

**The Evolution of Commercial Institutions and Business Networks in the  
Ottoman Empire: British Merchant Families and Individual Merchants  
in the Levant Trade in the 18th Century**

**by**

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To Ezgi with love and eternal gratitude  
for making it possible

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis has been written with the purpose of contributing to the existing general literature on the Levant trade while at the same time being informed by recent advances in research on Ottoman business history. Our aim in this thesis was to study the effect of institutional and organizational change that the Levant Company underwent in the 18th century on the evolution of individual business networks. This thesis is based on an examination of British and Ottoman archival documents and Lloyd's Lists and Registers, which have served as our main source of data and information for the purpose of identifying the initiatives undertaken by individual merchants that led to the creation of new business networks after the year 1753.

The variables on which this change in the character of trade depended most and the areas in which the impact of such change was experienced most intensely is revealed during the course of our study. This thesis demonstrates the distinctive character of relationships between family merchants on the one hand and individual merchants on the other in different phases of the early, middle and late 18th century. Furthermore, it confirms the effects that the liberalization and easing of access to trade that the Levant Company introduced in the period between 1744 and 1753 as part of a broad institutional as well as legislative transformation. The character and scope of business activity undertaken by Levant merchants changed significantly in consequence. This thesis departs from the current historiography with its network analysis in favour of high-level programming language (Python). It also marks a departure in showing the trade

routes of the Levant Company with web-based data visualization and analytical apps (Plotly) through utilising shipping registers for the 18th century.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**Table 1:** Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Full Name
BOA	Presidency's Ottoman Archives, (Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi) Istanbul
A. DVN. DVE	Sublime Porte, Registers of Foreign States Books, for Britain
A.DVN.DVE.d	Sublime Porte, Registers of Foreign States
A. DVNS. AHK. MR	Sublime Porte, Registers of Foreign States, The Morean Ledger
D.BŞM.İGE	Constantinople Customs Accounts
C.ML	Cevdet Series, Financial
İE.BH	İbnülemin Series, Naval
A.MKT.MHM d	Grand Vizierate, Grand Vizierate Registers
A. AMD d	Grand Vizierate, Grand Vizierate Registers
D.HMK.d	Smyrna Custom Books
HR.MKT	Foreign Office
MAD.d	Registers of Circulars from the Finance Office
KR	Kadi Registers
CR	Constantinople Registers (İstanbul Sicilleri)
SR	Smyrna Registers (İzmir Sicilleri)
AR	Aleppo Registers (Halep Sicilleri, Evâmîr-i Sultâniye)
APKM	The City Archive and Museum of İzmir Municipality Ahmet Piriştina Library, in İzmir-Turkey
ISAM	Turkish Religious Foundation Islamic Studies Centre
TNA	The National Archives, Kew-London
SP	State Papers
E 190	Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Port Books
E 351	Exchequer: Pipe Office: Declared Accounts

CUST	Boards of Customs and Excise
C 108	Chancery: Master Farrer's Exhibits
C 113	Chancery: Master Kindersley's Exhibits
HCA 26	High Court of Admiralty: Prize Court: Registers of Declarations for Letters of Marque
ADM	Records of the Navy Board and the Board of Admiralty
T	Treasury: Treasury Board Papers and In-Letters
J	Supreme Court of Judicature and former Superior Courts
HO	Home Office
HERT	Hertfordshire Record Office: Archives and Local Studies, Hitchin, Hertfordshire
DE/R/B	Family and business papers and correspondence of the Radcliffe family of Hitchin Priory, 1538-1944, BUSINESS RECORDS
DE/R/F	Family and business papers and correspondence of the Radcliffe family of Hitchin Priory, 1538-1944, FAMILY RECORDS
DE/R/C	Family and business papers and correspondence of the Radcliffe family of Hitchin Priory, 1538-1944, OTHER CORRESPONDENCE
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, London
CLC/B	Business Records
F/ANG	Families and Individuals Records
DL/E/E	Diocesan Records
BL	British Library, London
IOR	India Office Records
MS	Manuscripts
KALH	Kent Archives and Local History, Kent
SHCA	Surrey History Centre, Surrey
NRO	Norfolk Record Office, Norfolk
SAMAC	St. Antony's College, The Middle East Centre Archive, University of Oxford
LLOYD'S	Lloyd's Lists
HMC	Welbeck Abbey / Historical Manuscripts Commission
LT	Liberty of Trade

FM	Freeman
C	Consul
VC	Vice Consul
FBM	Family Business Member
IB	Individual Business
(ed.)	Editor
(eds.)	Editors
(jun.)	Junior
(e.g.)	Example
No	Number
Vol	Volume



# INTRODUCTION

## THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHODOLOGY, AND OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

For a long time, the growth of economies over the long-run were evaluated in terms of output per capita with technological developments, productivity, and increments of real capital or investments based on neo-classical economic theory.<sup>1</sup> Recent research has shown, however, that many societies and states had success concerning economic growth before the Industrial Revolution.<sup>2</sup> Progress in organization and business with an institutional aspect such as credit, kinship and business institutions was shown as an important component to discuss the economic developments before the 1800s in this sense.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise, population expansion in the period 1500-1700 allowed the development of institutions, which caused the economic growth in Europe and merchants' movement as well.<sup>4</sup> As will be seen, apart from the classical or neo-classical theory of economics on economic development, there are many components such as

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<sup>1</sup> Rondo Cameron and L. Neal, *A Concise Economic History of the World: From Paleolithic Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory Clark, *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 146-147.

<sup>3</sup> Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy 1000-1700* (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2003), pp. 125-128.

<sup>4</sup> Douglass C. North, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 103-118.

institutional changes and population characteristics, which interact in order to explain the economic history of the world at a macro and micro economic level.<sup>5</sup>

In the words of Şevket Pamuk, we should incorporate the role of institutions and institutional change in long-term economic change to evaluate the economic history of the Ottoman Empire. The long-distance trade between British traders and the Ottoman Empire occurs both through an institutions system, actors and their trade networks in historical context.<sup>6</sup> Analysing the scope and structure of the trading and its links with the strategy of companies or the operations of foreign merchants in the long distance Ottoman-European trade is required to evaluate social networks such as a cooperation membership, friendship, kinship and family ties. Furthermore, we must also take into account and not ignore the trends in the world economy in order to note the place of commercial activities between British traders and Ottomans.

As Pamuk has noted, it can be shown that the social and political conditions provide the context for economic activities; or are assumed as an ultimate determinant of the economic developments.<sup>7</sup> The territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire enabled

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<sup>5</sup> Şevket Pamuk, "Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1800", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35: 2 (2004), pp. 225-226.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>7</sup> "There has been growing interest in economics, economic history, political science, and related disciplines in the study of institutions and institutional change and a greater appreciation of the important role played by institutions in long-term economic change. In fact, institutions and institutional change have been identified as key variables that help explain the widely disparate economic performances of different societies. Studies on the economic history of the Near East region need to make progress on two fronts, it seems to me. First, we need to learn more about agriculture, manufacturing, long-distance trade, monetary history, economic growth and development, standards of living, and other subjects in different areas of the Middle East for each of the three main periods: medieval or early Islamic, early modern or

long-distance trade to be vibrant especially in the coastal business activities for both the Ottoman Empire and European merchants. According to the Ottomans' official economic mind<sup>8</sup>, exporting was regarded less favourably than importing.<sup>9</sup> In this sense, it can be argued that the foreign merchant wanted to do business under the authority of the Ottoman ports. Also, the Ottomans used long-distance trade as a regulator for the stability of the domestic markets.<sup>10</sup>

In this context, we need to evaluate the activities of British traders and their companies with institutions, their changes over time and the Ottoman state concept as a regulation for markets and goods variation. For doing this, institutions come into prominence in order to trace the details of the commercial activities and relations. Firstly, they form the relationship between persons, different communities and occupational groups in the business society. Secondly, institutions reform the relations when required based on informal or formal procedures. Lastly, it must be known that institutional change or

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(mostly) Ottoman, and modern since the Industrial Revolution. Second, we need to take advantage of the opportunity to study long-term institutional change in the region not only to better understand the history of the Middle East but also to contribute to the debates on global economic history and the role of institutions and institutional change in long-term economic change." See Şevket, Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> The Ottoman economic mind that encouraged imports and attempted to restrict exports for keeping prices in the market and inflation under control. Also, "in organizing the empire's economy and trade, the Ottoman regime primarily aimed at accumulating as much bullion as possible in a central treasury" with real goals of "giving charity to the poor and needy, committing resources for the welfare of future generations and seeking to improve communal life" are main aspects of the Ottomans' economic mind. See Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı'da Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2003), pp. 43-53; Halil İnalcık and Quataert, Donald, (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 44-48.

<sup>9</sup> Genç, *Osmanlı'da Devlet ve Ekonomi*, pp. 45-48.

<sup>10</sup> Pamuk, "Institutional Change and the Longevity of the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1800", pp. 235-236.

reconstitution of an institution depend on geography, climate, culture, religions and conflicts of interest inherently.<sup>11</sup>

An understanding of the changes and developments of economic and political institutions hinges on the ability to penetrate the historical process and developments. We know that the British merchants who were operating in Ottoman ports and cities in the 18th century had several business networks in many different geographical areas from East to West. Accessing the possibilities of business in the regions apart from the Levant seas can be realized on the basis of a number of social networks and family ties or kinship that were used by British merchants. In recent years, economists and economic-business historians emphasise political, commercial and social-business networks<sup>12</sup> with institutional change and economic developments.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, this thesis shows the workings of the networks of the British merchants with institutions in the Ottoman commercial system although with certain limitations and Ottoman judicial

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<sup>11</sup> Şevket Pamuk, "Political Power and Institutional Change: Lessons from the Middle East", *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 27: sup1 (2012), pp. 43-45; Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, pp. 6-9.

<sup>12</sup> For the first studies and analyses of ethnic and social networks on trade, emerged during in recent years with Rauch and Trindade work. Rauch and Trindade found that ethnic and social networks have a considerable quantitative impact on international trade by showing ethnic Chinese networks, increased bilateral trade. See James E. Rauch, "Business and social networks in international trade", *Journal of economic literature*, 39: 4 (2001), pp. 1177-1178. Also, see James E Rauch and Vitor Trindade, "Ethnic Chinese networks in international trade", *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 84 (2002), p. 116 and Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The global trade networks of Armenian merchants from New Julfa*, V. 17. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014).

<sup>13</sup> Niall Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power* (London: Penguin, 2017). Adam Przeworski, "The Last Instance: Are Institutions the Primary Cause of Economic Development?", *European Journal of Sociology*, 45: 2 (2004), pp. 168-170; Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, pp. 37-40. For social and business networks, see Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower* and Alain Fayolle, et al., eds. *Entrepreneurial process and social networks: a dynamic perspective* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016).

and political aspects concerning the British traders, consuls and families and their agents in the Levant Trade.

### **The Research Questions**

In the field of economic history and the history of economic growth or development, there are some stereotypical questions frequently under consideration. At the macro level, it can be shown that the most important question is: Why are some countries or regions richer than others? In the field of business and commercial history, the questions fall under the influence of more specific themes. The questions are mostly oriented towards the micro level such as firms, merchants, organization types, partnerships, knowledge-experience, institutional changes, and expansion of new trade routes and so on. More specifically, a basic question of business history is: What is the importance of firms and actors in economic and historical analysis? Starting from this specific question, it can be argued that business history and its area of interest is a sub-discipline of economics and history. Apart from these considerations, in order to examine the change in the commercial activities of the Levant Company's British<sup>14</sup> merchants under the Ottoman authority with capitulations or ahdnames<sup>15</sup> in the Ottoman lands on the basis

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<sup>14</sup> After The Act of Union of 1707, Scotland and England declared the United into One Kingdom by the Name of Great Britain. That's why, for the 18th century, we prefer to use the 'British' instead of the 'English'.

<sup>15</sup> According to Zecevic, "The Ottoman compound noun 'ahdname' is derived from the Arabic word 'ahd' ("promise, pledge") and the Persian noun nāme ("letter, text"). In early modern Ottoman usage, as Daniel Goffman has noted, these documents were called ahdname-i Hümayun, Charters of Imperial Pledge, and they were issued to certain European states, granting their citizens the right to reside in the Ottoman Empire and to engage in trade, with minimal tariffs. The ahdnames bestowed by the Ottomans upon their tributary states stipulated that in return for payment of annual tribute, these states would enjoy military

of private records of British merchant families with their personal and cooperation networks and various archival records requires the researcher to ask more specific questions than the aforementioned questions.

In this thesis, business activities will be dealt with by combining three questions, from the general to the specific. First, the approaches of economic development are inspirational for evaluating the activities of British merchants in Ottoman territory. For studying Ottoman and British commercial activities, we need to ask a general question in order to show its place in the big picture. What we intend by using the big picture is to contextualise economic conditions of the world in that time. Therefore, the general question of this thesis is: What were the economic conditions of the Ottoman and British Empires in the world system during the 17th and 18th centuries?

Second, business history theory is not related to all subjects, but it is the collective biography of firms and their actors.<sup>16</sup> That is why we tend to use the types of firms and business organizations. In the 16th century, English merchants or ship owners tried to establish new paradigm companies and they also got into a partnership. Hence, it seems

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and political protection, as well as trading privileges." See Selma Zecevic, "Translating Ottoman Justice: Ragusan Dragomans as Interpreters of Ottoman Law", *Islamic Law and Society*, 21: 4 (2014), pp. 388-418. Also for detail handling of *ahdnames*, see Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, And Beratlis in the 18th Century* Vol. 21, (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 2005), pp. 19-63.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Clark, and Michael Rowlinson, "The treatment of history in organisation studies: towards an 'historic turn'?", *Business History*, 46: 3 (2004), pp. 343-344; Franco Amatori and Andrea Colli, *Business History: Complexities and Comparisons*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 3-10. For the general discussions, see the chapter 1 and 2 in Geoffrey Jones, and Jonathan Zeitlin, *The Oxford Handbook of Business History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). For the first researches on this aspect, see Norman Scott Brien Gras, "Business History", *The Economic History Review*, 4: 4 (1934), p. 385.

important to evaluate the activities of British merchants and families operating in the Levant (Ottoman ports, in other words) and their relations in the 18th century. In this context, the question of business historical perspective is: Which partnerships or co-operations of British merchants affected the commercial activities in Levant trade?

Finally, according to the archival sources of British merchants and their business operations in the Levant Seas with the Levant Company and many merchants' private companies records, such as Radcliffe's Company, Boddington Company, Fawkener Company, Bosanquet Company, Vernon Company, Abbott Company, and Lee Company, we know that the commercial activities of British merchants and their private initiatives and business networks played some role in Ottoman port cities with other ports and cities which are inside of the Ottoman Empire or outside of its territory especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. Contrary to merchants of the East India Company, members of the Levant Company had not any desire to dominate Ottoman lands. They were dependent on the system of the Ottoman capitulations (ahdnames) and legal status. These political and juridical dependencies and the regulations of the Levant Company make merchants' commercial activities interesting to evaluate in that time. It is interesting, because they tried to overcome the legal institutional restrictions from both sides with their business and social networks. This legal system, which the British merchants had to comply with, has revealed the result of doing trade in many places except their Levant geography. For this reason, the British merchants were doing business in the Levant Company while the other side continued their trade outside of the

Ottoman territory. Therefore, commercial relations between the Ottoman and British empires have many strands including political, economic, juridical and social developments. It is crucial to evaluate commercial activities on both sides embracing institutions, business networks, actors and firms with their economic effects. Moreover, we know that the Levant Company had two major changes namely the abolition of general shipping in 1744 and lifting of barriers on membership in 1753.<sup>17</sup>

In the light of this information, the basic argument of the thesis is that the changes that took place in 1744 and 1753 should be evaluated as very important 'institutional changes' for the Levant Company. These institutional changes in the organizational structure of the Levant Company represent a paradigmatic transformation for the company. In addition, another important argument of the thesis is that this institutional transformation gave rise to a great liberalization of the Levant Company. That's why, these institutional changes can be considered as constituting the 'liberalization of the company'. In this sense, the organization structure and business operations of the company would never be the same after the Act of 1753. This paradigmatic change or transformation almost completely changed the structure of the Family Business and Individual Business in the Levant trade in the second half of the century. In this sense, it is important to ask how these institutional and organizational major changes affected big merchant families and how the monopoly of these families was affected by this change.

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<sup>17</sup> Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London; New York: IB Tauris, 2014), p. 91.

In addition, whether the commercial activities of retailer merchants, who were qualified as individual merchants, were affected positively or negatively from this big change onwards appears to be another fundamental question.

Essentially, the institutional change on behalf of Levant company merchants just before and after 1753, in what way the number of merchants was affected by this change and our desire to make a comparison upon the roles of family merchants in the previous period (1700-1753) have resulted in a deeper analysis of the fundamental works. Consequently, the last question of the thesis in that sense is divided into three sections: What was the Ottoman capitulation system towards the Levant Company's merchants? What institutional changes affected British merchants in terms of 'Family Business' and 'Individual Business' in the Levant trade? What economic and political relationships or business networks did they have in the 18th century?

### **Methodology: Business History, Networks and Institutions**

In the historiography, there has been considerable discussion since the 1970s over the methodologies best suited to pursuing business history. As Ralph Hidy recognised, the business history discipline needed to have new tools. According to Hidy, because of the lack of methodological patterns business historians could borrow some concept from the other social sciences especially in sociology and economics.<sup>18</sup> Business history contains

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<sup>18</sup> Ralph W. Hidy, "Business History: Present Status and Future Needs", *Business History Review*, 44 (1970), p. 494.

many economic and progress indicators in any business activity from past to present in accordance with exchanges between at least two actors such as a country, private company or international firms. In this sense, it requires a theoretical aspect apart from the methodology. Due to this reason, business historians extended their framework theoretically with sociologic elements such as culture and with economic factors such as institutions, and networks in the last decades.<sup>19</sup>

Besides, in the broad sense of business history, in this thesis, business history will be dealt with in preindustrial times when economic activity was based on commerce, the merchant as an actor and institutions as a commitment, culture, kinship-friendship, and family ties as a network of them. There are many studies, which particularly emphasize the importance of institutions. Indeed, institutions have moved centre stage in economic history especially in recent years.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in Ottoman economic history studies, the business communities and merchant families operating before the 19th century shouldn't be ignored by economic historians.

Business and commercial activities between Britain and the Ottoman Empire in the Levant raises many new questions especially concerning private-individual merchant activities. First, we must understand how business organizations (private or corporate) have been organized and sustained by the merchants who practised business in the

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<sup>19</sup> Geoffrey Jones, Marco HD van Leeuwen, and Stephen Broadberry, "The Future of Economic, Business, and Social History", *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 60: 3 (2012), p. 230.

<sup>20</sup> Richard N. Langlois, "The Institutional Approach to Economic History: Connecting the Two Strands", *University of Connecticut Department of Economics Working Paper*, 33 (2013), pp. 2013-2014.

Levant Company and, acting on its own behalf, their family members and agents. Second, we also must know which institutions have played key roles in commercial activities between countries and intercompany competition. Otherwise, business activities or organizations make historical developments important. The relationship between institutions and business organizations is reflected in the commercial history of private companies, individual merchants, lands and countries. Thirdly, that is why history - or we can say the business history of family companies with initiatives of individual merchants - and historical analysis are as important as institutions.

Business history is the short-brief history of companies, large or small, private or corporate.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the links between economic history or capitalist history and companies / firms are strong. The history of business is also related to actors as retailer merchants, merchant family members and agents of the business organizations. Especially in the 18th century, business activities of British merchants increased in most branches of manufacturing, commerce and finance. Apart from this, British merchants operating overseas preferred partnerships and associations with family members rather than with outsiders and foreign merchants.<sup>22</sup> Thus, business history and business organizations are cognate subjects. For examining business organizations before the 19th century, the developments in the fields of law on the status or status of

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<sup>21</sup> Franco Amatori, and Geoffrey Jones, eds., *Business History around the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Mary B. Rose, *Firms, Networks and Business Values: The British and American cotton industries since 1750* Vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 58.

merchants,<sup>23</sup> company restrictions, maritime trade, political relations, commercial codes of parties, and economic conditions worldwide, must be considered. Legal history, international trade theory and the theory of new institutional economics merit as much attention as in economic history and are also one of the topics of business organizations as a tool of trade in theory.<sup>24</sup> A study of Ottoman-European trade naturally includes an interdisciplinary perspective, and many subjects mentioned before. Even when legal history, international trade theory, network analysis, and the theory of new institutional economics as a part of analysis further complicate matters, they help to evaluate the Ottoman-European trade and condition of the merchant communities.

Apart from this theoretical framework, this thesis utilises the empirical model related to data analytics and visualization tools, named Plotly<sup>25</sup> with Data set from Lloyd's Shipping Lists.<sup>26</sup> It will be examine the effects of the Levant Company merchants' networks geographically using a plotly computer programme with Python high-level programming language.<sup>27</sup> In a way, striving to show what kind of a trade network Levant Company merchants had along with an institutional company frame that developed and

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<sup>23</sup> For instance, Freeman and Liberty of Trade statutes.

<sup>24</sup> Gras, "Business History", pp. 385-388.

<sup>25</sup> Plotly is a web-based data visualization and analytical apps. Plotly, also known by its URL, Plot.ly, [1] is a technical computing company headquartered in Montreal, Quebec, that develops online data analytics and visualization tools. Plotly provides online graphing, analytics, and statistics tools for individuals. See <https://plot.ly/>

<sup>26</sup> These lists can be downloaded from Maritime & Historical Research Service's web site.

<http://www.maritimearchives.co.uk/lloyds-list.html>

<sup>27</sup> Python is an interpreted high-level programming language for general-purpose programming. Created by Guido van Rossum and first released in 1991, Python has a design philosophy that emphasizes code readability, notably using significant whitespace. Source:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Python\\_\(programming\\_language\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Python_(programming_language))

transformed in the 18th century by means of a network analysis method is almost a unique trial. The advantage of this network analysis method is important in the sense that it provides the trading routes and the intensity map of Levant commercial centres. The dynamism demonstrated by Levant Company merchants as of the mid 18th century in particular has inspired me with the use of this method. Through this procedure, network analysis may be expanded in such a manner that it involves other issues as well.<sup>28</sup>

### **Outline of the Thesis**

Chapters in this thesis examine different issues related to the Levant Company merchants in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century with an introduction regarding the extensive methodological analysis and research questions. Each of the chapters deals with a particular aspect of the family and individual business life and business operations in the Levant with their entrepreneurial networks in the Ottoman Empire and the port cities located in northern Africa, Europe, India and America. In the meantime, each chapter combines aspects of institutional economics and the historical context. The combination of business institutions and narrative correspondence makes this thesis a comprehensive study on business operations of merchants.

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<sup>28</sup> In this respect, I am also currently engaged in preparing a separate study regarding the marriage and kinship bonds between the merchants who did business as Levant Company members or freemen.

Chapter 1 offers a comprehensive overview of the historiography. This chapter also shows the existence literature on 'Institutions, Theory and Historical Perspectives on the Economics of International Trade', 'Legal Status of Merchants in the Ottoman Empire and Europe', 'British Merchants and Consuls in the Ottoman Empire', and with some literature information on British-Ottoman relations in general. In this chapter, several significant resources were evaluated in relation to trade (especially the one performed by foreign merchants for the Ottoman State) which is an important topic of the Ottoman economics and management history are existing. Furthermore, a number of resources are listed in order to provide a better understanding of the legal status and frame through the special case of British merchants. Apart from these sources and existing literature, sources which are written with regard to institutional change are added in this chapter.

Chapter 2 summarizes the background of British commercial and diplomatic relations with the Ottomans with an extensive literature review. Also it gives brief information about the establishment of the Levant Company with crucial issues. Before the historical background of the Levant Company, the chapter examine the archival sources consulted for the thesis. These derive from the British National Archives, London, the Metropolitan Archives, London, the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, British Library alongside several local archives in the UK, and Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman Archives in İstanbul). To briefly touch upon the resources, the National Archive State Papers include Levant Company correspondence, the names and related information about the

merchants who were admitted to membership, the records concerning financial accounting and the embassy and consulate reports to a great extent. Besides, British foreign trade data and extensive information about tradable goods are available in the Customs books as well. These two document groups have been extensively made use of within the thesis. Especially the merchant names and the centres where these merchants whose names have been identified performed trading activities make up the most significant resource group of our thesis study. London Metropolitan Archives, British Library and Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, on the other hand, mostly involve the correspondence regarding merchant families and individual merchants. The useful information about the networks, agents, associate status and tradable goods of merchants in particular has become available by means of these archives.<sup>29</sup> These micro-level merchants' correspondence is quite significant in terms of filling the gap in the literature. As for the Ottoman archive, customs records during the 18th century and various correspondences along with these have been reviewed for the thesis. The opportunity to make a comparison with British custom records in the light of the Ottoman customs records has been achieved.

Chapter 3 provides a conceptual framework on institutions and trade which helps to trace the evolution of legal status of foreign merchants in the Ottoman Empire, how economic and business institutional changes affected the business operations in that

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<sup>29</sup> Documents have been accessed in various archives Britain-wide about individual merchants. The third and fourth chapters cover the identification records of these archives.

time and finally Ottoman ports and the influence of their geographical aspect with the history of the Levant Company in the 18th century. Apart from this, in what kind of an institutional frame Levant Company merchants were engaged in accordance with their own company rules has been touched upon too. Through this, it will become possible to provide the answer to the question how the merchants stretched this frame and what sort of a network order they were involved with. In addition, the features of the commercial centres in Levant concerning the British merchants who performed activities within these two institutional frames and the information related to what routes they followed will be presented in detail as well. And, it will be demonstrated who was who in the Levant Company organization in the 18th century. Company's general Assembly, administration office and governors of the company who were located in London, ambassadors, consuls, vice consuls, staffs of consulates, factors-agents, treasurers, chancellor, and apprentices will be mentioned with their roles in the Levant trade organization.

Chapter 4 is more specifically concerned with Family Business in the Levant trade. Big-wealthy families' business operations in the Levant seas, especially with commercial and diplomatic roles of Smyrna (İzmir), and Aleppo (Halep) and draws on their private company's documents and Custom records from the aforementioned archives. While emphasizing the greatness of the positions in Levant regarding these big merchant families before the Act of 1753 on the one hand, I will also focus on the details of the loss concerning the previous power of merchant family members in Levant trade under

the effect of the institutional transformation experienced after 1753. The absence of political support experienced by these merchant families who acted upon the motivation of protecting their own monopolies and the loss of this monopoly power bring along new issues too. In this regard, the end of the third chapter, which is directly in connection with the fourth section also involves the issue related to the withdrawal of these big families from Levant trade after 1753. Besides, significant information will be revealed for the first time through the discussion of which merchant families used agents, which families performed commercial activities in the longest term, which family members worked on their own behalf and preferred what trading centres.

Chapter 5 shows some details of the individual-retailer merchants who were operating their business in Levant in the 18th century. Their private business networks and other relations with other regions beside the Levant ports in and their details of commercial operations will be also examined in this chapter. Lloyd's Shipping Lists<sup>30</sup> provided the resource base for this chapter in order to evaluate the networks of the individual merchants in the 18th century. Apart from this, an analysis has essentially been made for the first time herein based on the merchant numbers. The increase in the concern shown by the individual merchants for Levant trade after 1753 will be conveyed to the surface with the help of the information available in this chapter in numerical sense and

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<sup>30</sup> The Registry of Shipping, later renamed Lloyd's Registers and Lists, has two sections occurs 'Registers' and 'Lists'. Lloyd's Shipping Lists printed its first Lists of Ships in 1741 to give trade routes of vessels for the world commerce. The lists are probably the oldest English newspaper still published today. Lloyd's List details ship movements, marine casualties, and maritime news.

in terms of diversity too. Again, in this chapter, the period after 1753 has been referred to as “Learning-Trial Phase” by use of a new conceptualization. Accordingly, it has been concluded that the Levant simply became a centre of experience transfer, knowledge sharing and commerce due to the increasing number of new merchant arrivals after 1753. In this respect, it is demonstrated through archive documents that not only a group consisting of merchants but also seamen actively participated in this trade.

Chapter 6 analyses the evaluation of Business-Trade networks in accordance with three topics. These topics are (1) ‘The Ottoman Economic Mind and Merchants’, (2) ‘Agents, Ship-owners, Partnership and Joint Ventures’, and (3) ‘Knowledge Acquisition, Experience and Business-Social Networks in Levant’. The aim in this chapter is to determine the major changes and their causes with the help of aforementioned topics. In this chapter, also, the centrality of Smyrna, Alexandria and Salonica in the Levant trade organization will be visualised utilising the aforementioned method of network analysis. The business networks of Levant Company merchants, which developed and transformed in the 18th century, are discussed, through incorporating network analysis method and Lloyd’s List data, in this chapter. The network analysis in question has provided a clear picture of the dynamism of Levant Company merchants after 1753. This analysis method which proves that these merchants got busy with trade not only in the Levant but worldwide will be tried for the first time in a way and set light to other studies. In terms of offering information about the intensity, frequency and volume of the shipping activities among ports rather than simply giving details about these ports, this

chapter suggests a new model for international commercial history research. Finally, the conclusion places the findings of the thesis in the general context of the economic relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire in the light of institutional developments, and changes in the 18th century. Also, entrepreneurial networks of individual merchants and their trade centres will be mentioned and the significance of some social relations.

In general terms, this thesis aims at making an analysis through international trading networks as a business history study. It is a study formulated over the importance of institutions and business-social networks and which analyses the status of Levant Company merchants through periodical difference. This thesis is the first enterprise that studies the commercial networks of merchants by use of a computer programme besides its inclusion of an extensive archive survey. Also, it differs from the studies in the related literature due to its argument that Levant merchants were also engaged in long-distance commerce like Transatlantic, India and South Africa. In this regard, its access to new evidence as a result of a rigorous study made through a detailed archive research and shipping lists, simply positions this thesis on a different level than other studies too. In addition, this thesis fills a gap in the literature of the business history of the commercial operations by mapping and visualizing the new routes, centrality of the port cities where merchants mostly operated and relationship between institutions and the networks.

**CHAPTER ONE**  
**THE HISTORIOGRAPHY**

This thesis, which assigns the activities of Levant merchants between 1753 and 1800, their business networks extending beyond Levant and their commercial routes as its subject matter, is shaped through a broad literature along with archive resources. The study aims at explaining the merchant activities and business relationships, analysed generally in reference to British and Ottoman archive records and Lloyd's Lists, based on three basic literature review as mentioned previously. The first of these is the institutional economics approach (the aspect of the institutional economics and networking) and network analysis, the second is historical perspectives and the third is the international commercial literature.

This chapter offers a summary of the existing literature in order to interpret the activities of Levant merchants in a particular frame. Accordingly, the qualities of the resources already existing in literature and forming a link with the subject matter of the thesis and their contribution to the literature will be clarified. In this way, the details related to such issues like the Ottoman economic mind, the status of foreign merchants in the Ottoman State and the sort of body of rules they were subject to will be revealed. These points also put forth the way the Ottomans viewed foreign merchants and what institutional and legal framework Levant Company merchants who operated business in a wide geographical area. This chapter involves an extensive analysis of all the resources evaluated within this context.

## **Institutions, Theory and Historical Perspectives on the Economics of International Trade**

Within world economic history, particularly in the context of recent studies, the Ottoman Empire is depicted as a passive actor or a walker on. The effective factor in advocating this approach is that the post-industrial revolution economic development and therefore increased capital accumulation experienced in Europe, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, does not show the same characteristics for the Ottoman State. Therefore, the requirement to analyse the Ottoman State within the framework of the “Great-Long Divergence” theory<sup>1</sup> is one of the first general approaches. Timur Kuran claims that

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<sup>1</sup> Great-Long Divergence is one of the three different debate issues about the origins of the industrial breakthrough of the late 18th century. “The view that the Industrial Revolution was the result of a slow build up during the preceding centuries has recently been questioned by a number of scholars, most prominently by Roy Bin Wong (1997), Bozhong Li (1998) and Kenneth Pomeranz (2000), who maintain that before 1800 Europe was not so ‘special’. They argued that China, and possibly other parts of Asia as well, was on the same growth trajectory as Europe, and that during the 18th century levels of income and productivity in both parts of the Eurasian continent were very similar. In their view the decisive acceleration of Europe after about 1800 – what Pomeranz (2000) characterizes as ‘The Great Divergence’ – is not the consequence of fundamental differences in growth potential, because both regions were experiencing a similar process of ‘Smithian growth’ before 1800, and markets and institutions were equally well developed. Rather, Europe and in particular England owed its spectacular performance after 1780 to two, almost accidental factors: a cheap and ready supply of coal, enabling the revolution of the steam engine, and the possession of large colonies guaranteeing a cheap supply of land-intensive products such as cotton and sugar, thereby substantially alleviating the land constraint. Moreover, this debate on the ‘Great Divergence’ gave a strong stimulus to the development of ‘global economic history’, with the aim of comparing the growth trajectories of different parts of the world from this perspective.” See Van Zanden and Jan Luiten, *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution: The European Economy in a Global Perspective, 1000-1800*, Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 5-6. Furthermore, see the details of this term Roy Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca/London, Cornell University Press, 1997); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Islamic law and institutions caused stagnation in the business organizations' institutions in the Middle East countries as well as the Ottoman Empire after the 15th century.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, as a result of how fast capitalist commercial relations developed and spread after the Industrial Revolution, the Ottoman State is known to have been included in this area of impact after the 1830s. The most important impact within this process is the break in the Ottoman understanding of economics and in its institutions, especially before the Industrial Revolution. Accordingly, works conducted in cognisance of the new understanding of economics claim that the main reason for the economic and commercial development difference between two poles is the discrepancy between Ottoman and Western economic institutions.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that the Ottoman Empire remained behind European economies throughout the 19th century, whereas it was an important economic power in the 17th century.<sup>4</sup> In Europe, starting from the last decades of the 18th century, this period is accepted as the period of industrialisation when first England then other countries in Western Europe turned into manufacturing economies that could produce finished products at a low cost and in high quantities. Technological jumps were experienced particularly in maritime transportation and

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<sup>2</sup> Timur Kuran, *The Long Divergence: How Islamic Law Held Back the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 79-81.

<sup>3</sup> See Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power Prosperity and Poverty* (Profile, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi 1500-1914* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2007), pp. 191-198.

business organizations' concepts in the following periods of the century accelerated the increase in commercial activities.<sup>5</sup>

Theoretically, institutional aspects to business organization need to be traced at this stage. There is a consensus that institutions became a vital factor in order to interpret the economic theories on development in recent years. Furthermore, institutional economic (especially new institutional economics) influences business history discipline with ahistorical perspective more than neo-classical economics.<sup>6</sup> In general, the new institutional economics can be defined as an interdisciplinary aspect combining economics, law, organization theory, political science, and sociology. It helps to comprehend the institutions driving social, political and commercial activities. Even though its primary language is economics, the new institutional economics theory uses various social-science disciplines.<sup>7</sup> Institutional economics theory tends to evaluate change and variation in the economic system via institutions as much as individuals as is the case of economic history discourse or economic historians' ultimate aims. Institutions affected individuals and merchants' partnership choices on one hand; on the other hand, in order to trace economic developments or process the theory of

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 162-164; Acemoglu-Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, pp. 203-204.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Clark and Michael Rowlinson, "The Treatment of History in Organisation Studies: Towards an 'Historic Turn'?", *Business History*, 46: 3, (2004), p. 331.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Klein, "New Institutional Economics" in *Encyclopedia of Law and Economics*, edited by B. Bouckaert and G. De Geest, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2000, pp. 456-457.

institutional economics, this approach uses social change and institutions in commercial and economic relations in particular.<sup>8</sup>

The roots of new institutional economics do not date back to old times. This aspect is economically based on Thorstein Veblen, John R. Commons, Wesley C. Mitchell, Clarence Ayres and their followers' line of thought about the importance of institutions in particular.<sup>9</sup> The primary point of the economists, named institutionalists, is to criticise mainstream economic aspects and to show the roles of other disciplines such as business, behavioural sciences and history. According to John R. Commons, the trade and business organizations are based on some rules or traditions which are determined by the business relations of companies and individuals as much as the state or political authority.<sup>10</sup>

According to the new Institutional Economics, a successor to Institutional Economics, the society or communities in historical perspective have essential and primary roles in order to understand economic long-run change. In historical perspective, relations between

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<sup>8</sup> J. D. Wiseman and J. Rozansky, "The Methodology of Institutionalism Revised", *Journal of Economic Issues*, 25: 3 (1991), pp. 710-712.

<sup>9</sup> See Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class; An Economic Study of Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); John R. Commons, "Institutional Economics", *The American Economic Review*, 26: 1 (1931), pp. 648-657; Wesley C. Mitchell, "Commons on Institutional Economics", *The American Economic Review*, 25: 4 (1935), pp. 635-652; Clarence Edwin Ayres, *The Industrial Economy: Its Technological Basis and Institutional Destiny* (London: Houghton Mifflin, 1952).

<sup>10</sup> He points that: "Either the state, or a corporation, or a cartel, or a holding company, or a cooperative association, or a trade union, or an employers' association, or a trade association, or a joint trade agreement of two associations, or a stock exchange, or a board of trade, may lay down and enforce the rules which determine for individuals this bundle of correlative and reciprocal economic relationships. Indeed, these collective acts of economic organizations are at times more powerful than the collective action of the political concern, the state." See Commons, "Institutional economics", p. 649.

two countries are frequently defined by political issues. For writing an economic and social history work, it is required to determine the dynamics of societies and private relations especially in commercial activities. Thus, social institutions as forms of economic, financial, social and political organization, the legal system, religion and cultural dynamics<sup>11</sup> can be used as a source of change in the economy and these institutions must be regarded as a factor in historical analysis. In recent years, some business historians have tried to place business activities in the society of related countries in historical context.<sup>12</sup> In order to make a fully-coherent analysis for business history, the point of focus must be society based in coordination with economic and political aspects.<sup>13</sup>

In mainstream economics, or classical political and neoclassical economics in other words, the system of markets has a self-regulation mechanism known as the invisible hand<sup>14</sup> metaphor. It means the market works efficiently without government intervention. Firms, companies and other initiatives are a part of the free market in that case. Also, the classical and neoclassical economic system had universal law aspects and

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<sup>11</sup> Rondo E. Cameron, *A Concise Economic History of the World: From Paleolithic Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> K. A. Tucker, "Business History: Some Proposals for Aims and Methodology" in Kenneth A. Tucker (ed.), *Business History: Selected Readings* (Routledge: 2013), pp. 44-50.

<sup>13</sup> Patrick Fridenson, "Business History and History" in Geoffrey Jones, and Jonathan Zeitlin (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Business History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> The "invisible hand" is a metaphor-term used by Adam Smith to describe unintended social benefits resulting from individual actions in economics. See Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (London, ElecBook, 2001 [original publication 1776]), pp. 922-946.

economic behaviour principals.<sup>15</sup> In Coase's work, "The Nature of the Firm", he poses the question: if the market is able to regulate itself without any impact then why are we talking about firms and companies. In another saying, why do firms and companies exist? This question has a big reputation in the field of economic critics of neoclassic economics, historical schools of economics and institutionalism.<sup>16</sup>

In this context, Coase discusses the importance of business management or administration of firms as a factor of production. He points out that price change is unclear and firms need correct decision making because of the fluctuation of prices. Also, he tended to understand the nature of firms without in any way understanding the market source. In this sense, planning or projection is getting to become a key role for economic analysis and firms. It helps to combine different disciplines such as business, history and law with institutions in economic analysis.

Apart from these, institutional (new institutional approach) economic thought also opened some other doors in order to evaluate business operations or companies' activities in different variations with historical context. Douglass North, with his essential book, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, and other relevant articles, revealed the importance of transaction cost minimization. This approach changed the view of some of the neoclassical assumptions about economic rationality

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<sup>15</sup> Bo Sandelin, Hans-Michael Trautwein, and Richard Wundrak, *A Short History of Economic Thought* (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2014), p. 64.

<sup>16</sup> Ronald H. Coase, "The Nature of the Firm", *Economica*, 4: 16 (1937), pp. 386-387.

and economic processes. North, contrary to his starting point, discovered that history matters and the process of historical developments are able to show economic changes under the society's institutions. Institutions, he says, can be defined as "the humanly devised constraints that structure human interactions source."<sup>17</sup> He believed that the societies are continuing and there is a tenacious link between institutions of the past and present.<sup>18</sup> Also, in his book, the evolution of economic organizations as firms-companies, trade unions and family companies influenced by the institutions can solely be defined under the historical circumstances.<sup>19</sup> In doing so, he widened the connections between the past and the present with the help of institutions and their conversion.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, for business and commercial history researches, the connection of the past with the present and the future includes the important story of institutions. Institutions and institutional evolution can be used to play a central role in the study of economic history and its historical context. In recent years, there are many studies showing the structure

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<sup>17</sup> Douglass C. North, "The New Institutional Economics and Third World Development", *The New Institutional Economics and Third World Development* (1995), p. 21. In North's study, institutions are inhibited by formal constraints, which include political rules, laws and constitutions, and informal constraints such as behaviour norms, cultures, and kinship characteristics. See Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 36-54.; Alberto Alesina, and Paola Giuliano, "Culture and Institutions", Working Paper (September 2014), p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, p. vii.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> He states and asks; "Writing history is constructing a coherent story of some facet of the human condition through time. Such a construction exists only in the human mind. We do not recreate the past; we construct stories about the past. But to be good history, the story must give a consistent, logical account and be constrained by the available evidence and the available theory. A brief answer to the question is that incorporating institutions into history allows us to tell a much better story than we otherwise could. The precliometric economic history actually was built around institutions, and in the hands of its most accomplished practitioners it managed to provide us with a picture of continuity and institutional change that is with an evolutionary story." See *Ibid.*, p. 131.

of economic incentives in society within this scope. Economic institutions matter for stimulating economic growth and reflect economic differences among two countries. In other words, economic institutions determine economic incentives, the structure of economic organizations and production.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, it can be argued that an institutional approach helps to comprehend the role of merchants as instigators of private economic activities starting from the 17th century in Europe.

For the late stages of the Middle Ages, in a series of articles he published in the 2000s and his book *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*, Avner Greif points out that institutions are the engine of history.<sup>22</sup> He claims that studying the origins of the stability and evolution of the institutions can explain why some nations became rich and others poor. He also considers how and which institutions affected the economic conditions especially in long distance trade before the 1800s.

According to Greif, European economic growth depended on some specific institutional innovations that began in the Late Medieval period with the growth of European commerce. For understanding the institutional roots of the rise of the West, he mentioned the expansion of Medieval trade between 1050 and 1350 in Europe and the

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<sup>21</sup> Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, "Institutions as a Fundamental Cause of Long-run Growth", *Handbook of Economic Growth*, 1 (2005), pp. 386-388.

<sup>22</sup> Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 379.

