezkûranın yüzde otuzunun eshabı tarafından Bulgaristanda fûruhtına menut bulundurulmasına karar virilerek iktizasının ifası 21 Ağustos 1331 tarihinde Bulgaristan Maliye Nezaretince memurin-i rumumiyye tamimen tebliğ kılındığı Sofya Şehbenderliğinden alınan suret-i melfuf tahrirattan müsteban olmuştur. Hükümet-i seniyye tarafından Bulgaristan transitine karşı şimdîye kadar teshîlât gösterildiği cihetle hakkımızda muamele-i mütakabiliye ifası tabii olduğundan karar-ı vakın Türkiyeye aid transit eşyasına da tatbik idilüb idilmeyeceğinin...” BOA HR.SFR.04 692/4. 18 Zilkade 1333, 27 September 1915.

Sofia Ambassador Fethi Bey tried to solve the problem, in front of Bulgarian Finance Ministry. The ministry decided to practice obligatory sale decision to some transit goods of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of repetitively application of Fethi Bey to the relevant authority, Bulgarian Finance Ministry provided clear passage to Ottoman transit goods. According to this decree, Ottoman transit goods would not be waited within Bulgarian Customs.¹⁹⁹

Other than Dedeağaç, Bulgarian City of Ruse was another important transit center for Ottoman sugar trade. Its proximity to Danube River has provided easiness for transportation.²⁰⁰ Although Fethi Bey's efforts and given promises to him, Bulgarian officials also tried to take bigger share from this international trade in 1916. One Turk merchant complained to Ottoman Ruse Consulate from improper practices of Bulgarian Custom Administration. This merchant imported three wagons sugar from Vienna. He wanted to pass in transit these sugars from Bulgarian lands. But, because the Custom Administration caused some problems, his representative called him to Ruse by telegraph. Bulgarian Essential Needs Commission wanted to purchase 20% of these sugars. The commission offered as a price of 85 leva for 100 kilogram sugar. The merchant found this practice inappropriate. Even if this practice originated from a law, it should not cover the previous. Merchant's sugar had arrived to Ruse, before 15 days from the declaration of this order. The merchant firstly requested the application of previous practice. For every wagon, he deposited 3000 francs guarantee

¹⁹⁹ "...mevzu bahis kararı Memalik-i Osmaniyyeye gidecek transit eşyadan bazıları hakkında tatbik itmek istemiş ise de taraf-ı aciziyeden vaki olan teşebbüsât-ı mükerrere üzerine dünki gün Maliye Nezaretleri Memalik-i Osmaniyyeye aid olub Bulgaristandan transit suretle gidecek olan eşyamız hakkında tevkifat ve takibat icra idilmemesi için gümrüklere yeniden evamir-i katta virmiş olduğu maruzdur..." BOA HR.SFR.04 692/4. 8 October 1915.

²⁰⁰ Ruse was established on the right bank of the Danube, very close to the place where the Rusenski Lom River joins the Danube. Machiel Kiel, "Rusçuk", *DIA*, Vol. XXXV, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İstanbul 2008, p. 247.

money. If this was not possible, 20% should be decreased to 10% over bill value.²⁰¹

As the third practice, Bulgarian government decided to confiscate 20% of transit transport of Ottoman sugar in 1916. Sofia Ambassador met with Bulgarian Prime Minister Radoslavof and his Finance Minister to prevent this attempt. After persistent efforts of Sofia Ambassador, they gave consent to abolish this decision. Although this consent, 20% of Ottoman sugar had been confiscated, according to complaints of merchants. This situation also confirmed by İstanbul Municipality's civil servant of Nazmi Bey who had been on duty in Ruse. Bulgarian government did not limit themselves by only confiscating 20% of ally's commodity.²⁰² They also forcefully purchased another 20% of transit passing Ottoman sugar. They decided an arbitrary official price for this amount of sugar. After implementing second Bulgarian action, merchants met 50% loss according to original price. Naturally, this loss would be loaded to over Ottoman consumers and then sugar price would increase with that ratio. Sofia Ambassador strongly protested this decision.²⁰³