Magrib to explain why European traders after 1350 rose to world economic prominence while their Muslim counterparts fell behind.<sup>23</sup>

Greif defines institutions as a system, which includes social factors. According to Greif, commercial expansion between Europe and the Muslim World along the Mediterranean Sea is comparable under the institutional change framework. He argues that historical research may contribute towards understanding institutional development or evolution and long-run trade expansion.<sup>24</sup>

For specific trade institutions, Greif's works are not directly related to commercial examples that show the long distance trade and merchant communities as a driving force of business developments before the Industrial Revolution. However, his works on merchants and trade organization are important because of their approach to economic history. In his analysis of the *Maghribi Traders* and how the coalition among themselves led to efficient long-distance trade relations, Greif mentions the role of the Merchant's Law as an informal law among the traders and agents. He suggests that the Merchant's Law ensures a common ground for contracts between traders and agents. This common ground, in turn, economized the negotiation costs and led to the efficiency. According to this study, the Law Merchant is the key institution in long-distance trade since without it

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<sup>23</sup> As he argues; "This new perspective makes explicit what institutions are, how they come about, how they can be studied empirically, and what forces affect their stability and change. It explains why and how institutions are influenced by the past, why they can sometimes change, why they differ so much from one society to another, and why it is hard to devise policies aimed at altering them." See *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. "Beliefs, norms from tradition and especially culture are predominant factors alongside the transformation of political and social institutions." See *Ibid.*, p. 26.

negotiation cost would be enormous and make the trade very difficult, if not impossible. His analysis does not only affirm the existence of the Law Merchant, but also indicates its role, at least for the Maghribi Traders.<sup>25</sup>

For the subject of family enterprise or private merchant's operations, it can be argued that merchants set their businesses through various ties of kinship, partnership or membership in terms of shipping agency or master-apprenticeship in historical perspective. According to Niall Ferguson, historians mainly focused on hierarchies in terms of monarchies, empires, nation-states, governments, and armies. Moreover, Ferguson argues that historians neglect the networks in historical analysis.<sup>26</sup> Ferguson claims that this kind of aspect is a common problem, but in this way of writing a history reveals the possibility that many things may be ignored by historians.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, we can say that, British merchants operated business in the Ottoman Empire deserves a closer look in accordance with social networks of these merchants and it can be emphasised that the role of social networks were important for the analysis of British merchants' operations in the Levant and other outsider Mediterranean ports. In common, most networks in economic history have hierarchical features, but it also has

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<sup>25</sup> Erol Özvar and Harun Şencal, "Merchants in Hanefite Law: How did merchants interfere with the Islamic jurisprudence?", *Working Paper*, March 1, 2015, p. 2; Avner Greif, "Contract Enforceability and Economic Institutions in Early Trade: The Maghribi Traders' Coalition", *The American Economic Review*, 88: 3 (June 1993), pp. 526-527.

<sup>26</sup> Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower*, p. 27.

<sup>27</sup> In his analysis, in the early stages of industrialisation, local actors played role in network areas. There are two specific periods in Ferguson's book "(...)as standing out as intensely networked eras." The first started in the late 15th century, after the introduction in Europe of the printing press, and lasted until the late 18th century. The second, "our own time," began in the 1970s and is still going on." *Ibid.*, pp. 33-46.

some horizontal network structure in commercial activities in particular. British merchants' activities in insider ports of the Ottoman Empire and outsider ports or cities enable economic historians to trace the roles of merchants' membership, kinship and family ties in raising business in the 18th century and look at this from a different point of view.

Lastly, Pamuk is one of Ottoman Turkey's leading economic historians who for 30 years has been writing and conducting research on some of the major themes connected with the economic life of the empire, its government, and its growth compared with other parts of the modern and pre-modern world.<sup>28</sup>

In this context, it is argued that the management of private and cooperation firms, and companies under the capitulations (Law Merchants), has become a necessity in the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, capitulations, as a permission of doing business in the Levant or Ottoman ports, are assumed as an initial determinant (ex-ante) before doing business in the Ottoman territory.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, during and after doing business (ex-post), process management of British merchants with their business in their private companies in accordance with their business networks can be shown as an actor under the effects of Ottoman state control and transaction costs of their operations.<sup>30</sup> In the

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<sup>28</sup> To quote him; "New institutional economics has argued that economic development and growth depend on the extent to which the institutional framework reinforces incentives for organizations to engage in productive activity. The state is also seen as a major player in this context." See Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi*, p. 226.

<sup>29</sup> John Groenewegen, "Who Should Control the Firm: Insights from New and Original Institutional Economics", *Journal of Economic Issues*, 38: 2, (2004), p. 354.

<sup>30</sup> Ramstad Yngve, "Is a Transaction a Transaction?", *Journal of Economic Issues*, 30: 2 (1996), p. 415.

Non-European context, the studies of institutions and institutional change in commercial activities are directly related to Ottoman administration and its boundaries as shown limits of trade. Therefore, examining the activities of British merchants with long-term institutional change in the Levant enhance the importance on the study of long-distance trade between Britain and the Ottoman Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries.

### **Current Historiography**

In general perspective, according to the current Ottoman economic and business history literature, there are several resources for identifying the Ottoman economic mind, specifically public finance (Maliye in Turkish), trade, finance and capitulations (ahdnames). All of these publications focused on major issues.<sup>31</sup> In addition, political and diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and European States were dealt with in order to comprehend in collaboration with economic issues and changes.<sup>32</sup>

Beyond the general researches on the Ottoman economic system, in contrast, researches into British merchants, families and their operations relating to private

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<sup>31</sup> For the economic mind of Ottomans see Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman economic mind and aspects of the Ottoman economy," in M. A. Cook (ed.), *The Economic History of the Middle East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970, pp. 207-218; Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı'da Devletve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2003). For public finance issues see Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1985); Erol Özvar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Uygulaması* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003); Yavuz Cezar, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Bunalım ve Değişim Dönemi: 18. Yüzyıldan Tanzimat'a Mali Tarih* (İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1986); Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660*. Vol. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

<sup>32</sup> For general relations see Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); for economic relations between the British and the Ottoman Empire see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013); Jacob Coleman Hurewitz, "Ottoman Diplomacy and the European State System", *The Middle East Journal*, 15: 2, (1961), pp. 141-152.

companies in the Ottoman Empire are limited. Before the end of the 16th century, Ottoman and British political and economic relations had started with the establishment of the Levant Company. Although we know that a limited number of British merchants tried to do business without recourse<sup>33</sup> and had permission to trade from Ottomans<sup>34</sup>, it can be argued that commercial relations began with the Levant Company's operations in the Ottoman territory. Although the Levant Company was founded as a private corporation (named joint-stock and chartered company) by British merchants, it was under controlled by Queen Elizabeth I's petition.<sup>35</sup> This information points out the importance of publications related to the story of British merchants, their legal status in the Ottoman Empire, and history of the Levant Company for understanding the development of private cooperation in the Levant. However, only a limited number of studies about business enterprise in the Levant based on private records related to the companies of British merchants or families have been published in the existing literature.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, we will try to examine the existing literature in order to find clues about private enterprise or initiatives of partnerships, and merchant-agency institutions. Also, it requires us to evaluate researches about commerce-trade structure or the trading conditions of the British and Ottoman Empires.

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<sup>33</sup> Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1908), p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri*, p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Alfred C. Wood, *Levant Kumpanyası Tarihi* (İstanbul: Doğu-Batı Yayınları, 2013), p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> See Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *Trade and Money: The Ottoman Economy in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2007).

For a comprehensive literature review, we will focus on two main fields which cover the general existing literature into the economic history of the Ottoman Empire and Britain and legal transformation of British merchants, the history of their political and commercial relations with Ottomans, and trade organizations in Ottoman territories, especially in the Levant seas and ports. The first section shows the basis of economic history of the Ottoman Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. Also, in order to emphasise the link existing with British merchants and Ottomans, we will evaluate the literature on the capitulations system and legal status and how they were transformed from 1453 to the 18th century.

The second section deals with commercial developments and how British merchants did business in Ottoman territories. Studies in the second section illustrate the structure of the British consulate operation and merchant activities with trading networks, strategies of merchants as institutions, and how their agent links played a key role in the long-distance Levant trade. In addition, we will analyse the publications about the Levant Company and merchant's initiatives in the Levant.

Lastly, in the third section we can examine publications approaching historical issues from an institutional aspect. It is clear that business organizations, companies and merchants as actors in commercial history could contribute cultural and institutional interaction. Although there are limited works about the developments in business operations and business institutions in accordance with political issues and variation of

international commerce networks, we know that long-run companies or business organizations, as now, played a critical role within economies, business and political relations in history. Also, the researches of Ottoman-European trade and relations within a commercial framework which was affected by general developments in the world economy are important to know what is what for Ottoman-British trade. Therefore, we will mention their contributions in the fields of business history and economic history.

### **Existing Literature**

Merchants and traders in all orders in the world conduct business activities within an institutional context. Transaction costs, competition and comparative advantages can be defined as determining factors in an institutional framework. Within the institutional aspect to the merchants' operations, there are a number of institutional factors that allow the reduction of transaction costs in order to operate an efficient business. All merchant communities in any state or territory are in the specific institutional environment while they operating. In this sense, British merchants, as foreign merchants, were operating within a specific institutional environment, including Islamic Law and Ottoman tradition regulated by Ottoman officials in Ottoman ports and cities.<sup>37</sup>

By British and Ottoman merchants' business activities in the Levant trade, it is easily argued that the Levant Company was the primary actor in the commercial activities

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<sup>37</sup> Murat Çizakça and Macit Kenanoğlu, "Ottoman Merchants and the Jurisprudential Shift Hypothesis", in Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris-Louvain-Dudley: Peeters Publishers, 2008), pp. 195-196.

between the Ottoman Empire and British merchants after its establishment in 1582. The Levant Company was a reformatted and combined version of the Turkey Company and Venice Company, which had established a monopoly of trade in the Levant seas. Only company members had the right (ahdnames or petitions from the Ottoman Sultan) to trade in Ottoman territory. It meant that merchants' operations based on the juridical conditions and framework. Therefore, before evaluating the specific publications about the Levant Company and merchant's private initiatives in the Levant, we will shortly review the general existing literature on the legal transformation of foreign merchants in the Ottoman system with the main publications about the general economic history of the Ottoman and British Empires and their political and commercial relations.

### **Literature on the Legal Status of Merchants in the Ottoman Empire and Europe**

The existence of merchant status in the juridical aspect in Europe is one of the long-standing research areas especially for legal and economic history. Economic and legal historians of European countries focus on merchants' legal status and its role as an institution for understanding economic developments in their historical context. In this sense, Baker discusses, in his article, "The Law Merchant and the Common Law Before 1700", the status of merchants and the existence of law merchants in Europe before the 18th century. According to the article, he tried to list different views of law merchants and show whether law merchants existed or not.<sup>38</sup> In other respects, in their article,

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<sup>38</sup> John H. Baker, "The Law Merchant and the Common Law Before 1700", *The Cambridge Law Journal*, 38: 2 (1979), pp. 295-322.

Berman and Kaufman defined the law merchants as existing from the 11th century for European experience in their article. They argued that commercial developments and expansion affected the status of merchants. The law merchants as a historical institution formed a part of English common law in the 18th century.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, in the literature, some legal historians do not agree with these claims. For example, Emily Kadens asserts that the law merchant did not exist.<sup>40</sup>

The law merchant or commercial issues in Islamic law<sup>41</sup> is as important as the role of the law merchant in the European world. For that, there is considerable research available into Islamic law (classical and post-classic period) literature according to the Hanefite legal school in particular.<sup>42</sup> We will just mention two of them here to give a brief perspective. Firstly, the most highly regarded work is a chapter by Abraham Udovitch, "The Law Merchant of the Medieval Islamic World".<sup>43</sup>

According to Udovitch, when you hear these kind of questions you would probably answer in a negative way. In his article, he argued that the Islamic law (Hanefite view in here) paved the way for the practical applications of the merchants. He argued that the

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<sup>39</sup> Harold J. Berman and Colin Kaufman, "Law of International Commercial Transactions (Lex Mercatoria)", *Harvard International Law Journal*, 19 (1978), pp. 226-229.

<sup>40</sup> Emily Kadens, "Myth of the Customary Law Merchant", *Texas Law Review*, 90 (2011), pp.1153-1206.

<sup>41</sup> For origins and evolution of Islamic Law see Wael B. Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>42</sup> For details of commercial issues of the Hanefite Legal School see Ali Bardakoğlu, "Hanefî Mezhebi", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 16 (1997), pp. 1-21.

<sup>43</sup> Which asks the following questions; "Does Islamic law follow the merchants and take cognizance of their needs? Are any similar trends discernible in the evolution and growth of Islamic law as it relates to major institutions of commerce?" See Abraham L. Udovitch, "The 'Law Merchant' of the Medieval Islamic World" in G. E. von Grunbaum (ed.), *Logic in Classical Islamic Culture* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 113.

flexibility of the Hanefite law school helped establish the framework for operations of merchants in this sense.<sup>44</sup> Due to the close relations between Islamic law and the Ottoman juridical system, we should not ignore the indicators from classical Islamic law implementations.

Second, works are not directly related to the Islamic law theoretically. For instance, Shelomo Goitein's article, "Commercial and Family Partnerships in the Countries of Medieval Islam", discusses some business correspondence associated with partnerships or contracts and court records (as legal documents) during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods. In his article, we can see the developments of partnerships and its impact on the commercial activities in that time. There are some instructive business usages-styles and indicators especially about the commercial institutions for the next period in the Islamic world such as the Ottoman period.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, in a series of articles, Timur Kuran claims that Islamic law caused stagnation in the business organizations' institutions in the Middle East countries as well as the Ottoman Empire after the 15th century.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>45</sup> Shelomo D. Goitein, "The Commercial Mail Service in Medieval Islam", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 3: 3 (1964), pp. 316-328.

<sup>46</sup> As he points that: In principle, the Middle East's commercial modernization might have entailed, as in Western Europe, an evolution propelled primarily by indigenous social forces. However, two key components of the Islamic legal system, its law of partnerships and its inheritance system, created self-reproducing incentives to keep business enterprises small, simple, and generally ephemeral. See Timur Kuran, "The Islamic commercial crisis: institutional roots of economic underdevelopment in the Middle East", *The Journal of Economic History*, 63: 2 (2003), pp. 414-446.

Recently mentioned arguments show us the merchants-law-commercial expansion and institutions as research subjects can be combined and reflect different views. Therefore, British merchants and their enterprises in the Ottoman Empire require us to trace the evolution of merchants' institutions, juridical and economic, in the Ottoman period with all of the aforementioned subjects.

The legal status of European merchants in the Ottoman Empire was based on the capitulations (ahdnames in Ottoman Turkish) which were inherited from the Seljuks, the Anatolian Principalities and the Mamluks.<sup>47</sup> In fact, this status, which is explained by the institution of 'eman' (the assurance of safety) in Islamic law, has found an expanding range of implementation over time.<sup>48</sup> One of the first examples was seen in the era of Caliph Umar when he determined that taxes would be taken from the Byzantine traders by the method of *mukabele bi'l-misl*.<sup>49</sup> In that sense, the status of foreigners has been not only the subject of Islamic jurisprudence, but it also became a part of customary law and the capitulations (ahdnames).

For the early period, the Ottomans also tried to provide many opportunities in order to support the trade in the Mediterranean and to expand their borders. Especially after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, the Ottomans attempted to increase the volume of trade

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<sup>47</sup> Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrî Müslimler* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1983), pp. 1-3.

<sup>48</sup> Nebi Bozkurt, "Eman", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 11 (1995), pp. 77-79.

<sup>49</sup> In taxation system of the Muslim States, *mukabele bi'l-misl* represents the reciprocal tariff for the commercial relations. For *mukabele bi'l-misl*, it can be used reciprocity or retaliation in English. See Mustafa Fayda, "Ahidname", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 1 (1988), pp. 535-536; Ahmet Özel, "Mukabele-iBi'l-Misil", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 31, 1995, pp. 103-107.

by reconstructing the city. Right after the conquest, Galata, which was an old Genoese colony in Byzantine, surrendered peacefully to the Ottomans. Sultan Mehmed II gave a special status to the surrendered Latins in Galata by granting an ahdname. The preface to the ahidnâme starts with this introductory sentence: “Galata zimmîlerinin ahidnâmesidir.”<sup>50</sup> Latins who accepted to give kharaj (tribute) had a right to become dhimmis<sup>51</sup>; however, because of certain privileges, they preserved their commercial power.<sup>52</sup>

In a series of articles, “Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi-Sultani Hukukve Fatih’in Kanunları”<sup>53</sup>, “Ottoman Galata” and “İmtiyazat”, Halil İnalçık explains that there were three groups of non-Muslims in Galata: temporarily staying Latins, permanently resided Genoese and later resided Armenians, Greeks and Jews in the early period of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> For its translation, we can say that “This is the pact of the Galata dhimmis”. See Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, “Fatih Sultan Mehmet’in Galatalılara Verdiği Fermanın Türkçe Metinleri”, *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 14/25 (Ankara, 1981), pp. 212-213.

<sup>51</sup> “Dhimmi was the Muslim term for a Christian or Jewish subject of a Muslim ruler. The term is derived from the Arabic expression ahl al-dhimma, “the people of the contract,” and is translated as zimmi in Ottoman Turkish. The legal implications of this status, in terms of obligations and rights, were already established in Islamic law before the founding of the Ottoman Empire. The Prophet Muhammad set the precedent that Muslim authorities should recognize the rights of believers in the monotheistic faiths (ahl al-kitab or “the people of the book”) to remain at peace within the Muslim state as long as they recognized Islam’s political authority over them. This client status established the rights of these non-Muslims to property, livelihood, and freedom of worship, in exchange for paying an extra tax and promising not to help the Muslims’ enemies. The distinction between Muslims and dhimmis officially ended with the imperial decree (Hatt-i Hümayun) of 1856 that established equality between all the sultan’s subjects, regardless of their religious community.” See Bruce Masters, “Dhimmi (zimmi)”, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (eds.) (New York: Facts on File, 2009), pp. 185-186.

<sup>52</sup> Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 11.

<sup>53</sup> For its translation, we can say that “An Introduction to the Ottoman Customary Law: Laws of Mehmet II the Conqueror”. See Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlı Hukukuna Giriş: Örfi-Sultani Hukukve Fatih’in Kanunları”, *A.Ü. SBF Dergisi*, 13 (1985), pp. 102-126.

<sup>54</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Ottoman Galata, 1453-1553” in Halil İnalçık (ed.), *Essays in Ottoman History* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998), pp. 273-376.

İnalçık points out that this cosmopolitan structure made Galata a centre of attraction for inter-national trade for a long time. Before the conquest of Constantinople, privileges were already given to Venetians, Byzantines, and Genoese and from Rhodes chevaliers. After the conquest, the capitulation (ahdname) for Venice was renewed, and later in 1498 the ahidnâme was given to the Kingdom of Naples. Until trade privileges were given to France in 1569, most of the foreign merchants were Venetians. French ahidnâme with Ottomans was the continuation of Mamluknâme, and it was built on the Venetian ahidnâme's framework. It should be mentioned that before extending trade privileges to foreigners there was already a trade between the Ottomans and other countries. English merchants took the trade privileges from the Ottomans in 1580. Until 1580, except for the Venetians and the Polish merchants, all of the foreign merchants were conducting trade under the French flag. Holland, on the other hand, managed to attain the ahdnâme in 1612. In the 17th century, all the countries I have mentioned earlier renewed their agreements with the Ottoman state, and they even acquired new privileges.<sup>55</sup>

As with İnalçık's works, Haim Gerber, in his book *Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective*<sup>56</sup>, focuses on the development and evolution of Ottoman law in the 17th and 18th centuries. He points out that, according to Ottoman Court records, the private partnerships in the Ottoman Empire were fully used by Ottomans in society.

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<sup>55</sup> Halil İnalçık, "İmtiyazat", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. Vol. 3 (London: E.J. Brill, 1971), pp. 1179-1189.

<sup>56</sup> Haim Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994).

And he argued that international merchants were actively engaged especially in the financial operations in the Ottoman cities.<sup>57</sup> For the historical development of the capitulations, Alexander H. De Groot, in his article “The Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the 15th to the 19th Centuries”, explains the capitulations were a guarantee given by the Ottoman Empire as a means of granting safe-conduct to the foreign merchant.<sup>58</sup>

With that in mind, Ruth Miller implies the roles of Islamic law and European law affected the Ottomans practising the implementation of capitulations. She discussed in her work, which shows the short historiography of Ottoman legal studies, the importance of re-interpretation of Ottoman legal practises historically.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, especially for the 18th century, Maurits Boogert’s works shed light on the commercial activities of European merchants in the Ottoman territory and port cities. Contrary to the 19th century, capitulations (ahdnames) did not cause disadvantages to the Ottoman guilds, merchants and markets. According to Boogert’s book, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, And Beratlis in the 18th Century*, capitulations given to European merchants by Ottoman authority helped the regulation of commercial

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 36 and 107.

<sup>58</sup> Alexander H. De Groot, “The Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the 15th to the 19th Centuries”, *Oriente Moderno*, 23: 3 (2003), pp. 575-604. According to De Groot, Ottoman capitulations were: A careful examination of the legal exercise of custom, both local and that of central government {adat or urf, Ottoman orfi, more often referred to as kanun, "sultanic law", will go a long way towards resolving long standing problems of definition and interpretation of the true nature of the capitulations which have been vexing modern historical research on the international relations of the Ottoman empire with the European powers since the Middle Ages. See Ibid., p. 575.

<sup>59</sup> Ruth Miller, "The Legal History of the Ottoman Empire", *History Compass*, 6: 1 (2008), pp. 287-288.

relations before the 19th century.<sup>60</sup> Listing the questions of Boogert in his book is assumed as a starting point to see the conditions of foreign merchants in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century in particular. His most important question is: “Were Western communities in the Ottoman Empire part of the Ottoman legal system, or separate from it somehow?”<sup>61</sup> His researches will help to evaluate the British merchants’ status and track the evolution of commercial instruments as economic institutions.

Lastly for the status of foreign merchants in the Ottoman Empire it is necessary to look them up using terms and concepts in accordance with Ottoman terminology. There are some definitions, including ‘Müste’min Tüccar (Foreign Merchants)’, ‘Hayriye Tüccar (Ottoman Merchants)’, ‘Beratli Tüccar’, or ‘Avrupa Tüccarı (Minority Merchants including Greek, Armenian, and Jewish)’ for merchants who conducted international trade in the Ottoman system.<sup>62</sup> British merchants, as foreign merchants, were operating within a

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<sup>60</sup> Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, And Beratlis in the 18th Century* Vol. 21, (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 2005), p. 6.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>62</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri*, pp. 92-98. Furthermore, for the status of foreign merchants in the Ottoman Empire see Halil İnalçık, “İmtiyazat”, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, Vol 3, (Leiden: E.J. Brill: 1971); Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrı Müslimler: Kapitülasyonlar-Beratli Tüccarlar Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarları (1750-1839)* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1983); Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “Ahidname-Türk Tarihi”, *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), 1 (1998), pp. 536-540; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, “Avrupa Tüccarı”, *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), 4 (1991), pp. 159-160; Maurits H. van den Boogert, “Beratlı”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Three, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. Consulted online on 09 October 2018 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_ei3\\_COM\\_22696](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_22696)> For differences of merchants see Şennur Şenel, “Osmanlılarda Ticaret Anlayışı ve Ticaret Teşkilatında Yeni Bir Yapılanma: Hayriye Tüccarı” in Hasan Celal Güzel, Kemal Çiçek and Salim Koca (eds.), *Türkler* (İstanbul: Yeni Türkiye, 2009), pp. 736-743; Murat Çizakça and Macit Kenanoğlu, “Ottoman Merchants and the Jurisprudential Shift Hypothesis” in Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein (eds.), *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire* (Paris-Louvain-Dudley: Peeters Publishers, 2008), pp. 195-213.; Musa Çadırcı, “II. Mahmut Dönemi’nde (1808-1839) Avrupa ve Hayriye Tüccarları” in Osman Okyar and Halil İnalçık (eds.), *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)* (Ankara: Meteksan Limited Şirketi, 1980), pp. 237-241. For some examples about the foreign merchants in the Ottoman Empire see Bruce Masters, “The Sultan’s Entrepreneurs: The Avrupa Tüccarı and the Hayriye Tüccarı in Syria”, *International Journal*

specific institutional environment, including Islamic Law and Ottoman tradition regulated by Ottomans. Murat Çizakça and Macit Kenanoğlu mentioned the importance of 'the jurisprudential shift hypothesis'<sup>63</sup> context and its critiques. According to Çizakça and Kenanoğlu, this system was under Ottoman control especially before the 19th century. Moreover, they argued that jurisprudential shift hypothesis was not out of hand.<sup>64</sup>

### **Literature on the British Merchants and Consuls in the Ottoman Empire**

The researches reviewed in this section were written in multiple languages mostly in English; but some of them are in French, Turkish and Greek. These works are based on a combination of sources from Western and Turkish archives. According to different archival sources, we are able to trace the economic history of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century in particular. Especially for studying the commercial operations of British merchants in the Levant, The National Archives (TNA) of the United Kingdom and Presidency's Ottoman Archives, in İstanbul-Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) are indispensable in order to see developments in commercial activities at that time.

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*of Middle East Studies*, 24: 6 (1992), pp. 579-597; Mehdi Fraşerli, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kapitülasyonların Uygulanışı (İmtiyazat-ı Ecnebiyyenin Tatbikat-ı Hazırası)*, edited by Fahrettin Tızlak, Ankara, (İstanbul: Fakülte Kitabevi 2008); Cihan Artunç, "The Protégé System and Beratlı Merchants in the Ottoman Empire: The Price of Legal Institutions", *Working Paper*, (March) 2013.  
<http://aalims.org/uploads/Cihan%20Artunç%20Berat.pdf>

<sup>63</sup> As argued by Timur Kuran in his works. For further details, see Timur Kuran, "The Islamic Commercial Crisis: Institutional Roots of Economic Underdevelopment in the Middle East", *The Journal of Economic History*, 63: 2 (2003), pp. 414-446; Murat Çizakça and Macit Kenanoğlu, "Ottoman Merchants and the Jurisprudential Shift Hypothesis", in Faroqhi and Veinstein *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 203.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-213.

Examining from general trends in the commercial relations between the British and the Ottoman Empire to the specific topics related to the Levant Company, knowledge of British merchants' status in the Ottoman judicial system, and their business operations in the Levant is required to help in evaluating the business operations of the Boddington Family in the Ottoman port cities.

Before the entrance of English merchants in to the Levant trade, France was the unrivalled partner of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. Indeed, before the last decades of the 16th century, English merchants conducted business in the Levant trade with Ottomans only under the French flag.<sup>65</sup> Although Mübahat Kütükoğlu, who is a pioneer scholar in the commercial relations between the British and the Ottoman Empires, mentions that Anthony Jenkinson had organised a petition in 1553 asking for free trade in the Ottoman ports, it was not a comprehensive trading petition for the whole English merchants in the Levant seas.<sup>66</sup> We know from Susan Skilliter's book on William Harborne, who was the first ambassador of the British Empire in Constantinople, that the diplomatic and economic relations had started with Harborne's petition to Murat III in 1580.<sup>67</sup> For seeing the big-general picture, Kütükoğlu points how the first

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<sup>65</sup> Murat Çizakça, "The Ottoman Government and Economic Life: Taxation, Public Finance and Trade Controls" in Suraiya Faroqhi and Kate Fleet (eds.), *Cambridge History of Turkey*, V. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 245.

<sup>66</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri*, pp. 12-14. For details for the first petition given by Suleiman I to Anthony Jenkinson see Hamit Dereli, *Kıraliçe Elizabeth Devrinde Türkler ve İngilizler: Bir Araştırma*, Aml Matbaası, 1951; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi (1553-1610)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1953).

<sup>67</sup> Susan A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (London, The British Academy, 1977), pp. 45-49.

initiatives of British merchants or traders happened in the first quarter of the 16th century.<sup>68</sup> According to her book, we can see the development of commercial relations, the status of merchants, and glean general information World economic trends in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The main work about British merchants' operations in the Levant and Ottoman ports, including Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo, is *A History of Levant Company*, first published in 1935. It was written by Alfred Cecil Wood, and it has been shown that this was the first work on the history of the company in general. This book is a reference work for the history of the Levant Company starting from the early initiatives of merchants before the foundation of the company to the collapse in 1825. According to Wood, the details of the Levant Company show its economic and diplomatic roles in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>69</sup> The importance of the company is based upon its commercial organization with factories in different Ottoman port cities and its diplomatic missions in Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna. Wood used the company records from the State Papers series<sup>70</sup> of The National Archives, which includes commercial activities, accounts and diplomatic correspondence. Also, the accounts of travellers to the Levant territory

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<sup>68</sup> For details of the first initiatives of British merchants in overseas trade see George Daniel Ramsay, *English Overseas Trade during the Centuries of Emergence: Studies in Some Modern Origins of the English-Speaking World* (New York: St. Martin's Publishing, 1957).

<sup>69</sup> Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1964), pp. 88-89.

<sup>70</sup> Hereafter (SP).

and some biographical works were used by Wood in order to enhance the scope of his book.

Wood gives some information about the early initiatives of British merchants in the 15th and 16th centuries at the beginning of his book. After that, he describes rigours and achievements such as competitions with France or Venice, and having a systematic trade organization and the firm's structure in the 17th century in particular.<sup>71</sup> Gradually, he points out that trade centres, including Tripoli, Tunis, Cyprus, Alexandria, Smyrna, Aleppo and Constantinople, facilitated the expansion of commercial activities in the Levant.<sup>72</sup> Before the collapse of the company, he shows the life of factories in the Ottoman port cities such as Smyrna, and the structure of the embassy in Constantinople through surviving correspondence.<sup>73</sup> Another initial research directly related to the Levant Company is *The Early History of the Levant Company*. The writer of this book, Mortimer Epstein, differs in approach from Wood's book; he shows meetings of the Company and membership and a brief report, including the effects of the Company on regulating shipping in the Levant trade and its ramifications from the establishment of the company to 1640.<sup>74</sup> In his book, he explores pirates and interlopers roles in the Levant trade in the timeframe mentioned. According to Epstein, we know that interlopers who were not

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<sup>71</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 42-59.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89-115.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115-135.

<sup>74</sup> Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London, G. Routledge & Sons Limited, 1968), pp. 100-150.

members of the Levant Company endeavoured to secure rights to do business in the Levant trade.<sup>75</sup>

Studies in the English shipping industry can be correlated with the Levant trade and merchants' operations in the Ottoman Empire. Ralph Davis was a pioneer researcher in this field. In a series of books, published in the 1970s, and his earlier seminal work on the English shipping industry, published in 1962, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, he developed his thesis. The latter was the first general book about the shipping developments and relations with the activities of English merchants. Davis explains the first initiatives of shipping and trade and the rise of shipbuilding in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to Davis's book, the first developments of English shipping coincided with the first attempts of British merchants to operate in the Ottoman territory.<sup>76</sup> Davis's second important work, published in 1967, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the 18th Century*. This directly related to the enterprises of English merchants in the Levant trade and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>77</sup>

Ralph Davis investigated the Levant Company's trading activity at Aleppo in the mid-18th century from Devonshire Square near the port of London in particular. He paints a general description of the Levant trade in order to make use of the records of the Levant

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., pp. 141-143.

<sup>76</sup> Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, Macmillan, 1962, pp. 1-22. For developments in competition between English and Dutch shipping and operations of two merchant communities see Ralph Davis, "English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700", *The Economic History Review*, 7: 2 (1954), pp. 150-166.

<sup>77</sup> Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English Traders in the Levant in the 18th Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1967).

Company and some private correspondence between Levant company merchants and their factors related to the Radcliffe family. According to Davis's book, the Radcliffes operated their business mostly in Aleppo under the Levant Company at that time. They had a private property in Devonshire Square, which was near to the port of London. Therefore, their private collection shows the information on trade operations. Furthermore, we can see the developments of factor institutions in the Levant trade through the 18th century.<sup>78</sup> The book also shows financial arrangements<sup>79</sup> between merchant families and their factors providing a good account of the silk trade in the Levant.<sup>80</sup> Davis mentions in his book that there is a decline for the 18th Century Levant Company. When trading volumes of the Levant Company and the East India Company are compared; he claims that there was a great decline in Levant trade.<sup>81</sup> This situation is in contradiction with our results for the 18th Century Levant trade. Data on trade volumes and commercial merchandise composition in the chapter 3 show that Levant was still an important trade centre for the British merchants in the 18th century. At the same time, Davis' argument on the decline is what we can determine according to the 'Big-Wealthy Merchant Families'<sup>82</sup>, and this is result of liberalization of the company, which was started after the Act of 1753. In addition, since the second half of the 18th century, the interest of the British individual merchants for the Levant trade increased,

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-2 and 75-96.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 207-222.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., pp. 164-165.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 227 and 222-226.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.; pp. 242-244.

which is an indication of commercial vitality and mobility in Levant.<sup>83</sup> As a result, it can be asserted that this mobility was a proof that Levant trade was still attractive for the individual merchants.<sup>84</sup>

Wood and Davis' works on the Levant Company and trade activities of British merchants in the Ottoman ports have indicated the field, which was unstudied and resource-rich. Some interested scholars attempted to study British merchants, traders and consuls who had been in Ottoman territory. Gwilym Ambrose's article, "English Traders at Aleppo (1658– 1756)", mentions the trade-business operations of factors and agents in Aleppo. It also contains information of financial arrangements and ways of money-brokering in Iskenderun (Scanderoon) and its port territory at that time.<sup>85</sup> Also, some regional works, such as Bruce Masters's, Daniel Goffman's, Elena Frangakis – Syrett's, and Edhem Eldem's, facilitate the understanding of British business operations progress. Bruce Masters' emphasises, in his important book, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750*, written in 1998, the commercial institutions of a caravan trade in Aleppo City.<sup>86</sup> Examining Smyrna and its role in the Levant trade, Goffman argues that Smyrna

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<sup>83</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>84</sup> Contrary to my arguments in the thesis, Davis' view on the experience after the opening of the Company in 1753 is about decline of the commercial operations in the 18th century for the Levant Company merchants. He argues that most of the new entrants of the Levant Company made brief experiments in Levant trading and then abandoned it, and the trade continued to go rapidly downhill. See *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>85</sup> Gwilym Ambrose, "English Traders at Aleppo (1658–1756)", *The Economic History Review*, 3: 2 (1931), pp. 249-250 and 253.

<sup>86</sup> Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (ACLS Humanities, 2008), e-book, pp. 110-146.

contained a number of non-Muslim communities or European merchants in itself with regard to his book *Izmir and the Levantine world: 1550-1650*.<sup>87</sup> According to Goffman, Smyrna was certainly an important port given its speciality of being a free-variety market for merchants who did not operate in Constantinople because of the 'narh' system (officially fixed price) of the Ottomans.<sup>88</sup> With this book, there is also a book about the English Merchants of Levant Company in Smyrna in the 17th century written by Goffman. In his book *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660*<sup>89</sup>, written in 1998, the stories of the British merchants who were in Smyrna in the Ottoman Empire. This book examines the reasons for the 17th century liberation of the Ottoman Empire from the economic point of view and towards the Ottoman lands. This book also briefly explains how Christians lived in the Ottoman Empire. This study furnishes insights into all different communities and their business – cultural relations in an Ottoman port-city.<sup>90</sup>

Another seminal work of Goffman is his book *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, published in 2002, which refers to the importance of non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman port cities in particular.<sup>91</sup> There is also much general information on the Ottoman cities with a regional perspective in Edhem Eldem, Goffman and Masters's

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<sup>87</sup> Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World: 1550-1650* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1990).

<sup>88</sup> Daniel Goffman, *İzmir ve Levanten Dünya (1550-1650)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), p. 16.

<sup>89</sup> Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998). For Turkish version, see Daniel Goffman, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İngilizler, 1642-1660* (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2001).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-26.

<sup>91</sup> Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 169-188.

edited book, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Smyrna and Istanbul*.<sup>92</sup> Smyrna and Aleppo, in particular, occupy a big place in that book and these chapters show their integration into the world economy through commercial operations by European merchants.<sup>93</sup> Lastly, in a general aspect, Elena Frangakis – Syrett’s articles on the Levant trade and finance can be shown as path-breaking research. A series of articles she published in the 1990s-2000s were later aggregated into a book, namely *Trade and Money: the Ottoman Economy in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries*, published in 2007.<sup>94</sup> According to the introduction of this volume, “articles examine different aspects of the Ottoman economy in the 18th and early 19th centuries, namely monetary conditions, trade and the local market as well as the forces that shaped them, including imperial government policy.”<sup>95</sup> Principally, the most important contribution of this volume is to describe long-run developments in the commercial activities between European states and merchants with the Ottoman Empire in that period. Additionally, she emphasises Smyrna, which was the main region of the Boddington family’s business, as the most attractive port in the Ottoman Empire’s international trade organization in the 18th century in particular.<sup>96</sup> Lastly, for analysing the nature, structure and institutions of the trade networks, her book supplies very seminal and useful information to evaluate the

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<sup>92</sup> Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-95 and 95-165.

<sup>94</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *Trade and Money: The Ottoman Economy in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2007).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>96</sup> See Frangakis-Syrett (2007), in Section III in particular.

business operations of the British merchants in general and the Boddington Company in particular in the Levant trade.<sup>97</sup>

There are also some works offering a relatively biographical aspect on the Levant trade actors such as merchants, consuls and families. Sonia Anderson, in her book, *An English Consul in Turkey, Paul Rycout at Smyrna*<sup>98</sup>, 1667-1678, shed light on the life of Paul Rycout as a consul of the Levant Company in Smyrna (İzmir) in the 17th century. In this book, apart from biographical information, Anderson discusses the apprenticeship system and its impact on the growth of trade by British merchant families. It is shown that the contribution of this book is certainly related to the business institutions. According to Anderson, George Boddington, a member of the Boddington family, which is the main theme of this thesis, was the major employer of apprentices in that time and this system helped to counteract interlopers and illicit trade actors.<sup>99</sup> That is why, this work is important in consequence of some clues that it contains in itself.

Another biographical work is Daniel Goffman's *Britons in the Ottoman Empire 1642–1660*. In it, Goffman gives details of Ambassadors' activities in the mid-17th century. His adaptation point is a comparison between English and Ottoman societies in accordance with records from archives in the 17th century.<sup>100</sup> Particularly, the author conveys the

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., in Sections IV and V in particular.

<sup>98</sup> Nowadays it is called İzmir.

<sup>99</sup> Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 66-69.

<sup>100</sup> Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1998), pp. 68-88.

daily activities of English merchants by commerce institutions including joint-stock companies and agents with their business operations.<sup>101</sup>

The last biographical work to consider is Gerald M. MacLean's *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720*. In it, MacLean gives details of the four English travellers' observations on social, political and economic conditions of the Ottoman Empire. These travellers' activities in the Ottoman Empire were about the period of 1580-1720. This kind of travel writing study gives us some business operations details of the merchants operating in the Levant Seas in that period. Commercial business operations related to the private activities of English merchants with their own companies and in the Levant Company find a place in MacLean's book. In this study, travellers explain "how best to manage their business in the lands of the Turks" which was so crucial for the new merchants coming from England.<sup>102</sup> For examining of the networking and structural business operation of British merchants in the 17th and 18th centuries, MacLean's method of giving examples from the dialogues of people such as Levant Company members, consuls and book the other related persons in business activities, allows the tracing of business processes of the British merchants in individual operations; both membership of the Levant Company and partnership of their companies.

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

<sup>102</sup> Gerald M. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 130-134.

In the last decade, there are significant researches in the literature of the Levant Company history, diplomatic relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire, and the port cities in the Levant and their developments in the 18th century. To mention but a few, Laidlaw's study of the Levant Company and its staffs such as administrators, chaplains, and physicians; Talbot's doctoral thesis, on British-Ottoman diplomatic relations in accordance with the sources of the Levant Company in the 18th century written in 2013 which was turned into the book in 2017; Vlami's book on the structural and entrepreneurial form of the Levant Company with the business strategic aspect that company had until its collapse; Kuru's thesis, awarded in 2017, explains the role of Ottoman port city; Smyrna; in the Early Modern Mediterranean.<sup>103</sup>

An important work we will mention first is *The British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century*, written by Christine Laidlaw and published in 2010.<sup>104</sup> Apart from commercial activities, Laidlaw mentions the personal lives of the communities living at the Levant factories in Smyrna, Aleppo and Constantinople.<sup>105</sup> This description helps us to evaluate the ordinary people's role in the

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<sup>103</sup> These Publications: Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in 18th-century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017); Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East*, London; New York: IB Tauris, 2014; Mehmet Kuru, 'Locating an Ottoman Port City in the Early Modern Mediterranean: İzmir (1580-1780)', PhD. Diss., University of Toronto, 2017.

<sup>104</sup> She describes her book's theme thus: "The focus of this work is not on the merchants engaged in 'the Turkey trade', but on the large and hitherto unstudied supporting cast of officials, chaplains, physicians and accompanying family members, whose presence at the Levant factories aided and facilitated that trade." See Christine Laidlaw, *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century* (London: IB Tauris, 2010), p. xiii.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 163-217.

factories of the Levant Company and to understand correctly the structure of trade organizations.

The publications approaching commercial issues with diplomatic issues are limited in the field of the Ottoman studies.<sup>106</sup> An exception is Michael Talbot's comprehensive doctoral thesis exploring British diplomacy in the Long 18th Century.<sup>107</sup> It is clear that Talbot's thesis uncovers the diplomatic missions of the British ambassadors in the Ottoman capital and its roles in commercial organizations efficiently. Key themes explored include the roles of finance-commerce and law in the historical diplomacy between British and the Ottoman Empire. Apart from his thesis' main focus on diplomatic practise, the central role of commercial relations and its legal infrastructure enable us to trace British merchants' business activities in the Levant Seas.<sup>108</sup> Talbot subsequently produced *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in 18th-century Istanbul*, published in 2017, visualising the diplomatic relations of British-Ottomans in the 18th century until the Anglo-Ottoman war in 1807.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> For the 17<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Maria Blackwood, "Politics, Trade, and Diplomacy: The Anglo-Ottoman Relationship, 1575–1699.", *History Matters*, (2010), pp. 1-34.

<sup>107</sup> Michael Talbot, *British diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire during the long 18th century*, PhD Diss. SOAS, University of London, 2013.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>109</sup> He highlighted: "(...) the mechanics and implications of diplomatic funding in the particular case of the British embassy in Istanbul, through gifts and other practices. However, much work remains to fully understand the financial aspects of diplomacy in the Ottoman realms, and comparative cases will be particularly valuable." See Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in 18th-century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), p. 216.

Another work about British merchant activities in the Ottoman Empire we will refer is *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* written by Despina Vlami and published in 2014.<sup>110</sup> Her book's purpose is to trace the key role of the Levant Company in the British commercial activities outside of Britain starting from the 17th century to the 19th century.<sup>111</sup> Vlami effectively correlates the corporate and individual strategies of merchants of the Levant Company with the company's early institutional structure, long partnership features and new trade routes of its merchants. From the late 18th century, the Levant Company operated within a new system of Mediterranean trade and navigation that developed under the influence of a combination of political and military events, geopolitical and economic parameters. According to Vlami, since the end of the 18th century, the Levant Company has operated under a new system of Mediterranean trade under the influence of new geopolitical and economic parameters. This kind of information and the roles of individual business initiatives were a crucial contribution furthering the business history studies in Ottoman-British relations.<sup>112</sup>

In her book, Vlami seeks to understand the importance of the organizational structure, strategies and performance of the Levant Company over the last 30 years of the company.<sup>113</sup> Since the end of the 18th century, Vlami stated that merchants of the Levant

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<sup>110</sup> Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2014).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-99. Especially, Malta's role as a new port is the main claim of her book for a new system of Mediterranean trade.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Company were more effective in local trade activities in the Aegean Sea which is a remarkable development from her point of view.<sup>114</sup> However, for the previous decades, Vlami did not regard the local trade activities of same individual merchants, whereas we have shown that the increase in these local trade activities started from the earlier periods. We tried to analyze the local trade activities of individual merchants of the Levant Company starting from the 1760s, in chapter 5.<sup>115</sup>

The last work considered is a doctoral thesis about Smyrna as a port city in the Mediterranean trade by Mehmet Kuru, *Locating an Ottoman Port City in the Early Modern Mediterranean: İzmir (1580-1780)*, which refers to the importance of Smyrna in the British-Ottoman commerce. The transformation of Smyrna as a port city was discussed with English merchants' individual companies and the Levant Company's business operations by Kuru.<sup>116</sup> This study seems important because it gives information about the economic and financial characteristics of Smyrna. The main point of this study is Smyrna's rise in commercial process with its financial and agricultural roots in accordance with the first chapter's issue Ecological Change of Western Anatolia.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., pp. 278-279.

<sup>115</sup> For that purpose, we used the archival sources relating to the individual merchants' operations. See TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>116</sup> Kuru, 'Locating an Ottoman Port City in the Early Modern Mediterranean: İzmir (1580-1780)', PhD. Diss., University of Toronto, 2017.

## **A Brief Review of Some Publications Approaching Historical Issues from an Institutional and Networking Aspect**

The publications approaching historical issues from an institutional aspect are limited. Their limitations arise from several difficulties especially in the survival of private records and accessibility of surviving sources. It is clear that business organizations, companies and merchants, as actors in commercial history, could contribute cultural and institutional interaction.<sup>117</sup> We know that long-run companies or business organizations, as is the case now, played a critical role within economic, business, and political relations in history and are thus important to the methodological aspects of this thesis.

The commercial papers of the Geniza have been studied by many scholars for instance. Shelomo Dov Goitein was the most influential researcher on commercial relations and the political-economic institutions in the field of Islamic history.<sup>118</sup> Goitein, particularly, traced these documents in order to shed light on trading developments by Maghribi traders-merchants for the Mediterranean world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>119</sup> He was known for his academic researches, especially his article "Jewish society and institutions under Islam".<sup>120</sup> Goitein, with Cairo Geniza's letters, influenced the other

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<sup>117</sup> While not in direct proportion to this thesis, there are limited works directly related to the private documents of merchants. See the following chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>118</sup> See his research, Shelomo Dov Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

<sup>119</sup> Jessica Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Geniza Merchants and Their Business World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 9.

<sup>120</sup> Shelomo Dov Goitein, "Jewish society and institutions under Islam", *Journal of World History*, V: 11, (1968), pp. 170-84.

works on commercial relations of Maghribi traders-merchants in the Mediterranean studies with his methodology.<sup>121</sup> Methodologically, apart from Goitein, Moshe Gil describes the role of institutions and their evolution in the historical context as depending on Cairo Geniza documents. In the series of his articles, he shows the importance of institutions to evaluate the impact of commercial activities from the eleventh century to the modern world economy.<sup>122</sup>

In this context, with her book, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Geniza Merchants and Their Business World*, Jessica Goldberg provides a brief revision on Geniza merchants and their business operations with an institutional aspect. According to Goldberg, evaluating the activities of merchants in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is defined as a combination of institutions such as the possibilities of a business operation structure and geographies, for example as a real action base for merchants in that time.<sup>123</sup> She also references Greif's works on Maghribi traders (Geniza merchants) in the field of institutional economics and game theory literature and includes consideration of the principal-agent relations, sustainable long-distance trade

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<sup>121</sup> Jessica L. Goldberg, "On Reading Goitein's a Mediterranean Society: A View from Economic History", *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 26: 2 (2011), pp. 171-172.

<sup>122</sup> Moshe Gil, "Institutions and events of the 11th century mirrored in Geniza letters (part I)", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 67: 2 (2004), pp. 151-167; Moshe Gil, "Institutions and events of the 11th century mirrored in Geniza letters (part II)", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 67: 2 (2004), pp. 168-184.

<sup>123</sup> Goldberg, *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean*, p. 11.

operations and some other institutions.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, these works are a supplementary work that can be used for our study in methodological especially.

It is clear that business organizations, companies and merchants, as actors in commercial history, could contribute cultural and institutional interaction. We know that long-run companies or business organizations, as is the case now, played a critical role within the economy, business and political relations in history and methodological aspects for this thesis. In this context, evaluating the activities of merchants in the 18th and early 19th centuries are defined as a combination of institutions such as the possibilities of a business operation structure and geographies such as a real action base for merchants in the Ottoman Empire.

Entrepreneurial network analysis is one of the issues that directly related to the 'Business History' in the field of Ottoman economic history. In a very ethnic and multicultural empire, such as the Ottoman Empire, business and commercial networks established by non-Muslims with powerful long-term relationships are seen as a serious and under-researched work. It is known that informal institutions play a role in the development of trade and business operations with formal institutions, as the institutional economic approach claims. Although we know that the formal institutions were undergoing significant development for the 18th century, we can argue that besides these formal

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-14.

institutions, merchants or traders' trust<sup>125</sup> each other and cultural affinity were also influential in commerce and business operations.

The new institutional economics points to the fact that formal institutions as well as informal institutions have played a key role in the development of commerce in the recent years. Before the 19th century, we can say that business relations based on reciprocity and trust in long-distance trade, where it is not possible for legal contracts to be implemented by the state and similar third parties, at least to some degree substitute formal institutions. In the Ottoman Seas and lands, non-Muslims merchants, such as British merchants with their networks, also show that diaspora or ethnic / religious identity based cultural ties or kinship ties are a prerequisite for doing business.<sup>126</sup> In this work, we try to understand the relationships among the participants of these networks within the framework of the tools of economic theory, such as asymmetric information and agent-merchant relation with their family members and evaluate the different forms of organization of Levant Company merchants and their efficiency of private business operations.

In recent years, many works have been written about the business networks of merchants. An important work, dating from 2005, we will mention first is *Diaspora*

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<sup>125</sup> Trust has been identified as an important component which makes partnerships, strategic alliances, and networks of small firms successful. See Mari Sako, "Does trust improve business performance" in Kramer, R. M. (ed.), *Organizational Trust: A reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 267.

<sup>126</sup> In the Ottoman Empire, especially from Aleppo to Britain via Smyrna and Constantinople, trade was conducted under the networks of British merchants. See the chapters 4 and 5.

*Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History* edited by Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis, and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou.<sup>127</sup> In this book, there are some articles on business operations of different merchant societies show their business networks in the historical perspective.

Another important work is the article "Entrepreneurial forms and processes inside a multiethnic pre-capitalist environment: Greek and British enterprises in the Levant (1740s–1820s)", written by Vlami, Despina, and Ikaros Mandouvalos in 2013.<sup>128</sup> The purpose of this work is very important to evaluate the networks of merchants in the Ottoman Empire, the structure of merchants' private companies and their family members' roles.<sup>129</sup>

Therefore, in this thesis we will examine different issues, which are related to the Ottoman and British Empires' economic relations via the roles of actors, networks of merchants and structure of their business operations with commercial institutions and legal status of merchants in the Ottoman system in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

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<sup>127</sup> Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis, and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial networks: Four Centuries of History* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005).

<sup>128</sup> Despina Vlami and Ikaros Mandouvalos, "Entrepreneurial forms and processes inside a multiethnic pre-capitalist environment: Greek and British enterprises in the Levant (1740s–1820s)", *Business History*, 55:1 (2013), pp. 98-118.

<sup>129</sup> In this case, they argue that: "The paper investigates entrepreneurial processes related to Levantine trade between the second half of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century. It examines entrepreneurial form, information management and entrepreneurial response to opportunity and change in two distinctive cases. The first case concerns the business ventures of an enterprising group of Greek merchants; the second refers to the trade activity of the members of the British Levant Company." For further information, see *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

## **CHAPTER SUMMARY**

Several significant resources listed above in relation to trade (especially the one performed by foreign merchants for the Ottoman State) which is an important topic of the Ottoman economics and management history are existing. The thematic differentiation made upon the discussion of these resources is considerable in terms of providing an extensive understanding of the thesis subject. The first of these includes institutions through a historical perspective and the place and importance of international trade. The related issue is discussed by means of explaining the institutional structure developed both through the company structures of British merchants in the Ottoman lands and through the Ottoman administration as well in historical sense. The second concerns the issue of what kind of framework the legal status of European merchants doing business in the Ottoman lands involved. A number of resources have been discussed in order to provide a better understanding of the legal status and frame through the special case of British merchants. This case is in fact quite valuable in terms of demonstrating how possible the institutional change and transformation for the mentioned merchants is. The third and last thematic differentiation is directly related to the adventure of British merchants and diplomatic mission in the Ottoman territories. The contribution of the resources written in the private case of this theme to the analysis we have made for the period between 1750 and 1800, linked with providing historical background information. In this way, what type of historical accumulation the British merchants had in terms of both family business and individual business has been

identified and an opportunity to make a comparison has consequently emerged. In addition, the data offered by the historical background has granted us the possibility of comparison within the analysis we will make concerning the merchants after the year 1750.

The literature review included in this chapter can undoubtedly be framed in much more details. However, in the light of the view that the fundamental points will contribute more to the analysis considered appropriate for this thesis, basic works have been referred to through this sort of thematic differentiation. Essentially, the institutional change on behalf of Levant company merchants just before and after 1750s, in what way the number of merchants was affected by this change and our desire to make a comparison upon the roles of family merchants in the previous period (1700-1750) have resulted in a deeper analysis of the fundamental works. Yet, it is necessary to state that a variety of resources have been benefited from within the following chapters of the thesis.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**SOURCES AND HISTORIES**

In order to be able to examine the history and historical backgrounds of two different civilizations, it is necessary to research deeply in the archives of both civilizations.<sup>1</sup> Applying to two different archival sources or working in the archives of two different civilizations contributes to researches in the field of economic history being comprehensive in terms of complementarity. The economic and commercial relations were the basis of the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Britain over these two different archetype sources. The area in which two civilizations with different characteristics had diplomatic relations with each other in economic and commercial activities was called the Levant. The term refers to the cities and ports along the Eastern Mediterranean coast, which lie within the Ottoman borders between the 16th and 20th centuries.<sup>2</sup>

The bilateral missions of the representatives of the Levant Company show that the commercial and economic dimension was also an important element in this diplomatic relationship between Britain and the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, it is possible to

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<sup>1</sup> "History begins when records begin. Man is perhaps a million years old but his history for all but a small fraction of that span is nothing more than what is revealed by a few skeletons and some roughly fashioned stones. The history of the economic activity of man who lived in England covers only a microscopic section of the span and only over the further fraction of that microscopic section can we answer most of the questions which we would like to pose. (...) It could be said that a truly economic history can only begin where contemporaries start to ask questions for trade, commerce and business (organised in what manner) about their own times and leave us the results of their inquiries; and in England this generally speaking didn't happen until the 17th century, while we have to wait until the 19th century such inquiries cover the greater part of the field of economic facts." See Brian Murphy, *A History of the English Economy, 1086-1970* (London: Longman Publishing Group, 1973), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Today, these Levant cities are located and lie within the borders of Turkey, Greece, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Egypt. For further information, see Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 1-4.

consider the Levant Company with its business operations as a profit-oriented company with the eye of an economic historian. Besides, this merchant group, which also had a diplomatic mission, was involved in various political relations in the Ottoman lands and ports. The point to be emphasized here is: it is possible to trace the activities of these traders, both diplomatic and economic missions, and their business networks (on behalf of company and their family members with their own initiatives), either in the national archives of these two civilizations and in special archives (family archives-records) in the various points in the UK.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, how institutions are structured and how they change over time in a society and how personal networks and relationships affect business initiatives is now being debated, an approach<sup>3</sup> which has also opened some other doors for evaluating business operations or companies' activities in within a variety of different historical contexts. It is an important question how the English merchants' commercial activities in the Ottoman territories since the 16th century and the power relations these traders have acquired as actors in other geographies have affected their private business activities. The question of how the Levant Company traders developed their business networks both in the Ottoman ports and in the Levant seas as well as outside of the Ottoman world will only find answers after examining the different archive sources.

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<sup>3</sup> Institutional (new institutional approach) economic thought. For detailed discussion, see Chapter 1, pp. 43-55 above.

## SOURCES

### About The Resources

Before broaching the subjects in the first chapter about a short background of the relations between Britain with Levant Company merchant as traders and the Ottoman Empire, the archive resources that the thesis is based on will be introduced through a brief assessment about the archive documents forming a basis for the thesis. While this work was written, many archival sources were used. The main archives are the Ottoman Archives (Presidency's Ottoman Archives, Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, in Istanbul-BOA)<sup>4</sup> and the English National Archives (TNA). Besides the Ottoman English national archives, many different municipality archives, city archives, and private archives were also used. The other archives and resources mentioned will also be mentioned separately in accordance with their location.<sup>5</sup>

### The Ottoman Archive Documents

In the Ottoman archives, there are four main series in the context of relations and trade-relations with the United Kingdom. The first of these is Bab-ı Asafi Series (Sublime Porte Series) with Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri (Sublime Porte, Registers of Foreign States), which provide information about diplomatic practice and trade in general. The second is

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<sup>4</sup> We prefer to use Ottoman Archives for the 'Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi' (Presidency's Ottoman Archives, BOA).

<sup>5</sup> Separation is determined according to the location of the archive such as "London Metropolitan Archives (LMA)" in London (LMA) in the UK and "İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi ve Müzesi (APKM)" (The city archive and Museum of İzmir Municipality Ahmet Piriştina Library in İzmir) in Turkey.

the Bab-ı Defteri (Treasury Ledger), which is the name of the institution that carried out all the financial operations and affairs of the Ottoman Empire. In this series, there are some ledgers related to the account of foreign merchants<sup>6</sup> and some documents associated with the customs of Constantinople.<sup>7</sup> The third is the Cevdet Tasnifi (Cevdet Series) for the period after the second half of the 18th century. There are a variety of thematic topics under this heading. Among these, naval, foreign, internal, economic and financial, and military issues are the most prominent.<sup>8</sup> The last series is İbnülemin Tasnifi, (İbnülemin Series)<sup>9</sup>, which covers the period between 1425 and 1873. This series is also thematically organized and classified. These three important series contain partial information for the Levant Company merchants in the 18th century.

### Foreign States Books

Among the Ottoman records as referred to in this thesis, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri<sup>10</sup> (registers of foreign states) are in the lead concerning the documents of English daily

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<sup>6</sup> For Beirut accounts, see BOA: D. BŞM. SBM. And for Chios, see BOA: D. BŞM. SKM.

<sup>7</sup> For *İstanbul Gümrük Eminliği* (Constantinople Customs Accounts), see BOA: D. BŞM. İGE and D. BŞM. İGE.d.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Presidency's Ottoman Archives, BOA) Cevdet Tasnifi, Adliye (Cevdet Series, Judicial, C. ADL), Cevdet Tasnifi, Askeriye (Cevdet Series, Military, C. AS), Cevdet Tasnifi, Bahriye (Cevdet Series, Naval, C.BH), Cevdet Tasnifi, Dahiliye (Cevdet Series, Internal, C. DH), Cevdet Tasnifi, Hariciye (Cevdet Series, Foreign, C.HR), Cevdet Tasnifi, İktisat (Cevdet Series, Economic, C. İKTS), Cevdet Tasnifi, Maliye (Cevdet Series, Financial, C. ML).

<sup>9</sup> There are some examples of these records: Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Presidency's Ottoman Archives, BOA) İbnülemin Tasnifi, Bahriye (İbnülemin Series, Naval, İE.BH), İbnülemin Tasnifi, Hariciye (İbnülemin Series, Foreign, İE.HR), İbnülemin Tasnifi, Saray (İbnülemin Series, Palace, İE.SM).

<sup>10</sup> These records contain two series in Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Presidency's Ottoman Archives, BOA), İstanbul. First one is *Bab-ı Asafi, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (Sublime Porte, Registers of Foreign States, BOA: A.DVN.DVE.d). And the second one is *Bab-ı Asafi, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri, İngiltere* (Sublime Porte, Registers of Foreign States, Britain, A. DVN. DVE. (3)).

diplomatic practice with trade and merchants. In these records, there are articles of all kinds of agreements and aids, interviews, protocols, and related documents of foreign embassies, consulates and merchants. These books, in which were recorded the copies of charters regarding the solutions to the problems that the Ottoman state encountered in the practice of capitulations (and with which Istanbul was also occupied), together with the assignments of translators and consuls, involve these issues which have a place in diplomacy and trade history as well as the related commercial cases.<sup>11</sup> All kinds of correspondence from consulates, foreign merchants and law enforcement officers were kept here.<sup>12</sup> However, not all of these cases were transmitted to the centre and the ones that were conveyed to the central administration did not include details on the basis of commercial quality; instead, the majority of them involved such standard issues like surcharge claims, access permission, demand of safe conduct for naval passage through the Straits, the designation of consuls and translators and the related charters. In addition to the topics mentioned above, there are also records of range and road provisions, merchant charities and some regulations. The privileges granted to the sons and assistants of the ambassadors, consuls and interpreters in the last period (the 19th century in particular), the confiscation of food and beverages, the exemption from various taxes, the judgments in special courts, and so on are recorded. The provisions

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<sup>11</sup> In the Presidency's Ottoman Archives, especially from the end of the 17th century to 1820s, there are three ledgers related to Britain: BOA: A. DVN. DVE, 35/1 (1675-1841), A. DVN. DVE, 36/2 (1749-1783), A. DVNS. AHK. MR (Mora Ahkam), 2 (1717-1750).

<sup>12</sup> This archival file also includes the permission for foreign vessels to benefit from the Ottoman ports, regular follow-up of these permits and various information about foreign states. See Ibid.

and charters containing the matters are also included in the subjects of the Registers of Foreign States. This being the case, without merchants' names and family information, the acquisition of various information regarding the activities of English merchants in Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo and the other ports is possible to reach from these registers.<sup>13</sup>

### **The English Archival Documents**

The business networks of the English merchants operating in the Levant Seas, constitute the main focus of this study. An analysis based on the records of the Ottoman archives and the sources of English archives makes it even easier to uncover the business networks of English traders. The English merchants' concern for the Ottoman land and ports in both a political and commercial sense resulted in an extensive accumulation of official and unofficial archives and book resources created by the Levant Company and by the English diplomatic representatives, and travelers.

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<sup>13</sup> Another group of Ottoman resources referred to in this study includes the books of imperial orders available in the Kadı Sicilleri (Kadi Registers). In these books were recorded the commands sent to Smyrna, and Aleppo and some issues concerning the central administration for the 18th century in particular. The books in question contain general rules sent from the centre with regard to the English and other foreign merchants (müste'men or müste'min) as well as the commercial life of Constantinople and Aleppo with limited information on Smyrna. This thesis has made use of the digital copies of the records available in the library of the İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi (Turkish Religious Foundation Islamic Studies Centre) (İSAM), but we have reached very limited results and findings. In this sense, it can be said that Kadi registers on Aleppo were rich source, but it was not like Smyrna for the 18th century. For Aleppo, these registers enable us to see the customs system in the same century. In this thesis, these records have been indicated as the Constantinople Registers (İstanbul Sicilleri) (İS), Smyrna Registers (İzmir Sicilleri) (İZS) and Aleppo Registers (Halep Sicilleri) (HS.) in the footnotes and the bibliography. Although we use the Kadi registers for this thesis, these records do not constitute a major source for the thesis.

## **The National Archives: Levant Company Documents**

Within this framework, a significant resource formed by the English involves the Levant Company archive that was authorized to trade (Liberty of Trade) in Ottoman territories. Due to this reason, the books which contained the records of the copies concerning the reports and letters sent to London by the ambassadors and consuls who were the Levant Company representatives as well as the orders and letters sent from London to the commercial agencies by the ambassadors and consuls were preserved in the Department of Secretary of State. Today, these documents have been gathered under the title of State Papers (SP), which constitute the archive classification of the Secretary of State bureau in the English National Archives in Kew. The books classified by the numbers SP 105 and SP 110 are the documents involving the trade regulations and the commercial process. Apart from these two series, the copies of the reports with political content sent to London by the ambassadors and consuls have been arranged under the classification numbered SP 97. The most important consulships of Britain besides Constantinople were located in Aleppo and Smyrna. As for the other regions, vice or honorary consuls officiated their service in accordance with Embassy and Consulates in Smyrna and Aleppo. The majority of the records numbered SP 105<sup>14</sup> and SP 110, involving the correspondence of the consuls and commercial agencies serving in Aleppo and Smyrna,

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<sup>14</sup> Most particularly, SP 105 has the names of the merchants who had liberty of trade (LT) with city and port information. We use these names of merchants, dates and cities from SP 105 and enrich with business operations information, job title, ship owning, and networking with other cities and merchants from other archives in the UK which is shown in chapters 4-5-6.

offer valuable information about the commercial process and the list of the merchants operating at Ottoman ports. Most particularly, SP 105 contains the names of the merchants who enjoyed liberty of trade (LT) with city, date and port information. We use these names of merchants, dates and cities from SP 105 and enrich with business operation information, job title, ship owning, and networks in terms of other cities and merchants from other archival records in the UK, which is shown in chapter 4, 5, and 6.<sup>15</sup>

### **Hertfordshire Record Office: Radcliffe Family Records**

The English Levant trade was a commerce operated as a sequence of apprentices-agencies and owners through the partnerships formed by the members of the Levant Company with one another and within their families. On one hand, the Levant company merchants were operating their business in accordance with the company which was registered as a joint-stock company; on the other hand, they were acting on their own behalf in commercial business and they were jobbers in the financial sector in London and Constantinople. In this context, it is required to trace their business networks utilising data from several national archives in conjunction with special-private collections of the merchants. Aside from the embassy and consuls, commercial agencies with apprentices also served in Smyrna and Aleppo. Within this structure, the question

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<sup>15</sup> It is surely beyond doubt that the British Library contains records, which are directly or indirectly related to the Levant Company and its merchants. We could see the relations between the Levant Company and the East India Company from manuscripts and India Office records, which are held in the British Library. For instance, the mail delivery system of East India Company's headquarters in India, Isfahan, Baghdad and Basra with London was carried out over the 18th century through the Levant Company.

of who made the trade in this structure and whether or not this actor was the family member of the owner of the business needs to be borne in mind. In essence, an overseas trade depended on kinship, membership of merchant families, mutual trust, common interests and closer relationships in term of doing business came into existence.

The archive available in Hertfordshire, a county near London, holds many documents transferred from the personal-individual archive of the Radcliffe family, who traded in Aleppo, as well as documents on some operations in Smyrna in the 18th century. Radcliffe's business operations and their surroundings in connection to the Levant Company uncover business networks of the merchants in the first half of the 18th century in particular. The related documents, preserved in the *Hertfordshire Record Office*<sup>16</sup>, belong to the personal and family archives of the merchants as distinct from the documents in the classifications numbered SP 105 and SP 110 and they offer a different perspective - invoices, commercial agreements, private correspondence, business networks and commercial process absent from the SP classification. In this collection, there are also records related to the Cyprus and Smyrna correspondence of Radcliffe Family members including Barker, Polhill and Frye family members' records held in this collection.<sup>17</sup> Also, some of these documents were also used by Ralph Davis in his book

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<sup>16</sup> *Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies* (HERT), DE/R/B is the main source for the correspondence of the Radcliffe Family. It is called "Family and business papers and correspondence of the Radcliffe family of Hitchin Priory, 1538-1944".

<sup>17</sup> HERT: DE/R/B52, 7 - 20 May 1718. (Letter from Frye in Smyrna to John Radcliffe in Aleppo about the textile materials trade that they were doing together). HERT: DE/R/B34/7, 27 Nov - 3 Dec 1717. (Letter to George Radcliffe in Aleppo from Polhill, Barker and Morse in Smyrna).

*Aleppo and Devonshire Square English Traders in the Levant in the 18th Century*.<sup>18</sup> His research into the Radcliffe family shows us some remarks on the networks of Radcliffes in Aleppo, Smyrna, and in Leghorn (Livorno).<sup>19</sup> Thus, Davis's book is a milestone in the field of economic-commercial history of the English Companies, and virtually equates to a primary source.

### **The London Metropolitan Archives: Family Business Records**

Another valuable archive in the UK is the *London Metropolitan Archives* (LMA). The archives contain many documents, and books related to business activities dating from 1067 to the modern-day. Of particular significance are records related to the London Merchants' operations in the Levant Seas by means of their private company and joint-stock companies such as the Levant Company and East India Company. In order to see and analyse business networks and relationships of the Levant Company merchants, London Metropolitan Archives offer very good documents and points on business partnerships and tradables. Apart from these kind of records, in LMA, "*Transcript of baptisms 1795-1832, marriages 1785-1832 and burials 1801-32 at the chaplaincy in Smyrna, (İzmir) Turkey*"<sup>20</sup> is available to identify the names of the Levant merchants and

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<sup>18</sup> Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square English Traders in the Levant in the 18th Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1967).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-116 and pp.147-172. For the clothes and silk trade of the Radcliffes, Davis explained the details of the business operations' structure in these chapters given pages in cite.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, see LMA: DL/E/E/020/MS10446G. In special classification, it is related to the Bishops Transcripts from 1785 to 1832 in Smyrna. And TNA: HCA 26/15/147, 24 May 1711. The *Lyon* was one of the biggest ship in Ottoman commercial operations in the 18th century. Commander: Charles Gibson. Burden: 420 tons. Crew: 50. It had multiple owners consisting of London Merchants and they jointly controlled the ship.

their marital status. In the 18th century in particular, the information of some merchant families can be found in LMA, which helps to evaluate their networks, and to obtain knowledge about the goods in commercial activities, insurance information and ship names of English merchants.<sup>21</sup>

### **Records for Merchants in Local Archives**

In addition to the main archives mentioned above, there are also various archival sources through which can be traced the individual business life stories and relationships of merchants of the Levant Company with some commercial details. These local archive resources give us information on the extent to which traders' relationships with their traders in their own trade and the relationships they have had with other merchants, as well as with which trade activities they were operating. For the 18th century, in commercial activities, there are several local archives located all across the UK: *Kent Archives and Local History (KALH)*, *Surrey History Centre (SHCA)*, and *Norfolk Record Office (NRO)*.<sup>22</sup>

### **Lloyd's Registers and Lists of Shipping**

Apart from national and local archives, especially dating from the last quarter of the 18th century, Lloyd's Register of Shippings contains ship tonnage information, crew lists,

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<sup>21</sup> LMA: MS 11936/457/875488, pp. 1-21. James' business operations and insurance information are shown in these records.

<sup>22</sup> I have visited these archives and collected the records related to merchants who operated business in the Levant Seas.

transported goods and directions that facilitate the tracking of merchants' main directions (ports) and networks. On the Maritime Archives' website, there is information concerning the Lloyd's Register of Shippings: "The Registry of Shipping, later renamed Lloyd's Register, printed its first Register of Ships in 1764 to give both underwriters and merchants an idea of the condition of the vessels they insured and chartered."<sup>23</sup> It also shows which merchant families dominated the commerce in the Levant Seas with information on ships and their partners in the last decades of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century in particular.<sup>24</sup>

In general, all the aforementioned English documents give wide coverage to the issues that are directly related to trade, such as the nature and functioning of commerce, imported and exported goods, together with the particulars, types, qualities, prices and price movements of these goods, demand and supply changes in the market, the arrivals and departures of the ships to and from the ports, networks of the merchants in business operations, and the family ties in commerce in the Levant.

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.maritimearchives.co.uk/lloyds-register.html>

<sup>24</sup> For instance, see St. Barbe Family had two ships in the beginning of the 18th century. They operated and carried goods from London to Smyrna in the Levant. The ship names are listed as *Transit* and *Friendship*. Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1805-1806, pp. 201 and 519.

## HISTORIES

### The First English Merchants in Levant

The primary relationships England directly established with the Ottoman Empire were based on economic and commercial interests and continued throughout centuries by developing in both political and diplomatic sense. Although the first encounter of British merchants and the Ottomans in commercial terms occurred in the 16th century, their political contact dates back to even earlier times. As the issue this thesis will mostly stress commercial relations, political interactions of the early period will not be mentioned much. To briefly state, however, the British concern for the Mediterranean and Levant dates back to the 15th century. It would not be wrong to argue that the first encounters had the Crusades in their centre during the period before the 16th century.<sup>25</sup> It is known that the British and the Ottomans met during the Crusades.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from these first encounters, the British merchants' interest in the Mediterranean trade in the early 16th century gave way to the fact that their first serious contact with the Ottomans happened on the basis of economic and commercial terms. The great profits gained by Italian merchants from the trade with Levant for many years were effective in the initiation of these contacts. The British, who were influenced by the

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<sup>25</sup> İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "On Dokuzuncu Asır Başlarına Kadar Türk-İngiliz Münasebâtına Dair Vesikalar", *Belleten* XIII:51 (July 1949), pp. 573 and 648.

<sup>26</sup> Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 55-99 (Chapter II); For the detailed analysis of the early period in the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and England, see Mehmet Sait Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb" PhD Diss. (Istanbul University), 2014, pp. 7-17.

profitable commercial activities of the Italian, started to develop concern for the Mediterranean trade even in the 14th and 15th centuries.<sup>27</sup> The first merchant known to have arrived in the Levant is Robert Sturmy from Bristol. He operated business in the Levant trade routes between the years 1446 and 1458. Sturmy's business operations included goods of woolen fabric, wool, tin and lead for the exports and raisin, spice, fresh fruit, and wheat in imports at that time.<sup>28</sup> The most significant challenge for the British during the 15th century was the Venetians. Indeed, the Venetian merchants regarded the British merchants, who were among the new guests of the Mediterranean trade monopolized by themselves, as a threat. Thus, they continually raised difficulties for the British ships and even performed direct intervention so as to give damage to the ships.<sup>29</sup>

In the 16th century when the relationships started essentially can be classified in three periods. The first of these is the fact that the British performed trade under the Venetian flag for the first 30-40 years of the century. The second is the reality that the British concern for the Mediterranean trade moved towards the Iranian market through Russia as of 1550s. The third and the last phase is the period starting with the British acquiring right for trade in Levant directly and under their own flag from then on. In the first

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<sup>27</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri: I (1580-1838)*. (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1974), p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Eleanora Mary Carus-Wilson (ed.), *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (Bristol: Bristol Record Office, 1937), pp. 83-118; Braudel, *Akdeniz Dünyası*, I, pp. 413-414. Moreover, again during the same time periods, British merchants happened to perform activities on the coasts of North Africa instead of East Mediterranean. For details, see Braudel, *Akdeniz Dünyası*, V. I, p. 93. For these English merchants, see Gerald MacLean, *Looking East English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 62-63.

<sup>29</sup> Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1964), pp. 1-2 and 5.

decades of the 16th century, English merchants operated business in the Mediterranean trade from mostly London and Bristol. Their business contained the goods of woolen fabrics in export. As importation, the English merchants received in return eastern products like spice (particularly pepper and cinnamon), various sorts of wine, medicine, olive oil, silk, carpets, arborvitae, raw cotton, and so on.<sup>30</sup> In this century, these English merchants most probably sustained their commercial activities under the Venetian flag.<sup>31</sup> The English merchants are also known to have opened trading houses in Chios, Heraklion and Zakynthos until 1523.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, King Henry VIII appointed an Italian merchant, named Justiniano, to Chios in 1523, a Cretan merchant, called Balthazari, to Crete in 1520, and a merchant named Dionysius Haris from London to Crete, again in 1530, for consulship on behalf of Britain.<sup>33</sup> In this way, we know that various voyages in the 1530s have been intense.<sup>34</sup> Also in this first period, commercial relationships with North Africa began to develop too and the British started to perform activities themselves directly in the Moroccan trade.<sup>35</sup> The key element of this commerce was olive

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<sup>30</sup> William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1966), p. 15; H. G. Rawlinson, "Early Trade between England and the Levant", *Journal of Indian History*, II: 1 (1922), pp. 109-110.

<sup>31</sup> Kütükoglu, *Osmanli-ingiliz iktisâdî münâsebetleri*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>32</sup> H. G. Rawlinson, "Early Trade between England and the Levant", *Journal of Indian History*, II: 1 (1922), pp. 109-110.

<sup>33</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>34</sup> The year 1539 witnessed the appearance of Captain Knowles, who arranged four commercial voyages to the Levant in the next ten years. See T. S. Willan, "Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Century", *The English Historical Review*, 70: 276 (July 1955), p. 400; Kütükoglu, *Osmanli-ingiliz iktisâdî münâsebetleri*, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders 1550-1653* (London-New York: Verso, 2003), p. 12.

oil.<sup>36</sup> In this first period of the 16th century, the British were clearly observed to have benefited from the Venetian merchants' power in the Mediterranean trade and took advantage of their experiences.

The phase referred to as the second period of the century involves the years between 1550 and 1573. Within this period, the British commercial route changed into the Iranian market from the Mediterranean. Here, the effort to reach Iran over the Black Sea is in question. From the year 1553 onwards, English merchants' Mediterranean operations were interrupted and the commercial efforts of English merchants focused on the Persia over Russia. This phase continued until the mid-1570s. According to the general view of English historians, the Ottoman Empire conquests in the Mediterranean are directly related to England's withdrawal from the Mediterranean trade at that time.<sup>37</sup> During this period, the navigation of British ships to Levant greatly declined. This situation appears to be the stillest phase of the century on behalf of the British in terms of their status in the Mediterranean trade.<sup>38</sup> The only exceptional case at this time was the personal

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<sup>36</sup> Ralph Davis, *English overseas trade, 1500-1700*, (London: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1973), p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> Braudel does not approve this. On the contrary, the constriction in the national economy and the influence of Russian trade that began with the orientation of the merchant group called "Company of Merchant Adventures" towards the northern route in order to reach Iran lie behind this withdrawal. Moreover, in Braudel's opinion, what lies beyond this disengagement is the economic shrinkage in the England and the influence of the Russian trade that started with the heading of a merchant group called "Company of Merchant Adventures" towards the northern route so as to reach Persia." See Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 11. Türkhan argues: "Besides the economic constriction, however, the desire to reach Persia through Russia shows in fact that the Turkish expansion was received with anxiety. Indeed, the Mediterranean politics pursued by Suleiman the Magnificent was based on the Ottoman alliance with France in the Mediterranean and this alliance posed a threat against Spain and Venice, the other two significant powers of the Mediterranean". *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisadi Münasebetleri (1580- 1850)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), p. 14.

efforts of the British merchant, Anthony Jenkinson. Starting from 1546, Anthony Jenkinson who is known to have voyaged<sup>39</sup> to various Mediterranean ports had right to trade in Aleppo in 1553.<sup>40</sup> This case that could be marked as the first official trading right among the Ottoman-British commercial relations remained on a very restricted and individual level.

Indeed, the British merchants who used these personal efforts in order to reach Iran via Russia in this period were again engaged in an enterprise on an individual basis. Following the year 1553, the English merchants who arrived in the Russian ports via Baltic Sea wanted to do business in commercial sector. In the beginning, they had achieving success in this attempt to some extent.<sup>41</sup> After that, this accomplishment provided an opportunity to merchants to establish the Muscovy Company in 1555.<sup>42</sup> During the establishment stage of Muscovy Company, the British merchants who stood out with their personal enterprises again became effective. Anthony Jenkinson, who previously received permission from the Ottoman state for the Aleppo trade, is also known to have played an active role in these attempts. He was one of the member of the Muscovy Company at that time. Besides Jenkinson, Richard Chancellor who was formerly engaged in commercial operations to Crete and Chios was an active actor in the Russia trade. As

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<sup>39</sup> Mohamad Ali Hachicho, "English Travel Books about the Arab near East in the 18th Century", *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, V. IX: 1/4 (1964), p. 20.

<sup>40</sup> Nimet Kurat, Türk- İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişimi 1553-1610, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları* (Ankara 1953), p. 10; Richard Hakluyt (ed.), *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, V. 5 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 109-110.

<sup>41</sup> *The Origin and Early History of the Russia or Muscovy Company*, Taken from Hakluyt, Purchas, etc. (London: publisher, 1830).

<sup>42</sup> Chew, *Crescent and the Rose*, p. 206.

can be understood, major English merchants who previously arrived in the Mediterranean for trade also participated in the enterprises oriented towards reaching Persia through Russia in an intensive and active way.<sup>43</sup>

The commercial enterprises that the English aimed establishing at various points around the world before 1580 and the companies founded for this purpose are of significance as an indicator of the English potential for expanding foreign trade, with woolen fabrics being in first place to export, which promised good returns in profits.<sup>44</sup> In this sense, another area that the English merchants recently headed towards in 1553 was the region of Guinea on the Atlantic coast in West Africa. According to Brenner, The number of these English merchants, some of whom traded with the Russian company and some with Morocco, reached up to 34 in 1558.<sup>45</sup> In this recession, the crisis between the Pope and British Elizabeth I also had an impact. Upon the Pope's announcement of the English Queen Elizabeth I to be heretic in the religious sense in 1570 and his ordering the Catholic world to break connections with the monarch, the ships flying English flags became an open target for the Catholic state fleets. This situation resulted in significantly reducing English voyages to the Mediterranean compared to the past for security reasons.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> For Russian commercial operations of English merchants, see Armand J. Gerson, "The Organization and Early History of the Muscovy Company", *Studies in the History of English Commerce in the Tudor Period*, University of Pennsylvania pub. New York 1912, pp. 1-122.

<sup>44</sup> In the second half of the century, the stagnation in the Mediterranean trade caused English merchants to find new routes and commercial centres for their business developments. Russian commercial operations by English merchants were one of the best examples of this situation.

<sup>45</sup> Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 14.

<sup>46</sup> Susan A. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578-1582: A Documentary Study of the First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 23.

All of these developments prior to the 1580 treaty and the first activities of English merchants both enabled them to get knowledge on the Mediterranean trade, system and threats. Indeed, in the 16th century, the Levant trade was dominated by Venetian and Spain with established business networks. Apart from the established networks, the Mediterranean was an area of activity for pirates.<sup>47</sup> All these adverse developments and threats could not stop the British desire to gain from Levant trade. The most important point here is that the British royalty had a consciousness in the way to flourish marine trade and maritime from 1558 onwards. Queen Elizabeth I supported seafaring greatly after ascending the throne. Besides, she tried to provide maritime security for the British merchants by following the Mediterranean activities and taking diplomatic steps.<sup>48</sup> The fundamental issue here is that the queen's efforts in question were getting in progress on economic and operational terms too. In the last quarter of the century, much effort was devoted to the development of shipping technology in particular.<sup>49</sup> Along with technical improvements, various changes started to take place in institutional sense too. At the centre of the institutional change lies the increase in incorporation efforts. In this respect, the foundations of the 'carati' system which began to be laid during the 17th century around Britain due to Queen Elizabeth I's efforts.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, the processive

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<sup>47</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> It is seen that Britain, which realized the piracy threat on the Mediterranean routes, sent an ambassador to the Moroccan Sultan in 1577 and obtained promise of protection on behalf of the British ships in the Mediterranean. See Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> J. Horton Ryley, *England's Pioneer to India and Burma, his Companions and Contemporaries, with his Remarkable Narrative Told in his own Words*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), pp. 22-23.

<sup>50</sup> Murat Çizakça, *A comparative evolution of business partnerships: The Islamic world and Europe, with specific reference to the Ottoman Archives* Vol. 8. (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 32-33.

shipping and incorporation efforts brought forward a more active international trade. These developments and Queen Elizabeth's motive in standing firm against her Catholic opponents in Europe turned out to be an encouraging influence on the English commercial activities concerning the Atlantic and Russia as well as the Mediterranean.<sup>51</sup>

The third and last phase regarding the 16th century is the period in which the relationships got officialised. The historical background narrated until the arrival of this period represents, in essence, a process having developed gradually. Accordingly, the British interest in the Mediterranean and Levant trades brought along taking an official step during the last quarter of the century. As for the Ottomans, the efforts of the Ottoman fleet to achieve a swift recovery after the battle of Lepanto<sup>52</sup> and ensuing developments, like the Persian wars, must have increased Ottoman demand for such metals as tin and lead<sup>53</sup>, which were necessary for the war and woolen fabrics they could import from England.<sup>54</sup> The fact that the Ottomans, who were struggling with Safavid Iran in the east at that time, received a request for a pact from the English in the west, who bore hostility towards the Spanish, the Ottoman enemy on the open seas, must have facilitated Ottoman-English intimacy. Actually, Queen Elizabeth was clearly distinguishing herself from the Catholic world<sup>55</sup> by declaring herself to be the true

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<sup>51</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Kütükoglu, *Osmanlı-ingiliz iktisâdî münâsebetleri*, p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Braudel, *Akdeniz Dünyası*, V. 1, p. 423.

<sup>54</sup> Skilliter, *William Harborne*, p. 25.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23; MacLean, *Looking East*, pp. 45-47.

defender of Christianity in her first letter to Sultan Murad III in October 1579.<sup>56</sup> This attitude is likely to be an attitude developed in the hopes of getting Ottoman support in the event of conflict between the British and Spain.<sup>57</sup>

During the first enterprises to establish official relationships, the English merchants exported woolen fabrics and metals like tin and lead to the Ottoman ports in exchange for valuable goods such as Turkish carpets and silk.<sup>58</sup> This trade was far from functioning on a regular basis and bearing a specific volume until the 1580 treaty; in fact, it was operated indirectly through the western Mediterranean ports and Venice in particular, officially by French ships and under the French flag, or secretly by English ships. In fact, this situation forced the establishment of a bilateral relationship in the meaning of institutional aspect. The transportation of the English goods to the eastern Mediterranean was achieved thanks to the Venetian mediating merchants.<sup>59</sup> In fact, these first activities of the English in the Mediterranean turned out to be for the benefit of Venice; that is, having brought such goods like woolen fabrics, tin, lead and iron to Venice, the English merchants navigated on towards the Aegean, where they bought raisin and wine, by the ships they rented in Venice and returned to England by loading these goods again on their own boats.<sup>60</sup> It is clearly understood that the English tended to be insistent upon the Mediterranean trade and obtained commercial privileges from

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<sup>56</sup> Kurat, *Türk- İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişimi 1553-1610*, p. 181.

<sup>57</sup> MacLean, *Looking East*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>59</sup> Willan, "Some Aspects of English Trade", p. 402.

<sup>60</sup> Braudel, *Akdeniz Dünyası*, V. 1, p. 422.

Venice as well by conducting negotiations with Venice before the Ottomans. The trade with the Venetian ships went on functioning with part of this commerce organized by the Venetians themselves too. In 1575, the Venetian merchant, Acerbo Velutelli, was granted by Venice the right to export the Levant grapes and olive oil to England. Velutelli exported these goods to England by the English ships in practice and desired to gain advantage on his own behalf by receiving an additional export tax out of these commodities. Thereupon, the Venetian state averted this practice by demanding an extra tariff for the grapes and olive oil being sent to England by the vessels other than the Venetian ships. As a result of Queen Elizabeth I's demand for extra taxation for the grapes and olive oil brought to England by the foreign ships in the same period, contrary to the aforementioned Venetian practice, the trade for the related goods experienced a serious obstruction.<sup>61</sup> The revival of this blocked counter-trade first became possible with the permission Venice gave to English merchants to trade in its own ports. The English trade preceding the 1580 treaty meant an advantage on behalf of France as well. That is to say, the English ships made use of the French flag as they did not use their own flag<sup>62</sup> and transported the goods they brought to Marseilles to the Ottoman ports by means of the French ships they took from Marseilles.

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<sup>61</sup> Bent, "The English in the Levant", p. 655.

<sup>62</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol*, p. 47.

## **The Establishment of the Official Relations: From Merchant Initiatives to Official Ottoman-English Commercial Relationships**

The English are seen to have performed the first major and official attempt to trade in the Ottoman capital in the year 1575. Joseph Clements, who arrived in Constantinople by land across Poland at that time, received a cocket, which made it possible to enter and exit the Turkish territories freely from Sultan Murad III in the name of William Harborne who had given credit to his merchant master Edward Osborne. Having obtained this permission, William Harborne came to Constantinople with Joseph Clement in October 1578 and engaged in commercial activities under the French flag.<sup>63</sup> Harborne formed close relationships with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, his doctor Salamon<sup>64</sup> and Hodja Saduddin, the spiritual guide of Sultan III, in Constantinople.<sup>65</sup> Harborne returned to his country with an imperial letter dated 15th March, 1579 and written to Queen Elizabeth I by Sultan Murad III.<sup>66</sup> This letter granted privileges to the three aforementioned English merchants to practice free trade in the Ottoman ports.<sup>67</sup> This document was the second privilege given to English merchants after Jenkinson's personal charter in 1553. Queen Elizabeth demanded the availability of these commercial concessions for all the English merchants and promised to bestow, in return,

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<sup>63</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>64</sup> Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı*, pp. 19 and 58.