²⁰¹ "Bendeniz Türk tacirim Viyanadan getirdiğim üç vagon şekerin transit olarak Türkiyeye geçirilmesi için lazım gelen muameleyi yapmak üzere vekilimden aldığı telgraf üzerine buraya gelmek mecburiyetinde kaldım. Buranın ihtiyacât-ı zaruriye komisyonu işbu şekerlerin yüzde yirmisini yüz kilosunu 85 leva fiyat ile almak istiyor eğer bu, bir kanun ise mâ-kabline şümüli olmaması lazım gelir. Şekerlerimizin buraya vürûdı mezkûr emirden on beş gün evveldir... İşbu istirhamımız nezd-i âlilerinde muvafık görüldüğü takdirde zarardan vikayemiz için evvelce cari usul üzere beher vagon için 3000 frank depo iderek şekerlerimizi geçirmeğe yahud hiç olmazsa yüzde yirmiyi yüzde ona tenzil ile fatura üzerinden ödemek şartıyla..." BOA HR.SFR.04 653/77. 23 Mayıs 1332, 5 June 1916.

²⁰² During World War I, Bulgaria became ally of the Ottoman Empire on 12 October 1915, by declaring war to Serbia. Muzaffer Başkaya, "İngiliz Basınına Göre Bulgaristan'ın Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan Çekilişi ve Selanik Antlaşması", *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, Vol. X, Issue: 1, 2015, p. 58.

²⁰³ "Bulgar hükümetince ahiren ittihaz edilmiş bir karar mucibince Türkiyeye aid olup transit suretle Bulgaristandan geçecek olan şekerlerden yüzde yirmi tevkifine teşebbüs idildiği istihbar edilmesi üzerine Mösyö Radoslavof ve Maliye Nazırı Mösyö Tunçfi ziyaret iderek tevkifat-ı mezkûranın adem-i icrasını musirren taleb eylemiş ve cevab-ı muvafakat dahi almış idim. Halbuki bu suretle Bulgaristandan geçmekte olan şekerlerden vaad-ı vakia rağmen yüzde yirmi alikonulduğu

Ministry of Interior declared that Ottoman government did not limit their action against confiscation of Ottoman sugar by just only protesting them. If Bulgarian government lasted these type practices, Ottoman government would take reciprocal actions against them. Ministry of Foreign Affairs must inform Bulgarian officials about this issue.²⁰⁴

Other than Bulgaria, some transit problems were occurred for the route of Serbia.²⁰⁵ Hasan of Thessaloniki gave petition to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His partner Babanzade Hikmet Bey had already been in Vienna. Hikmet Bey obtained importation permission to 105 wagons sugar, for the name of İstanbul Municipality. Partners would transport this sugar according to their determined contracts. But they planned to pass their load from Nis city of Serbia. Hasan

tüccaranın ve Ruscukda bulunan Şehremaneti memurı Nazmi Beyin şikayatından anlaşılmaktadır. Bulgar hükümeti toprağından transit suretle geçen ve müttefik bir hükümete aid olan bu şekerlerden marul-arz miktarı tevkif ile iktifa itmeyüb kısm-ı mezkûru keyfi olarak vaz eylediğı narh üzerinden almakda ve bu suretle mal sahiblerine şekerin fiyat-ı aslisine nisbeten takriben yüzde elli ızrar eylemekdedir ki tabi zarar-ı mezkûr Osmanlı müstehtliklerine tahmil idilecek ve şekerin fiyatı da o nisbetde tezeyid idecekdir. Mamafih karar-ı mezkûrı kemal-i şiddetle protesto iderek...” BOA HR.İD 1272/77. 5 June 1916.

²⁰⁴ “...şekerlerden yüzde yirmisinin tevkifinden tolayı sefaret-i seniyyece yalnız protesto icrası ile iktifa idilmeyerek bu suretle muamele ifasında ısrar ve devam olundığı halde hükümet-i Osmaniyyece dahi mukabele-i bil-misilde bulunılacağıının Bulgar hükümetine bildirilmesi...” BOA HR.İD 1272/77. 17 Şaban 1334, 5 Haziran 1332, 18 June 1916.

²⁰⁵ Serbia had a strategic location for transit transportation, in between the Ottoman Empire and its allies. In October 1915, the Austro-Hungarian Third Army invaded Serbia, with the support of one German and two Bulgarian armies. The Central Powers defeated the exhausting Serbs. Austro-Hungarian forces invaded most of Serbia. At the beginning of 1916, they also occupied Montenegro. Thus, Serbian road became clear for the Ottoman Empire. Hedley P. Willmott, “Austria-Hungary in the Balkans during World War I”, **War in the Balkans, An Encyclopedic History from the Fall of the Ottoman Empire to the Breakup of Yugoslavia**, ed. Richard C. Hall, ABC-CLIO, 2014, p. 17-18.

Bey demanded to be made necessary arrangements for this route from Vienna Embassy.²⁰⁶

Although İhsan Bey demanded 500 wagons sugar, Austro-Hungarian government limited this demand. Because sugar also became scarce commodity in Austro-Hungarian Empire, government permitted to import partners only 105 wagons sugar on 14 June 1916. Babanzade Hikmet Bey purchased this sugar and planned to transport it via Ruse. But new conditions in the Balkan Front changed this plan. Romania declared war to Central Powers. Danube road closed to transportation. Nis route became only available option to partners. But this route was allocated to the needs of military. Vienna Embassy informed that mentioned sugar loaded wagons had been waiting within the borders of Austro-Hungarian Empire.²⁰⁷

One month later, National Importation Scale Incorporated Company also demanded to use Serbian route. This company purchased sugar from Vienna with great difficulties. But existing war conditions made impossible to pass this sugar from Danube River.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, sugar needs of İstanbul had already

²⁰⁶ “Viyanada bulunan şerikim Babanzade Hikmet Beyin ihracına müsaade istihsal eylediği yüz beş vagon şeker Şehremaneti ile aramızda münakid mukavele mucibince emanet namına tahmil ve sevk olunacak ise de Niş tarihiyle sevk ve irsali için teşebbüsât-ı lazımede bulunulması hususunun Viyana Sefaret-i seniyyesine telgrafla işaretini rica...” BOA HR.İD 1272/84. 13 Temmuz 1332, 26 July 1916.

²⁰⁷ “beş yüz vagon şekerin mubayaa ve ihracına şekerin killetinden tolayı Avusturya ve Macaristan hükümeti muvafakat idemeyerek yalnız yüz beş vagon için 14 Haziran 1916 tarihinde müsaade virmiş ve İhsan Beyin şeriki Babanzade Hikmet Bey mezkûr yüz beş vagonu mubayaa ve Rusçuk tarihiyle sevk itmişdi fakat Romanyanın ilan-ı harb itmesi ve Tuna tarihinin kapanması ve Nis yolunun da nakliyat ve sevkiyat-ı askeriyyeye tahsis idilmesi cihetleriyle mezkûr vagonlar el-yevm Avusturya ve Macaristan arazisindedir...” BOA HR.İD 1272/93. 13 September 1916.

²⁰⁸ Ottoman soldiers had served for Central Powers in Danube basin. Firstly 15th and 25th divisions and later 26th divisions of Ottoman Army were directed to conflicts of the region, in September, October and November months of 1916. A. Haluk Dursun, “Osmanlı Arşivinde Tuna Nehri ve Kıyıları”, **Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi**, Vol. XII, Issue: 2, 2012, p. 337.

been increasing. Under these conditions, the company requested to use Belgrade route.²⁰⁹

Vienna Embassy explained that Belgrade route was allocated to the needs of military. Military officials of the region had not permitted to transportation of any merchandises of civil people. Even, governmental authorities met with this ban. Ministries of War and Navy and İstanbul Municipality had merchandise of nearly 800 wagons sugar and some other commodities. These authorities could not also obtain transit passage permission for their own goods. In order to obtain permission, Hilmi Pasha made meeting with special committee of German and Austrian officers. Hilmi Pasha explained that Ottoman people urgently and importantly had needed these merchandises. He requested the allocation of one or two trains weekly to themselves, on this route. Thus, goods of Ottoman government and merchants could gradually carry. But this special committee clearly answered that they could not permit this offer for the time being.²¹⁰ Three months later, Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha obtained the consent of Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From İstanbul Municipality's sugar, military train would transport three wagons in every week. But German officials did not accept this decision.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ "...büyük fedakârlıklarla Viyanadan celb itmekte olduğumuz şekerin ahval-i ahire tolayısıyla Tunadan imrârı imkânı kalmamış ve hâlbuki şehrin şekere ihtiyacı artmakta bulunmuş olduğundan marüz-zikr şekerlerimizin Belgrad tarihiyle imrârı esbabına tevessül itmesi hususunun..." BOA HR.İD 1272/92. 31 Ağustos 1332, 13 September 1916.