<sup>65</sup> Hodja Saduddin, who specially argued for the termination of the ongoing Persian wars and the start of battling with Spain instead, valued the importance of an alliance with England against Spain and thus supported Harborne in İstanbul. See Kurat, "Hoca Sadeddin Efendi'nin Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Tesisi ve Gelişmesindeki Rolü", pp. 305-315.

<sup>66</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>67</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Türk-İngiliz Münasebâtına Dair Vesikalar", pp. 615-616.

the same privileges on the Turkish ships navigating to the English ports in her reply letter dated October 1579. William Harborne, who came back to Constantinople again with this letter, submitted it to Sultan Murad III without a single adversity and succeeded in receiving the first charter in May 1580.<sup>68</sup> Harborne submitted the Queen's letter with a request of an all-encompassing agreement for the commercial privileges to the Sultan by ostensibly accepting the issue and enabling the rescue of the ship. Upon this letter, Murad III granted the English a charter in July 1580.<sup>69</sup>

From the 1580 treaty to the assignment of Harborne as the ambassador in 1583, the English trade is understood to still have operated under the French flag.<sup>70</sup> As not a single English ambassador was assigned to Constantinople until 1583, a provision stating that the English would trade under the French flag just like any other foreign states aside from France and Venice was inserted in the French charter dated 1581. The opposition of France to the assignment of the English ambassador to Constantinople, which constituted a problem for this country within commercial competition despite its

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<sup>68</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol*, pp. 17-18. "However, the reality that the English would start commercial activities under their own flag having previously traded under the French flag and thus become an opponent to the French merchants in the Ottoman ports with this enterprise did not escape the notice of Germigny, the French ambassador, who took up his position on 25th September, 1579, upon his arrival in Constantinople. Before submitting the Queen's letter, which demanded the inclusion of all English merchants in the commercial privileges, to the Sultan during his second visit to Constantinople, Germigny tried to persuade both Harborne and the Ottoman authorities that the English needed to maintain their trade under the French flag by participating in the negotiations, in his capacity as the protective state ambassador, related to the return of an English ship withheld on the Chios." For further discussion, see Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaretve Haleb", p. 18.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48. Also, see Skilliter, *William Harborne*, pp. 86-89 and 232-236.

<sup>70</sup> Kurat, *Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı*, p. 37.

amicable relations with England,<sup>71</sup> arose with Harborne's coming to Constantinople again as an ambassador, this time on 3rd May, 1583 and the French ambassador Germigny claimed that the ship that brought Harborne by the name of Susan should carry the French flag.<sup>72</sup> In an economic sense, France would be deprived of the consular fee that the English had to pay the French ambassadors and consuls and thus end up in revenue loss.<sup>73</sup> However, the objections of the French ambassador were ignored by the Ottoman administration and Harborne was admitted to the Palace on 4th May, 1583, and in this way, the Ottoman-English commercial and diplomatic relations acquired an interstate official status. Following this date, the first commercial ship to carry the English flag arrived in Constantinople on 9th June, 1584.<sup>74</sup>

The English concern for the Mediterranean trade at a time when the geographical discoveries and the Atlantic trade started to accelerate were in fact based on the direction of the trade between the two regions and the product differences. While the Atlantic trade evolved from precious metal resources into slave trade in a short time and the plantations transformed into the trade of the crops relating the Atlantic region, with sugar and corn being in first place, the Mediterranean ports were still the only area where such products like cotton, currant<sup>75</sup>, mohair, angora wool, olive oil and wine

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-47.

<sup>72</sup> The reason for the defiance of France involved the anxiety about a possible decrease in its dignity for the Ottoman palace among the European states as well as the fear that it would lose its title of patronage over the English merchants who had to trade under the French flag until that period.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 50-54. As negotiations with Queen Elizabeth about the foundation of the Levant Company in London came to an end.

<sup>74</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>75</sup> Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 27.

belonging to the Mediterranean basin were supplied besides raw silk, which arrived from across Persia and was produced in the Mediterranean. This being the case, the special interest in the Mediterranean market was still in progress by the end of the 16th century. The silk provided from the Ottoman ports and Italy held an important place especially for the sector of the silk industry, which flourished, especially during the reign of Elizabeth. The Mediterranean formed the only area for the procurement of raw silk regarding the English silk industry<sup>76</sup> at a period when the Chinese and Indian silk was not yet adequately supplied.<sup>77</sup>

### **The First Treaty: The Capitulation of 1580<sup>78</sup>**

The sole diplomatic texts that regulated the Ottoman relations with other states in the classical period are the treaties. At the rate of their political powers, the Ottomans arranged their political and economic relationships with the European states through treaties formed by the Islamic law within the frame of law of nations. Accordingly, the Ottomans one-sidedly offered the related state political and commercial privileges by means of these texts. Besides being based on bills of debt prepared at the end of the negotiations between the diplomatic representative from both parties (especially when organized as a peaceful agreement), these treaties are documents which bear the

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<sup>76</sup> Ralph Davis, "English Imports from the Middle East, 1580-1780", in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, p. 199. Also, see Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 26.

<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, the Mediterranean countries still continued being a highly good market for the products of the English woolen fabric industry that kept on rising. For this view, see Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 32.

<sup>78</sup> In Modern Turkish words; 1580 Ahidnamesi, see Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Ahidname (Türk Tarihi)", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi DİA.*, V. I, (İstanbul, 1988), pp. 536-540.

Sultan's signature on and consist of the charters that are arranged within the frame of eman practice of the Islamic law, take effect by the fetwa of the shaykh al-islam and are single-sidedly granted to the counterstate by the Ottoman Sultan.<sup>79</sup> The treaties that bestowed commercial privileges, on the other hand, need to be considered texts, which grant a direct and one-sided concession as such a privilege is offered in line with the counterstate's demand.<sup>80</sup> In this respect, treaties are texts devoid of a basis of reciprocity. The whole contents of treaties regulate in detail the diplomatic and commercial privileges of the merchants and diplomats of the related state that is given a charter in the Ottoman land but did not demand such concessions for the Ottoman citizens from the counterstate in return. Therefore, these treaties do not provide an opportunity for the Ottoman subjects to sustain their commercial activities in the Mediterranean and European ports and cities in theory. As a matter of fact, provided that the Ottoman Muslim merchants who traded in Venice in the 16th century are excluded, the presence of the non-muslim merchants from among the Ottoman citizens in the European states for commercial purposes which particularly came about during the 18th century brought forth some issues of reciprocity and rights.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> For this reason, the agreement texts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century came to be regarded as treaties as they were organized on the basis of mutuality. See Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Ahidname (Türk Tarihi)", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi DİA*, V. 1, (İstanbul 1988), pp. 536-540; Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Dođu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 20.

<sup>80</sup> See *Muâhedât Mecmuâsı*, V. I (İstanbul: *Hakikat Matbaası*, 1294), p. 241.

<sup>81</sup> İsmail Hakkı Kadı, "On the Edges of an Ottoman World: Non-Muslim Ottoman Merchants in Amsterdam" in Christine M. Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 276-288.

The disinterest in the essence of mutuality was related to the fact that the existence in a country regarded as an abode of war<sup>82</sup> for the Muslims, especially within the frame of the political and religious understanding of the period, was not considered a favourable condition. In accordance with this mentality, the number of Muslims from among the Ottoman citizens who resided in the European states in the long term until the 19th century, except for short diplomatic and commercial trips, was quite small in size. This situation can as well be reckoned among the fundamental reasons why the Ottomans did not establish permanent embassies in other states for quite a long time.

Granting charters to other states involved various political and economic benefits on behalf of the Ottomans. In the political sense, alliances were formed between different European states to secure the political-military balance.<sup>83</sup> In a commercial respect, on the other hand, the main targets included both the supply of the goods necessary for the Ottoman Empire (Ottoman economic mind)<sup>84</sup> in an abundant and cheap way within the provisionalistic understanding and also the maintenance of commercial dynamism in the

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<sup>82</sup> Ahmet Özel, *İslam Hukukunda Ülke Kavramı Darulislam Darulharb* (İstanbul: İz Yayınları, 2011), pp. 203-204.

<sup>83</sup> For instance, France, another Catholic state between the two great Catholic powers like Spain and Popedom, was turned into an equilibrant as an Ottoman ally as of the 16th century, can provide the best example of this case. For this analysis, see Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 21.

<sup>84</sup> Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı İktisadî Dünya Görüşünün Temel İlkeleri" in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2000), pp. 39-48.

Ottoman ports that would hopefully contribute to the maximization of customs revenues.<sup>85</sup>

The charters given by the Ottomans were texts that required reapproval in every change of sultan until the 18th century.<sup>86</sup> Such changes used to be reorganized together with previous treaties as a single text. This situation enabled the use of treaties as an overall legal document that displayed the original text and the subsequent additions and modifications in a unity in terms of codification.<sup>87</sup> The English treaty, renewed in 1675 with the assistance of the English ambassador Henry Finch, exemplifies this sort of document. It involved the entire text of the English treaties of that time and is the last of the classical treaty texts given to England.<sup>88</sup> The 1580 treaty, the first treaty that regulated the Ottoman-English commercial and diplomatic relations, involved similar charters given previously to such states as Venice and France by the Ottoman state.<sup>89</sup> According to this treaty, the English ships could perform free trade in all Ottoman ports but would pay 5% customs tariff just like the merchants of any other foreign states in return. Besides, they were granted the right to keep an ambassador in Constantinople

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<sup>85</sup> Halil İnalçık, "İmtiyâzât (The Ottoman Empire)", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, V. 3, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), pp. 1179-1189.

<sup>86</sup> Additionally, when modifications were considered necessary for various reasons, a change became possible only through the application of the king of the related state and the consideration of this application positively by the Ottoman Porte. These adjustments were conducted at times upon some problems experienced between the merchants and diplomats of the two states, and at other times, new articles were added or some articles were revised as in the cases of tax rates and piracies. See İnalçık, "İmtiyâzât", pp. 1179-1189.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp. 1179-1189.

<sup>88</sup> After 1800s, the following treaty texts that belonged to the 1808 'Dardanelles Treaty' and the 1838 'Baltalimani Commercial Treaty' were modern time political treaty texts based on their creation via mutual negotiations as well as content and formulation. See, Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol*, p. 40.

<sup>89</sup> İnalçık, "İmtiyâzât", pp. 1179-1189; Kütükoğlu, "Ahidnâme", pp. 536-540.

and a consul in other ports and cities on behalf of England. Also, the Ottoman authorities would not distrain on the goods of the English ships in any way as long as they paid their taxes. Such folks like merchants, consuls, translators and clerks involved in English citizenship could get their debit and credit operations with the Ottoman subjects to be recorded in the kadi court, receive a related bill and go to law in cases of disagreement. The cases that were not recorded and invoiced by the kadi would not be considered a matter of dispute by the kadi.<sup>90</sup>

In accordance with this treaty, all the cases between the English citizens would be tried by their own ambassadors and consuls. The English subjects would not be detained for one another except for cases of bail. The preservation and saving of the possessions belonging to deceased English citizens were entrusted to the English ambassadors and consuls. On the other hand, the moment any English subject was identified as enslaved in the Ottoman territories, he or she would be released right away. Similarly, the goods of an English citizen that had been plundered or detained in some way or other would be delivered to the owner and compensated for, and the ones who committed this act would be punished. The English who accommodated in the Ottoman lands would by no means be extorted.<sup>91</sup> With this treaty, the English merchants who performed trade in the Ottoman territories gained the status of non-muslim foreigners just like the

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<sup>90</sup> In this way, the merchants and diplomats who belonged to English citizenship were granted the privilege of making use of the Ottoman domestic law. For jurisdictions, see Maurits H. Van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, And Beratlis in the 18th Century* Vol. 21, (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 2005), pp. 33-47.

<sup>91</sup> Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol*, pp. 27-29.

merchants of the other states with charters.<sup>92</sup> When it comes to the 18th century, the Black Sea was totally closed to all foreign state ships but the ships with the Ottoman flag and remained so until the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774.<sup>93</sup>

The 1601 treaty abolished the taxes on the precious metal trade and money trading as well. In this way, the English merchants were not burdened with customs duty from the precious metals and cash they exported to or imported from Ottoman lands. The most significant change for the English with the 1601 treaty was that the tariff rate was reduced to 3% from 5%.<sup>94</sup> While this discount in customs tariff made for the English drew a great reaction from commercially powerful states like France and Venice, it turned out quite profitable for the English trade. The final form of treaty text to last till 1838 was created by means of the 1675 treaty. Having taken its final shape, this treaty served as

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<sup>92</sup> Moreover, the additions and adjustments made into the first English treaty dated 1580 during the years 1593, 1601, 1604, 1614, 1606, 1624, 1643, 1662 and eventually 1675 put this treaty into its final form. A significant provision which is thought to have been added to the 1601 dated treaty regulations is the right given to English merchants to trade in the Black Sea ports. Accordingly, the merchant ships with the English flag were granted the privilege of commerce as far as the Don River, the Azov port and the Russian lands in the Black Sea region. Besides, the possessions of the English merchants who traded in these regions would not be detained when these merchants had to take refuge in Kaffa or any other port, the preservation of the ships and goods belonging to the English merchants in dangerous areas would be under the responsibility of the local authorities and the English would be provided with vehicles if requested. A similar provision was repeated in the 1675 treaty. Despite the existence of such an article in the treaty regarding the permission given to the English merchants to trade in the Black Sea, whether or not this provision was practised remains unknown. The Ottomans transformed the Black Sea into an inland sea by gradually closing it to the merchant ships of foreign states after the 16th century. See Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol*, pp. 27-29; Halil İnalçık, "The Question of the Closing of the Black Sea Under the Ottomans", *Arkhenion Pontou*, V. 35 (Athens 1979), pp. 74-110; Muâhedât Mecmuası, *Hakikat Matbaası*, V.1 (İstanbul, 1294), p. 249. Especially for Black Sea trade, see Wood, *A history of the Levant Company*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>93</sup> İdris Bostan, "Rusya'nın Karadeniz'de Ticarete Başlaması ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu (1700-1787)", *Bellekten*, V. 59/225 (Ağustos 1995), Ankara, 1995, pp. 353-394.

<sup>94</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 15-47.

the sole text that regulated the Ottoman-English trade until the 1838 Balta Limani Treaty.<sup>95</sup>

### **The Establishment of the Levant Company and the 17th Century**

The history of the English commercial expansion and colonialism during the Elizabethan era is a history of companies at the same time. The transoceanic and long-term commercial enterprises directed towards different parts of the world were launched by means of companies and became possible only through the organizations of this sort of companies. The Company of Merchant Adventurers, one of the most important companies of London in the middle of the 16th century, as well as other companies like Russian, Spanish, Turkey and Venice consisted of either the partners of Merchant Adventurers or the merchants from London who were the partners of other companies that arised from this company.<sup>96</sup>

The commercial enterprises provided by the treaty were supported by the Queen as well and they met the expenses of Harborne's first voyage too.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, the Queen was submitted some reports concerning the suitability of a possible trade with Turkey for English interests. These reports stated that the sea trade to be performed with Turkey would also feed the English fleet and the profit regarding this trade that was previously

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<sup>95</sup> For Act of 1675, see *Muâhedât Mecmuası*, V. 1, (İstanbul: Hakikat Matbaası, 1294), pp. 240-262.

<sup>96</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 24-25; Murat Çizakça, *A comparative evolution of business partnerships: The Islamic world and Europe, with specific reference to the Ottoman Archives* Vol. 8. (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 32-33.

<sup>97</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 9-10.

operated by the foreign states would be enjoyed by England. However, the need for an ambassador to properly represent the English merchants in Constantinople against such powerful opponents in this trade, like France and Venice, also came in view. Encouraged by the support of Walsingham, the Queen's principal secretary consultant, the merchants brought up the issues of the establishment of a company and the transfer of commercial rights as a monopoly to this company. A company of this sort was a frequently referred method in trades performed with such overseas distant countries. In this way, the merchants were granted the opportunity of such solidarity and decreasing and elimination of possible problems with regard to the idiosyncratic risks of trade. While the company organizations provided a more transparent and organized administration system on the one hand, they served as an important means for the aggregation of major commercial capitals of the merchants who traded in different areas.<sup>98</sup>

The Turkey Company<sup>99</sup>, which was founded on the basis of the privilege granted by Queen Elizabeth to Edward Osborne, Richard Staper, William Garret, Thomas Smith and other folks to be elected by them on 11th September, 1581, formed the basis of the Levant Company. The first privilege of the company was given on behalf of twelve people until the year 1588 and Edward Osborne was elected to the company management. By this privilege, the English citizens who were not members of the company were banned

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<sup>98</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 25.

<sup>99</sup> It is known that since the beginning of the Mediterranean trade and the Ottoman-English commercial relations, the leading agent of this commerce was the Turkey Company that would combine with the Venice Company in 1591 and bear the name "the Levant Company". See Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1908), pp. 16-20.

from trading in the Ottoman ports and the right for commerce was bestowed only upon the company members.<sup>100</sup> The founders of the Turkey Company that involved twelve people in total were also partners in more than one company simultaneously. Of all the founders, nine were members of the Muscovy Company, ten were members of the Spanish Company and eight were members of both the Muscovy Company and the Spanish Company. Only one of them was not a member of any company.<sup>101</sup>

The company fulfilled profitable operations since its beginning years.<sup>102</sup> The original status of the company involved joint stock quality. Joint stock companies were based on the mutuality and unity of the company capital, the operation of the whole trade on behalf of the company and the distribution of profit-loss participation to stockholders. The company had to pay customs duty of 500 sterling yearly in return for this seven-year privilege, and thus it needed to perform intensive trade. All the ships in the service of the company were required to report to the fleet regarding the status of the crew before and after the commercial voyages with respect to the Levant and make the military equipment, weapons and ammunition on the ships available for supervision.<sup>103</sup>

One of the most frequently debated issues in the establishment phase of the company was the necessity for the representative assigned to Constantinople by the company to bear the title of an ambassador as well. However, both the office expenses and salary of

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>101</sup> Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, 2003, p. 17.

<sup>102</sup> In fact, the average profit of the company was calculated as approximately 300% for this period. See Braudel, *Akdeniz Dünyası*, V. 1, p. 423.

<sup>103</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 11.

such a task and the expensive gifts necessary for submitting to the Ottoman palace turned out to be a question of debate between the company and the Queen for a while about who would meet these expenses. While the company requested that these high expenses be covered by the Queen, this demand was rejected by the Queen who deemed it suitable that the stated expenses as well as the salaries of all embassy and consulate clerks be met by the company budget in return for the privilege of monopoly.<sup>104</sup>

Another point as an obstacle for the Levant Company was competition with Venice Company. Upon the expiration of the company privilege in 1588, the commercial rivalry with the Venice Company, another English company that traded in the Mediterranean, became even more distinct.<sup>105</sup> The battle of privilege regarding both companies in the face of the kingdom lasted until 1591. During this period, the combination of the two companies came to the fore upon the discovery that both companies traded the same products and the problems and benefits experienced on both sides were similar. Following the decision of unification, an application was made for privileges in 1591, the charter of the Levant Company was approved on 7th January, 1592 and “The Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant” was established. The privilege was granted to fifty-three merchants in total for twelve years. While twenty-one of them were associate

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>105</sup> The merchants of the Venice Company intended to prevent the Turkish merchants’ activities in the Mediterranean, stating that they were the only company, which still had the right of privilege and thus monopoly in comparison to the Turkish Company whose privilege came to an end. See Ibid., pp. 18-19.

members of the Venice Company, a partnership quota for two were reserved for the kingdom and the remaining quota for twenty people were spared for merchants who desired to get into the partnership in the company by paying 130 sterling.<sup>106</sup> These debates and the competition between the partners of both companies are important in terms of revealing how valuable and profitable a business the Mediterranean trade for the English was. The Levant Company, founded through the combination of the two companies, also received the rights of monopoly<sup>107</sup> for the Indian trade performed in all Ottoman geography, Venetian ports and the Ottoman lands and became the sole founder and reformer of the diplomatic missions and mercantile establishments such as embassies and consulates in these countries in the name of the English kingdom.<sup>108</sup> The Levant Company had a separate agency also in Livorno, which was in the status of a free trade port.<sup>109</sup> Apart from this, it is understood that the company kept representatives in Vienna and Marseilles too. The company maintained its joint stock status until 1595 and it appears that the partnership structure of the company was reorganized after 1595 as a regulated company in the direction of the desires of the partners to perform personal

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<sup>106</sup> Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 63-64; Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>108</sup> The commercial monopoly rights of the Levant Company involved the Ottoman ports in Venice and all the eastern Mediterranean. However, after the foundation of the East India Company, these ports turned into the commercial and diplomatic fields of the Levant Company as the trade in Baghdad and Basra were performed by means of this company. Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 27. Likewise, the ambassadors assigned to the Western Hearths like Algeria, Tunisia and Tripoli that were dependent on the Ottoman state were directly appointed by the kingdom due to England's tendency to consider these states entirely independent of the Ottoman state. See Michael Talbot, "English Diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire during the Long 18th Century", PhD Diss., (London: University of London, SOAS, Department of History, 2013), p. 64.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

trade.<sup>110</sup> In this way, each member of the company sustained their commercial activities on their own behalf and account. In the year 1595, 15 ships and 790 sailors served under the Levant Company.

The Levant Company constituted one of the most successful example of the English commercial expansion during the time it was established. The East India Company, founded by the merchants who left the Levant Company in 1600, gained a more powerful structure through gradual flourishing. The Levant Company was the most prestigious company of the English foreign trade during the 16th and 17th centuries, the period when it was established and its activities were peaked. The company's contribution to the English foreign trade were greater than the other companies. The mercantilist understanding of the era was influential in this perception of prestige. Indeed, the Levant Company performed its export of intensive silk, grapes and cotton in return for the products of the English woolen industry it imported to a great extent. Therefore, it not only prevented the exit of precious metals from the country contrary to the East India Company but also contributed to the development of the English woolen industry. Other goods that the English merchants brought in return for imports included sugar, fish and

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<sup>110</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 22-23.

colonial products, which they bought from the Spanish ports.<sup>111</sup> This situation was regarded as a great benefit by the proponents of a mercantilist view.<sup>112</sup>

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the effect of the political structure and dominant English politics in India on the transformation of the East Indian Company into a bigger political organization was undoubtedly great. The Levant Company, on the other hand, could not achieve the same effect in the face of the Ottoman central power. The charters bestowed to the Levant Company by the Queen included the rights of rulemaking without offending the Queen's laws, setting up an order and raising the English flag on their ships.<sup>113</sup> Although the association between the two companies sustained in the beginning through use of the same ships and the trading of the merchants, who were partners to both companies, in each company, the companies turned out to be rivals to one another in the course of time.<sup>114</sup> On the other hand, the above-mentioned privileges given to the Indian company provided the company with the opportunity to organize as

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<sup>111</sup> Other European countries like France and Venice that traded in the Ottoman ports had to carry cash along with the goods they brought in exchange for the items they got from the Ottoman ports. See *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>112</sup> Yet, the conditions would change during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the Levant Company would regress for England due to the Dutch imitation of the English woolen fabrics and its supply of goods to the Levant ports at a cheaper price as well as the interruption of the silk trade following the Persian route in Aleppo and Smyrna. In Chapters 3-4- and 5, we will mention the main reasons of this changing in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11. "The Levant Company operated only in the Mediterranean ports and did not have the right to decide upon war and peace in some way or other, or the prerogative of coining money. Besides, they had the opportunity to practise their own laws only for the cases among themselves in the consulate council. Indeed, the kinds of privileges as enjoyed by the East Indian Company would not be granted to the Levant Company by the powerful Ottoman state and all practices were regulated by the charters bestowed by the Ottoman sultan. This being the case, the growth of the company so as to establish a colonial governorship like the one in India was not within possibility in the face of the mighty Ottoman administration."

<sup>114</sup> Rawlinson, "Early trade between England and the Levant", p. 115.

a colonial company since the very beginning and to end up in maintaining its colonial activities on its own by forming its own army and military organization in time.

The further expansion and reinforcement especially of judiciary privileges by means of legislating authorities brought about a situation that enabled the East Indian Company to exercise control over the legal systems of Mughal and India, and base its own legitimacy upon legal grounds in the course of time.<sup>115</sup> The East Indian Company had expanded as far as the Indian islands, Indonesia and Japan fifteen years after its foundation, stepped into Persia in 1628 and settled in Bombay City in 1668.<sup>116</sup> At the same time, the Levant Company reached the highest number of merchants in the 1670s. The company continued its commercial activities successfully until the end of the century, and in 1693, the French armada destroyed English and Dutch vessels with a value of 4-million-pound. The 18th century was perhaps an opportunity for the company to compensate for a major crisis held in the Mediterranean.

## **CHAPTER SUMMARY**

Sources used in this research are mostly British and Ottoman archive resources. Among the Ottoman records as referred to in this thesis, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (registers of foreign states) are in the lead concerning the documents of British daily diplomatic practice with trade and merchants. In these records there are articles of all kinds of

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<sup>115</sup> Suat Vural, "Hindistan'da İngiliz Hakimiyetinin Kurulması", *Tarihte Türk-Hint İlişkileri Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, 25-28 June 2007, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*, Ankara, (2008), p. 135.

<sup>116</sup> Michel Beaud, *Kapitalizmin Tarihi* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 2003), p. 32.

agreements and aids, interviews, protocols, and related documents of foreign embassies, consulates and merchants. Aside from Ottoman archive resources English archive resources are mainly used. This study has been written in consideration of data based on The National Archives and directly related with Levant Company. These documents have been gathered under the title of State Papers (SP), which constitute the archive classification of the Secretary of State bureau in the English National Archives in Kew. The books classified by the numbers SP 105 and SP 110 are the documents involving the trade regulations and the commercial process. Thanks to this mentioned rich archive resource, information of names of Levant Company merchants, cities or ports they were trade with, dates when they became a co-member or a freeman of the company and other information obtained easily. Existence of aforesaid information for about 2000 merchants is the main factor that created this research. As a matter of fact, my researches throughout England based on the before cited information of these merchants provided me very useful information. In this regard, some of these archives must be mentioned here. The first and most important one is certainly Hertfordshire Record Office. In this archive, Levant trade of Radcliffe family which is a co-member and one of the most influential families of the Levant Company, reports of agents they used in Levant and other related documents are extant. This archive documents made our research wider. Another valuable archive in the UK is the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA). The archives embrace many documents, and books related to business activities dating from 1067 to the modern-day. In this archive, I found an opportunity to search for

merchants those I found their names from National Archives one by one. And I found a remarkable amount of archive records.

In addition to the main archives mentioned above, there are also various archival sources through which can be traced the individual business life stories and relationships of merchants of the Levant Company with some commercial details. Those archive materials provide me information about businesses of merchants apart from Levant trade. Due to these archives, I form an opinion about which business networks Levant Company co-member families and individual merchants had. In addition to these local archives, British Library manuscripts represent another important archive source group. In British Library, there are substantial information about merchants, consuls and many people of Levant. Some manuscripts contributed substantially to this thesis study especially on revelation of business network map and exploration of trade routes. Lastly, we should mention to Lloyd's Registers and Lists of Shipping data. These lists are insurance register lists of all British ships, which Levant is included. Based on these lists, it became possible to obtain to networks of especially ship-owner merchants or ship master Levant Company freemen. Additionally, volume of the ships, which are emerged in Levant trade is also explored from these lists. Finally, baseline data of network analysis in chapter 6 is shipping registers in these lists.

In archive resources mentioned before there is extremely useful information about both pre-establishment and establishment stages of Levant Company. In addition to this, by means of a secondary important source, we mentioned establishment period of Levant

Company with details. Difficulties after establishment, transformation, which was company undergone and the heritage of first interaction with Ottomans through 17th and 18th centuries are important for this study. 17<sup>th</sup> century was the most valuable century for the company. However, after destruction of 400 vessels-ships in the Mediterranean, company fell into commercial and financial crises. As mentioned in this chapter, the fact that the number of co-members of the company in the 17th century, which reached its highest point revealed the potential of the Levant trade volume. However, the rivalry happened in the Meditarrenean caused the company to face some crises. This prosperity and crisis, which the company experienced in the 17th century, affected the last decade of the company with its experience and destruction. Hence we must mention that some implementations which company framed in a long time period and accumulation of knowledge is the basis of our analysis.

**CHAPTER THREE**

**TRADE CENTRES AND ROUTES, INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS,  
MERCANDISE AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE LEVANT TRADE**

**1700-1800**

The Ottoman and British empires were bound by strong ties. The strength of this relationship was demonstrated by the signs of significant positive dynamic, economic and diplomatic cooperation in that developed from the time of their first establishment of diplomatic relations in 1580. As mentioned in the second chapter, it is however necessary to recognize that even if the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and England started from the 16th century, it emerged out of conditions already present in the 15th century and was influenced by the growing efficiency of trade routes in Asia, the North-sea and, on an unofficial basis, in the East Mediterranean as well. It is clear that trade routes and changes with its opportunities affected commercial and business operations of the Levant Company merchants.<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of major factors contributing to the wider context in which this economic opportunity in relations between the two sides took place; for example, exporting and importing some crucial goods and the opportunities for merchants in terms of operating their own businesses. Reliable trade routes and access to their terrestrial hinterlands represents one of the most important factors contributing to the growing relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Britain. By reason of the efficiency of the trade routes located in the East Mediterranean (Levant), transportation of commodities or goods from production centres to sales centres can be seen as having affected business initiatives and merchant shipping activities positively.

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<sup>1</sup> Eleanora Mary Carus-Wilson (Ed.), *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Bristol Record Society, 1967), pp. 83-118.

This chapter explains three factors that influenced the condition of Levant trade in the 18th century. The first factor is the effect of trade routes and the major port cities on commercial operations in the Mediterranean. It should be stressed how these port towns especially developed in the 18th century, what roles they undertook, and what role these port cities had in commercial relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire in the context of the Levant trade. As Faruk Tabak stated<sup>2</sup>, from the middle of the 17th century, the importance of the port cities in the Mediterranean trade, which had fallen compared to the Atlantic and East Asian trade, should be examined in accordance with the historical records. In this context, on the basis of the commercial and economic relations between Britain and the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century, it can be said that the trade routes and the Ottoman port cities are in the forefront. It is also important here to note the importance assigned to the city of Smyrna (İzmir) and the support given by the Ottoman state to the development of port cities and how Smyrna was positioned as a port city at that time. This situation can be described as a state investment and Smyrna, as a port city, was strengthened in this way; it shows that Smyrna stands out as an important actor in the Mediterranean trade in terms of trade and commercial interaction with its hinterland.

As a second factor, in the 18th century Ottoman-British trade, human actors were as important as trade routes and port cities. The institutional framework that the

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<sup>2</sup> Faruk Tabak, *Waning of the Mediterranean, 1550-1870: A Geohistorical Approach* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 1-2.

merchants of the Levant Company had to comply with when trading in the Levant is of significance. Brief mention of the organization of the Levant Company in the Levant trade will be helpful in understanding the structure of the company as an institution. Moreover, it is necessary to explain what role British traders played, and the nature of the initiatives they undertook as new actors in commercial activities in the Ottoman territories at the beginning of the 18th century and their role in the Ottoman ports especially in Smyrna (İzmir), Cyprus (Kıbrıs), Alexandria (İskenderiyye), Scanderon (İskenderun), and Salonica (Selanik).<sup>3</sup>

As a third and final factor is what were the goods that were subject to trade and what was the general composition of the goods traded? As mentioned above, on the trade routes in the Levant we will investigate what roles cities and British merchants (family and individual merchants of the Levant Company) played as well as which goods they carried and traded most intensively. The composition of the merchandise subject to foreign trade and the transformation it underwent over the course of the first and second halves of the 18th century is of interest. Providing this information is also important to illustrate the commercial activities of the big-wealthy merchant family members and the individual merchants examined in the following chapters.

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<sup>3</sup> TNA: SP 105/170, Entries on British Import from Smyrna and other Ottoman Ports, 1731-1776. For details of the merchants and their informations such as their names and goods that they imported from Ottoman Ports.

## TRADE ROUTES

Trading has been of vital importance for centuries in terms of development and prosperity of societies. Since ancient times until today, various ways of transportation have been established, making long distances shorter. Asia, Mediterranean, Northern Europe, and Transatlantic centres got closer to each other thanks to trade routes and improved ship designs. Both land-based and sea-based trade s increased the interaction between continents. At the same time, long distance sea trade expanded the economies of countries and regions. The development of long-distance trade routes had not only economic but also cultural, social and political effects. As well as making commercial and financial activities possible the trade routes also had an impact on the establishment of some trade centres and cities. The trade routes have left a mark on the history of the world as they went through many distant locations on the world, offering opportunities for people to know each other, interact, and create partnerships and social arrangements on different levels. The main examples of such routes are the Silk Route, the Spice Route, the Incense Route, the Amber Route, the Tea Horse Road, the Salt Route, the Tin Route, the Hanseatic Route, the Trans-Saharan Route, and the Mediterranean Sea route.<sup>4</sup> Even though these routes have lost their importance in time, it is an undeniable fact that they had a huge impact on shaping the history of the world. The fact that all of the eight separate routes that were mentioned above had some,

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/trade-routes-that-shaped-world-history.html> and <https://rising-powers.com/2013/02/24/five-key-trade-routes-from-history/>

either close or more remote, connection with the Mediterranean as a distribution centre for goods should not be overlooked.

The Mediterranean Sea has remained a prominent trade centre from ancient times to the present day. The majority of the trade routes mentioned above were under the control of a succession of different civilizations that prevailed in the Mediterranean region throughout history. These trade routes were in relation with the Mediterranean countries either directly or indirectly.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, trading in the Mediterranean Sea was advantageous for its low transaction costs. For this reason, in the 15th century, the important sea and land trade routes of the Ancient world were largely controlled by countries in the Mediterranean region. Since that time, Mediterranean's function among the trade routes started to increase in terms of sea-trading. Up to the 18th century the Ottomans maintained their position as the most active actor in the region as they had direct physical connections with Asia, Africa and Europe. As well as their connections with the three continents, the close interaction with the trade to India affected the

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<sup>5</sup> For instance, (1) "The Silk Route is the most famous of all the trade routes, the Silk Road lasted for hundreds of years, outliving numerous empires, wars and plagues, only the ascendancy of the Ottoman Empire, culminating in the storming of Constantinople in 1453 effectively closed the route. And The Silk Road connected China with India, the Middle East, Mediterranean and Europe all through what is now Central Asia, which was then a sparsely populated and dangerous region, full of tiny kingdoms rapidly rising or falling as their fortunes changed. (2) "The Incense Trade Route was an ancient trade route, linking early Mediterranean civilisations with incense, spices and precious stones from what it is now known as Southern Arabia." (3) "The Trans-Saharan Trade Route sized Saharan desert defines Northern Africa, dividing the rich Mediterranean and its long history of powerful civilizations with the tropical Niger Basin and the West African coast. And, in the Middle Ages the incentive to cross the desert came in the form of two valuable commodities, gold, sent from the Ghanaian and Malian empires in West Africa in exchange for salt supplied from the Mediterranean coast." For further details on Trade Routes, see <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/trade-routes-that-shaped-world-history.html> and <https://rising-powers.com/2013/02/24/five-key-trade-routes-from-history/>

structure of the trade routes in the 18th century.<sup>6</sup> The efforts of the European countries to expand their trade, which came about as a result of mercantilist policies adopted in the 18th century, affected the formation of the trade routes and the location of the trade centres.<sup>7</sup> For the British merchants, the Levant region was variegated and animated beyond all the other trade routes.<sup>8</sup> The 18th century also marks the date for the final abandonment of the traditional caravan trade. It relinquished its place to maritime trade routes operating on a global scale from this date onwards. The new trade routes that emerged within the Ottoman lands were operated with the knowledge of the European traders. One of the points we are trying to make is changing of trade routes came about as a result of changes in the way of trading. For example, because the caravan trade was abandoned in Aleppo, the city surrendered its previously dominant position in commercial activities to Smyrna.<sup>9</sup> In this section, the dominant trade centres and the transformations in the trade routes will be explained to create a geographical image in the minds of readers. It should also be remembered that trade routes and trade centres were influenced by institutional and organizational change as well as changes in the composition of merchandise.

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<sup>6</sup> Daniel Panzac, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24: 2, (1992), p. 189.

<sup>7</sup> James D. Tracy, (ed.) *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350-1750*, Vol. 1, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> For decline of the caravan trade from Aleppo, see Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600-1750* (New York; London: New York University Press, 1988), pp. 30-33.

In this sense, it is obvious that there were significant changes in the foreign trade between the Ottoman Empire and the Britain in the 18th century. The first was the changes in scope of the foreign trade (merchandise composition)<sup>10</sup>, the second is the geographical distribution of trade (trade routes) and the other is stability, *i.e.*, continuity of trade in terms of business institutions and actors. In the early 18th century, British textiles manufacture industry were growing with importation of madder, madder-roots and other dyestuffs and textile goods.<sup>11</sup> The Levant Company merchants played a critical role in the transport of these kinds of goods to the centres of the British textile industry.<sup>12</sup> The geographical position of trade was also changing according to the centres where the textile raw materials and dyestuffs were located. Levant Company merchants' needs for textile raw materials resulted in a few centres becoming more important for the Levant Company operations. Smyrna was an important port city of provision for textile raw materials. Other preferred ports were located in Anatolia, Egypt and Syria. They can be listed that Salonica, Cyprus, Tripoli, Aleppo and Acre.<sup>13</sup> In this geographical context, Smyrna can be shown as crucial port city for the textile importations for the merchants

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<sup>10</sup> The merchandise composition is directly related to the trade routes in the 18th century. Moreover, we will mention the composition of merchandise in the Anglo-Ottoman trade as a divided section in this chapter.

<sup>11</sup> Susan Fairlie, "Dyestuffs in the 18th Century", *The Economic History Review*, 17: 3, (1965), pp. 491, 508-509.

<sup>12</sup> For The British Industrial Revolution in period 1760-1860, see Gregory Clark, *The British Industrial Revolution 1760-1860*, World Economy History, 2005.

<http://faculty.econ.ucdavis.edu/faculty/gclark/ecn110b/readings/ecn110b-chapter2-2005.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> Susan Fairlie, "Dyestuffs in the 18th Century", *The Economic History Review*, 17: 3, (1965), pp. 497.

of the Levant Company. Before looking at Smyrna and Salonica's increase in the commercial activities, it is useful briefly to describe the other trade centres.

### **Egypt: A Connected Centre Outside and Within Anatolia**

Egypt was the part of the Ottoman Empire, which had extensive commercial relations with France from the 16th century. The importance of Egyptian ports increased because of the textile goods demand of France in the 18th century. Also, Egypt was important for European textile and textile industry. It was also quite independent in political terms<sup>14</sup>, but not unconnected to Anatolia and Syria before the 18th century for merchants belonging to the Levant Company. Although it began to lose its commercial impact towards the end of the 18th century<sup>15</sup>, archival documents indicate that Egypt continued its operational relationship with commercial centres in Anatolia such as Smyrna and with Cyprus at that time. As for goods, Egypt's exports to Europe, almost 60% were raw materials and semi-manufactured products, whereas 60% of Egyptian imports from Europe was processed goods, primarily French cloth.<sup>16</sup>

Within the structure of the Levant Company, Alexandria (İskenderiyye) region was the most prominent port city in Egypt for the 17th and 18th centuries. Since the foundation of the company, Alexandria was a centre for the North African coast, which was

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<sup>14</sup> Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1964), pp. 16-17.

<sup>15</sup> Ralph Davis, "English Foreign Trade, 1700-1774", *The Economic History Review*, 15: 2, (1962), p. 287.

<sup>16</sup> TNA: SP 105/333. A register of orders from Egypt and Turkey.

considered particularly important by William Harborne.<sup>17</sup> This effort of Harborne was based on certain historical facts. Egypt was an important trade region for European states and merchants, especially for the purchase of Eastern products from the 14th century. At that time, we know that Venice had a consulate in Alexandria. British Levant Company traders were also keen to operate commercial activities in Egypt, especially to import certain products such as silk, spice, dyestuffs<sup>18</sup>, and other fabric dye materials from Egypt.<sup>19</sup> It is very clear that there was a consulate issue of the Levant Company in the 16th and 17th centuries, since the middle of the 17th century this problem began to be resolved.<sup>20</sup> As far as we can see from the archival documents of the Levant Company, especially from the middle of the 17th century, there was a serious commercial mobility and shipping traffic of British ships. Moreover, starting from the middle of the 18th century, the ships that conducted business in Egyptian ports had links to Smyrna, Cyprus and Salonica.<sup>21</sup> This mobility shows how the geography of Egypt and North Africa and Anatolia are linked through Smyrna and the other Anatolian new port cities.<sup>22</sup> Despite

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<sup>17</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>18</sup> "One of the most important of them was Turkish red, which came from the madder root native to the Levant and which, beginning in the 16th century, was cultivated in western and central Europe." See Abelshauser, W., Von Hippel, W., Johnson, J. A., & Stokes, R. G. (eds.) *German industry and global enterprise: BASF: The history of a company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> TNA: CUST 3/4-82; CUST 17/1-21. Especially for the 18th century, mocha and various spices left their place to more textile products in the ports of Egypt and Syria. See TNA: SP 105/145, p. 108-109. For the competition issue between East India Company and Levant Company for the mocha in the beginning of the 18th century, see Alfred Cecil Wood, *Levant Kumpanyası Tarihi*, (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2013), p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>21</sup> In order to evaluate the shipping operations from Alexandria to the ports of Smyrna, Salonica and Cyprus, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1799. For further information, see Chapter 6.

<sup>22</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, 21 November 1755 and 11th-12th August 1756, pp. 44-45. We can see the mobility of ships and trade between Alexandria and Smyrna in the 18th century in Levant Seas. For the mocha and

the fact that a few ships from Alexandria set out for commercial activity for each month, this commercial mobility only lasted until the end of the 18th century because of the French domination. Before that, a small number of the Levant Company merchants who traded from the port of Alexandria had confront the closing of the British consulate in Alexandria from the mid 18th century.<sup>23</sup>

Apart from that, the financial relationship between Egypt and the ports of Anatolia is also remarkable. The Levant Company directors and especially the Consul in Smyrna had serious worries about the cash payments sent from Egypt to the ports of Anatolia and they took careful measures in this regard. It is believed that the cash money coming from Egypt to the Anatolian ports negatively affected their trade especially in the silk importation. This situation has been examined through the negative results of the inflationary effects reflected on the market.<sup>24</sup> According to the archival document, “to prevent the avoiding this kind of order by any person, or persons, sending money under strangers names to strangers in Turkey” phrase shows that not all of the money remitted or sent from Egypt into any other part of the Ottoman Empire was related to the Levant Company’s benefit.<sup>25</sup>

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coffe trade, also see Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English traders in the Levant in the 18th century* (London: Palgrave Macmillian, 1967), pp. 179-180.

<sup>23</sup> Gülay Webb Yıldırım, “XVIII. Yüzyılda Tiftik İpliğinin Osmanlı-İngiliz Ticaretindeki Yeri”, PhD Diss., (Ankara: Ankara University), 2006, p 66.

<sup>24</sup> TNA: SP 105/210, p. 68, Salters Hall, London, 5 March 1718.

<sup>25</sup> As quated in the record of the Levant Company; “It is clear that, “all consuls at Smyrna, Aleppo and Cyprus, and any other consuls or vice consuls at any parts of the factory in the Levant were required to levy the same accordingly. And it is hereby provided, that nothing contained in this order, shall restrain any of our factors in Turkey from receiving any coin, or bullion, from any not free of this Company in Italy,

The fact that Egyptian ports are directly connected to Anatolia and to other ports outside of Anatolia reveals the relation of trade centres to each other. In this sense, the complementary roles of the Egyptian ports and Anatolian port cities such as Smyrna, Salonica and Cyprus' ports could be clearly seen in the context of trade routes.<sup>26</sup> Alexandria was the most important port of Egypt without any doubt. As we can see in the Lloyd's Register and List of Shipping, for the British and the other European merchants Alexandria was the most significant port city of Egypt. From the archival records, it is also understood that only a limited number of traders visited Cairo, preferring Alexandria mostly as it was a port city. Alexandria's importance dates back to much older times because of its location. Diplomatic activities such as sending ambassadors and building consulates are observable in the 12th century in the Mediterranean. The first known consulate in the Mediterranean region was the Venetian consulate to Alexandria of Egypt, established at the beginning of the 12th century.<sup>27</sup> For the British merchants, since the founding of the Levant Company there were consulates responsible for Cairo and Alexandria.<sup>28</sup> Even though the British Consulate to Cairo that was established by the Levant Company was one of the first consulates in the Ottoman

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Spain, or other parts (England excepted) so that no part of the proceed thereof be invested in mohair yarn, or any sort of silk (except Ardassine) but be fully returned to Italy, Spain or any other part, England excepted." See Yıldırım, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Tiftik İpliğinin Osmanlı-İngiliz Ticaretindeki Yeri", p. 68.

<sup>26</sup> TNA: SP 110/22, pp. 180-182, From Aleppo to Alexandria, George Randall, 16 September 1702 - 27 September 1702. Coffee trade routes from Egypt to the Anatolian ports show the links between Egyptian ports to Smyrna, and the other Anatolian ports.

<sup>27</sup> Ali İbrahim Savaş, "Konsolos", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi DİA*, V. 26, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, (2002), pp. 178-180.

<sup>28</sup> In the same year, Harborne was appointed Harvey Millers as a consul for Cairo, Alexandria and the surrounding areas. He appointed Richard Foster as a consul for Syria and the Palestinian region. See Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 15-16.

lands, it had lost its importance by the 18th century.<sup>29</sup> Besides, according to the ship registers since the 1760s Alexandria reached a considerable level in both domestic and international trade for the merchants of the Levant Company.<sup>30</sup> As the trade to India and East Asia was initially through Cairo and Alexandria, this route shifted to the Cape of Good Hope beginning from the mid-17th century. Hence, Alexandria and Cairo was not the trade centre that connected India and Asia anymore.<sup>31</sup> The situation is an example of the transformation of trade routes.

Another reason why the importance of Alexandria increased was it was a centre for coffee beans importation. The Levant Company traders sold the coffee<sup>32</sup> that they brought from Egypt either by land or sea both in the domestic<sup>33</sup> and international markets<sup>34</sup>. Coffee beans coming from outside the Mediterranean were not favoured in the Mediterranean market until the 1730s. Moreover, Alexandria's commercial hinterland comprised the ports of Anatolia such as Scanderoon and city of Aleppo. Especially in silk trade, Aleppo was a very important centre before the British merchants began to prefer Smyrna and Salonica over it. As being one of the most significant three trade centres along with Constantinople and Smyrna, Aleppo was the leading trade point

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<sup>29</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 178.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>31</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 166-167.

<sup>32</sup> Moreover, they did gallnut business too. See Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 152.

<sup>33</sup> For further information on coffee business in the Ottoman Aleppo, see Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", pp. 152-153.

<sup>34</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 179-180.

in the imported coffee bean and rice coming from Cairo and Alexandria.<sup>35</sup> Although it was mentioned above that coffee beans were the main item imported from Alexandria in the beginning of the 18th century, from the 1730s raw cotton, senna, gum Arabic and sal-ammoniac took coffee's place. In 1749, there were only 9 English merchants in Cairo, but French fabric dominated all of Egypt's markets as well as those of adjacent regions. As a consequence of its loss of market share, the Levant Company decided to abolish its consulate to Cairo in 1754.<sup>36</sup> Thus, from that time onwards the network of the ports of Egypt developed via Aleppo/ Scanderoon and Cyprus.

**Map 2:** Direct Trade Routes of Alexandria with Cyprus and Scanderoon, in the Ottoman Coastal Trade, 18th century<sup>37</sup>



<sup>35</sup> Bruce McGowan, "Trade" in *An Economic and Social History of The Ottoman Empire (1300–1914)*, Halil İnalçık, and Donald Quataert (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 724-725.

<sup>36</sup> Webb Yıldırım, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Tiftik İpliğinin Osmanlı-İngiliz Ticaretindeki Yeri", p. 66.

<sup>37</sup> The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.

## **Aleppo-Scanderoon: Gateway of the Levant Trade to Syria and the Persian Gulf**

In Ottoman-British trade, Aleppo was a very important centre for showing the power of the trade and business networks.<sup>38</sup> The main theme of this thesis is how Levant Company merchants established broad business networks in the Levant trade. The Levant Company merchants' activities were mostly carried out in Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople. At this point, it is argued that Aleppo was one of the most important centres in the Levant trade. Aleppo under Ottoman rule owed its importance to the cultural and economic variety it had. The existence of traders from many different nations, of consulates of various European states and lack of dominance of any of the mentioned groups in the region made Aleppo a characteristic Levantine city.<sup>39</sup> It is noteworthy that Aleppo and Smyrna at the local level were shaped by the trade network over which Aleppo and Cyprus were interconnected. Although the British trade in Aleppo in the 17th century was much less than that in Constantinople and Smyrna, the status of Aleppo in the 18th century was further strengthened. Trade in Aleppo, which was somewhat quieter in the 18th century than it was claimed in various sources, actually

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<sup>38</sup> "The northern Syrian city of Aleppo was the capital of a province bearing the same name existing for most of its history (from 1534 until 1918) under Ottoman rule. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Aleppo was the third largest city of the Ottoman Empire in terms of population, surpassed only by Istanbul and Cairo. From the 16th until the 18th century, Aleppo served as one of the principal commercial centres of the empire. It was a place where merchants from Western Europe met the caravans coming from Iran and those bringing Indian goods from Basra, a port city on the Persian Gulf. In the 19th century, that trade was largely diverted to steamships and the city's international commercial importance declined." See Bruce Masters, "Aleppo (Alep; Arabic: Halab; Turkish: Halep)", *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (eds.) (New York: Facts on File, 2009), pp. 30-32.

<sup>39</sup> Philip Mansel, *Aleppo: The Rise and Fall of Syria's Great Merchant City*, (London; New York: IB Tauris, 2016), p. 15.

reached a stronger position in the first decades of the 18th century with the establishment of a certain network moment with Alexandria, Cyprus and Smyrna.<sup>40</sup>

Soon after the 1580 agreement (1580 *ahdnamesi*) the British started opening new consulates in the Levant region and established consulates in Scanderoon, Lebanon Tripoli and Cyprus in a short time. Having a consulate in Aleppo enabled the Levant Company to form trade networks with Iran, India and some other Ottoman cities. By the mid-18th century Aleppo was already a British trade centre. In fact, the merchants of the Levant Company in Aleppo were conducting their trading activities in a private commercial building assigned solely for their use. As it can be understood from the archival records, the volume of trade in Aleppo did not decrease by the mid-18th century but stayed stable. However, the overall commercial dominance passed over to the French merchants. The trade activities the British merchants had in Aleppo on the eve of the Iran wars of the 1730s and 40s were maintaining its volume as compared to the century before. Yet, the French merchants became more active. The War of the Spanish Succession that unfolded at the beginning of the century brought an end to the security of commercial traffic in Mediterranean and gave advantage to the French fleet.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> For the role of Aleppo and discussions on the Aleppo trade, see Daniel Goffman, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İngilizler, 1642-1660* (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2001), pp. 26-28. And Mehmet Sait Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb" PhD Diss., (İstanbul: Istanbul University), 2014.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Beside Aleppo one should mention also Scanderoon, for the 18th century and in earlier periods the main port city where the traders of the Levant Company sailed from was Scanderoon.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, a consulate with very high authority was established in this city. Aleppo with Scanderoon which was the trans-shipping port of Aleppo in the trade of India and other Eastern goods was in a central position for European merchants until the emergence of the trade route to India via South Africa passing from the Indian Ocean to the South Atlantic by means of the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>43</sup> The city of Aleppo was an internal customs centre along with Constantinople and Salonica for the Ottoman state due to its population and commercial mobility. As in Egypt with its principal port Alexandria, the port of Scanderoon for the customs region of Aleppo while at the same time providing links to the Ottoman capital in Istanbul. As it is known, the Constantinople customs territory consisted of three customs territories in the financial sense. The first one was Constantinople Central and the Marmara Region Customs area, the second was Smyrna customs area, and finally the third customs area was the customs of Sinop and

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<sup>42</sup> "European merchants developed the port city of Alexandrette, in present-day Turkey, in the early 17th century to serve as an outlet for the goods they purchased in the city of Aleppo. As Aleppo became increasingly important as a trade emporium in the silk trade between Iran and Western Europe in the latter half of the 16th century, European merchants sought to find an alternative to the port of Tripoli, in what is today northern Lebanon. Tripoli was at least eight days travel by caravan from Aleppo and was controlled by the Turkoman Sayfa family who were notorious for extorting bribes from Europeans traveling through their territory. The Europeans decided that the natural harbor available at Alexandrette, which could be reached by caravan from Aleppo in three or four days, was preferable to the expensive route through Safya territory. Another advantage was that the region was ruled directly by the governor of Aleppo, thus reducing required customs duties. The fact that the city's proposed location was also a malarial swamp did not seem to figure into their considerations." See Bruce Masters, "Alexandrette (Alexandretta; Arabic: al-Iskandariyya; Turkish: Iskenderun)", *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (eds.) (New York: Facts on File, 2009), pp. 32-33.

<sup>43</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisâdî Münâsebetleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013), p. 5.

Samsun in the Black Sea.<sup>44</sup> This shows that Aleppo was not only financially dependent on Constantinople customs but it was also known that Aleppo directly fed Constantinople in terms of its commercial activities by favouring of British, French and Dutch merchants' business operations there.<sup>45</sup>

With Arabian Peninsula under Ottoman control, Aleppo became a very important commercial centre of the Eastern Mediterranean, and in the 16th century, the business activities of Europeans changed direction from Damascus to Aleppo. Hence, a consulate of Venice was established in 1548; followed by France in 1557 and the British consulate in 1586. This trade was initially based largely on the exchange of European woolen fabrics and silver and Indian spices.<sup>46</sup> From 1580 to 1650 Aleppo was a serious centre for many merchants especially in terms of the raw silk trade. From the beginning of the 17th century European merchants sought Iranian imports as principal commodities in the Aleppo markets.<sup>47</sup>

In the first half of the 17th century, the Dutch and the British merchants took the place of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf. Since the establishment of the Levant Company, British merchants trading in Aleppo had the privilege of not paying any fees except for

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<sup>44</sup> Saim Çağrı Kocakaplan, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi İstanbul Gümrüğü* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınevi, 2017), p. 54.

<sup>45</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Trade practices in Aleppo in the middle of the 18th century: the case of a British merchant", *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 62, (1991), pp. 126-127. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 32-34.

<sup>46</sup> Bruce Masters, "Halep (Aleppo)", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, V. 15, (1997), p. 245.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

the three percent ad valorem customs tax. From this century onwards, including the 18th century, British and then the French merchants continued to conduct trade from the Persian Gulf to the Eastern Mediterranean lands and ports.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the company was able to sell British woollen fabrics to the Far East markets through Aleppo, especially after the operation in the Ottoman territories and connections with Eastern Mediterranean ports were well established. British traders had the opportunity to transport to Britain via Aleppo, especially through the East Mediterranean ports from the Indian and Far East markets. The Levant Company had a chance to sell British woollen fabrics to the domestic markets of the Ottoman Empire through Aleppo, especially after the beginning of business operations in the Ottoman territories with capitulations.<sup>49</sup>

Cotton weaving became an important branch of the Ottoman weaving in the Ottoman Empire due to the fact that there were areas suitable for cotton growing and also because of the talents of the Turks in weaving.<sup>50</sup> From the classical period of the Ottoman Empire, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, Ottoman cotton weaving became internationally renowned.<sup>51</sup> Cotton was produced in every region of the Ottoman

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<sup>48</sup> Rhoads Murphey, "Conditions of Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: An Appraisal of 18th-Century Documents from Aleppo", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 33 (1990), pp. 45-47.

<sup>49</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Balta Limanı'na Giden Yol Osmanlı – İngiliz İktisadi Münasebetleri (1580-1850)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), pp. 21-35. For the British Capitulations given by the Ottoman Empire written in Latin alphabet, there are three copies in places such as Ottoman Archives and Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul and in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University in Oxford. See BOA, *Mühimme Defteri*, XLIII, 246-247/458; Süleymaniye Library Esad Efendi Collection, NO: 3345, v. 170-172; and Oxford Bodleian Library Laud Or. 67, v. 81-85v.

<sup>50</sup> Georg Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 64 and 198.

<sup>51</sup> William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (London: Adam and Charles Black pub., 1966), pp. 15-16.

Empire, handed out by the climate, and this production was nurtured in a wide range of markets. Places where the cotton plantation was concentrated were in the regions of Aleppo and Cyprus. Cotton produced in these regions could also be exported abroad. Accordingly, the Levant Company merchants were buying cotton fabrics and cotton-silk blends in the Mediterranean ports, primarily through Aleppo and Cyprus.<sup>52</sup> The Levant Company has done this commercial operation steadily until the mid of the 18th century. However, conditions in the 18th century began to change; India became the most important cotton manufacturer and exporter after that time.<sup>53</sup> The economic and commercial position of Aleppo began to change in the mid of the 18th century and according to widespread opinion, commercial activity in Aleppo entered into a period of steady decline.

The disintegration of the Iranian Safavid state led to a decline in the output of goods of Iranian origin. In the 1730s, European merchants began looking for alternative sources.<sup>54</sup> The Aleppo-based trade was not very productive for the British both because of the disruption caused by the Ottoman Iranian wars and because the East India Company effectively exported cotton bypassing Syria. The adverse effects of regulations made in terms of business management, the very serious commercial competition with France and the Netherlands, and at the same time confronting a growing internal competitive

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<sup>52</sup> H. G. Rawlinson, "Early Trade between England and the Levant", *Journal of Indian History*, 2: 1 (1922), pp. 109-110.

<sup>53</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 28.

<sup>54</sup> Bruce Masters, "Halep (Aleppo)", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, V. 15, 1997, pp. 245-246.

element, the negative effects of the East India Company on the Levant Company developed in 18th century contrary to the interests of the Levant Company in the Ottoman ports.<sup>55</sup> So much so that from 1701 onwards we know that British merchants stopped sales of woolen weaving products in Aleppo and that the same stagnation continued in the several years following 1701.<sup>56</sup> In addition, plague epidemics and other outbreaks occasionally occurred in the Ottoman geography, especially in the 18th century that had a pronounced effect especially on the Aleppo trade.<sup>57</sup>

The merchants of the Levant Company tried to do different businesses after losing their advantages in the commercial activities in Aleppo to the French after the first half of the 18th century. They started providing credits in high amounts within the market of Aleppo. Even though we are going to touch upon this issue in the fourth and the fifth chapters, it is necessary to touch on it briefly here. The first group the merchants of the Levant Company provided credits to was the tax-collectors (*mültezim*). The relationship of the tax-collectors (state officials appointed by the Ottoman Empire) with the foreign traders in terms of credits is interesting. The reason behind this is the increased need of cash of the Ottoman Empire. Trying to meet this need must have put pressure on the local and peripheral economies. The tax collectors had to consult with the British traders for credits in order to solve their cash-flow problems quickly and to deliver the income

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<sup>55</sup> Nathaniel Harley Letters, the manuscripts of his grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey / Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter HMC, Portland, V. II), V. II, pp. 241-249. Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution: 1603–1714* (Nelson, 1972), p. 264.

<sup>56</sup> TNA: SP 110/22, pp. 24, 36-37, and 40-41.

<sup>57</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, pp. 112-138-141.

of taxes to Constantinople before the deadline. The merchants of the Levant Company also gave credits to local administrators and members of tribes. Losing trading advantages in Aleppo gained new business opportunities for the merchants of the Levant Company thanks to the local business networks. Apart from the traders, also the ambassadors of the Levant Company to Aleppo began providing credits as a separate business. Even though it was forbidden for the ambassadors to go into such credit businesses and do trade, it is seen that they used the money belonging to the company in that way. This situation resulted in the Levant Company's involvement in the trading of local products, grain and coffee in Aleppo instead of doing international trade.<sup>58</sup>

Apart from these developments and financial operations, in the first half of the 18th century, the Ottoman economy was in an expansion that included almost all the branches. Production for foreign markets was expanding at that time. Production was increasing in the centres such as Constantinople, Aleppo and Salonica.<sup>59</sup> Until the beginning of the 18th century, woven products, which had been traded in a wide area from the Balkans to the Ottoman East Lands, lost its place in Aleppo and Egypt in this century. This has arisen due to increased Indian influence and competition with French and Dutch traders.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 288-289.

<sup>59</sup> Özer Ergenç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Sanayi ve Ticaret Hayatına İlişkin Bazı Bilgiler", *Belleten*, 52: 203, (1988), pp. 502-503, 518-521. For the relationship between war and economy, see Mehmet Genç, *Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2000), pp. 211-213.

<sup>60</sup> Webb Yıldırım, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Tiftik İpliğinin Osmanlı-İngiliz Ticaretindeki Yeri", p. 39.

To say a few things about Aleppo's hinterland, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it was served as an entrepot for many goods. We will examine the merchandise composition with importation and exportation values, and the information of ports from which the goods originated or arrived in the Levant trade in detail as a separate section, but in general terms for the Aleppo periphery and the hinterland, it was the silk and oak gall trade that had greatest importance. Starting from the 16th century, some manufacturing goods were brought directly to the European market, without resorting to Venetian merchants' agency, and became important for the economies of Western European states. After the first half of the 16th century, especially the agents of the Moscow Company and British traders were trying to find trade routes to the East (India) as well as to trade in goods that arrived to the Ottoman-Levant ports by means of the overland caravan routes.<sup>61</sup> The Ottoman centre that was preferred by the British merchants at that time for Caucasian and Russian trade was Aleppo. The British merchants bought Shirvan silk, Georgian silk and velvet from the Caucasus and to carry these goods from Shirvan to Aleppo they relied on the timely arrival, at least once per month, of the trans-Anatolian caravan from Iran.<sup>62</sup> Although this trade made directly with the Caucasus ended with the collapse of the Moscovy Company, it is noteworthy

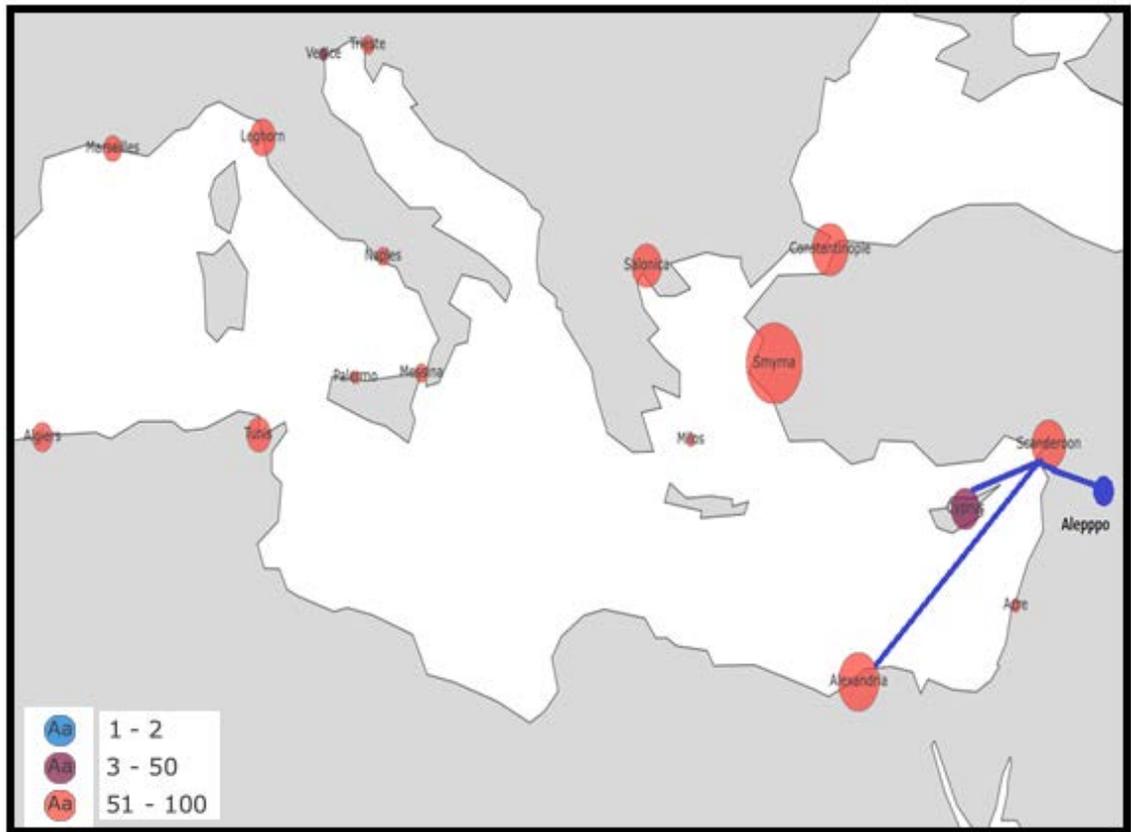
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<sup>61</sup> Rudi Matthee, "Anti-Ottoman politics and transit rights: The 17th century trade in silk between Safavid Iran and Muscovy", *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, (1994), pp. 745-746.

<sup>62</sup> Ahmet Canbek, *Kafkasya'nın Ticaret Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kuzey Kafkasyalılar Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Yayınevi, 1978), pp. 60-62.

that Aleppo was important and had a central role in the trade routes for the British merchants.

**Map 3:** Direct Trade Routes of Aleppo with Alexandria, Cyprus and Scanderoon, in the Ottoman Coastal Trade, 18th Century<sup>63</sup>



<sup>63</sup> The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.

## **Ottoman Cyprus: Commercial Island of the Mediterranean**

Cyprus is worth mentioning as the Ottoman rule over it solidified their power in the Mediterranean. Cyprus was a geo-politically significant trade centre, standing in the East Mediterranean and having shores close to Anatolia, Egypt and Syria.<sup>64</sup> Being in both a politically and economically important position increased the role of Cyprus in Levant trade. The position of the island and being in a connection with the nearby trade centres and port cities was another factor that advanced commercial activities in the region. As an international trade centre Cyprus was indispensable for the Ottomans for both coastal and internal maritime trade. These features of the island attracted more merchants that were dealing with international trade. Certain measures were implemented and qualified workmen were settled to Cyprus in order to improve the island in terms of its trading potential after the conquest by the Ottomans in 1571.<sup>65</sup> This settlement policy that Ottomans imposed was related to another policy that was development in trade and opening lands to farming.<sup>66</sup> As a result, trading activities increased, and Cyprus's business network expanded with Aleppo and Smyrna.

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<sup>64</sup> "Cyprus is 45 miles to Anatolian, 60 miles to Syrian and 230 miles to Egyptian shores. This proximity increased the island's importance making it a logistic centre for long distance maritime traders. Many natural ports the island has created a suitable environment for the ships to dock and sail." See Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 275. For further information on conditions of Cyprus in the first decades of the 18th century, see Ali Efdal Özkul, *Kıbrıs'ın Sosyo-Ekonomik Tarihi (1726-1750)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), p. 27.

<sup>65</sup> M. Akif Erdoğan-Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Kıbrıs'ın Alınmasından Sonra Ada'ya Yapılan İskanlar ve Kıbrıs Türklerinin Menşei", *Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar*, M. Akif Erdoğan (ed.) (Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür Yayınları, 2008), pp. 30-33.

<sup>66</sup> Recep Dündar, "Kıbrıs Beylerbeyliği: (1570-1670)", PhD Diss., (Malatya: İnönü University), 1998, pp. 331-335.

In addition to its being situated on the trade route between East and West as a reason making Cyprus an important trade centre since the 15th century, another reason for its popularity was the variety of the products it had for the merchants of international trade. Olive oil, wine, silk and cotton wool were the main products exported from Cyprus.<sup>67</sup> Beside these products, vast cultivation of various fruits attracted more foreign traders to import goods from Cyprus. The high demand of the European states for these goods strengthened Cyprus's position as a valuable trade centre.<sup>68</sup> It is known that like the other European traders the Levant Company merchants also did trade in Cyprus. Before the 18th century, along with cotton and silk, also olive oil and wine were the other goods mostly imported from Cyprus.<sup>69</sup>

The long period of the Ottoman rule over Cyprus and the economic transformation the island went through during that period attracted the attention of the British Levant Company merchants. Also, stockbreeding that was done along with the Ottomans affected the production activities in a positive way in Cyprus.<sup>70</sup> Supported by the increased population, these economic developments created a serious commercialization of agriculture. In this manner, it can be said that the economic

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<sup>67</sup> Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London; New York: IB Tauris, 2014), p. 87; DüNDAR, "Kıbrıs Beylerbeyliği: (1570-1670)", pp. 299-300.

<sup>68</sup> Ronald C. Jennings, *Christians and Muslims in Ottoman Cyprus and the Mediterranean World: 1571-1640* (New York: State University of New York-Albany, 1993), p. 472.

<sup>69</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>70</sup> Michalis N. Michael, "Introduction", *Ottoman Cyprus A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, Michalis N. Michael, M. Kappler and E. Gavriel (eds.) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), p. 23.

structure of Cyprus under the Ottoman rule was mainly agriculture based.<sup>71</sup> This commercialization made Cyprus's position more important in the international maritime trade, as well as expanding its coastal trade networks with Aleppo, Alexandria, Smyrna and Salonica.

Increasing the volume of international trade in Cyprus by the efforts of the Levant Company merchants brought about the monetization of the economy.<sup>72</sup> Because Cyprus under Ottoman rule was a ready source of raw materials such as silk and cotton this explains the intense interest of the British merchants in the island. The Levant Company merchants were seriously dealing in Cyprus for importing these raw materials.<sup>73</sup> By 1878 when the Ottoman rule in the island came to an end, especially in the second half of the 19th century the business networks of Cyprus reached as far as all the internal markets of the Ottoman Empire and Northern European centres, where external trade was increasingly developing at the time.<sup>74</sup>

Unlike Aleppo where it was a later development after the slackening of trade, the Levant Company merchants provided credits to the locals in Cyprus from the very first time that they started doing trade in the island. It is known that in the beginning of the 18th

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<sup>71</sup> Marios Hadjianastasis, "Consolidation of the Cypro-Ottoman Elite 1650-1750", *Ottoman Cyprus A Collection of Studies on History and Culture*, Michalis N. Michael, M. Kappler and E. Gavriel (eds.) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), p. 65.

<sup>72</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *Trade and money: The Ottoman economy in the 18th and early 19th centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2007), pp. 109-110.

<sup>73</sup> Hadjianastasis, "Consolidation of the Cypro-Ottoman Elite 1650-1750", pp. 65-68.

<sup>74</sup> Marc Aymes, *A provincial history of the Ottoman Empire: Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean in the 19th century* (London; New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 34-37.

century, the British ambassador in Cyprus lent money to the local people with an interest rate of 20 percent and above and accepted commercial products in exchange for their debts. The products were mainly comprised of silk, wine, cotton and grain.<sup>75</sup> The usual rate of interest decided by the Ottoman rule was about 10 percent. However, sometimes both the merchants of the Levant Company and the ambassadors exceeded this limit.<sup>76</sup>

The proximity of Cyprus as a trade centre to the other trade centres in Levant is another remarkable point. The most important trade port of Cyprus was Larnaca. As Larnaca is located on the south-eastern end of the island it had a position facing towards Ottoman Syria. Being on the south end of the island gave the port a chance to be in commercial relations with Alexandria, the most important trade city of Egypt. In this manner, it is obvious that Cyprus had direct business links with Ottoman Syria's port cities like Iskenderun, Latakia, Lebanon Tripoli, and Acre and with the port cities of Egypt like Alexandria. Having a constant connection with the Eastern Mediterranean ports turned Cyprus into a very significant centre of trade. Preserving the mentioned importance throughout the 18th century Cyprus was an important crossroad for the Levant Company merchants. It can be said that the ships of the British merchants were stopping by Cyprus after Alexandria, Scanderoon, Latakia and Lebanon Tripoli.<sup>77</sup> Especially after 1744<sup>78</sup>, the

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<sup>75</sup> Johannes Aegidius van Egmond [van de Nijenburg] - John Heyman, *Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Islands of the Archipelago, Syria, Palestine, Egypt Mount Sinai*, Vol. I (London, 1759), p. 294.

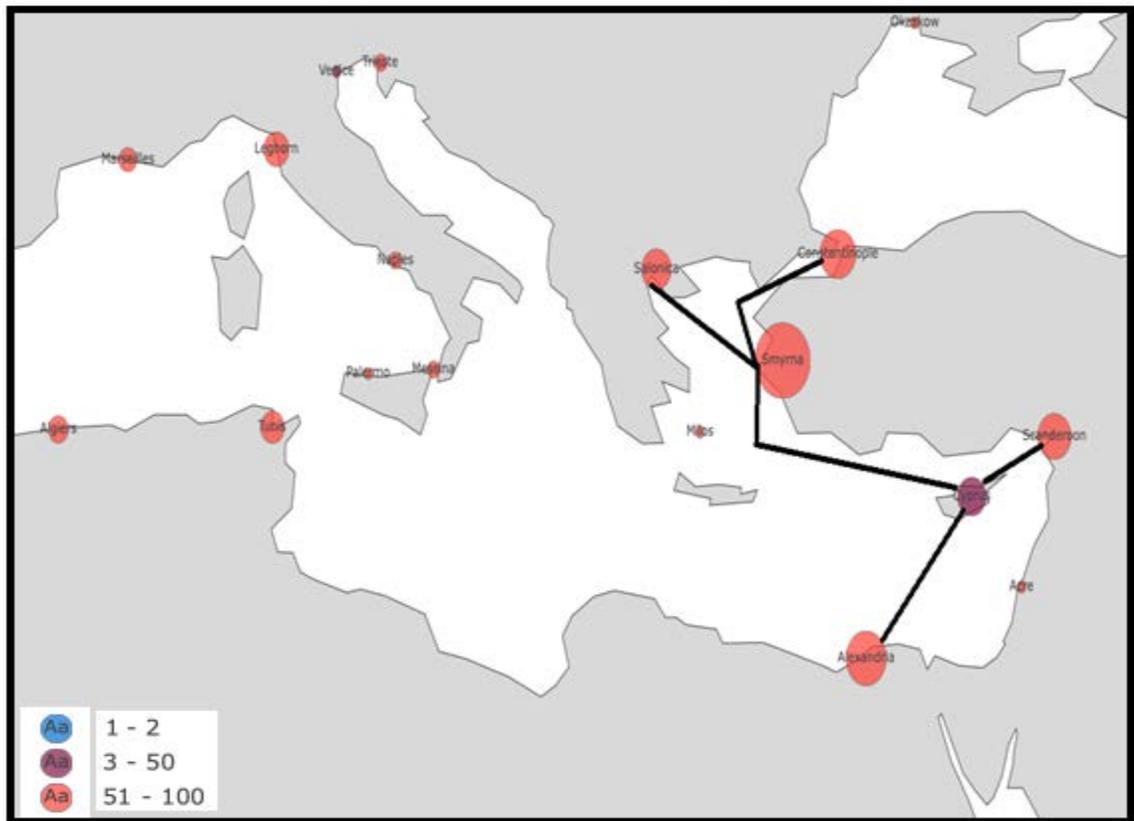
<sup>76</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 283-285.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>78</sup> "Until 1744, the Levant Company had required goods to be freighted in Company ships known as *general ships*, which went out rather sporadically and often in insufficient numbers. Moreover, the Company attempted to regulate the trade through its by-laws, and the existence of a monopoly on the Ottoman trade came under increasing attack during the course of the 18th century." See Michael Talbot, *British-*

increased amount of ships thanks to the changed method of shipping made the British to think of Cyprus and Smyrna related to each other. Another important point is that, after 1744 most of the ships going to European ports from Smyrna visited Cyprus before Constantinople.<sup>79</sup>

**Map 4:** Direct Trade Routes of Cyprus with Alexandria, Scanderoun, Smyrna and Constantinople, in the Ottoman Coastal Trade, 18th Century<sup>80</sup>



*Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in 18th-century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), pp. 87-88. In this way, the company took a step towards being more liberated in shipping as of the year 1744. As a change that can be considered institutional. After 1744, individual merchants started to use any shipping methods to export their goods to Levant. See Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>79</sup> For examining and getting information of shipping from Cyprus to other ports, see all pages of *Llyods Lists and Register Books, 1753-1800 Lists*.

<sup>80</sup> The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.

## **Smyrna and Salonica: Local and International Trade Centres**

Smyrna<sup>81</sup> was a very important trade centre and port city since ancient times. The goods that were brought from the European and the Mediterranean countries by ships to Smyrna were sent to Anatolia and several of Middle Eastern countries via the caravan trade. In turn, many products of the East, especially silk, were sent to Europe from there. Smyrna's significance as a trade centre gradually increased until the 20th century since passing under Ottoman rule in 1424.<sup>82</sup> Commercial intensity and variety saw the peak point especially between the beginnings of the 17th century and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Long distance expeditions that arose parallel to the development in British marine technology in the 16th century started being pursued with political, religious and commercial motives in the 17th century.<sup>83</sup> The common point the Western travellers visited Smyrna in the 17th century touched upon about Smyrna was the magnitude and intensity of the volume of the city's trade. The main matter the travellers

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<sup>81</sup> "İzmir (Smyrna) is located in western Turkey, at the tip of the Gulf of İzmir on the coast of the Aegean Sea; İzmir is Turkey's third largest city (with some 4.3 million inhabitants in 2017) and the second largest port, after Istanbul in modern Turkey. It is the capital of İzmir Province. In Ottoman times, from the 17th century onward, the city was the most important trading centre in western Asia Minor with an increasingly cosmopolitan population of Muslim Turks, Ottoman Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, as well as English, Dutch, French, and Venetian merchants. It played a significant role in connecting western Anatolia to the larger economic sphere of the Mediterranean, increasingly dominated by the French and English. Its cosmopolitan inhabitants in the 19th century created a thriving cultural life, and İzmir was rightly considered one of the major world centres for publishing." See Bruce Masters, "İzmir (Greek: Smyrna; Turkish: İzmir)", *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Gabor Agoston and Bruce Masters (eds.) (New York: Facts on File, 2009), pp. 290-293.

<sup>82</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "İzmir", *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, V. 23, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, (2001), p. 517. pp. 515-524.

<sup>83</sup> For further details on the first English travellers to Levant, see Gerald MacLean, *The rise of oriental travel: English visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

called attention to was the largeness of the port and how many different groups of traders operated there.<sup>84</sup>

Apart from European travellers' observations on Smyrna, the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi visited Smyrna in 1671. He visited all parts of Smyrna including the island of Chios nearby.<sup>85</sup> According to the description in his travel book, Smyrna was a big and rich port city at that time.<sup>86</sup> He also described that Smyrna had many shops, and large commercial buildings with several stone houses, mosques, religious school, and dervish lodges. He also provided in his travel book that Smyrna had ten Muslim, ten Greek Orthodox, ten Frank (*i.e.*, European) and Jewish, two Armenian, and one Gypsy neighbourhoods (*mahalles*).<sup>87</sup> Since the beginning of the 17th century, Smyrna was a city with a growing trade volume and population. The European traders animated the commercial activities in the middle of the 1600s. As a result, the foreign traders settled close to the shore where the city faced the port and conducted their trading activities there. According to the archival records in this period, the population of the city had increased to around ten

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<sup>84</sup> Daniel Goffman, "Izmir: From Village to Colonial Port City", *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul*, Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 103.

<sup>85</sup> For Chios, Ottomans used a term of 'Sakız Adası' which is in Turkish.

<sup>86</sup> "İki yüz altmış bender sevadı muazzam iskele vardır kim yük çözüür ve yük bağlanır şehirlerdir. Amma İzmir benderi cümleden iştiharlı şehirdir." – "Smyrna is a fabulously rich port city with 260 piers." See Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 9 (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935), p. 96.

<sup>87</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, pp. 92-93. For explanation of Mahalle, see Onur İnal, "A Port and Its Hinterland: An Environmental History of Izmir in the Late Ottoman Period", PhD Diss., (Arizona: The University of Arizona), 2015, p. 15, footnote 3. "Mahalle was the smallest administrative unit in an Ottoman city, consisting of a mosque and at least fifty houses. Today, it refers to the neighborhood community, a social space, where people spend their daily lives."

thousand.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, it can be said for Smyrna in the 17th century that it was a trade city with a big port and high potential settled by a nearly ten thousand strong population composed of Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Franks.<sup>89</sup>

Smyrna, which started developing both in the domestic and the international market sphere from the mid-17th century, became the most important overseas trade port of the Ottomans in the 18th century. Transformation of the base of the social and business networks by the European consulates opened before the 18th century gave Smyrna the chance to stand out in the Ottoman Mediterranean. After this point the international trade flourished. Smyrna was the last destination of the caravans coming from the inner parts of Anatolia. Iranian silk and Indian goods came to Europe through Aleppo/Scanderoon until the mid-17th century. However, in the second half of this century, this route changed direction and these products started coming through Erzurum/Tokat to Smyrna and directly to Europe from there.<sup>90</sup>

The fact is in the 18th century, the traders of the Levant Company and French traders from Smyrna mostly bought raw silk materials brought from inner Anatolia by caravans.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Kütükoğlu, "İzmir", pp. 519-521.

<sup>89</sup> According to Goffman's statement for this issue, "In fact, İzmir (Smyrna) served as the growing nexus for two network: one, represented by consuls and factors from Amsterdam, London, Marseilles, and Venice, was a tentacle of the surging commercial behemoths of western Europe; the other, represented by chiefly non-Muslim Ottomans, was the core of a new provisioning lattice whose principal innovation was that it collected commodities for shipment not to Istanbul but to western Europe." See Goffman, "İzmir: From Village to Colonial Port City", p. 90.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 521. For the 16th century trends of silk trade in Levant, see Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle; London: University of Washington Press, 1990), p. 7.

<sup>91</sup> Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant* (Lyon, 1727), vol. 2, pp. 419, 423.

Along with raw silk materials, Angora wool, silk from Bursa, forest products from Antalya, Aegean cotton, carpets from Uşak, gallnut from Afyon and fruits from Smyrna and its periphery like grapes and figs were being exported from Smyrna particularly by British, French and Dutch traders.<sup>92</sup> In addition, white and red cotton yarn bought from Smyrna was transported to Habsburg lands to develop textile manufacturing from the mid-18th century. In this sense, Smyrna's trade network was reaching out as far as Habsburg lands besides its ties with Britain, Holland, France and Venice.<sup>93</sup> Thanks to Smyrna's importation capacity, mentioned above, as we will further emphasize in chapters 5 and 6, almost half of all new entrant merchants of the Levant Company in 1700-1753 period preferred Aleppo. Smyrna became second in line as the preferable port city, with a share of approximately 30%. After the Act of 1753, there were massive increase in the number of the admitted merchants in the Levant due to the institutional change<sup>94</sup> introduced in the same year. Along with this change, newly admitted merchants' preferred port cities proportionally changed as well. Smyrna now became the most preferred Ottoman port

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<sup>92</sup> Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*, pp. 140-142; Kütükoğlu, "İzmir", p. 521.

<sup>93</sup> Olga Katsiardi-Hering, "The Allure of red Cotton Yarn, and how it came to Vienna: Associations of Greek Artisans and Merchants operating between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires" in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein (eds.), (Paris: Peeters, 2008), pp. 101-102. pp. 97-131.

<sup>94</sup> *The Act of 1753* caused an institutional change for the company entrance regulations. "In 1753, the membership rules were relaxed, when the restrictions on retailers and non-London citizens were lifted. According to the new regulation, any English merchant paying a fee of £20 sterling could become a member." See Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East*, p. 29. "With the institutional reform in 1753, we see that the number of traders who acted as actors in the Levant trade increased. Thus, merchants who were not members of the big merchant families and who could be described as retail or individual merchants were beginning to enter into the Levant trade operations and relations. It is clear that the rise of numbers of merchants operating trade in Levant in 1748-57 reflects the big entry into the Levant trade in 1754 because of the Act of 1753 that opened up the Company." See Chapter 4.

city in the second half of the 18th century.<sup>95</sup> For the period after 1753, we examined the records from several archives and Lloyd's shipping lists, and according to these records, Smyrna then took up a leading position with its hinterland in terms of ports through acquiring links to Holland and Britain's northern port cities. Herein, it can be said that Smyrna's central position as well as Salonica's development can be perceived concretely from ship records in particular.

In the second half of the 18th century, most of the exports of the Levant Company merchants were done via Smyrna, as it is understood from both the ship registers and the business networks of the Levant Company merchants.<sup>96</sup> Smyrna's hinterland consisted of closer trade centres like Constantinople, Salonica, the Aegean Islands and further ones such as Aleppo (via Scanderoon), Alexandria and some other Anatolian cities. This situation was formed as a result of Smyrna's existence in the centre of a vast trade network with its hinterland.<sup>97</sup> Salonica as one of the trade points around Smyrna that started being an eminent trade centre in the aforementioned period. It is known that Angora and Bursa were important trade centres for the market of Smyrna since the

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<sup>95</sup> The names, approved dates, centres, and the other related information of merchants in the period of 1753-1800 compiled from The National Archives, British Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, London Metropolitan Archives, Local Archives, and related secondary publications. Especially, TNA: SP 105/333 enabled to account the numbers of the new entrant merchants for the Levant trade in this period. Further information is given in the Chapters 4-5.

<sup>96</sup> Not just commercial networks were established by the European merchants in the 18th century, but also some financial links were existed and British Levant Company merchants established money-credit networks (in other words, loan sharking) in the East Anatolia through Smyrna. See Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi 1500-1914* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2007), p. 148.

<sup>97</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna, in the 18th Century (1700-1820)* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), pp. 15-16.

17th century. The circumstances that Salonica experienced can be shown as the characteristics of the period after the mid-18th century. Furthermore, Smyrna and Salonica became centres for monetary transactions especially after the 1760s. Trading activities of so many different European merchants turned Smyrna and Salonica into the most important two trade centres of the Levant, making them deal with monetary transactions even more than Constantinople.<sup>98</sup> Another reason that distinguished Salonica for the Levant Company merchants was the fact that the tobacco trade was conducted mainly through Salonica. After 1753, along with tobacco, Salonica was a centre for cotton, grain, wax and some luxury goods trading for the European market.<sup>99</sup> Maintaining its position in manufacturing and trading of textile products in the 19th century, Salonica was the other most important trade centre for cotton-silk, wool and linen along with Smyrna in the 18th century.<sup>100</sup> This situation gave birth to the need for the European and British merchants to use the connection between Smyrna and Salonica. Thus, it will not be an exaggeration to say that these two port cities formed business networks with almost all of the European port cities between 1770 and 1800.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 151-153.