²¹⁰ "...Belgrad tarihi öteden beri sevkiyat ve mühimmat-ı harbiyeye hasr idilerek tüccar eşyası nakline cihet-i askeriye müsaade itmemektedir hatta Harbiye ve Bahriye Nezaretleri ile Şehremanetine aid sekiz yüz vagona karîb şeker ve sair emtianın bile imrârına muvafakat itmiyor Tuna tarihinin kapanması üzerine ihtiyacımızın müteaciliyet ve ehemmiyetinden bahis ve haftada hiç olmaz ise bir iki trenin tahsisi ile hükümete ve tüccarımıza aid eşyanın tedricen nakli Alman ve Avusturya zabitanından mürekkebe... heyet-i mahsusadan rica eyledim halde şimdilik katien mümkün olmadığı cevabı alınmıştır..." BOA HR.İD 1272/92. 15 September 1916.

²¹¹ "...emanet-i aliyyelerine aid şekerden üç vagonun her hafta askeriye treniyle nakli Avusturya Hariciye Nezaretince tensib ve tebliğ idilmiş iken Almanların... kabul ve icra itmedikleri..." BOA HR.İD 1273/8. 17 December 1916.

Babanzade Hikmet Bey could not pass 105 wagons sugar from Austro-Hungarian border, because Romania entered to war against Central Powers. But Germans captured Bucharest on 6 December 1916. Romanian army had lost 250,000 soldiers during this campaign. Romania Ottoman Military Governorship was founded in Bucharest on 9 January 1917.²¹² These developments reopened Danube trade route. İstanbul Municipality made contract with Babanzade Hikmet Bey for buying these sugar wagons. Vienna Embassy sent related document to Budapest Consulate General that Austro-Hungarian transportation office would be informed about this sale.²¹³ But eight to nine months had been passed over this transportation. Both Vienna and Budapest goods traffic offices declared that mentioned sugar did not exist in their warehouses. After these declarations, Budapest Consulate General sent back sale document to Vienna Embassy.²¹⁴

Ruse was an important transit center for Ottoman commercial transportation. General Supplies Department (Levazımât-ı Umumiye) wanted to transfer from Ruse city sugar, match and glass. But Hakkı Bey, Ruse manager of General Supplies Department, complained from the changing transportation procedure. Up to June 1917, General Supplies Department did not need to apply Ruse German port command for obtaining wagons of his institution's goods. In this time, his institution required to apply for transportation

²¹² Nurten Çetin, "Romanya'nın Birinci Dünya Savaşı'na Girişi ve Osmanlı Devleti'ne Etkileri", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Vol. IX, Issue: 42, 2016, p. 543.

²¹³ "...Şehremanetinin Babanzade Hikmet Beyden ba-mukavelename mubayaa itdiği 105 vagon şekerin emanet-i müşarünileyhaya aidiyetini mübeyyen vesika Peşte Baş Şehbenderliğine irsal ve keyfiyetin (Verkehrs Bureau)ya tebliği işar olunmuştur..." BOA HR.İD 1273/14. 3 March 1917.

²¹⁴ "...105 vagon şeker hakkında gerek Viyana ve gerek Peşte (Waren-Verkehrsbüro) ların depolarında mezkûr şekerin mahfuz olmadığı beyan idilmekte olduğundan irsal buyurılan vesika leffen iade kılındı..." BOA HR.İD 1273/17. 21 March 1917.

permission. Hakkı Bey requested explanation and acceleration of transportation, from Ottoman Ruse Consulate General.²¹⁵

After the defeat of Romania, Danube River opened for the transportation of the Ottoman Empire and his allies. Ottoman Ruse Consul gave some details to Hakkı Bey about the procedure of transportation. For conducting various goods and foods wagons to send İstanbul, a lieutenant colonel was appointed as Ruse German port command. Mentioned person was connected to one of the German departments in Sofia. Although this officer was responsible to allocation of required wagons to Ottoman representatives, the type of transport materials had been determined in Sofia. Ottoman Ruse Consul mentioned that foods and other materials had been sent like this, from last year up to this date. So, this application was not so new. From Ruse train station, there were daily six wagons spared to goods transportation. The consul met with the commander for several times, to obtain permission a few wagons for transporting sugar, match, sheet metal and glasses. But the commander signified that he had no authority for determining the variety of goods. He had to behave according to orders coming from Sofia. For providing the transportation of mentioned goods, the commander must take the consent of Hauptmann von Bötticker from Sofia.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ “Şimdiye kadar Levazımât-ı Umumiye namına irsal kılınan eşya vagonlarının temini için Rusçuk Alman liman kumandanlığına müracaat edilmediği halde bu kere şeker, kibrit ve camların nakline muktezi vagonlar için müracaata lüzum gösterilmesindeki maksad anlaşılammış olduğundan tevzihan işarıyla beraber nakliyatın tesrii...” BOA HR.SFR.04 912/63. 12 June 1917.

²¹⁶ “Tunanın küşadını müteakib Dersaadete sevk idilecek eşya-yı muhtelifle ile erzak vagonlarını idare itmek üzere Rusçuk Alman liman kumandanı sıfatıyla bir kaımmakam gönderildi. Mumaileyh Sofyada Alman devairinden birine merbutdür... virilmekde olan vagonlarla gönderilecek eşyanın cinsi Sofyada tayin idilmekde ve mumaileyhde bize vagon virmekdedir. Geçen seneden şimdiye kadar gönderilen erzak ve eşya-yı saire hep bu suretle sevk edilmiştir. Şimdilik Rusçukdan yevmiyen virilmekde olan altı vagondan bir kaçının şeker, kibrit, saç ve camlara tahsisi hakkında mumaileyh liman kumandanı ile birkaç defa görüşmüş isem de istasyon için tahsis idilen vagonlarla gönderilecek eşyanın cinsini tayine salahiyetdâr olmadığı ve kendisinin Sofyadan almakda olduğu emirlere göre hareket itmek mecburiyetinde bulunduğundan eşya-yı mezkûranın temin-i sevkleri için

Bulgarian officials increased daily commodity wagon numbers from six to ten on 31 August 1917. Two days later, Ottoman Ruse Consul gave information to head of General Supplies Department İsmail Hakkı Pasha about this new development. For increasing the share of sugar from this transportation, Ottoman Sofia Embassy must take necessary action in front of Bulgarian İstanbul Embassy.²¹⁷ In this time, Ottoman Ruse Consul warned İsmail Hakkı Pasha about unfilled capacity of wagons. German Sofia transportation office allocated 20 wagons per day for Ruse transportation. These wagons were primarily for cereals and later for ammunition. But only 10 to 12 wagons had been filled with these two materials. Remaining capacity was not used. Ottoman Ruse Consul requested from İsmail Hakkı Pasha that German Sofia transportation office should give order to Ruse German port command for permitting sugar, match and some other goods transportation. These goods remained under rainfall in Ruse port. Empty capacity must be utilized.²¹⁸

Varna is a Black Sea port of Bulgaria. During First World War, it was also used for goods transportation to İstanbul, like Dedeğaç and Ruse. Cevad Bey telegraphed to Ottoman Ruse Consul on 22 December 1917, about the presence of a big ship in Varna port. Because this ship had a great tonnage, its presence must be used. In order to send sugar to İstanbul, sugar loaded wagons should immediately be directed from Ruse to Varna.²¹⁹ Akdeniz

herhalde istasyondan Sofyada bulunan B. v. g. Hauptmann von Bötticker nam zata emir virdirilmesi lüzumını beyan itmiş...” BOA HR.SFR.04 912/63. 12 July 1917.

²¹⁷ “Ruşçukda bulunan emtia tüccarının... Bulgarların iki günden berü yevmiyen on vagon virmeğe başlamışlardır. Mezkûr on vagondan şekerlerine tahsisi hususunda Sofya Sefaret-i seniyyesinin Dersaadet Bulgar Sefareti nezdinde teşebbüsât-ı lazîmenin icrası...” BOA HR.SFR.04 913/104. 2 September 1917.

²¹⁸ “Almanların Sofya sevkiyat dairesince Ruşçukdan hububat sevki için ve hububat olmadığı zamanda mühimmat sevki zımında tahsis idilen yevmiyen yirmi vagondan ancak on on ikisi tolmakda olduğu cihetle mütebakiesinden istifade idilememektedir... Ruşçuk rıhtımında yağmurlara maruz bulunan şeker, kibrit... tahsisi hususunda mezkûr daireden Ruşçuk Alman liman kumandanlığına emir virdirilmesi...” BOA HR.SFR.04 915/101. 27 November 1917.