<sup>99</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman Cotton Textiles, 1500-1800: the story of a success that did not last", *XIV International Economic History Congress (Helsinki, 21-25 August 2006) Session 59: Cotton Textiles as a Global Industry, 1200-1850*, p. 31; Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 132. Also, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ottoman cotton textiles: The story of a success that did not last, 1500-1800" in Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarath (eds.), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles 1200-1850* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 89-103.

<sup>100</sup> For information on Salonica's role in the trade of manufacturing and textile goods in the 19th century, see Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 49-80 and 105-161.

<sup>101</sup> In fact, Smyrna was an exit point for the products coming from Western Anatolia centres and Salonica had same feature for the agricultural products (vegetables and fruits) of Macedonia led them to gain a very important position in the international trade organization of European merchants. See Necmi Ülker,

In this sense, Smyrna's position continued rising throughout in this decade. British merchants considered Salonica as an important centre developing around Smyrna.<sup>102</sup> Under this context, we know that British merchants did not consider Salonica and Smyrna to be separate. It can be asserted that the ships most certainly either stopped by at Salonica through Smyrna or that the relevant merchandise was swapped between the two cities.<sup>103</sup>

**Map 5:** Local Cotton-Silk-Wool Hinterlands of Smyrna and Salonica, in the Ottoman Coastal Trade, 18th Century<sup>104</sup>



<sup>102</sup> "The emergence of Izmir as a Mediterranean Commercial Centre for the French and English interests, 1698-1740", *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4: 1, (1987), pp. 2-3.

<sup>103</sup> Despina Vlami "Entrepreneurship and Relational Capital in a Levantine Context: Bartolomew Edward Abbott, the "Father of the Levant Company" in Thessaloniki (18th-19th Centuries)" *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 6 (2009), p. 5.

<sup>104</sup> For further details on the role of Salonica in the Levant trade, see Chapter 6.

<sup>105</sup> The centers, which provide cotton, silk and wool to Smyrna and Salonica, were shown as hinterlands of these two port cities in two separated circles in the map 5. (The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.)

## **INSTITUTIONS**

In the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire's ports, the British merchants who traded in these ports, had a social and economic network system. It is very important to explore here how these British traders expanded the trade network system within an institutional base that enabled them to operate commercial business in the Levant trade. This institutional structure can be examined in two parts. The first one is to explain who the actors of the Levant Company were, what duties they had and in what institutional frameworks they operated in trading within the Ottoman lands. The other is about the structure of company itself and the roles the actors of the Levant Company assumed within the changing organizational structure and transformed institutional framework. By means of the two explanations while on the one hand the internal organizational and structural transformation of the Levant Company will be examined, on the other hand, the basis of the increased networks and commercial variety of the individual merchants of the Levant Company after the 18th century will be analysed. In doing so, it is intended to show the effects of the actors of the Levant Company and the changing institutional conditions on the differentiation observed in the profiles of the Levant Company merchants after 1753.

In the second part of this section, the institutional framework within which the British merchants were involved in trading, and characteristics of the actors of the Levant Company will briefly be mentioned. For the 18th century, there was a very close

relationship between business operations and the activities of the diplomatic mission.<sup>105</sup>

This relationship can be said to be the result of a network that progressed in the 18th century, especially in Smyrna and Aleppo (with its port, Scanderoon), where commercial activities and diplomatic relations were also being carried out by Levant Company merchants.

### **The Organization of the Levant Company**

The Company of Merchant Adventurers was one of the most important companies of London in the middle of the 16th century, alongside other companies like the Russian, Spanish and Turkey (after it transformed into the Levant Company) and Venice. The membership of these companies consisted of either the partners of Merchant Adventurers or the merchants from London who were the partners of other companies that split off from such bodies. The Levant Company started its adventure with initiatives of London merchants who were only twelve persons,<sup>106</sup> and they gained the right to trade in the Ottoman lands and ports in the last decades of the 16th century.<sup>107</sup> Since the beginning of its establishment, the Levant Company had a strict structure with predetermined boundaries. The highest decision making authority of the company was the general assembly. The general assembly was attended by all the members of the

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<sup>105</sup> Michael Talbot, "British diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire during the long 18th century" PhD Diss., (London: University of London, SOAS), 2013, p. 113.

<sup>106</sup> The Levant Company members reached 74 active Merchant Adventurers in the 1640s. Robert Brenner, *Merchants and revolution: commercial change, political conflict, and London's overseas traders, 1550-1653* (London; New York: Verso, 2003), pp. 76-77.

<sup>107</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 11.

company to elect the governor, as the top administrator of the company. Along with the governor, the deputy governor was actively responsible in administration. These two directors had a team of management that was working to run the company as effectively as possible.<sup>108</sup> In the company, other than the management in the centre, there were a lot of other actors actively working for the company in the Levant. These were respectively ambassador, consuls, vice consuls, treasurers, chancellors, dragomans, factors and agents. It will be useful to briefly mention about these actors that formed the basis of the organizational structure of the company.

### **General Assembly: Governors and Deputy Governors**

In the beginning,<sup>109</sup> the twelve founders of the Levant Company also held shares in in other companies, such as the Muscovy Company and the Spanish Company, which shows the power of this group of traders. The highest decision-making authority of the company, the general assembly gathered every year to elect the governor<sup>110</sup> as the top administrator chosen by all of the members of the company. If the members were happy with a governor's ruling, they were just extended their tenure instead of electing a new governor. In the first century of the company, the governors were only elected from among experienced and active London merchants. However, from the last quarter of

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp. 205-229; Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, pp. 31-32; Christine Laidlaw, *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century*, (London: IB Tauris, 2010), pp. 29-31.

<sup>109</sup> Since the beginning of the Mediterranean trade and the Ottoman-English commercial relations, the leading agent of this commerce was the Turkey Company that would combine with the Venice Company in 1591 and bear the name "The Levant Company". See Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, 2003, p. 17.

<sup>110</sup> In other words, they were called as the 'Levant Company Directors'.

the 17th century onwards the governors started being elected through political networks. In the 18th century, the governors elected by the general assembly were only prestigious representatives who were not directly involved in trading. As well as the new profile of the governors caused some problems in trading activities, they managed to get insider information thanks to the political networks they had in London.<sup>111</sup> There were a deputy governor, a treasurer, a secretary, a husband (manager) and 18 assistant officials in total as the retinues of the governors. Just as the governors, the deputy governors were also elected by the help of their political networks.<sup>112</sup> Both the governors and the deputy governors were well-known and powerful people in British political life. As can be seen in the archive records the deputy governors also actively took part in the Bank of England, East India Company, and some other London-centred international trade companies.<sup>113</sup> The situation of the governors and the deputy governors being powerful political figures and coming from similar networks shows that the Levant Company was trying to get into closer involvement with British politics to take advantage of the strong network relations it offered.

### **Ambassador, Consuls and Consulate Key Officials**

The association of the Levant Company with the embassy and consulate formed the basis of the British trade organization in the Ottoman Empire. As the relation of the two

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<sup>111</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 19.

<sup>112</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 206.

<sup>113</sup> For further details, see Chapter 4 and 5.

empires began in 1580 because of trading affairs, William Harborne<sup>114</sup> who was sent to the Ottoman capital by the Levant Company was also a diplomat with the title of ambassador. These circumstances led him to create an embassy that had experience in trading; giving priority to defending Britain's trading interests. The ambassadors who were accountable for trading and diplomatic missions were also responsible for the expansion of a business network within the embassy's institutional structure. This business and diplomatic network did not work, in fact, as representing a fully controlled mechanism under the direct central authority from London or Constantinople. The dual responsibilities of the Ambassador of Britain were clearly diplomatic and economic because of embassy's ultimate mission in maintaining the Levant Company. The ambassador of Britain was the diplomatic envoy in Constantinople and ambassadors received their salaries from the Levant Company.<sup>115</sup> They coordinated all business-commercial networks in the Ottoman Ports and lands and protected commercial interest of British traders by favour of its consuls in the Levant trade centres.<sup>116</sup> Hence, the social and economic network node of ambassadors of the Levant Company and related consuls in the important factories in the Ottoman Lands where the Levant Company's

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<sup>114</sup> C. Woodhead, (2008, January 03). Harborne, William (c. 1542–1617), merchant and diplomat. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 5 Oct. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12234>.

<sup>115</sup> Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: G. Routledge & Sons Limited, 1968), p 74.

<sup>116</sup> Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, pp. 1-5.

commercial activities were situated were important to sustaining commerce in the Levant Seas.<sup>117</sup>

In the eyes of the Ottoman Empire, the British ambassadors and consuls were the representatives of the British monarchy in a diplomatic manner. British kings or queens were not as influential in the appointment of the ambassadors as they were in the appointment of the consuls.<sup>118</sup> The consulates and the consuls that were performing within the Ottoman lands enjoyed very high privileges. Appointed by the centre the consuls had to present their “berat” (permission) to the local authorities when they wanted to do trade in the Ottoman trade centres. Hence, they needed to be a part of the Ottoman system to work freely.<sup>119</sup> Performing their duties along under these circumstances with the responsibilities of a consul as well, the British merchants were appointed by an offer from the Levant Company and got paid by them. For this reason, the consuls of the Levant Company were directly dealing with trading and with the agencies of the company. They were mostly expressing their ideas on trading issues, difficulties on importing goods and new business opportunities and were not interested in diplomatic issues much.<sup>120</sup> Until the closing down of the company, the British consuls in Ottoman lands mainly dealt with trading. They analyzed trading activities of the

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<sup>117</sup> TNA: SP 105/332 a register of orders from the honor, the Levant Company 1662-1774. In this ledger, we can see the roles of Consuls in the commercial operations in general.

<sup>118</sup> Consul appointments were carried out by the Levant Company without being presented to the king's or queen's approval.

<sup>119</sup> Maurits H. Van den Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system: qadis, consuls, and beratlis in the 18th century* Vol. 21, (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 2005), p. 32.

<sup>120</sup> Türkhan, “18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz’de Ticaret ve Haleb”, p. 186.

company, sometimes performing the role to fix issues and protect the interest of the Levant Company merchants within the rules of the *ahdname* given by the Ottomans. Therefore, it can be said that as being traders more than diplomat these consuls played a vital role to keep the company in order.<sup>121</sup> The consulates of Aleppo and Smyrna had an assembly similar to the one in London Headquarters and they were discussing and deciding on all the trading and diplomatic issues there. The most important members of the assembly were the chancellor and the treasurer. Both officials were taking a very active role in the company's administrative and financial affairs. For the 18th century it can be said that the chancellors were the second most authorized local officials after the consuls. The actual tasks of the chancellors were organizing the writings belonging to the company, keeping records of the assembly decisions and reporting them to the relevant places. Other than these, they were dealing with keeping an archive of the orders and organizational decisions coming from the company headquarters in London, arranging and approving agreements.<sup>122</sup> The treasurers who were responsible for financial activities in the consulate localities were being appointed on an offer by the consuls of

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<sup>121</sup> As a matter of fact, the majority of the cases that are reflected in the Ottoman and British archives include the subjects of commercial affairs. The fact that consuls were more related to commercial issues are reflected in the Ottoman archival documents in the same way. The Ottoman Sultan considered the British consuls only as ones were interested and responsible in term of commercial issues. For instance, according to the record from Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, Ottoman sultan mentioned that "... med'ine-i Hâleb ve ona tâbi' iskelelere gelüp giden İngilterelü ve ânâ tâbi' olan tüccâr tâifesinin umûr ve hususların ru'yet için berât-ı âl-i şânımla İngiltere konsolosu olan...(English translation: British consul with my permission to look after the trades and issues of the UK traders who came to Aleppo and its connected ports..." See Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 188; BOA: A.(DVN.DVE), 35/1, 92/261, (11 L. 1164 - 2 September 1751).

<sup>122</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 99; Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, pp. 32-33; Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 221.

the Levant Company and by the administration of the company itself. There were certain requirements to be a treasurer; having worked as apprentice of factory for 7 years plus as an agent for 5 years. This institutional obligation was set after 1658 and mostly implemented that way.<sup>123</sup> Lastly, the company as a restricting institution forbade the consuls, their assistants, the chancellors and the treasurers to do trade when they were in office.<sup>124</sup> These key officials of the embassy and the consulate were fulfilling their duties to make sure to maintain stability in the trading activities of the company.

The Levant Company had three main consulates in the Ottoman trade centres. These were Aleppo, Alexandria and Smyrna. The consulate of Salonica followed them as it was opened later than them. These consulates should be considered along with their duty areas, trading effects and hinterlands. For instance, the duty area of the consulate of Aleppo was comprised of the entire Syria region and Cyprus Island. The port of Scanderoon coming first, the vice-consuls and the factor marines in the trade centres of Latkia, Lebanon Tripoli, Acre, Cyprus (Larnaka)<sup>125</sup> and Basra all maintained their trading activities as dependents of Aleppo. All of the operations were happening in Alexandria about the coffee beans trade coming from Egypt and Yemen. Similarly, the consulate in Smyrna embraced islands and trade centres such as Chios, Salonica<sup>126</sup>, Dardanelles and

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<sup>123</sup> TNA: SP 105/116, P. 26, 29-30 and 44.

<sup>124</sup> Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, p. 35.

<sup>125</sup> In 1722, the British consulate in the port of Larnaca, the consulate centre on the island of Cyprus, became an independent consulate. See Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 123.

<sup>126</sup> In 1715, the British consulate in Salonica became an independent consulate. See *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Mytilene in its duty area.<sup>127</sup> In the 18th century both Aleppo and the centres within the Smyrna's responsibility area started doing their business independently. Looking from this perspective, commercial variety and local individual business networks have expanded from the first quarter of the 18th century and on.<sup>128</sup> Even though the amount of the British consulates and vice-consuls increased in the 19th century Ottoman cities,<sup>129</sup> the Levant Company traders carried out diplomatic business in some of the trade centres like Rhodes Island, Athens and Bursa in the 18th century. As can be seen in Map 6, the trade centres located in the East Mediterranean and Aegean Sea were important to show the business networks of the Levant Company merchants and the high level of the organizational structure of the company.

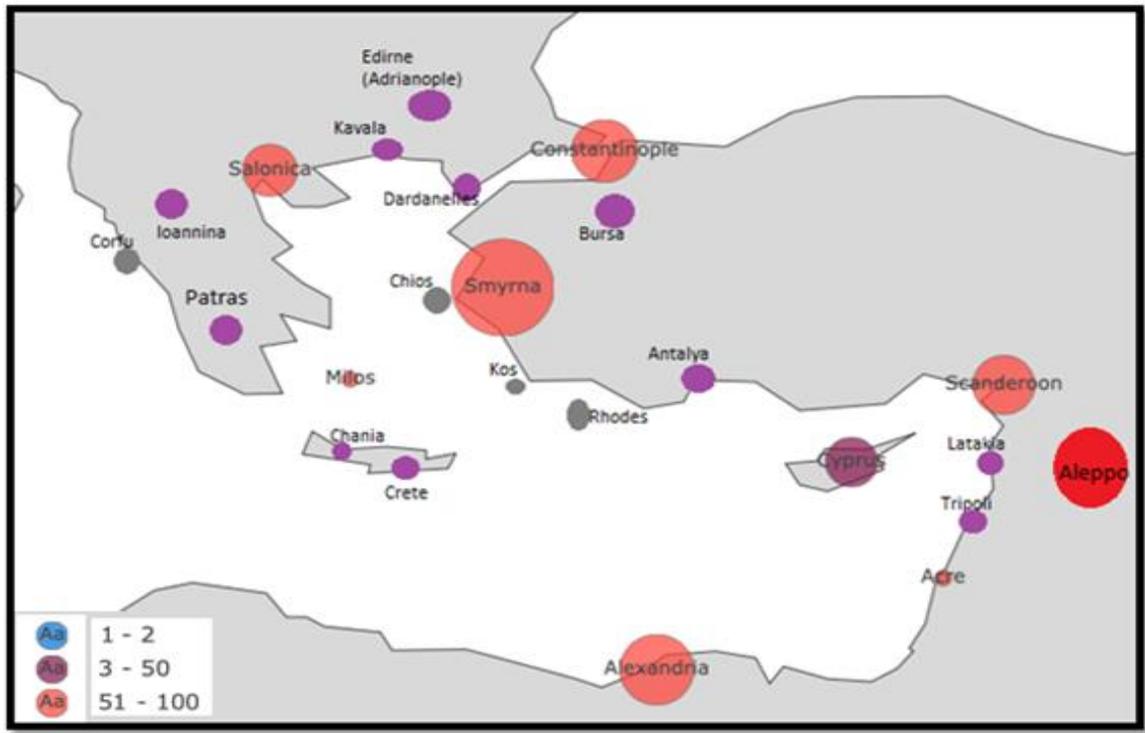
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<sup>127</sup> Lucia Patrizio Gunning, *The British consular service in the Aegean and the collection of antiquities for the British Museum* (Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 9-10 and 16-18.

<sup>128</sup> For aspect of 'from national trade to the individual trade operations in the Levant', see Chapter 4-5 and 6.

<sup>129</sup> Gunning, *The British consular service in the Aegean*, pp. 44-45.

**Map 6: The Levant Company Consulates (include vice consulates) in the Levant Seas, 18th Century<sup>130</sup>**



### Practical Men: Factors, Agents and Apprentices in the Levant Trade

The agent institution defined as “factory” by the British is one of the most significant institutions of international maritime trade during the time before the 19th century. The overseas commercial companies tried to establish a system in order to have power in an

<sup>130</sup> In Map 6, the Red Circles symbolise the Levant Company ‘Consulates’ with Constantinople (Embassy). As you see in the map, the degree of redness is very high for Aleppo because of its importance in the meaning of commercial activities that mentioned in the following chapters 4 and 5. The Purple Circles represent the ‘Vice Consulates’ of the Levant Company in the Levant. As for Grey Circles, they symbolise the ‘Small-scale Diplomatic Mission’ for the Levant Company in the islands of the Mediterranean. (The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.)

international trade in favour of using institution of agents-factors.<sup>131</sup> The agencies that were mostly in the status of the commercial representatives and factors of bosses who were members of the Levant Company. The bosses who were not resident in the Levant commercial centres needed to have factors-agents to run their business. They had the right to purchase and sell goods in the name of their bosses in the commercial centres of the Ottomans. It can be said that the agencies trading within the body of the Levant Company were limited agents. In this sense, they could not sell goods at a price cheaper than the one determined by their bosses. Moreover, they could not buy goods at a more expensive price than the price again set by their bosses in the Levant trade.<sup>132</sup> And, what was the income these agents-factors earned from these activities? Agents-factors got commissions from these commercial operations.<sup>133</sup> In addition, the agents of the Levant Company members could do business on their own behalf in the Ottoman lands.<sup>134</sup> In this respect, it should be noted that the most important actors of the Levant trading system for the British were the factors and agents in question.<sup>135</sup> The factors or agents were described as practical men in the Levant trade organization. Eventually, the trading activities were being performed through these factors and agents.

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<sup>131</sup> Katerina Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean During the Napoleonic Wars: The Untold Story of a Successful Adaptation* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 190-191.

<sup>132</sup> Edward Hatton, *The Merchant Magazine or Trades Man's Treasury*, (London 1712), p. 204.

<sup>133</sup> The related examples about the factors-agents in the Levant trade organization will be given in the chapters 4, 5, and 6.

<sup>134</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", pp. 126-127.

<sup>135</sup> Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry*, p. 90.

In the British overseas trading, the level of experience of the agents was a key consideration. It required experience to live far away from Britain and to take an active role in international trade. To gain the needed experience, getting them used to the international trade and teaching them to live in the trade centres of the Levant Company a system of apprenticeship was implemented for the merchant candidates. In the wake of being agent-factor the apprentices were sent to the Levant at a very young age<sup>136</sup> to live in the Levant in a master-apprentice relationship. Also, those who wanted to do trade on behalf of themselves as being members of the Levant Company had to do 7 years of apprenticeship first.<sup>137</sup> Beside these, the trader candidates who were working as apprentices for the Levant Company had to move within a strict institutional frame. So that it was forbidden by the Levant Company for an apprentice to send goods to another patron or boss in London.<sup>138</sup>

### **Institutional-Organizational Transformation of the Company**

Since its foundation until the 18th century, the Levant Company passed through many phases. We touched upon the company's history in the previous chapter. However, we see deeper and paradigmatic changes in the structure of the company in the 18th

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<sup>136</sup> Apprenticeship usually started at the age of 17-18 and lasted 7 years. As the cost of the period of apprenticeship was very high, the traders preferred to take someone as an apprentice among their own children, nephews, children of members of the company or children of some aristocrat families. See Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 133; P. R. Harris, "The Letter Book of William Clarke Merchant in Aleppo, 1598-1602", MA Diss., (London: University of London), 1953, p. 73.

<sup>137</sup> 6 years of this phase were spent in an agency while the last year was spent in London. See Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant*, pp. 22-31.

<sup>138</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 133.

century. The decisions made by the company in 1744 and 1753 changed the structure of the company, procedure of membership and method of shipping, giving birth to a new institutional-organizational structure. These two institutional changes that we accept as a milestone for the Levant Company in this thesis increased the trader members of the company and removed the obstacles in front of the practice of joint-shipping in the second half of the 18th century. After briefly mentioning about the two changes here, more details will be given in the following chapters.

When we look at the institutional changes in a chronological order, we need to begin from the decision taken in 1744 by the company that liberalized the practice of shipping. Before 1744, the ships used in trading activities of the Levant Company were determined by the administration annually. The company were commissioning particular amount of ships for each year and no ships other than these were allowed to transport goods. Before 1718, the Levant Company directed their appointed merchants to trade only and solely by general shipping. The company usually sent its cargoes to Britain in convoys only once a year (sometimes twice) with their chosen ships. In other words, the company determined the ships for trading yearly and it approved only convoy shipping by the general shipping method. The price of all Levant products sold in the Britain was high because of the company's monopoly system. In this sense, they did not want to allow any system of transport except for general shipping in the Levant trade. Apart from general shipping, there was also one more method in shipping. It was 'joint shipping', which allowed any merchant to send goods by any ships they preferred at any time. For

the most part however, merchants chose not to run this kind of shipping method in the Levant trade because of the rules of the company. It was for that reason that, prior to 1718, individual merchants were mostly confined to using the general shipping method in order to send their goods and from to Levant. After 1744, individual merchants started to use various shipping methods to export their goods to the Levant. Until 1744 trade had been conducted with a limited number of ships, after this time, the commercial operations were opened up to all ships and thus shipmasters and shipowners became important actors.<sup>139</sup> Because of this, the members of the big-wealthy merchant families and individual merchants did not have many alternatives. However, after the restrictions on shipping were lifted in 1744 the traders started carrying goods by any ships they wanted.<sup>140</sup> This institutional transformation caused the international trading enterprises to increase established by individuals and merchant seamen.

Another institutional and organizational change was the Act of 1753 that was passed by the British parliament. With this Act, the barriers for being a member and freeman of the company and the requirement of obligatory 7 years of apprenticeship were removed. As a result of this change, the number of the members of the company increased rapidly.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> For details after 1744 in shipping and roles of the individual merchants, shipmasters, and ship-owners, see Chapters 4-5-6. Also, see, Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 136-138.

<sup>140</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 91.

<sup>141</sup> With the institutional reform in 1753, we see that the number of traders who acted as actors in the Levant trade increased. Thus, merchants who were not members of the big merchant families and who could be described as retail or individual merchants were beginning to enter into the Levant trade operations and relations. "Of a small sample of twenty premium-paying apprentices to Levant merchants between 1714 and 1753, only three or four ever entered the Levant Company. Only a handful of the hundred-odd persons who joined the Levant Company in that period appear to have been premium apprentices to anyone at all." Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 65.

The fact that anyone who paid for the membership could get the right to trade<sup>142</sup> can be considered as the liberalization of the company. We see the increased number of the members of the company coming from this liberalization in the archive records. The amount of new entrant merchants of the company had gradually and constantly increased between 1753 and 1800. To sum up, thanks to the lifting of the restrictions on shipping in 1744 and the institutional change of 1753 the organizational structure of the Levant Company was transformed. The transformation can be shown as the reason behind this thesis having a discourse over the comparison of family and individual businesses and the analysis of business networks.

### **MERCHANDISE COMPOSITION IN THE LEVANT TRADE**

The developments in trading volume of Britain before the industrial revolution, which started in England actually led to the emergence of the Industrial Revolution. In this sense, the textile industry was the main sector that promoted the Industrial Revolution and contributed to the development of Britain. Therefore, the raw material trade of textile goods needed for the development of exports and textile goods was the most important element of the trade of England in the 18th century. Another issue for the same period is the prominence of the European states in the Ottoman international

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<sup>142</sup> All those merchants had to be members of the Levant Company, which meant paying a membership fee to enjoy the freedom of the Company. The 1661 charter gave this fee at the level of £25 for those under 26 years of age, and £50 for those over that age. The level of fees was decreased by an Act of Parliament in 1753 to £20." See Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in 18th-century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), p. 87.

trade. We have already explained how Smyrna and Salonica became more important in the 18th century and mentioned about the significance of the two port cities for the Levant Company. Even though the two trade centres became more important and the amount of ships operating for the company increased<sup>143</sup> the place that the Levant trading held within Britain's whole international trade actually decreased. In addition, general trading volume did not increase, standing stable.<sup>144</sup> Thus, it will be useful to give some information about the balance between the trade volume and the mentioned circumstances and also about the merchandise composition. It was the British customs registers that kept the records of export/import products and the volume of trade between the Ottomans and Britain.<sup>145</sup> The customs registers of the National Archives located in Kew Gardens, London, provides almost all the data about the trade between the Ottoman Empire and England in the 18th century. Only the registers of 1705 and 1712 are missing. Except these two years the data provided for the rest of the century made it—straightforward to analyze the volume and the balance of trade and the

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<sup>143</sup> According to the archival document from Britain and Turkey, there were rising in shipping operations in the second half of the 18th century. Moreover, Llyod's Shipping Registers and Lists showed that the number of ships-vessels, which are operating commercial operations in the Levant Seas increased for the same period. See Chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>144</sup> McGovan, "Trade", p. 729.

<sup>145</sup> The information of the trade volume, balance of trade and merchandise composition was compiled from the customs book held in the National Archives-Kew. The customs registers related to the Ottoman-British commercial statistics based on 'Sterling Parity' and detailed information on merchandises. In order to compile the datas, we use the 'Custom Series 3 and 17 which indicates the information trade volumes and merchandise composition' with 'Curstom Series 36 which gives the information about the imports and exports compared with the excess of each country for each year'. In these registers, each year has abstract that shows the summary info on trade volume in the end of each custom books. The abstracts of each year eased our process of gathering datas. For the sources, see TNA: CUST 3/4-82, for exportations and CUST 17/1-21, for importations (1700-1800). For information of the Excess, see TNA: CUST 36/1-5, (1689-1826).

composition of goods. Lastly, the merchandise list acquired from these custom registers is examined over 5 different groups of products. The commercial activities and composition of merchandises of the Levant Company merchants is showed respectively as (1) Textile Materials, (2) Minerals, Drugs and Chemical Materials, (3) Dyestuffs, (4) Spices-Groceries-Dry Food, and (5) Luxury and Other Materials.

### **Export Merchandises**

According to the British customs registers, the exports the Levant Company merchants sent to the Ottoman lands were composed of many different categories of merchandise. The increased variety of merchandise in the 18th century can be traced not only in the customs registers but also in the private writings of the merchants and the records of the Levant Company. With respect to these records, the main goods the merchants of the company exported to the Ottoman lands were textile products. As can be seen in table 2, almost 80 percent of the goods coming to the Ottoman ports consisted of textile products, 95 percent of which were woollens. Apart from woollen, linen, cotton, silk, and some other textile products were exported to the Ottoman lands by the Levant Company merchants too. Minerals, Drugs and Chemical materials followed textile products in importance. The sum of the exportation of these products was only 8-9 percent of the entire Levant-Ottoman trade. Under this merchandise group, there were also tin, iron, lead and pewter. Another group of merchandise was dyestuffs. Within this group, Cochineal and Indigo were exported at almost at the same percentage. The fourth group of merchandise was spices, groceries and dry foods. Without any doubt, coffee was the

most important product of this group of merchandise. Pepper, sugar and cinnamon followed coffee respectively. Some of these exports were trans-shipped goods originating from British colonies in the Caribbean and elsewhere. The last merchandise group was luxury and other materials. Various goods can be counted under this group; for example, watches, skins, drugs, beverages and other related materials can be considered as the most significant goods of exportation under this category.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> According to the Customs Registers. the all merchandises were exported to the Levant centres can be listed here: "(1) Textile Materials: long-short cloths, perpetuanas-serges, stuffs, bays, kersies, rashes, kerseymere, frize, flannel, peniston, stockings, shreds, blankets, gowns, canvas, lawns, calicoes, muslins, cambric, barras, sail cloth, cottons, cotton yarn, printed and plain cotton stuffs, muslins, raw silk, and grograin yarn. (2) Minerals, Drugs and Chemical Materials: Tin, unwrought-turnery plates, wrought iron, ironware, ordnance, clockwork, red or white lead, pewter, gunpowder, alum, brass, copper, spelter, coal, pitch-tar, brimstone, litharge, vitriol oul, Epsom salt, tutenague, and charcoal. (3) Dyestuff Materials: cochineal, dyewoods, logwood, Braziel, Redwood, saffron, annatto, and madder. (4) Spices-Groceries-Dry Foods: coffee, pepper, cinnamon, sugar, nutmegs, butter, rice, ginger, cloves, tea, currants, cheese, raisins, spice, mace, tallow, bacon, hams, beef, pork, sweat meat, sago, and oli ves. (5) Luxury and Other Materials: watches, skins, drugs, beverages and other related materials. Source: TNA: CUST 3/4-82.

**Table 2: Exports to the Levant and Merchandise Composition, 1700-1800, (in Sterling)**

<b>Merchandise Group</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>(1) Textile Materials</b>	Woolen	10,407,040	76.12	<b>78.96</b>
	Linen	131,645	0.96	
	Cotton	9,684	0.07	
	Silk	5,391	0.39	
	Other	194,728	1.42	
<b>(2) Minerals, Drugs and Chemical Materials</b>	Tin	718,410	5.25	<b>9.27</b>
	Iron	202,600	1.48	
	Lead	159,818	1.16	
	Pewter	70,037	0.51	
	Drugs	27,107	0.21	
	Other	90,358	0.66	
<b>(3) Dyestuffs</b>	Cochineal	256,680	1.87	<b>3.44</b>
	Indigo	196,282	1.43	
	Other	20,011	0.14	
<b>(4) Spices-Groceries-Dry Food</b>	Coffee	253,771	1.85	<b>5.65</b>
	Pepper	215,607	1.57	
	Sugar	111,729	0.81	
	Cinnamon	90,140	0.66	
	Other	104,503	0.76	
<b>(5) Luxury and Other Materials</b>	Watches	157,974	1.15	<b>2.95</b>
	Beverages	28,616	0.21	
	Skins	21,239	0.15	
	Other Various Materials			
<b>Total</b>		<b>13.670.334</b>		<b>100.27 %</b>

### **Import Merchandises**

In the 18th century, the commercial operations of the Levant Company merchants did not increase as much compared to the previous century. In fact, they never caught up with the trading level of 1720s. After 1750, the international trade of Britain expanded whereas the trade in Levant decreased. Looking at the whole century, the level of Britain's exportation to the Ottoman Empire was as high as 13 million pounds while the importation from the whole Levant region was about 19 million pounds. The situation proves that most of the products the Ottoman trade centres had were in high demand.

Just as the explanation above, it will be useful to show the importations from the Ottoman Empire under 5 categories of different production groups. The first group was textile products. Similar to exportations, the textile products were dominant in importations as well. As it can be seen in the table 3 the importation of textile products was equal to 82 percent of the whole importation the company did in a year. Silk was coming first in this group of merchandises. The importance of Aleppo and Smyrna in silk trading was mentioned before. Hence, the Levant Company was interested in these two cities more when it came to the trading of textile products. Silk and woollen importation was three fourth of the entire British importation from the Levant. The second group, minerals, drugs and chemical materials, consisted of more sub-products compared to exportation. According to this group of merchandises, it can be said that the Levant

Company merchants were importing Senna, Rhubarb and Opium.<sup>147</sup> For another group of merchandises, the dyestuff, a lot of materials<sup>148</sup> were being imported as well, the majority being Madder and Galls. Fourthly, under the category of spices, groceries and dry food <sup>149</sup>, as well as raisins and coffee the importation of currants was also worth attention. The fifth and the last group of merchandise was luxury and other materials. According to the customs registers especially carpets, wine, skins and other related merchandises were being imported by the Levant Company merchants.<sup>150</sup>

**Table 3:** Imports from the Levant and Merchandise Composition, 1700-1800, (in Sterling)

Merchandise Group	Type of Commodity	Value	%	%
<b>(1) Textile Materials</b>	Silk	11,600,344	60.30	<b>82.94</b>
	Cotton	2,333,278	12.12	
	Wool-Mohair	1,985,663	10.30	
	Linen	12,063	0.06	
	Other	29,973	0.16	
<b>(2) Minerals, Drugs and Chemical Materials</b>	Senna	179,349	0.94	<b>3.22</b>
	Rhubarb	43,518	0.23	
	Opium	41,048	0.21	
	Gum Tragacanth	37,487	0.20	
	Worm Seed	37,068	0.19	
	Colloquintida	28,933	0.15	

<sup>147</sup> Other merchandises can be listed as Gum Tragacanth, Pistachios, Worm Seed, Gum Arabic, Colloquintida, Emery Stone, Alum Roach, and other related materials were imported from the Ottoman lands and ports in the 18th century. See TNA: CUST 3/4-82, 1700-1800; CUST 17/1-21, 1700-1800.

<sup>148</sup> For other materials in the Dyestuffs Material group, see TNA: CUST 3/4-82, 1700-1800; CUST 17/1-21, 1700-1800. "Madder, Galls, Safflore, Berries, Baxwood, Vallonia, Fustic, Cochineal, Annoto, Indigo and Annoto".

<sup>149</sup> According to the customs registers, other materials were Raisins, Coffee, Currants, Fig, and Oil for the 18th century.

<sup>150</sup> TNA: CUST 3/4-82, 1700-1800; CUST 17/1-21, 1700-1800 in various pages.

	Pistachios	26,299	0.14		
	Emery Stone	25,173	0.13		
	Alum Roach	21,701	0.11		
	Gum Arabic	20,720	0.11		
	Other	196,549	1.01		
<b>(3) Dyestuffs</b>	Madder	802,616	4.20	<b>6.42</b>	
	Galls	244,091	1.27		
	Safflore	57,432	0.30		
	Berries	50,948	0.25		
	Baxwood	37,353	0.20		
	Vallonia	22,129	0.10		
	Fustic	8,612	0.04		
	Cochineal	3,963	0.02		
	Indigo	3,576	0.02		
	Annotto	1,849	0.01		
	Other	1,487	0.01		
	<b>(4) Spices-Groceries-Dry Food</b>	Raisins	474,332		2.46
Coffee		306,849	1.81		
Currants		149,351	0.81		
Fig		61,827	0.31		
Oil		23,898	0.10		
Other		19,449	0.09		
<b>(5) Luxury and Other Materials</b>	Carpets	172,032	0.90	<b>1.84</b>	
	Skins & Hides	41,245	0.21		
	Wine & Spirits	29,589	0.15		
	Other	112,619	0.58		
<b>Total</b>		<b>19.212.109</b>		<b>100 %</b>	

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

The network analysis of commercial operations, and actors in the Levant trade especially those of British merchants in Smyrna, Salonica and Aleppo, in eastern Mediterranean trade, demonstrates to us how, in the 18th century, diplomatic and commercial relations in the region were interconnected. While these merchants, as practical actors of the Levant Company, actually took a role in the hierarchical structure between the political authority, which is, the British king or queen, and the Ottoman administration and the Ottoman sultan on one hand, on the other hand they also formed a unique network of business, especially in the port towns in accordance with the consuls of the Levant Company Factories.<sup>151</sup> Study of these various kinds of networks and the institutional frameworks within which they operated exposes the organizational logic that lay behind the British business operations in the 18th century Levant trade. Accordingly, in this chapter, we have sought to provide an account of the trade routes and their trends in the 18th century together with information on the actors of the Levant Company, which are required to trace the development of the Levant trade. We have also sought to demonstrate the two important institutional and organizational changes in the Levant Company's regulations on the widening of trade routes and traffic patterns in the Levant. When we combine these elements with an account of the merchandise composition,

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<sup>151</sup> TNA: SP 110/74. For the economic mind of British Merchants in the 18th century we can see the records from State Papers at Kew related to the 'own commercial and business initiative' of British traders in the region of Ottomans. On the contrary, the story of Dr Andrew Turnbull can be shown apart from these initiatives mentioned above. See TNA: SP 97/57, Shelburne to Murray, 5 June 1767.

which is shown geographically in map 7 for the 18th century Levant trade, we are able to see the way business networks were reconfigured and how trade routes were re-oriented thus enabling us to understand better the baseline from which Levant trade developed in the 18th century as a preliminary to the discussion<sup>152</sup> which follows in the final three chapters of the thesis.

**Map 7: Merchandise Composition (Export and Import) on the Trade Centres in the Levant Trade, 18th Century<sup>153</sup>**



<sup>152</sup> This discussion is about the detailed network analysis of the Levant Company merchants and changes in that in the 18th century which is mentioned in the sixth chapter of thesis and institutional factors affecting and affected by British merchants over the course of the 18th century, with particular attention to the effects of the Act of 1753. See Chapter 6.

<sup>153</sup> As can be seen from Map 7, the merchandises were located the hinterlands of Smyrna and Salonica mostly in the 18th century. Accordingly, these two ports were transformed into the most valuable centres in the second half of the century. That's why, the business networks expanded around these centres in the Levant trade. Moreover, institutional changes in the Levant Company's structure and in membership to the company enabled it to expand a variety of businesses in the Levant. In contrast, trade volume did not increase after these changes in the second half of the century, but it can be said that institutional and organizational changes opened the Levant trade to the individual merchants at that time. We will examine these developments in accordance with individual merchants' business operations and networks in the following chapters. (The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.)

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**MERCHANT FAMILIES IN THE LEVANT**

**1700-1800**

The important point we have seen in this context is that while the British merchants were operating their business in the Ottoman ports and cities in the 18th century, they had business networks in many different geographical areas from East to West. Merchants can surely have the opportunity to trade in many different regions. Their access to social networks gave the traders privileged access to business opportunities as they arose. What should be emphasized is how extensive access to all the business opportunities worldwide advantaged British merchants during the 18th century. Accessing the possibilities for doing business in the regions apart from the Levant seas derived in large part from the breadth and diversity of social networks and family ties or kinship relations used by British merchants. This ability enabled British merchants to do business in the Ottoman Empire, while they were getting other business links with far distant centres such as India, Canada and South and North America in accordance with their entrepreneurial networks. Commercial networks established by foreign merchants with local merchants such as Orthodox Greeks, Armenians, and Sephardic Jews and other Levantines in a very ethnically diverse, multicultural empire like the Ottoman Empire were quite remarkable. We know that there are many studies in the current Ottoman economic and business history literature on these local trade networks, and besides that, the importance of long-distance business networks established by British merchants should not be overlooked.

Historical issues from an institutional, entrepreneurial and social networks aspect can play a key role in analyzing the commercial issues related to the operations of British

merchants. It is clear that business organizations, entrepreneurial networks of merchants as actors in commercial history could contribute to revealing the role of family members in business transactions. We know that in business operations and business networks kinship issues and variation of international commercial networks, played a key role in the success of long-established joint stock companies or business organizations of merchants. This in turn secured for them a dominant position within economic, business and political relations. Also, research on Ottoman-European trade and relations within a commercial framework contributes to a clearer understanding of how Ottoman-British relations were affected by general developments in the world economy. Therefore, it is vital to assess their entrepreneurial networks within the context of their relatives' roles in the fields of business history, economic history as well as diplomatic history. In this regard, it is necessary to investigate which factors were important in trade that British merchants conducted in the regions of the Ottoman Empire and the outside of the Ottoman Empire such as Brazil, Argentina, Canada-Hudson Bay, India and Russia. These factors can be examined under two main sections. The first one is the role of family members, kinship in the entrepreneurial networks with institutional changes-developments in the company rules and the second is the positive role of British factor corporation and apprenticeship system which played prominent role in the entrepreneurial networks in the sense of business efficiency.

## MERCHANT FAMILIES

From the 15th century, different European nations took part in Ottoman foreign trade. As a result of changing conditions in the world political economy and balance of power in Europe, some merchants became prominent in this trade relations and operations in the Levant Seas. The Italians such as Venetian and Genoese merchants were the traditionally accepted European merchants of the East Mediterranean, and their dominance and business activities in the territories of the Ottoman Empire were strongest until the 17th century. When we talk about the conditions of the 18th century, they lost their dominance in the Levant trade.<sup>1</sup> It is considered that the Republic of Venice, which totally lost its political significance as of the early 18th century, faced the same fate in commercial terms. However, despite its political exclipse, we cannot refer to a commercial extinction. Especially in the operations that can be defined as domestic trade in Mediterranean commerce, the Republic of Venice continued to be a trading partner of the Ottoman State.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, this partnership positively affected the business networks of both the big family merchants of the Levant Company and the

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<sup>1</sup> Venetian merchants' domination was falling in the 17th century in Levant trade. Also, we know that Venetian Merchants navies had disappeared by the last decades of the 18th century. See Daniel Panzac, "International and domestic maritime trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24: 2, (1992), pp. 189-206. Venetian ships were however still active in the Ottoman domestic sphere despite their loss of market share in the foreign export trade. See Panzac, "International and domestic maritime trade", p. 196. "From 1776 to 1779, 776 ships stopped at Rhodes: of these, 174 (22.4 %) were Ottoman and 602 (77.6 %) were European. Of the European ships, 411 (53 %) were French ships (68.3 % of European ships), 95 were Venetian, 59 were Ragusan, 35 were English, 3 came from other ports".

<sup>2</sup> Özgür Oral, *Osmanlı-Venedik ticari ilişkileri (1763-1794) PhD. Diss.* (İstanbul: Istanbul University), 2017, pp. 1-15.

individual merchants that will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. In fact, Alexander Drummond, the Levant Company consul residing in Aleppo, reported that the Venetians dealt with cotton, silk, wool, carobs, and alizarin and wine trades especially in Cyprus in the mid-18th century.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, starting with 1660s and in the 18th century in particular, British, Dutch and French merchants started to stand out in the Levant trade. In the 18th century, even though the French merchants' domination in the Eastern Mediterranean markets was marked<sup>4</sup>, we also know that British merchants were involved in many activities despite the fact that British traders began to focus their attention on transoceanic and America-Canada trade starting from the 18th century.

In the 18th century, Ottoman imports increased by 60-70%, and during that period half of Ottoman imports were woolen and silk fabrics. In addition to these textile products, paper, sugar, mechanical tools, gunpowder, military raw-materials also started to be imported to a large extent in this century. The fact that the biggest share of these products belonged to textile products was the main reason of British merchants' efforts in the Levant trade.<sup>5</sup> Although the British merchants remained behind the French in the Mediterranean trade, importing textile products and business networks related to the finance in the Ottoman territory still made the Levant attractive to the British Levant

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<sup>3</sup> A. Drummond, *Travels, Through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and Several Parts of Asia as far as the Banks of the Euphrates, printed by W. Strahan for the Author*, (London: 1754), p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> The French merchants' activities had become to possess 60-70 % of the overall Ottoman foreign trade operations. See Edhem Eldem, "İstanbul: İmparatorluk Payitahtından Periferileşmiş Bir Başkente", *Doğu İle Batı Arasında Osmanlı Kenti* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012), p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> Numan Elibol, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Dış Ticaretiyle İlgili Bazı Değerlendirmeler", *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 6: 1 (2005), pp. 63-67.

Company merchants.<sup>6</sup> For the British merchants, the trade was not a little volatile, mostly interrupted by wars, and unexpected commercial crises.<sup>7</sup> For Britain, the Levant trade represented a region between Eastern trade with regions such as India and South Asia and newly acquired territories in the Americas such as Canada, and other Western trade points in the 18th century.<sup>8</sup> It shows us why British merchants who participated in trade with Asia and were involved in Anatolian domestic trade through the links of East India Company as well as Mediterranean trade while at the same time expanding their sphere of activities in and America and Canada continued to be important actors in Levant trade despite the fierce competition for market share between the other foreign nations in the 18th century.

The following section is based mainly on records from the Levant Company Minute Books contained in the State Papers series (TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333) covering the period from 1700 to 1800 in the National Archives in Kew.<sup>9</sup> These records contain the names of merchants and their liberty of trade cities. Moreover, the kind of information that has been drawn from such records enables us to trace the merchants'

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<sup>6</sup> John Smail, *Merchants, markets and manufacture: The English wool textile industry in the 18th century*, (London; Mcmillian Press, 1999), p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Stanley D. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain from the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 28.

<sup>8</sup> British rule in Canada was established only in 1763 thus creating a growing need for closer economic relations with the metropole.

<sup>9</sup> Note: only 105/333 goes up as far as the 1820s: Minute book/s of the General Court of the Levant Company Index: Reference: SP 105/155, Description: Minute book/s of the General Court of the Levant Company, Date: 1685-1699. Reference: SP 105/156, Description: Minute book/s of the General Court of the Levant Company, Date: 1699-1706. Reference: SP 105/332, Description: Register of orders from the General Court of the Levant Company, Date: 1662-1744. Reference: SP 105/333, Description: Register of orders from the General Court of the Levant Company, Date: 1744-1824.

families and their links to the ports and cities where they traded, as well as their relations with other merchants and merchant families. Also, British Library has many useful records related to the family business merchants for the 18th century. Apart from these records from the Levant Company collection in the National Archives, the archival sources from the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul contain valuable information. The Ottoman records contain information about the British family merchants and their family members' operations especially in the 19th century after collapse of the Levant Company. Using these records, it can be argued that Levant Company operations in the Levant Seas and the Ottoman lands were mostly done by means of the family merchants until the Act of 1753. Business operations were usually run around the business networks which were reinforced by marriage, family membership, and the other family links in the first half of the century.<sup>10</sup>

According to these records and merchant lists, it can be said that large and medium-scale trading families in the Levant trade were the most influential. The Levant merchants without any ties to the rich families were strictly limited not in number but in share of profits, especially until the middle decades of the 18th century. In those years, there were just eight rich family members<sup>11</sup> were associated with the Radcliffes, Bosanquets,

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<sup>10</sup> For the Abbot Family example, see Despina Vlami, 'Entrepreneurship and relational capital in a Levantine context: Bartholomew Edward Abbott, the "father of the Levant Company" in Thessaloniki (18th – 19th centuries)', *Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 6 (2009), p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> The list prepared from the The National Archives shows the big families with their members' names trading in Levant before 1753 considerably. The references these archival documents are SP 105/332 and SP 105/333. Moreover, the book of Ralph Davis about merchant families gives very useful information. In addition to the information we state from the archival sources, we have benefited from this book was also

Fawkeners, Boddingtons, Marchs, Locks, and Abbots joined by the Lee Family after the 1750s.<sup>12</sup> The fact that the majority of traders sent to the Levant were the members of the big merchant families or had kinship ties was due to the desire to limit the transaction cost of agency institutions on the one hand and issue of trust on the other.<sup>13</sup> With the institutional reform in 1753<sup>14</sup>, we see that the number of traders who acted as actors in the Levant trade increased. Thus, merchants who were not members of the big merchant families and who could be described as retail or individual merchants, were beginning to enter into the Levant trade operations and relations.<sup>15</sup> It is clear that the rise of numbers of merchants operating trade in Levant in 1748-57 reflects the big entry into the Levant trade in 1754 because of the Act of 1753 that opened up the Company.<sup>16</sup> What sort of results this major change taking place in the Company's member affiliation rules produced on big merchant families and how the monopoly mastered by these families was affected by this change is a question to be answered. In addition, whether the commercial activities of retailer merchants, who were qualified as individual merchants,

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prepared with archival resources. See Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English traders in the Levant in the 18th century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1967).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61. Davis gives some information for that: "In a typical year, 1731, forty-two people imported goods from the Levant, but this number includes executors of dead merchants, ships' masters, and several individuals who were really trading in company with their brothers or fathers. There were in fact only about thirty genuine trading partnerships or individual traders." It is clear that the rise of numbers of merchants operating trade in Levant in 1748-57 reflects the big entry in 1754 to the Levant trade because of the 1753 Act that opened up the Company.

<sup>13</sup> Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1964), p. 215.

<sup>14</sup> "Of a small sample of twenty premium-paying apprentices to Levant merchants between 1714 and 1753, only three or four ever entered the Levant Company. Only a handful of the hundred-odd persons who joined the Levant Company in that period appear to have been premium apprentices to anyone at all." Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

were affected positively or negatively from this big change onwards appears to be another fundamental question.

This new situation can be seen from the list of merchants starting to trade from the middle decades of the 18th century onwards. Before 1753, there were more port names in South England; after this date, the names of the other ports in the north are encountered more regularly in archive documents. These ports also indicate the expansion of business networks after 1753. Beside London and the southern ports, the new merchant groups began to take place in the Levant trade via ports of Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, Bristol, Exeter and Hull. It is also possible to determine from the archival records that the traders engaged in business from these ports were mostly related to Smyrna and Constantinople. This institutional change in extending liberty of trade with right of being freeman of the Levant Company to a wider group of traders in 1753 led to the opportunity for London's big traders-big families to carry out their work in the Levant with the help of family members (by means of second and third generation members) as well as ship masters and retailer merchants in other locations. Moreover, this change also led to the development of family business networks. Factors established by many representatives of merchant families in the Levant ports and the Ottoman cities contributed to the increase of business networks and relations.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the

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<sup>17</sup> Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London; New York: IB Tauris, 2014), p. 223.

increase in the number of individual merchants caused falling share of big-wealthy family merchants in the Levant trade.<sup>18</sup>

### **Big Levantine Families: Playing A Central Role in the Levant**

In the light of the basic questions mentioned above as well as in the introductory chapter of this study, how the big merchant families were influenced doing business in Levant as of the mid-17th century as a result of the institutional change and transformation experienced by Levant Company will be discussed in this section. Accordingly, the founder positions of the families in question in Levant trade and their driving force regarding the expansion of trading volume is quite undeniable. It is necessary to show this dominance of the big merchant families and their strong business networks by reference to archival documents, which contain information on individual merchants' contacts and interrelations. Accordingly, presenting the merchant families in connection with the role they played during the early 18th century and their past savings of business operations is necessary to comprehend the changes that occurred after the Act of 1753. Due to this reason, this section consists of two separate parts: the first devoted to the business involvements of big-wealthy families who were active before the Act of 1753 for the Levant trade and the second to new families who entered after 1753 Act.

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<sup>18</sup> Some big families are known to have retreated from Levant trade as a reaction to the related decision in the aftermath of the Act of 1753.

### **Family Business before the Act of 1753**

The Levant Company, as a regulated company, gave merchants the right to trade<sup>19</sup> (with the status of freeman of the Company) in the Levant in exchange for a certain fee.<sup>20</sup> This allowed them to enter the Levant trade and operate their own business differently from joint-stock companies like the East India Company. When the merchants traded for their own profit, they were trying to run these trade businesses either by living in the Levant or from abroad. Both alternatives required them to set a comprehensive organization with qualified human resources and reliable agents in factories located in the Levant centres. In the light of the archival records, we can observe that these agents were made up mostly of other merchant family members again, and yet, a certain number of individual merchants did business in the name of big families as agents too. For this reason, especially before the 1753 Act, big wealthy merchant families seemed to be able to provide and run this organization connected with the commercial activities. In this sense, these merchant families were carrying out their own business in Levant by sending a family trader as an agent to the Levant. Beside this, as a widely used method by Levant merchants, British merchants residing in the Levant preferred to employ the services of a locally-resident a 'Levant Factor' in order to run family businesses in the Levant on

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<sup>19</sup> Liberty of Trade.

<sup>20</sup> "All those merchants had to be members of the Levant Company, which meant paying a membership fee to enjoy the freedom of the Company. The 1661 charter gave this fee at the level of £25 for those under 26 years of age, and £50 for those over that age. The level of fees was decreased by an Act of Parliament in 1753 to £20." See Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in 18th-century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), p. 87.

behalf of the big Levantine families. Of course, this kind of well-rounded organization also had cost implications which favoured the interests of the Levant Company merchants. In addition to all these, they appointed their own consuls and vice consuls with duties of regulations and protection of the company profits. They were also liable to pay all expenses of the consuls, vice consuls, as well as the translators in the Levant.<sup>21</sup>

Within this context, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Levant trade was undertaken by the families that provided this organizational structure and by the merchants, shipmasters, agents, and related people who were in the business networks of big-wealthy families. In order to be a freeman of the Levant Company and engage in trade officially and not as interlopers, it required would-be participants to follow wealthy merchants' paths and join networks which were useful for new individual traders.<sup>22</sup> Accordingly, it is useful to take a look at the commercial adventures of these great merchant families in the Levant.

### **The Boddington Family**

The Boddington family<sup>23</sup> members' business operations in the Levant trade with the membership of the Levant Company for the first time began with getting the right to

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<sup>21</sup> Peter Earle, *The making of the English middle class: Business, society, and family life in London, 1660-1730* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 64.

<sup>23</sup> Boddington Family Records are held in London Metropolitan Archives (LMA hereafter) since 2009. In the Catalogue of the London Metropolitan Archives says: "These papers were deposited in Guildhall Library via the British Records Association in 1962, and they were catalogued by a member of Guildhall Library staff in the same year. The Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section merged with the London Metropolitan Archives in 2009." When we traced this collection it could be seen that there were two separated records sections in the archives. The first group of records were related to the Boddington family members life and some notes on the family daily life. They are held with references CLC/426/MS10823/001-002-003-004-

trade in Levant as George Boddington was appointed as Freeman of the Levant Company in 1666. The Boddington family, whose roots were based in the Warwickshire region of England from the middle of the 17th century began to do business in clothworking, packing, and various commercial operations with key relations in London. George Boddington who was the first family member acting in the Levant trade had also his father's good business networks in London connected with the packing sector and other financial-commercial circles. With the arrival of the Boddingtons in London, the establishment of a commercial and financial networks by George Boddington in the first decades of the 17th century led him to grow up as a well-versed merchant.<sup>24</sup> George Boddington, who had a good accounting and business knowledge in commercial activities, was appointed as a young<sup>25</sup> Levant Company freeman in 1666 for Constantinople and 1696 for Aleppo. Besides, George Boddington became a member of the Clothworkers Company in 1667 and was elected master in 1705, and he was also a member of the the Greenland Company and with governor position starting from 1693.<sup>26</sup>

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005A-005B-005C in the LMA. The second section of records are related to the Minute Book of the Boddington Company and accounts of Boddingtons. It is accessible with referances CLC/B/227-029 in the LMA.

<sup>24</sup> Andrew Malleson, *Discovering the Family of Miles Malleson 1888 to 1969*, (Dr. Andrew Malleson: Toronto, 2012), pp. 163-165.

<sup>25</sup> In general, merchants came to Levant at quite an early age.

<sup>26</sup> LMA: CLC/426/MS10823/001, pp. 64-67. Gary S. De. Krey, "Boddington, George (1646–1719), merchant and Independent lay leader.", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 26 Jul. 2018. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-49744>.

Thus, we can say that George Boddington was trying to be effective in both the East and West trade at that time.<sup>27</sup>

From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the eleven different Boddington family members<sup>28</sup> were associated with commercial and diplomatic activities in the Ottoman lands and port cities.<sup>29</sup> The names of these eight members of the Boddington family according to their dates of admission were chronologically; George Boddington, Robert Boddington, George (jun.) Boddington, Thomas Boddington, Isaac Boddington, Benjamin Boddington, John Boddington, George Boddington, and Joseph Boddington for the period of 1666-1800. In addition, Joseph William Boddington, Valentino Boddington, and George Boddington operated business in the Levant in the period of 1800-1825 and also until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>27</sup> LMA: CLC/426/MS10823/001. According to his will, he left £19,070 in ready money and in addition to that his legacies contained such as: an unevaluated 'Talley or order of Survivorship'; properties, incl. London 'mansion house' in St Helen's Bishopsgate Within, with outhouses and warehouses; several houses in St Margaret Lothbury, incl. his childhood home (total rental value of at least £100 p.a.); the Sun Tavern and leasehold fish shops in New Fish Street; tenements at Enfield Green, Middlesex; 'great part' of estate described as being 'in foreign parts.' See TNA: PRO, PROB 11/569, sig. 99. Will of George Boddington who died in 1719.

<sup>28</sup> The names of the Boddington family member merchants were compiled from The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>29</sup> For the all Ottoman ports and centres in the Levant, see the maps just before the Introduction part of thesis and Chapter 5.

**Table 4:** The Boddington Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>30</sup>

Name - Surname	Port and City	Year	Job - Duty
<b>Before Institutional Transformation<sup>31</sup></b>			
George I Boddington <sup>32</sup> (1646-1719)	LT <sup>33</sup> Constantinople	1666-67 <sup>34</sup>	Founder of Boddington Company and Lay Leader. Member of the Levant Company
	London	1696 <sup>35</sup>	Governor of the Greenland Company in (1693)
	London	1695	Director of the Bank of England Assistant of the Levant Company in (1695)
	Constantinople	1705	Clothworkers' Company master (1705)
Robert Boddington (????-1701) (Brother of George Boddington, LT in 1666)	FM <sup>36</sup> Smyrna	1676	Agent-Factory Mariner of the Boddington Company and Assistant of Levant Company 1676-1677
		1695	Assistant Levant Company 1695-1696 Alderman for Aldgate in 1687 Master of Haberdashers Company (1687-1689)

<sup>30</sup> TNA: SP 105/152-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>31</sup> It refers the Members of the Boddington Family before 'Institutional Changes in the Levant Company Organization and Membership System held in 1744 and 1753.

<sup>32</sup> He was the founder of the Boddington Company. See Gary S. De. Krey, "Boddington, George (1646–1719), merchant and Independent lay leader. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 26 Jul. 2018. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-49744>.

<sup>33</sup> LT symbolizes the right-grant of 'Liberty of Trade'.

<sup>34</sup> See:

<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/boddington-george-1646-1719>

<sup>35</sup> For the Boddingtons' commercial activities, in the last decades of the 17th century, see London Ports Records, TNA: PRO, E 190/102/1, 190/134/1, 190/144/1. See:

<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/boddington-george-1646-1719>

<sup>36</sup> FM symbolizes the status of 'Freeman'.

George II, (jun.) Boddington (1675-1759) (son of George Boddington, LT in 1666)	FM Constantinople	1704  1722	Treasurer at Constantinople  Consul at Smyrna (1722-1733)
Thomas Boddington (1678-1755)	FM Aleppo	1738	Linen draper <sup>37</sup> and Leaser from East India Company <sup>38</sup>
Isaac Boddington	FM Aleppo	1709	Merchant – Agent-Factor of Radcliffes and Boddingtons
Benjamin Boddington <sup>39</sup> (1698-1779)	FM Constantinople	1725	Merchant – Factor - Agent
<b>After Institutional Transformation<sup>40</sup></b>			
John Boddington (1712-1784) <sup>41</sup> (son of George Boddington, LT in 1704 and Consul at Smyrna, 1722-1733)	VC <sup>42</sup> Cyprus	1757	Vice Consul at Cyprus, (1757- 1762) <sup>43</sup> and Aleppo
	VC Cyprus	1757	Vice Consul for Holland, (1757- 1777) <sup>44</sup>
George III, (jun.) Boddington <sup>45</sup> (1763-1829) (son of George Boddington, LT in 1704)	FM Scanderoon	1783	Agent-Factor of Boddington Company at Scanderoon (Alexandretta)
	LT Smyrna	1789	Merchant – Agent-Factor of Boddington Company at Smyrna
	FM Smyrna	1796	Chancellor at Smyrna
Joseph William Boddington	FM Smyrna	1801	Merchant – Agent-Factor at Smyrna
Valentino Boddington	FM Smyrna	1811	Merchant
George IV Boddington	FM Smyrna	1818	Merchant

<sup>37</sup> LMA: CLC/426/MS10823/003, p. 112.

<sup>38</sup> BL: IOR/L/L/2/298, 1 Aug 1738.

<sup>39</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> It refers the Members of the Boddington Family after 'Institutional Changes in the Levant Company Organization and Membership System held in 1744 and 1753.

<sup>41</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1125/293, 27 January 1785.

<sup>42</sup> VC symbolizes the status of 'Vice Concul'.

<sup>43</sup> Boddington, George, and Thomas Boddington, "Source: Jean WAHBY, January 2000." p, 17. [http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Boddington\\_family\\_history\\_Jean\\_Wahby.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Boddington_family_history_Jean_Wahby.pdf).

And George Jeffery, A description of the historic monuments of Cyprus, Nicosia 1918, p. 176.

<sup>44</sup> <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/schutte/#page=381&accessor=toc&source=2>. pp. 348-349. I am grateful to Mehmet Ceylan for helping to read this Dutch source.

<sup>45</sup> David Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the 16th century to about 1860" *Levantine Heritage*, 2011, p. 15. See: [http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List\\_of\\_British\\_Consular\\_Officials\\_Turkey\(1581-1860\)-D\\_Wilson.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey(1581-1860)-D_Wilson.pdf)

The Boddington family's intense relationship with Levant trading since the end of the 17th century, as well as their commercial activities outside the Levant such as territories of Greenland, the Baltic, and New England were remarkable. Accordingly, Boddingtons imported silk, mohair and cotton from Alexandrette (İskenderun), Leghorn (Livorno) and Smyrna (İzmir); exported fabrics and textile materials to the London, Baltic, Canada-Hudson's Bay and New England, in other words outside of the Mediterranean and the Levant.<sup>46</sup> This shows that since the beginning of the 18th century, the Boddington family had established extensive business networks for trade around the world. This network encompassed wide geographical area and at the same time brought about the necessity of working with many factors within this geographical extent.<sup>47</sup>

The Boddington family members were not only engaged in commercial activities at the Levant ports. As mentioned above, the other members of the Boddington family were engaged in trade with other centres next to the Levant-based trade. The most important of these centres was undoubtedly London for the Boddingtons in the 18th century. The organization of the goods exportation from London and importation to London were carried out by the members of the Boddington family who resided in London. For instance, Benjamin Boddington (1730-1791), who was acting as a West India Company

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<sup>46</sup> Gary S. De. Krey, "Boddington, George (1646–1719), merchant and Independent lay leader.", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 26 Jul. 2018. See: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-49744>.

<sup>47</sup> For the last decades of the 17th century, see TNA: PRO, E 190/102/1, 190/134/1, 190/144/1.

merchant exactly like his son Samuel Boddington,<sup>48</sup> who later became the director of the South Sea Company in the last decades of the 18th century.<sup>49</sup> He was became a director of the Million Bank<sup>50</sup> in London before he died.<sup>51</sup> Compared to George Boddington and other family members who resided in the Levant, the personal wealth of Benjamin and Samuel Boddington<sup>52</sup> who were engaged in Indian trade, were much higher than the Levantine merchants of the Boddingtons. Samuel Boddington's legacies were £350,000 when he died in 1843.<sup>53</sup> The influence of Indian trade was very high in this gap between Levantines and merchants in East – West India trade. In addition, their interest in trading with America besides India had a great influence on this difference.

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<sup>48</sup> N. Draper, (2016, October 06). Boddington, Samuel (1766–1843), West India merchant, slave owner, and collector. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 19 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-107427>.

<sup>49</sup> LMA: CLC/426/MS10823/004, p. 36.

<sup>50</sup> The Million Bank's background from the National Archive is available online: "The Bank on Tickets of the Million Adventure' or Million Bank was founded in 1695 to invest in the 1694 Million Lottery Loan and to act as a bank. However, the company withdrew from banking in 1696 and thereafter concentrated on investment in annuities. The company's strategy was to use the profit it made (consisting of the difference between the thirteen per cent return it received from discounted Million lottery shares and the smaller dividend that was paid out to its stockholders) to buy the reversion of single life annuities issued by the government in 1693 and 1694. By 1796 all the original annuities had expired, and except for the receipt of dividends from its investment in government and other stocks (built up with the proceeds of its sinking-fund over the years), and the distribution of these to its members, there was no longer any reason for the bank to continue. Accordingly, by the Million Bank Act of 1796 the company was wound up and the assets (which by successful management considerably exceeded the original capital) were divided amongst its stockholders. The act transferred the unclaimed balance of funds to the accountant general of the court of Chancery and the records of the bank to the six clerks of Chancery." See: <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3607>.

<sup>51</sup> Boddington, George, and Thomas Boddington. "Source: Jean WAHBY, January 2000, p. 33. See: [http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Boddington\\_family\\_history\\_Jean\\_Wahby.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Boddington_family_history_Jean_Wahby.pdf)

<sup>52</sup> For further information, see LMA, CLC/426/MS10823/005B. And his joutnay to France, 1789–90, see LMA, CLC/426/MS10823/005.

<sup>53</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1980/213, 03 June 1843. Will of George Boddington, West India Merchant, who died in 1843.

It was seen that in the 18th century, it was the Boddington family that expanded the business to the most important port cities and commercial centres of the Ottomans. Apart from that, they also operated business within the commercial and financial activities in Baltic, Canada, America, and in the Britain, especially in London. The merchants aforementioned who members of the Boddington family operated commercial activities in different Ottoman port cities such as Scanderoon (Alexandretta), Smyrna, Constantinople, Cyprus ports.

Moreover, some members of the Boddington family were running business in the Levant on behalf of big-wealthy merchants residing in London. By means of writing offer letters to rich and big merchants in the Britain, Boddington family expanded their business networks. Thus, they established broad business connections with other merchants by providing 'personal trust' to different merchants. Merchants who did not reside in the Levant district but wanted to trade with the Levant used brokering as a method in their commercial activities. The method of brokering the commercial activities of merchants who did not reside in the Levant district but wanted to trade with the Levant was one of the methods used by the Boddingtons in the 18th century to increase their own wealth. Whether the factor merchant who run the business of other merchants was resided in the Levant was the main point. The fact that the Boddingtons created this sort of financial income outside trading must be closely related to their undertaking both administrative and commercial missions in almost all corners of the Levant geography. Their positioning as consuls, vice consuls, treasurers and factors in so many centres carried the

Boddingtons to the status of a family in possession of the broadest network in Levant trade.<sup>54</sup>

In these letters, the factor merchant wanted to establish a trust in business relations with the merchant who was abroad by using reference method to refer to the merchants for whom he has run a business in Levant. A letter written by John Boddington was a resident of Cyprus to a rich merchant, Arthur Radcliffe, a member of the well-known and influential Radcliffe family in 1751, was an example of this practice. Engaged in various business affairs in Cyprus and Acre for many merchants who were not resident in the Levant, John Boddington wrote a letter to Radcliffe stating that he could run businesses in Cyprus if Radcliffe would request this. John Boddington stated in this letter that the result would be beneficial for Arthur Radcliffe and that he could also run business for different territories outside of Cyprus if he agreed.<sup>55</sup> As a matter of fact, after this correspondence, a factor agreement was reached between Arthur Radcliffe and John Boddington. With this correspondence, it can be said that John Boddington managed businesses of Arthur Radcliffe in Cyprus and Acre, and they had a commercial relationship for the Levant trade by the help of private letters-records of the Radcliffe family for the 18th century.<sup>56</sup> Another agreements and business collaboration were conducted between Isaac Boddington and Ralph Radcliffe in the first decades of the 18th

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<sup>54</sup> Table: 4 can be viewed for the stated duties of family members.

<sup>55</sup> HERT: DE/R/B, 210/1, 1 November 1751 / 12 November 1751. Letter to Arthur Radcliffe, merchant in London from John Boddington, merchant in Cyprus.

<sup>56</sup> HERT: DE/R/B210/2, 1 Nov 1751 - 22 Feb 1752. HERT: DE/R/B210/3, 22 Feb 1752; 30 Apr 1752. John Boddington (Cyprus).

century. Isaac Boddington was as a broker-factor merchant who run the businesses related to the Ralph Radcliffe from 1707 to 1710 in Aleppo and Smyrna for the textile raw materials such as silk, mohair, wool, and cotton and program fabric.<sup>57</sup>

As for the goods that were the focal point of the Boddingtons' commercial activities, it is understood that they mostly engaged themselves in the trade of textile products. The centres where the trading of these goods took place, on the other hand, stand out as almost all the ports of the Levant region. Table 5 indicates that Boddington's commercial operations which contained many goods in importation related to the nutgalls, oil – drugs, waw silks, camlets, mohair, wool, cotton, program, currants, olive oil, drugs, carpets, leather, and cummin-seeds.

**Table 5:** Imports to Britain from Levant ports where Boddingtons were most active

<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>
Cyprus	Gallnuts	Oil - Drugs
Aleppo – Scanderoon - Acre	Raw Silks	Camlets
Aleppo – Scanderoon - Acre	Mohair	Wool
Aleppo – Scanderoon - Acre	Cotton	Grogram
Smyrna - Constantinople	Currants	Olive Oil
Smyrna - Constantinople	Drugs	Carpets
Smyrna - Constantinople	Leather	Cummin seeds

<sup>57</sup> HERT: DE/R/B64/11-12-13, 11 January 1709. Letter to Ralph Radcliffe, merchant in London from Samuel Whitfeld and Isaac Boddington, and Edward Radcliffe, factors in Aleppo. Jacob, Giles. For the goods in importation and exportation, see *Lex Mercatoria: or, the Merchants' Companion, containing all the laws and statutes relating to merchandize*, 1718, pp. 9-10.

As for exportation by the family, in the Table 6, it can be seen that the Boddingtons exported textile materials, cloths, iron, tin, wire, sugar, and steel from the middle of the Anatolia, Aleppo, Cyprus, Acre and Smyrna with connection of Constantinople in the 18th century.

**Table 6:** Exports to Britain from Levant ports where Boddingtons were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Cyprus	Textile materials	
Aleppo – Scanderoon - Acre	Cloths	Iron
Aleppo – Scanderoon - Acre	Tin	Wire
Smyrna - Constantinople	Sugar	Steel <sup>58</sup>

Based on a brief summary of the data collected from the relevant archives regarding the Boddington family, the first result to be arrived at is the fact that the family was intensively engaged in commercial and financial activities from 1670s until the liquidation of the Levant Company. This condition secures the reality that in the presence of Levant Company, the Boddingtons were the family who did business in the longest-term. The family’s possession of such a rooted and broad business network provided numerous family members with the opportunity to participate in the management of the company. From our point of view, the Boddingtons were the only family who took

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<sup>58</sup> It was exported in very limited quantities.

part in almost all positions within the Levant Company administrative mechanism. The main argument of this thesis is that the 'Family Business' was in the downtrend after the Act of 1753 and that influenced negatively almost all Big-Wealthy Merchant Families in the Levant trade. In contrast, it can be said that the commercial operations of the Boddington Family, which can be seen from table 4, continued with the same intensity after the Act of 1753. The main reason for this was mutual trust within the Boddington family. The Boddington Family only traded with the help of their own family members with the help of 'family trust' in the 18th century. As a requirement of this, the Boddington Family always preferred to have a family member living in the Levant trade centres through the century. Due to their work experience, Levant business cultural accumulation of many years and broad networks, they consistently maintained this condition. They also stand out as the family whose members involved the greatest number of actors since they were quite active in Levant trade for an extended period of time. The family members played roles in all positions ranging from Company assistantship in London to the Bank of England Directorate and from consulate and vice consulate in all centres of Levant to chancellery and treasurership.

### **The Bosanquet Family**

The business operations of the Bosanquet family members in the Levant trade especially for the early 18th century are under-recognized because of the limited archival

documents. Eventhough the Bosenquet Family archival documents do exist<sup>59</sup>; they don't contain much information about business operations for the early years of the 18th century. According to the Levant Company records, the Bosanquets' business operations began for the first time with David Bosanquet's initiatives in Levant in 1710.<sup>60</sup> David Bosanquet was a Huguenot merchant; it was known he had fled France in 1686 to London, he was operating textiles commerce most importantly with broadcloth export to the Levant, Persia and India in the last decade of the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century.<sup>61</sup> When he was appointed as a Turkey (Levant) merchant in 1710, the Fawkener and Radcliffe Families were effective in commercial operations in the Levant trade in the meaning of textile materials from Aleppo in particular.<sup>62</sup>

David Bosanquet who was the first family member acting in the Levant trade was also influential in the biggest English financial corporations<sup>63</sup> in London. He became governor of the Royal Exchange Assurance in 1701. His position and financial-commercial networks led him to expand commercial activities in the Levant and East India in the first decades of the 18th century. Starting with David Bosanquet's initiatives, the enterprise of the Bosanquets through importation silk from Aleppo continued by means of his son

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<sup>59</sup> Bosanquet family records, in the Gwent Archives, the years with 1592-1593, and the period of 1736-1959, with references GB0218.D2184A and GB0218.D2184A.

<sup>60</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, p. 65, September 1710.

<sup>61</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 96.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>63</sup> We know that from footnote in work of Davis, "(...) of the 61 men described as Levant merchants in the 1740 London Guide, 19 were directors of the Bank of England, the South Sea Company, the Royal Exchange Assurance or the London Assurance - the biggest English financial corporations apart from the rival East India Company. Ibid., p. 73.

David (jun.) Bosanquet with Samuel and Claudius Bosanquet until the middle decades of the 18th century. According to the importation minutes of the Levant Company, the aforementioned three Bosanquet family members mostly operated silk and other raw textile materials businesses in Aleppo and Constantinople at that time.<sup>64</sup> As regards their share of total silk importation from Aleppo and other Ottoman centres, the Bosanquets controlled 15% overall.<sup>65</sup> Claudius Bosanquet intensively operated silk business-import from Aleppo with his brother Samuel Bosanquet I and David (jun.) Bosanquet in the years between 1735 and 1758. They also operated business in terms of commerce with goods of white silk, serges, mohair, broadcloth, coarsecloth and dyestuffs, and so on. According to the Turkey (Levant) merchant Mathew Kendrick's correspondence, white silk from Aleppo was a very good quality product and its importation to London was both popular and profitable.<sup>66</sup>

From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the eight different Bosanquet family members were associated with commercial and financial activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities.<sup>67</sup> The names of these eight members of the Boddington family, according to their duties in different institutions and companies with their dates of admission, were listed chronologically; David Bosanquet, David (jun.) Bosanquet,

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<sup>64</sup> TNA: SP 105/169, (Importation of Goods, 1730-1758) pp. 2-72.

<sup>65</sup> Ralph Davis gives the share number as a 8,3 % for just silk imports from Aleppo. See Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 60.

<sup>66</sup> TNA: C 108/414, p. 22-38, 1709-11. Also, see Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 143.

<sup>67</sup> The names of the Bosanquet family member merchants were compiled from The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

Samuel Bosanquet I, Claudius Bosanquet, Jacob Bosanquet I, Samuel Bosanquet II, William Bosanquet and Jacob Bosanquet II, for the period of 1710-1800.

**Table 7:** The Bosanquet Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>68</sup>

Name - Surname	Port and City	Year	Job - Duty
David Bosanquet <sup>69</sup> (1661-1732)	FM Aleppo	1701	Governor of the Royal Exchange Assurance
		1710	Founder of Bosanquet Business Enterprises in the Levant
David, (jun.) Bosanquet (son of David Bosanquet)	FM Aleppo	1721	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company (1722-1731)
	FM Aleppo	1723	Silk Merchant – Factor – Agent (1730-1735)
Samuel Bosanquet I (1700-1765) (brother of Claudius Bosanquet)	LT Aleppo	1721	Merchant, Factor of the Basquets.
	LT Aleppo	1732	Factor Mariner in Aleppo and at Scanderoon
Claudius Bosanquet (brother of Samuel Bosanquet I)	FM Aleppo <sup>70</sup>	1732	Silk Merchant – Factor – Agent, Factor Mariner

<sup>68</sup> TNA: SP 105/332 and SP 105/333.

<sup>69</sup> David Bosanquet, by origin a French Huguenot, had fled France in 1686 to London and appointed as a Turkey (Levant) merchant in 1710 according to the records. TNA: SP 105/332, p. 65, September 1710. Francois Crouzet, 'The Huguenots and the English Financial Revolution' in Patrice Higonnet et al (ed.) *Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth and Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 257; R. Brown, (2004, September 23). Whatman [née Bosanquet], Susanna (1753–1814), writer on household management. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 20 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-55398>.

<sup>70</sup> TNA: SP 105/169, (Importation of Goods, 1730-1758) pp. 55-72. Claudius Bosanquet operated silk business-import from Aleppo with his brother Samuel Bosanquet I and David (jun.) Bosanquet from 1735 to 1758 intensively.

Jacob Bosanquet I <sup>71</sup>	FM and ST <sup>72</sup> Cyprus	1740  1759	Ship-Owner <sup>73</sup> , Factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo  Director of the East India Company, (1759-1760) <sup>74</sup>
Samuel Bosanquet II <sup>75</sup> 1747-1806 (son of Samuel Bosanquet I, and Cousin of Jacob Bosanquet II)	FM	1765  1769  1771  1789  1791	Merchant and Banker  Deputy Director of the Levant Company <sup>76</sup>  Director of the Bank of England  Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, (1789-1791)  Governor of the Bank of England, (1791-1793)
William Bosanquet (brother and successor <sup>77</sup> of Samuel Bosanquet II)	FM Aleppo	1768	Merchant – Agent-Factor of the Bosanquet

<sup>71</sup> R. Brown, (2004, September 23). Whatman [née Bosanquet], Susanna (1753–1814), writer on household management. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 20 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-55398>.

<sup>72</sup> ST: Ship Trade. Jacob Bosanquet's ship named Anna Maria was operated by Thomas Shaw as a shipmaster in the commerce of Cyprus-Leghorn-London route.

<sup>73</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/3, 7 July 1760. The information of his ship listed following datas: "Commander: Thomas Shaw. Ship: Anna Maria. Burden: 300 tons. Crew: 50. Owners: Jacob Bosanquet of London, merchant. Home port: London. Lieutenant: James Carpenter. Gunner: John Emerson. Boatswain: Robert Percely Carpenter: Thomas Mountain. Cook: David Grigg. Surgeon: Thomas Jones. Armament: 20 carriage and 12 swivel guns. Folio: 4."

<sup>74</sup> C. H. and D. Philips. "Alphabetical List of Directors of the East India Company from 1758 to 1858" *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4 (1941), p. 328.

<sup>75</sup> Crouzet, 'The Huguenots and the English Financial Revolution', pp. 257-258; Gillian Darley, *John Soane: an accidental romantic* (New York: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 71, and 91.

<sup>76</sup> S. Skinner, (2006, May 25). Bosanquet, Samuel Richard (1800–1882), legal and religious writer. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 20 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2930>.

<sup>77</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1445/277, 18 July 1806. According to his will, he appointed his brother William with these notes: To my brother William Bosanquet and to William Manning of Teteridge in Hertfordshire £10,000 in the 3 per cent annuities, my wife to receive the dividends for life.

Jacob Bosanquet II <sup>78</sup> (Cousin of Samuel Bosanquet II)	FM	1777  1782	Turkey (Levant) Merchant  Director of the East India Company <sup>79</sup>
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After 1753, when the Act giving British merchants the unrestricted right to enter the Levant trade was passed by parliament, Bosanquet family members continued to be seen in different companies from West and East with their ships on different routes with different ports and centres. Also, they developed business networks with different merchants operating trade in different regions in the Levant serving as factors for them. Jacob Bosanquet I was Ship Owner from the mid of the 18th century<sup>80</sup>; he also was a merchant and factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo in starting from 1740, and finally he was associated with the East India Company as a director for two years (1759-1760)<sup>81</sup>. In this sense with broad business networks and activities, Jacob Bosanquet I had a very complicated links to the different region, ports and sectors in the 18th century. After joining the Levant trade organization, he ran the business of ship trade in the Levant seas. Jacob Bosanquet's ship named Anna Maria was operated by Thomas Shaw as a

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 328. He became director of the East India Company with dates of following: 1782-1783, 1785-1788, 1790-1793, 1795-1797, 1798, 1800-1802, 1805-1808, 1810-1811, 1812-1813, 1815-1818, 1820-1823. Also, see Jill Louise Geber, "The East India Company and southern Africa: A guide to the archives of the East India Company and the Board of Control, 1600-1858" *PhD Diss.* (University College London-University of London), 1998, p. 462.

<sup>79</sup> He operated and coordinated business between England and East India. Also, he organised and operated the commercial activities in Cape and New South Wales in Australia with correspondence Dundee in Scotland. Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>80</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/3, 7 July 1760.

<sup>81</sup> Philips, "Alphabetical List of Directors of the East India Company", p. 328.

shipmaster<sup>82</sup> in the commerce of Cyprus- Scanderon (İskenderun), Sardinia, and Leghorn-Genoa-Dover-London route from 1760 to 1765.<sup>83</sup> The route followed by Bosanquet's ship shows that the goods of Levant had some stop-over points in Leghorn and Genoa especially when travelling from Aleppo and Scanderon in the mid 18th century. From the commercial standpoint, Jacob Bosanquet I was active in the Levant trade by making use of his ship and his factors in Aleppo. For networking, his governor position in the East India Company allowed him to oversea and integrate his overall commercial activities. For instance, he was operating wool, spices and some Indian goods imported from India to Leghorn and London via Levant ports.<sup>84</sup> Also, in regard to the relationship between Jacob Bosanquet I and Richard Bosanquet, the latter has never become a Levant Merchant, but he was a member of the East India Company with Jacob Bosanquet I at the same time and they operated businesses together in that time. Richard became director of the East India Company serving two terms in 1768-1769, and again in 1771-1772.<sup>85</sup>

Samuel Bosanquet II, son of Samuel Bosanquet I, and cousin of Jacob Bosanquet II, became a famous banker and merchant in London after 1760.<sup>86</sup> He was an example of the broad networks of Bosanquets because of his links to the bankers and the Bank of

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<sup>82</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, 1757-1758, p. 199-231-287-309. He was also shipmaster of the ship named Matilda in Gibraltar-Smyrna-Levant trade.

<sup>83</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, 1760-1761, p. 225-231-287-309. <sup>83</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, 1762-1763, p. 55.

<sup>84</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, 1762-1763, p. 201.

<sup>85</sup> Philips, "Alphabetical List of Directors of the East India Company", p. 328.

<sup>86</sup> Crouzet, 'The Huguenots and the English Financial Revolution', pp. 257-258. Gillian Darley, *John Soane: an accidental romantic* (New York: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 71, and 91.

England in London. He became Deputy Director of the Levant Company<sup>87</sup> in 1769, became Director of the Bank of England in 1771, was appointed, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for the period of 1789-1791, and resumed his role as Governor of the Bank of England between 1791 and 1793.<sup>88</sup> Finally, Jacob Bosanquet II was a significant actor in the Bosanquet family especially for the business networks. He operated and coordinated business between England and East India. Also, he organised and operated the commercial activities in Cape Town (S. Africa) and New South Wales (Australia) in correspondence with Dundee in Scotland.<sup>89</sup> It is important to demonstrate the links and trade points of the Bosanquets in the end of the 18th century in terms of ports, cities and routes. Table 8 shows the trends of the Bosanquets' commercial operations contained many goods in importation related to the white silk, serges, mohair, and dyestuffs to Aleppo, Scanderoon, Smyrna and Cyprus.

**Table 8:** Imports to Britain from Levant in which Bosanquets had an active interest

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Cyprus	Wool	Cotton Yarn
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Raw Silks	Cotton Yarn
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Mohair and Its Yarn	Fruits
Tripoli - Egypt	Cotton - Goat-hair <sup>90</sup>	White Silks

<sup>87</sup> S. Skinner, (2006, May 25). Bosanquet, Samuel Richard (1800–1882), legal and religious writer. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 20 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2930>.

<sup>88</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Suare*, p. 226.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

As for exportation of the family, Table 9 indicates that Bosanquets exported broadcloth, coarse cloth goods, cloths, sugar, and spices to Aleppo, Cyprus, and Smyrna until the late 18th century.

**Table 9:** Exports from Britain to Levant in which Bosanquets had an active interest

<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>
Cyprus	Textile materials	
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Cloths	
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Spices	
Smyrna – Constantinople	Coarse Cloth Goods	Broadcloth
Smyrna – Constantinople	Luxury Goods	Broadcloth

Based on an evaluation of the Bosanquet family, we can argue that it is absolutely a merchant family. The activities of this family started in the early 18th century and continued until the end of the same century. Even though they do not date back as early as the Boddington family, commercial activities occupy the widest place in the business operations of the Bosanquet family. The family chose Aleppo as the commercial centre for itself both before and after 1753.<sup>91</sup> The Bosanquets, who focused almost all of their activities in Aleppo and its vicinity, were the only merchant family who engaged actively in different commercial centres besides the Levant trade. The most distinguishing

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<sup>91</sup> Before the Act of 1753, Aleppo was, in fact, the commercial epicentre of all other big merchant families. This frequent reference to Aleppo is due to its share in trading. Aleppo was the most significant centre of the period in the trading of textile raw materials in particular.

feature of this family is that they expanded its commercial activities to all corners of the world by means of the ships they owned after 1753. To our knowledge, commercial networks were more important than diplomatic networks for the Bosanquets. The Bosanquet family occupied a central position in Levant trade with this distinctive quality.

### **The Radcliffe Family**

The Radcliffe Family, descendent of Ralph Radcliffe (1519-1559) was a Lancastrian family settled in Hitchin-Hertfordshire. His descendents, using his savings in Hitchin started to do business in terms of commercial activities first inside England and later outside of the country. According to his will, he bequeathed several houses in Hitchin, a mill, and fields with a library in Hitchin, Herts.<sup>92</sup> His grandson Anthony Radcliffe became master of the Merchant Taylors' Company before 1600. He was also sheriff and alderman of London around that time.<sup>93</sup> The Radcliffe family members' business operations in the Levant trade with the membership of the Levant Company for the first time began with getting the right to trade (Liberty of Trade) in the Levant as Ralph Radcliffe was appointed as Freeman of the City of London, a prerequisite until 1753 of membership of the Levant Company in 1706. Starting from this date, the Radcliffe family expanded their trade volume in the Ottoman territory. In the period of 1720-1753, their share of trade,

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<sup>92</sup> HERT: DE/R/F2 (1558), Hitchin.

<sup>93</sup> J. Knowles, (2008, January 03). Moulson [née Radcliffe], Ann, Lady Moulson (1576–1661), benefactor. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 21 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-95062>.

especially in silk trade, reached 10-12 % of overall trade operations.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, the merchant networks of Radcliffes visibly expanded from the beginning of the 18th century to the middle of the century. According to the Radcliffes' account held in Hertfortshire, up to the year 1753, although they tied in only with their family members in the beginning, they had links and commercial business networks with great numbers of merchants in the Levant, India, and in the Britain later.<sup>95</sup> This relationship contained institutions of partnership, co-partnership stock among members of family only, apprenticeship, and factorage.<sup>96</sup> The use of factors in particular is the fundamental feature, which distinguishes the Radcliffe family from other Levantine families. However, the fact that the Radcliffes conducted their business through their own agent-factors without ever coming to Levant never affected their trading volume adversely. Also, they knew how to expand their commercial operations by establishing some regional<sup>97</sup> partnerships.