²¹⁹ BOA HR.SFR.04 916/60. 22 Kanunuevvel 1333, 22 December 1917.

named another big ship entered the Varna port on 17 January 1918. Captain Behaeddin Bey demanded to be filled this huge ship as soon as possible. Ruse Consul must quickly set off the wagons of sugar, cereals and ammunition to Varna. Provisions and goods must be rapidly reached to Varna.²²⁰ Captain Behaeddin Bey sent a memorandum to Ottoman Ruse Consulate about probable confusion. Military railway administration and Bank of İtibar-ı Milli²²¹ together purchased 200 wagons sugar. Authorities from İstanbul informed that mentioned sugars were begun to transport step by step. In order not to be mixed with other sugars, these sugars must be transported with only military railways. In addition to this, sugar of each institution must be also transported with separate wagons.²²²

²²⁰ BOA HR.SFR.04 917/33. 19 January 1918.

²²¹ Regulations of Bank of İtibar-ı Milli were enacted on 1 January 1917. For the bank, it was determined proposed capital of 4,000,000 liras. Although Bank of İtibar-ı Milli suffered from some sort of share selling problems, it was inaugurated on 11 March 1917. Edhem Eldem, **Osmanlı Bankası Tarihi**, tra. Ayşe Berktaş, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2000, p. 332-333.

²²² BOA HR.SFR.04 917/33. 21 Kanunusani 1334, 21 January 1918.

8) CONCLUSION

Up to the World War I, the Ottoman Empire provided its raw sugar need totally by importation. Naval transportation provided big part of this trade. But outbreak of the war changed all trade dynamics. Warring countries blockaded opponent's trade routes. With the supreme power of Entente States' Navies, importation possibilities became so difficult for the Ottoman Empire. Naturally, opponent and one of the important sugar supplier Russia withdrawn from Ottoman market. But there were lots problems, also in the importation from other ally sugar suppliers. Transportation facilities were allocated for military needs. Lots of times, there were ready sugars to importation. But, they had to wait in warehouses, for the military shipment to come to an end. In addition, changes in the war fronts affected transportation possibilities. Sometimes one market and trade route were opened; another time another market and trade route were closed for Ottoman consumers.

Transportation difficulties and exclusion of some previous sugar suppliers from Ottoman market disrupted price mechanism. Great decreases in amount of sugar importation caused extreme increases in its prices. Ottoman people suffered from severe sugar famine. Ordinary people could reach sugar in very limited amount and with much higher prices, according to pre-war period. In front of this famine, Ottoman government tried to regulate and control sugar market. The government primarily chose price fixing. But merchants resisted to officially price fixing. They began to hide their sugars. Sugar scarcity more worsened. As a second step, Ottoman government began to ration sugar. Private sugar trade prohibited. But all control efforts became null and market continued to process in its own dynamics, because lack of sufficient importation limited

the achievement chance of government. Sugar prices continued to rise until the end of the war.

Ottoman government tried to keep open importation channels, with embassies. Vienna Ambassador Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha and Sofia Ambassador Fethi Bey resisted, against improper practices of Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian officials. Especially Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha put great efforts for the sugar importation. Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha made bargaining for proper prices, but Austrian Sugar Cartel demanded extreme prices from Ottoman merchants. For the needs of Ottoman consumers, he made plenty of meetings in order to reach lower sugar prices. Other than governmental institutions, continuously increasing sugar prices attracted so many merchants for importing sugar to the Ottoman Empire. In order to increase quantity of available sugar, he also helped these merchants, with every possible way. But ongoing war caused another problem for sugar importation. All the efforts of Ottoman government had shown for providing sugar to Ottoman people. But some merchants looked for rapid profits, instead of transporting sugar to the Ottoman Empire. After obtaining importation consent from Austria, they sold sugars in nearby places. Ottoman government started guarantee money application, to prevent such practices.

As to Sofia Ambassador Fethi Bey, he was important for solving transit transportation problems. Bulgarian officials tried to exploit their geostrategic location, by excess taxation or partial confiscation. Like Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, Fethi Bey practiced so many interviews to stop these improper practices. Despite all efforts of these ambassadors and other officials, the Ottoman Empire did not achieve a clear success in sugar importation. Sugar prices were continuously increased during the war. Especially during last two years of the war, sugar became hardly founded goods for Ottoman market. Ottoman people greatly suffered from sugar famine. But, for evaluating the success or failure position of Ottoman government, it would become unfair to ignore the hard conditions of World War I.

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