The Radcliffe family, from the last decades of the 17th century began to do business in clothworking, silk, and various commercial operations in Persian goods in the Levant, from Aleppo in particular. Apart from the consulate at Aleppo, there were constantly commercial representatives (apprentices and factors) associated with the family

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<sup>94</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>95</sup> DE/R/F115/1-14. Also, Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the 16th century to about 1860", pp. 11-22-34-38-39-41-43-51. See: [http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List\\_of\\_British\\_Consular\\_Officials\\_Turkey\(1581-1860\)-D\\_Wilson.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey(1581-1860)-D_Wilson.pdf)

<sup>96</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 66-70.

<sup>97</sup> These partnerships were mostly in question for Aleppo, Cairo and Syria ports.

merchants in London. Within this structure, it is seen that some apprentices gradually rose to the of agency level and took care of following managing the works. Thus, an overseas trade between the Levant and Britain was carried out with closer business networks based on 'mutual trust' and common interests in fact. Ralph & Edward Radcliffe had a co-partnership stock in the 1720-30s, and Edward & Arthur Radcliffe had the same co-partnership stock in the 1750s operating the silk trade in Levant centres such as Cyprus, Aleppo, and Smyrna.<sup>98</sup> For instance, on behalf of the Ralph & Edward Radcliffe, Peter Jackson<sup>99</sup> was appointed freeman for the Levant trade in Smyrna, and he was a shipmaster in 1710s and 1720s in a ship named 'Levant' for the silk trade in Scanderoon, Tripoli, Syria, and Aleppo via Cadiz, Gibraltar and Cyprus.<sup>100</sup> For the silk and Persian goods, caravan trade from the Persian Gulf, and Bagdad were important for the Radcliffe Family as for other British merchants in silk operations in the middle of the 18th century.<sup>101</sup>

By the 1730s, only Arthur Radcliffe of the Radcliffe family resided in Aleppo. He was probably the last representative of the Radcliffe Family who was in the Levant region before the Act of 1753. With his return to London in 1734, the need arose for an agent-factor to operate the business of the Radcliffes in the Levant. It was required because of

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>99</sup> Peter Jackson appointed as a freeman in the Levant trade with centre of Smyrna. LNA: SP 105/332, p. 111, 13 December 1723.

<sup>100</sup> HERT: DE/R/B293/35, 3 Oct - 4 Dec 1716.

<sup>101</sup> Mehmet Sait Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb" PhD Diss. (Istanbul University), 2014, p. 46.

the big amount of the businesses related to the Radcliffes in Aleppo, in particular.<sup>102</sup> Radcliffe's factors in Aleppo have followed the developments of the Persian wars according to reports from Baghdad, and they were trying to determine their positions in the silk market in particular. Using the factors caused business operating problems in the Levant for the Radcliffes. According to the records-accounts of Arthur Radcliffe, he was struggled to manage the Aleppo trade in silk importation due to operational problems.<sup>103</sup> Arthur Radcliffe ran the family business on the one hand while working on his own behalf on the other.<sup>104</sup> His residing in Levant was undoubtedly instrumental in his ability to juggle these two dimensions of his business simultaneously. In this context, according to the partnership institutions, the Radcliffes established a partnership in silk, mohair, goat, cotton and fruits trade in Aleppo with the Stratton Family. It was named the Radcliffe & Stratton Partnership in mid-18th century in Aleppo.<sup>105</sup> Richard Stratton was an influential merchant in Aleppo at that time. He was operating silk business from Aleppo, and selling British clothes in the market of Ottoman Syria and Cairo in the first decades of the 18th century. These partnerships were one of the methods of increasing the business volume of the Radcliffe family.

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<sup>102</sup> HERT: DE/R/B, 226/6, 8 July 1734 – 19 July 1734. Richard Stratton from Aleppo to Arthur Radcliffe in London in 1734.

<sup>103</sup> Christine Laidlaw, *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century* (London; New York: IB Tauris, 2010), p. 7.

<sup>104</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de", p. 125.

<sup>105</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Suare*, p. 76.

**Table 10:** The Information on the merchant Richard Stratton in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>106</sup>

Name - Surname	Port and City	Year	Job - Duty
Richard Stratton <sup>107</sup> (Partners of the Radcliffes) (The share holder of the Radcliffe & Stratton Partnership)	LT Aleppo	1726	Silk Merchant - Agent-Factor of the Radcliffes in Aleppo
	Smyrna	1734	Agent-Factor of the Radcliffes in Smyrna <sup>108</sup>
	Aleppo	1735	Partner with Radcliffes in Aleppo <sup>109</sup>

From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the eight different Radcliffe family members were associated with commercial activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities.<sup>110</sup> The names of these six members of the Radcliffe family according to their duties in different institutions and companies with their admitted dates were chronologically; Ralph Radcliffe, Edward Radcliffe, George Radcliffe, John Radcliffe, Arthur Radcliffe, and Ralph (jun.) Radcliffe for the period of 1710-1800.

<sup>106</sup> TNA: SP 105/332 and SP 105/333.

<sup>107</sup> The partnership was founded by Richard Stratton's father with Radcliffes in the Levant trade, especially in Aleppo.

<sup>108</sup> HERT: DE/R/B226/16, 15 - 24 Jan 1735.

<sup>109</sup> HERT: DE/R/B235/54, 3 - 19 Mar 1754.

<sup>110</sup> The names and the ports information of the Radcliffe family member merchants were compiled from The Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R) and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>110</sup> The names and the ports information of the Radcliffe family member merchants were compiled from The Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R) and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

**Table 11:** The Radcliffe Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>111</sup>

Name - Surname	Port and City	Year	Job - Duty
Ralph Radcliffe (1683-1739) (first grandson of Sir Ralph Radcliffe <sup>112</sup> ) (partnership with Edward Radcliffe)	LT Aleppo	1706	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company (1722-1731)  Founder of Radcliffes Business Enterprises in Levant
Edward Radcliffe (1687-1764) (second grandson of Sir Ralph Radcliffe)	LT Aleppo  Aleppo	1711  1717	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company (1711-1719)
George Radcliffe (1692-1741) (third grandson of Sir Ralph Radcliffe)	LT Aleppo	1718	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo (1711-1719)
John Radcliffe (1694-1742) (brother of Ralph-Edward, and George Radcliffe)	LT Aleppo	1719	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo (1719-1742) <sup>113</sup>
Arthur Radcliffe <sup>114</sup> (1695-1767) (brother of Ralph-Edward, George and John Radcliffe)	FM Aleppo	1720	Merchant – Agent-Factor of the Radcliffes in Aleppo (1720-1760) <sup>115</sup>
Ralph Radcliffe junior (1738-1760)	of London	1758	London Agent of the Radcliffes, (1758-1760) <sup>116</sup>

The striking point in the light of Table 11 is that although the Radcliffe family performed such great commercial activities, they withdrew from Levant trade after the

<sup>111</sup> The names and the ports information of the Radcliffe family member merchants were compiled from The Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R) and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>112</sup> Radcliffe Family Correspondence started from Edward Radcliffe (c1590 - 5 Oct 1660), but its essential part started Sir Ralph Radcliffe's (1633 - 15 Jul 1720) letters from 1700s. HERT: DE/R/C1-C13.

<sup>113</sup> His general operations contained the dates of 1714-1742. In Levant, business operations of him started from 1719. HERT: DE/R/C264/1-9. And DE/R/C265, "File of copy-letters (20 Sep 1739 - 2 Oct 1740)."

<sup>114</sup> He was probably the last representative of the Radcliffe Family who resided in the Levant region before the act of 1753.

<sup>115</sup> HERT: DE/R/C294/1-10. Also, HERT: DE/R/C285/1-7.

<sup>116</sup> HERT: DE/R/C314, 31 March 1758. Letter to Ralph Radcliffe, junior from his brother John Radcliffe, in Aleppo.

transformation following the year 1753. This situation should be interpreted as their reaction to Company's decision regarding liberalization. For the trade goods, Table 12 shows that Radcliffe's commercial operations contained goods in importation related to silk, Persian textiles, mohair, and dyestuffs to Aleppo, Scanderoon, Smyrna and Cyprus. According to the records and other sources, Aleppo was the prominent centre for the Radcliffe Family in the first half of the 18th century.

**Table 12:** Imports to Britain from Levant where Radcliffes were most active

<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>
Cyprus	Wool	Cotton Yarn
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Raw Silks	Persian Textiles
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Mohair Yarn	Fruits
Tripoli - Syria	Cotton	Silks

As for exportation, Table 13 indicates that the Radcliffes exported broadcloth, coarse cloth goods, cloths, sugar, and spices to Aleppo, Cyprus, and Smyrna until the 1760s.

**Table 13:** Exports from Britain to Levant where Radcliffes were most active

<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>
Cyprus	Textile materials	Luxury Goods
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Cloths	Cloths
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Spices	Broadcloth

The Radcliffe family is the family with the greatest number of private archive records among the merchant families belonging to Levant Company.<sup>117</sup> As can be seen from this rich trove of archival documents, the family who made greatest use of agent-factors in Levant trade is the Radcliffes. The Radcliffe family acquired commercial wealth by using dozens of agents around the principle of 'mutual trust' until the Act of 1753. Another method adopted by the Radcliffes who made extensive use of agents in Aleppo, Smyrna and Cyprus was establishing partnerships. In this way, they obtained the biggest share with the Fawkener family especially in the Aleppo trade. They also went on with their local trades in other areas of London or England by means of partnerships and agents, and allocated a certain part of their energy to places outside the Levant.<sup>118</sup> The fact that Arthur Radcliffe ran a business on his behalf too as he resided in Levant away from his brothers is a significant example of individual venture. Even though he returned to London later, he continued with his dealings in question due to the social and business network he established himself and kept track of his business in Levant by means of agents. In this way, the Radcliffes conducted business in the Transatlantic trade through partnerships again during 1720s and 1730s.<sup>119</sup> All these developments positioned the Radcliffes on the highest rank in the Levant and as the family with the biggest commercial business volume.

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<sup>117</sup> These archival records are held in The Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R).

<sup>118</sup> The Britain-wide commercial activities of the Radcliffe family can be followed from their own private archive documents again.

<sup>119</sup> HERT: DE/R/B329/50, 2 April 1729.

## The Fawkener Family

The Fawkener Family was a gentry family who resided in the Rutlandshire, county the East Midlands in England. The family business was based on the experience of William Fawkener's (1642-1716) business operations in London and outside of Britain in investments such as those made in the Levant trade. William Fawkener who was one of the leading members of the Levant Company<sup>120</sup> had ten children. His children's engagement in the family business started with his son Everard Fawkener in 1716. Before Everard Fawkener's initiatives, the Fawkener family business in the Levant was operated from London by means of Ralph and Kenelm Fawkener until the sending out of Everard Fawkener to Aleppo directly in 1716.<sup>121</sup>

From the second decade of the 18th century, Sir Everard Fawkener developed his family business in the Levant trade with his efforts in Aleppo, in particular. Aleppo was a centre for Fawkener's commercial activities in terms of importation or exportation of silk and cloth. Sir Everard Fawkener managed this commercial activity in Aleppo with his brothers Kenelm and Edward Fawkener. It was to improve a family business that the Fawkener

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<sup>120</sup> TNA: SP 105/109/285, 9 August 1694. (Folio 285. Lambert Blackwell to Sir Gabriel Roberts, Sir Jn Honblon, Sir Thomas Vernon, William Fawkener and Allen Jacobs in London [via Amsterdam], giving shipping news. Date and Place: 1694 Aug 9, Leghorn.)

<sup>121</sup> H. Mason, (2015, January 08). Fawkener, Sir Everard (1694–1758), merchant and diplomatist. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9228>.

brothers concentrated their efforts particularly on Aleppo.<sup>122</sup> On one hand, the Fawkener brothers were operating their own family business in field of textiles in Aleppo and Cyprus, but at the same time, they were key actors in representing other prosperous merchant families such as the Radcliffes and the Snellings.<sup>123</sup> This situation helped Fawkener family to start to increase their power in the Levant trade.

These commercial ventures of the Fawkener brothers began to grow more rapidly after Sir Everard Fawkener became ambassador to the Sublime Porte in Constantinople.<sup>124</sup> Sir Everard Fawkener's diplomatic mission led the Fawkener family to step forward among the merchant families in Aleppo in periods of 1720-1750.<sup>125</sup> This period was also the period when the Fawkener family and the Snelling family started their partnership in the silk and cloth trade. As a very profitable company, Snelling & Fawkener Company undertook to deliver Persian silk to Britain via Aleppo and Smyrna particularly by the 1730s.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> HERT: DE/R/B178, 24 February 1721. Letters from Everard Fawkener in Aleppo to George Radcliffe, in London about the silk trade of Levant via Leghorn port. HERT: DE/R/B336, 10 January 1730. Letters from Edward Fawkener in Aleppo to John Radcliffe, in London.

<sup>123</sup> HERT: DE/R/B29/3, 8 June 1717. Letters from Samuel Palmer, in Cyprus to Kenelm & Everard Fawkener in Aleppo. And Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 244.

<sup>124</sup> TNA: SP 105/109/293, 19 August 1735. (Appointing Everard Fawkener to be Ambassador to the Grand Signor in his place.)

<sup>125</sup> Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, p. 33. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 2. Also, see Mark Casson, *The emergence of international business 1200-1800* (London: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>126</sup> H. Mason, (2015, January 08). Fawkener, Sir Everard (1694–1758), merchant and diplomatist. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9228>.

Moreover, we see that the Fawkener family became active in the London financial sector after 1730. William Fawkener II was an active and influential banker in London at that time. While William II was acting as a Levant merchant in the Levant silk trade operations of the Fawkener family business, he also became governor of the Bank of England in 1743 having previously served as the Bank's Deputy Governor at the start of the 1740s.<sup>127</sup> The fact that the Fawkeners emerged as important actors in the Britain financial markets was undoubtedly facilitated the family business of the Fawkener family. At this point, a question emerges - was their leadership in the financial sector the result [and a by-product of] their business success, or did they owe their success in business to the access of family members to capital through banking contacts? Just as the appointment of Everard Fawkener as ambassador in Istanbul in 1735 helped the family to expand its business interests in the Levant, William II's rise to a prominent position in London provided a similar boost to the family's commercial interests in the 1730s. In my opinion, it was the interlinked interests of the family with a foot in finance, politics and access to the corridors of power in London that enhanced and further promoted their commercial fortunes.

Family fortune led to and was a necessary precondition for their rise to prominence in the political and financial fields, but the family's greatest successes commercially came after key members of the family gained access to political and financial networks that

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<sup>127</sup> <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people/governors> (22.08.2018).

served to further enhance their family’s fortunes in the commercial sphere. These were mutually reinforcing spheres of “influence” which well-placed family members could seek to exploit in order to support and to expand their business interests in the Levant and elsewhere. With these features, I believe that the Fawkener family members played the most prominent role in their business success in both share of imports from Levant and diplomatic-financial influence in the Levant and Britain before the Act of 1753.

**Table 14:** The Snelling Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the first decades of the 18th Century<sup>128</sup>

<b>Name - Surname</b>	<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Job - Duty</b>
William Snelling	Aleppo	1705	Turkey (Levant) Merchant (silk and cloth merchant)
William (jun.) Snelling	Aleppo	1703	Turkey (Levant) Merchant (silk and cloth merchant)
Thomas Snelling	Aleppo	1715	Merchant and Representative of the Snelling & Fawkener Company

From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the eight different Fawkener family members were associated with commercial activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities with aforementioned prominent features.<sup>129</sup> In the Table 15, the names of these six members of the Fawkener family according to their duties in different

<sup>128</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, pp. 48-73. (The dates of 4 March 1703, 7 June 1705 and 28 April 1715.)

<sup>129</sup> The names and the ports information of the Fawkener family member merchants were compiled from The Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R) and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

institutions and companies with their admitted dates were chronologically; Ralph Fawkener, William Fawkener I, Kenelm Fawkener, Edward Fawkener, Everard Fawkener, Edward Fawkener II, and William Fawkener II for the period of 1710-1800.

**Table 15:** The Fawkener Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>130</sup>

Name - Surname	Port and City	Year	Job - Duty
William Fawkener I <sup>131</sup> (1642–1716) (Everard Fawkener's father)	LT Aleppo	1680	Turkey (Levant) Merchant (silk and cloth merchant)
		1710	He was one of the leading members of the Levant Company
Ralph Fawkener	LT Aleppo	1705	Merchant of the Levant Company
Kenelm Fawkener (son of William Fawkener I)	LT Aleppo	1714	Merchant of the Levant Company
	Aleppo	1719	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo
Sir Everard Fawkener <sup>132</sup> (1694-1758) (son of William Fawkener I)	Aleppo	1716	First coming to Aleppo for family business
	FM Aleppo	1725	Influential Merchant in Levant, Aleppo-Constantinople with his brothers, (1725-1758) <sup>133</sup>
Edward Fawkener (son of William Fawkener I)	LT Aleppo	1716	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo
	LT Aleppo	1719	Merchant of the Levant Company
	Aleppo	1732	ditto

<sup>130</sup> The names and the ports information of the Fawkener family member merchants were compiled from Llyods Lists and Register Books, 1753-1755 List and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/154 and TNA: SP 105/332-333. HERT: DE/R/B series.

<sup>131</sup> H. Mason, (2015, January 08). Fawkener, Sir Everard (1694–1758), merchant and diplomatist. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 21 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9228>.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> HERT: DE/R/C314, 31 March 1758. Letter to Ralph Radcliffe, junior from his brother John Radcliffe, in Aleppo.

William Fawkener II (son of William Fawkener I)	London	1743	Governor of the Bank of England (1743-1745) <sup>134</sup>
	LT Constantinople	1744	Turkey (Levant) Merchant

Fawkeners commercial operations contained goods in importation related to the silk, Persian textile materials, and dyestuffs from Aleppo, Scanderoon, Smyrna and Cyprus, shown in Table 16 below.

**Table 16:** Imports to Britain from the Levant where Fawkeners were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Cyprus	Wool	Cotton Yarn
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Raw Silks	Persian Silks -Textiles
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Dyestuffs	Fruits (limited)
Tripoli – Syria	Cotton	Silks

As for exportation of the family, Fawkeners exported goods, which were seen in Table 17. They exported cloths, sugar, and spices to Aleppo, Acre and Cyprus in the middle of the 18th century.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>134</sup> <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people/governors> (22.08.2018).

<sup>135</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 60, 244-245.

**Table 17:** Exports from Britain to the Levant where Fawkeners were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Cyprus	Textile materials	Luxury Goods
Aleppo – Scanderoon -Acre	Cloths	Cloths
Aleppo – Scanderoon - Acre	Spices	Broadcloth

### **The Vernon Family**

The Vernon family was an influential family one branch of which resided in Westminster, London. Political-naval figures from this branch of the family gained prominence in London from the middle of the 17th century to the 18th century. The Vernons were more commonly known as naval officers, victuallers, captains and sailors according to the biographies of their ancestors.<sup>136</sup> James Vernon (1646-1727), the father of first Levant trader Edward Vernon (1684-1757), was a government official of Covent Garden and politician in Britain. He was also prominent figure as a private secretary of the Duke of Monmouth (1672–83) and he was appointed under-secretary and later secretary of state (1697–1702) to William III in the late 17th century and first decade of the 18th century.<sup>137</sup> Francis Vernon (1637-1677), the brother of James Vernon, was also a diplomat and statesman well versed in the languages of Europe and having knowledge also of the culture of the Orient.<sup>138</sup> As a student of the famous orientalist Edward Pococke, and by

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<sup>136</sup> <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/vernon-james-1646-1727>.

<sup>137</sup> R. Harding, (2008, January 03). Vernon, Edward (1684–1757), naval officer. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28237>.

<sup>138</sup> A term used for the countries of the East, especially the Near East.

the reason of his thorough knowledge of different cultures and languages, James Vernon carried out several official diplomatic missions in the countries of Europe. Moreover, he travelled to the Levant, Persia, and the other regions of the East.<sup>139</sup> That is why he was the first member of Vernon Family to visit the Levant in the late 17th century. He reached Smyrna in 1676 for observation of the Orient. From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the nine different Vernon family members were associated with commercial activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities.<sup>140</sup> The names of these nine members of the Vernon family according to their duties in different institutions and companies with their admitted dates listed chronologically: Edward Vernon, George Vernon, Charles Vernon, Thomas Vernon, James Vernon, Edward Vernon II, Thomas Phillipps Vernon, and Thomas Vernon II for the period of 1697-1800.

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<sup>139</sup> D. Sturdy, (2008, January 03). Vernon, Francis (bap. 1637, d. 1677), traveller and diplomat. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28239>.

<sup>140</sup> The names and the ports information of the Vernon family member merchants were compiled from The Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R) and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

**Table 18:** The Vernon Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>141</sup>

Name - Surname	Port and City	Year	Job - Duty
Edward Vernon <sup>142</sup> (1684–1757)	FM Smyrna	1697	Naval Officer (of <i>Jersey</i> , <i>Assistance</i> , and <i>Mary</i> <sup>143</sup> )
George Vernon	FM Aleppo	1703	Merchant of the Levant Company
Charles Vernon	LT Aleppo	1705	Merchant of the Levant Company
	Aleppo	1716	Agent-Factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo
Thomas Vernon I	FM Aleppo	1716	Turkey (Levant) Merchant
James Vernon	LT Aleppo	1720	Turkey (Levant) Merchant
		1728	
Edward Vernon II	LT Cairo	1735	Turkey (Levant) Merchant
	LT Latakia	1743	
John Vernon	LT Cairo	1743	Turkey (Levant) Merchant
Thomas Vernon II <sup>144</sup>	LT Aleppo	1754	Merchant of the Levant Company

<sup>141</sup> The names and the ports information of the Vernon family member merchants were compiled from Llyods Lists and Register Books, 1753-1755 List and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155 and TNA: SP 105/332-333. HERT: DE/R/B series.

<sup>142</sup> R. Harding, (2008, January 03). Vernon, Edward (1684–1757), naval officer. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from:  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28237>.

<sup>143</sup> Vessel and ship names.

<sup>144</sup> He was married with the daughter of Vice Consul Daniel Boumeester of Latakia. Abdul-Karim Mahmud Gharaybeh, *English traders in Syria 1744-1791* Phd Diss. School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), 1950, pp. 205-206. Alastair, Hamilton, Alexander Hendrik de Groot, and Maurits H. Van Den Boogert, (eds.), *Friends and Rivals in the East: Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Levant from the Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 14 (London: Brill, 2000), p. 190.

Thomas Phillipps Vernon <sup>145</sup>	LT Aleppo	1743	Merchant of the Levant Company
	Latakia	1751	Treasurer of the Levant Company Factor-Agent of the Vernon Company in Latakia
	FLC Latakia	1755-57	Vice Consul of the Levant Company in Latakia
	VC Latakia (Lazkiye)	1765	Vice Consul of the Holland <sup>146</sup>
	VC Latakia (Lazkiye)	1765	Consul and Vice Consul of the Levant Company in Latakia (1765 and 1767)
	C Latakia	1767	

Apart from this voyage, the Vernon family members' business operations in the Levant trade with the membership of the Levant Company for the first time began with getting the right to trade (Liberty of Trade) in the Levant as Edward Vernon was appointed as Freeman of the Levant Company in 1697.<sup>147</sup> From this date, the Vernon family expanded their trade volume in the Ottoman territory with other family members' initiatives and operations.<sup>148</sup> Due to the initiatives of James Vernon, the Vernon family business was mainly centralized in Ottoman Syria particularly in Latakia, Acre, Aleppo and Scanderoon port after the 1720s. After 1730, Latakia, Cairo and Aleppo became a point of purchase for Vernon family business in the middle of the 18th century. Edward Vernon II, John

<sup>145</sup> He has a partnership with Edward Purnell in Tripoli, Latakia and Aleppo. TNA: SP/110/74, 2 August 1762.

<sup>146</sup> <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/schutte/#page=381&accessor=toc&source=2>. p. 359. I am grateful to Mehmet Ceylan for helping to read this Dutch source.

<sup>147</sup> TNA: SP 105/155, p. 419.

<sup>148</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, pp. 48, 49, 82, 100, 134, 161, 177. TNA: SP 105/333, pp. 24-25.

Vernon, Thomas Phillipps Vernon, and Thomas Vernon II operated their businesses in Latakia and Aleppo mostly.

In the period of 1720-1753, their share of trade, especially in silk trade, reached 10 % of overall trade operations in Aleppo.<sup>149</sup> According to the customs account in Kew, Levant Company merchants operated commercial businesses in English cloths, and other English manufactured materials with importation of silk, raw materials, dyestuffs and some fruits. These accounts show that, until 1753, textile raw materials reached 75 % of aggregate imports of the Levant Company merchants from Ottoman ports and centres.<sup>150</sup> It means that for the Aleppo and Latakia with their hinterlands, silk importation was the dominant element of the Levant Company merchants' operation, and it was the explanation for the Vernons interest in the region of Syria.

Although the Vernons ran a business only in Ottoman Syria, they had links and commercial business networks between silk merchants who operated in Aleppo and Latakia and merchants based in regions outside of these centres such as Cairo and Tripoli. After 1735, Edward Vernon II started to reside in Cairo in order to keep the silk market active with his brother John Vernon.<sup>151</sup> Apart from the silk trade, cotton, drugs and chemical materials such as senna was part of the Cairo trade for the Levant Company

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<sup>149</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>150</sup> TNA: CUST 3/4-82 AND CUST 17/1-21. The numbers and percentage of importation accounted from these Custom Books. For further information on trade balance and goods, see Chapter 2.

<sup>151</sup> TNA: C 11/114/6, 1735. Letters demonstrate the importance of the silk trade emanating from Cairo. And TNA: SP 105/216.

merchants even though on a smaller scale than Aleppo.<sup>152</sup> For the Latakia trade, Thomas Phillipps Vernon was a prominent actor who was 'merchant of the Levant Company' starting from 1743 and became 'treasurer of the Levant Company' in 1751. After 1751, he was acting factor-agent of the Levant Company in Latakia in period of 1755-57, and appointed 'Vice Consul of the Levant Company' in Latakia in 1765. Lastly, he became Consul of the Levant Company in Latakia in 1767. Besides, in 1765, he became 'Vice Consul for Holland' in accordance with his efforts in the silk trade in Latakia and Aleppo.<sup>153</sup> From the second decade of the 18th century, Thomas Phillipps Vernon developed his family business in the Levant trade with his efforts in Latakia in particular. The most significant person in the Ottoman Syria trade in every sense at that time was this member of the Vernon family. Latakia was a centre for the Vernons' commercial activities in terms of importation or exportation of silk, dyestuffs and cloth. Thomas Phillipps Vernon was managing this commercial activity in Latakia with his partners, merchants of the Levant Company, and his own family members. He had a partnership with Edward Purnell in Tripoli, Latakia and Aleppo.<sup>154</sup>

Briefly summarizing, we see that the Vernon family was operating commercial operations of raw silk and woven woolens through Aleppo, Latakia and Cairo from the

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<sup>152</sup> Albert Howe Lybyer, "The Ottoman Turks and the routes of Oriental trade." *The English Historical Review* 30: 120, 1915, p. 581. Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, Volume 3, Suraiya N. Faroqhi (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 298. Lybyer, Albert Howe. "The Ottoman Turks and the routes of Oriental trade" *The English Historical Review* 30: 120 (1915), pp. 577-588.

<sup>153</sup> <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/schutte/#page=389&accessor=toc&source=2>, p. 359. Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, p. 207.

<sup>154</sup> TNA: SP 110/74, 2 August 1762.

end of the 17th century, when the Vernon family began to appear actively in business in the Levant trade. This trade was profitable for the first half of the 18th century, and since the 1750s, its profitability began to decrease. Nevertheless, the most important feature of the Vernon Family was that they did not stop exporting British woolen woven products to the Egyptian market via Cairo even after the 1753 Act. Although there were only nine English merchants in Cairo in 1749-1750, British woven woolen products were considered important because of the fact that they were luxury goods in the Cairo market.<sup>155</sup> Besides, there were also some goods such as coffee, saffron, and gallnut were importable from the markets of Egypt and Latakia at that time.<sup>156</sup> Accordingly, the ports of Latakia and Cairo were the most important commercial centres for the Vernon family in the 18th century with their factors and partners. The Vernon family who continued their business after 1753 owed these activities of theirs to the active Egyptian market. The reason why the Vernons insisted on Levant trade contrary to other big merchant families stemmed from the fact that the products in Egyptian market were not of the same quality as those found in Ottoman Syria.

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<sup>155</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>156</sup> HERT: DE/R/B, 226/10, 24 September 1734 - 24 October 1734. "Letters from Richard Stratton, in Aleppo to Arthur Radcliffe on gallnut imports." SP 110/29, s. 24, 6 May 1701. HERT: DE/R/B226/105, 15 August 1740 - 13 September 1740. "Letters from Richard Stratton, in Aleppo to Arthur Radcliffe on coffee importation." Moreover, information of amount related to the gallnut importation can be seen in Aleppo registers. See KR: AR 5/86-87, p. 188, (25 January 1743) and KR: AR 1/257-258, p. 467, (November 1749); Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaretve Haleb", p. 55.

Table 19 shows that the Vernons commercial operations contained goods in importation related to the Silk, Persian textile materials, balsam, senna leaf, gum, gall, coffee, sallarmoniac and dyestuffs from Aleppo, Scanderoon, Latakia and Cairo.

**Table 19:** Imports to Britain from the Levant where Vernons were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Latakia	Silk - Sallarmoniac	Cotton
Aleppo	Raw Silks	Persian Silks -Textiles
Aleppo	Dyestuffs - Coffe	Fruits (limited)
Cairo	Balsam - Gall	Senna Leaf <sup>157</sup>
Cairo	Coffe	Sallarmoniac

As for exportation of the family, in the Table 20, the Vernons exported cloths, sugar, and spices to Aleppo, Acre and Latakia from the 1730s to the end of the 18th century.<sup>158</sup>

**Table 20:** Exports from Britain to the Levant where Vernons were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Latakia	Textiles	Luxury Goods
Aleppo – Scanderoon –Acre - Latakia	Cloths	Sugar
Aleppo – Scanderoon – Acre - Latakia	Spices	Broadcloth

<sup>157</sup> Senna leaf is a shrubby plant and it is a useful cathartic in medicine coming from Northern part of Egypt.

<sup>158</sup> C. H. Kaufmann, *The Dictionary of Merchandize and Nomenclature*, Fourth Edition, (London: 1815), pp. 42, 165-166, 301.

Diversification of interests into the Egyptian sphere where they had access to coffee from Yemen and other goods not available in large quantity in Syria is interesting in terms of a strategy for survival in periods when the trade with the Levant ports slowed down. The versatility and adaptability of this family to changing market conditions and consumer preferences is perhaps one reason for their commercial success. For the other reason of commercial success of the Vernon Family was related to the focusing a few goods importation. It means the specialization was chosen by the Vernons at that time.

### **The March Family**

The March family members' business operations in the Levant trade with the membership of the Levant Company for the first time began with the acquisition of the right to trade (Liberty of Trade) in Smyrna, Levant of by Henry March, cloth merchant, in 12 December 1706.<sup>159</sup> Starting from this date, March family expanded their trade volume in the Ottoman territory, especially in Aleppo, which was the most important centres for silk trade in the 18th century. In the period 1731-1736, their share of trade, especially in silk trade, reached 9.5 % of overall silk trade operations from Aleppo.<sup>160</sup> Aleppo was the primary commercial centre preferred by the March family as was the case with other families too. Moreover, the merchant networks of the Marchs expanded from the

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<sup>159</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, p. 49. "LT at Smyrna for John March, the Levant Company merchant."

<sup>160</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 60-61.

beginning of the 18th century to the middle of the century because of their choice to be domiciled in the cities of the Levant. As we know from archival documents of the Levant Company and correspondence of the merchant families within different private archives, merchant families operating in the Levant spent some years in the Levant directly and ran the factory with particular regard to their family businesses until the Act of 1753.<sup>161</sup> According to the account of the Marches found in Kew, until 1753, although they tied in only with their own family members in the beginning, they had links and commercial business networks with a great numbers of merchants in the Levant, India, and later on, in Britain.<sup>162</sup> These relationships took the following forms: partnership, co-partnership stock among members of family only, apprenticeship, and factorage.<sup>163</sup>

From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the three different March family members were associated with commercial activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities.<sup>164</sup> Table 21 indicates that the names of these three members of the March family according to their duties in different institutions and companies with their dates of admission listed chronologically: Henry March, John March, and Thomas March for the first half of the 18th century.

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<sup>161</sup> According to Ralph Davis, "Two-thirds of all the men who entered the Levant Company between 1714 and 1753 had previously been in the Levant." *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>162</sup> DE/R/F115/1-14. Also, Wilson, "List of British Consular Officials", pp. 11-22-34-38-39-41-43-51.

<sup>163</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 66-70.

<sup>164</sup> The names and the ports information of the Vernon family member merchants were compiled from The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

**Table 21:** The March Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>165</sup>

<b>Name – Surname</b>	<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Job - Duty</b>
Henry March	LT Smyrna	1706	Turkey (Levant) Cloth Merchant (silk and cloth merchant)
	Aleppo	1718	Agent-Factor of the March Company in Aleppo
John March <sup>166</sup>	LT Smyrna	1709	Merchant of the Levant Company
	Aleppo	1728	Agent-Factor of the March Company in Aleppo
Thomas March	LT Smyrna	1717	Merchant of the Levant Company
	Aleppo	1733	Agent-Factor of the March Company in Aleppo

For the silk trade, even though the family members of the Marches had some troubles in shipping from the mid 18th century<sup>167</sup> and faced fears of infection on Levant ships coming from Smyrna and Scanderoun (İskenderun in Turkish) to London,<sup>168</sup> they continued to operate their trade in raw silk and woolens from Scanderoun through

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<sup>165</sup> The names and the ports information of the March family member merchants were compiled from Llyods Lists and Register Books, 1753-1755 List and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/332-333. HERT: DE/R/B series.

<sup>166</sup> LMA: CLC/B/227-128.

<sup>167</sup> TNA: ADM 106/1083/166, 24 May 1750. "Henry John Thomas March, London. The Thames with bales of silk from Turkey is now at Woolwich. The Master Attendant will not allow her to stay there to lighten and asks for permission."

<sup>168</sup> TNA: SP 36/56/111, Folio 111, 1741 June 15. "Henry March to Andrew Stone that news of an infection on board ships coming from Smyrna is untrue; and he encloses copies of letters from Willoughby Marchant, Master of the Thames and John Jolly, Master of the Dellawarr."

Aleppo, Latakia and Cairo with ships to London-Gravesend<sup>169</sup> via Leghorn, Port Mahone,<sup>170</sup> the Downs,<sup>171</sup> and to Plymouth, from 1741 to the 1760s.<sup>172</sup> Also there were some British ships carrying goods from Cyprus, Smyrna, Scanderoon and Latakia to some ports of France, Italy, and Holland such as Marseille, Sicily, Genoa, and Amsterdam before 1753.<sup>173</sup> The trade with so many different ports and commercial centres in Europe shows that the Marches' silk trade from Scanderoon, and Smyrna through Aleppo, Basra and Anatolia was efficient and well suited to maximize their business interests. This trade remained profitable for the first half of the 18th century, and from the 1750s-1760s its profitability has continued as before. However, the silk business started to falter after 1767 according to Lloyds List and Registers for all British merchants in Cairo, Latakia, Aleppo and Scanderoon. We can state that the March family withdrew from Levant trade before this change took place.

According to Table 22, The Marches commercial operations contained goods in importation related to the silk, Persian textile materials, goatswool, mohair, cotton wool,

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<sup>169</sup> Gravesend is an ancient town in northwest Kent, England, situated 21 miles (35 km) east-southeast of Charing Cross central London. It was a custom centre of ships coming from abroad.

<sup>170</sup> Mahone Port (Mao Island) is a part of The Balearic Islands of Spain in nowadays, in the western Mediterranean Sea.

<sup>171</sup> "The Downs are a roadstead or area of sea in the southern North Sea near the English Channel off the east Kent coast, between the North and the South Foreland in southern England.

<https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/38719/england-south-east-coast-the-downs-compiled-from-th-british-admiralty>.

<sup>172</sup> See Lloyds Lists and Register Books, 1741-1769 Lists, pp. 89-103-105-363. The Vernon family ship used by the March Family was named Vernon and the other ships with their names are given Thames, St. Francisca, Stambolen, Henry & Mary, Matilda, Bantry Bay, Barbados Packet, Levant, Delawarr, Tigris, The Fame, Susanna, Bosphorus, Hope, and The Anna listed from aforementioned and cited Lloyds Lists.

<sup>173</sup> Lloyds Lists and Register Books, 1741-1744 Lists, pp. 291-309-361.

and dyestuffs from Aleppo, Scanderoon, Smyrna and Cyprus through Anatolia, Persian regions, and Basra.<sup>174</sup>

**Table 22:** Imports to Britain from the Levant where Marchs were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Aleppo – Anatolia(Angora)	Mohair	Goatswool
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Raw Silks	Persian Silks -Textiles
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Dyestuffs	Woolen

As for exportation of the family, in Table 23, Marchs exported cloths, sugar, and spices to Aleppo, Acre and Cyprus in the middle of the 18th century.<sup>175</sup>

**Table 23:** Exports from Britain to the Levant where Marchs were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Cyprus	Textile materials	Luxury Goods
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Cloths	Cloths
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Spices	Broadcloth

<sup>174</sup> DRO: D5369/62/3, Jul 1733-Jan 1742. (Derbyshire Record Office) “General ledger of a cloth-merchant’s business Mentions trade in goatswool, mohair, cotton wool and silk from the Middle East and Europe. Nominal ledger mostly arranged by transactions with Henry, John and Thomas March [B, C and D accounts], and with William and Samuel Phillipps, and by ship; also includes profit/loss and expense accounts, Jul 1733-Jan 1742.

<sup>175</sup> DRO: D5369/62/3, Jul 1733-Jan 1742.

The superior status of the March family members in the silk trade in Aleppo expanded their network with other European ports as well. In other words, expanding links with Europe was an important element in the success of the Marches. Their trading activities took place in the most important commercial ports of Europe. The textile raw materials they sent from the Levant to Britain were transported by means of ships calling at significant European ports. The members of the March family who bought and purchased goods at the ports along the routes followed by these ships made use of the Vernon family's ships in these operations.<sup>176</sup> In this respect, it can be stated that they held an operational partnership with the Vernon family. Another outstanding accomplishment of the family is the fact that they got a member of theirs elected as the deputy governor of the Company due to this network they had developed between Europe and Levant trade. John March went back to London following his commercial activities in Levant and went on with his business investments in London. He was performing the duty of deputy governor at the Company during the 1760s.<sup>177</sup> This success is, in fact, directly related to his knowledge of business practice in Levant as he lived in the Levant beforehand. Accordingly, it can simply be argued that the March family directed the Levant Company policies both as merchants and administrators.

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<sup>176</sup> Before 1744, the ships to be used in trading in the Levant were determined by the administration of the company. Hence, big merchant families and individual merchants did not have much choice. However, the March family mostly used the ships of the Vernon family for trading. See Llyods Lists and Register Books, 1741-1769 Lists, pp. 89-103-105-363.

<sup>177</sup> WSRO: PHA/35, 1763-1765. "1763 (with signatures); from John March, deputy governor of the Levant Company about quarantine regulations in regard to ships coming from Turkey." (West Sussex Record Office)

## The Lock Family

The Lock family members' business operations in the Levant trade with the membership of the Levant Company for the first time began with Sir John Lock's getting the right to trade (Liberty of Trade) in Smyrna, Levant, as a cloth merchant, on 12 August 1701.<sup>178</sup> Starting from this date, the Lock family like the Fawkeners and the Marches expanded their trade volume in the Ottoman territory, especially in Aleppan silk trade in the early 18th century. In the period of 1700-1742, they shared silk trade with aforementioned families in Aleppo.<sup>179</sup> The result might appear as if almost all families performed activities in Aleppo during that time and they did not engage in business anywhere else. However, the real situation is not exactly like this. Our knowledge of the families' engagement in silk trade explains why this condition looks the way it is. Aleppo was the most important centre of silk trade within Levant region especially in the 18th century. Despite this reality, we have already stated above that these families had both commercial and financial relations directly with Constantinople and Smyrna.

Moreover, the merchant networks of Lock Family expanded with the nephews<sup>180</sup> of Sir John Lock especially in Aleppo. The nephews, Charles and James Lock, operated a silk business in Aleppo from the first decades of the 18th century to the 1740s. The Liberty

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<sup>178</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, 19 March 1701, p. 49. "LT at Smyrna for John March, the Levant Company merchant."

<sup>179</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>180</sup> Charles and James Lock were nephew of the first Merchant, Sir John Lock, from Lock Family in the Levant trade.

of trade right was given to them respectively in 1705 and 1711.<sup>181</sup> According to archival documents, Charles and James Lock operated a cloth business from their house which was located in Aleppo until the mid of the 18th century. Thus, they lived in Aleppo as actors in the Levant trade in order to maximize their profits from the silk and cloth business with connections to other merchant communities in the Ottoman Empire. From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the three different Lock family members were associated with commercial activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities.<sup>182</sup> In Table 24, the names of these three members of the Lock family according to their duties in different institutions and companies with their admitted dates were chronologically; Ralph Lock, William Lock I, and Kenelm Lock for the first decades of the 18th century.

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<sup>181</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, pp. 48, 59.

<sup>182</sup> The names and the ports information of the Vernon family member merchants were compiled from The Hertfortshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R) and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>182</sup> The names and the ports information of the Lock family member merchants were compiled from The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/332. HERT: DE/R/B series.

**Table 24:** The Lock Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>183</sup>

<b>Name - Surname</b>	<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Job – Duty</b>
Sir John Lock <sup>184</sup> (????-1746) (Uncle of Charles and James Lock)	FM Aleppo	1701	Cloth Merchant and Founder of Radcliffes Business Enterprises in Levant
Charles Lock (nephew of Sir John Lock)	FM Aleppo	1705	Turkey (Levant) Merchant (silk and cloth merchant)
James Lock (nephew of Sir John Lock)	FM Aleppo	1711	Merchant of the Levant Company

Their business networks spread into wide scope in terms of brokering, borrowing money and related commercial activities. That is why they had networks with merchant families like Radcliffes from Hitchin and London, Fawkeners-Marches from Aleppo and Jewish silk merchants in Ottoman Syria.<sup>185</sup> Charles Lock and Arthur Radcliffe had a partnership in terms of doing silk trade from Aleppo to London before the beginning of 1740s. Even though the members of Lock family tried to expand their networks in business operations in Aleppo, they had some problems with their partners outside of the Levant region like Radcliffes. Arthur Radcliffe and Charles Lock had a dispute because of the prices of raw silk and mohair in 1735. In case of this dispute, they tried to solve the problem in accordance with arbitration of Peter Shaw, another merchant who got the right to trade

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<sup>183</sup> The names and the ports information of the Lock family member merchants were compiled from The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/332. HERT: DE/R/B series.

<sup>184</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, 1967, p. 244.

<sup>185</sup> HERT: DE/R/B294/27, 19 Mar 1718.

and resided in Aleppo,<sup>186</sup> and appointed him as an arbitrator in 22 May 1735.<sup>187</sup> Another dispute arose between Charles Lock and Jewish silk merchants in 1718 on silk trade in Aleppo. According to the memorandum of Charles Lock on commercial relations with Jewish merchants in Aleppo, he was condemned by the court of John Purnell,<sup>188</sup> British Consul at Aleppo, for contravention of the prohibition on trading with them in terms of silk products in force at that time.<sup>189</sup>

In discussions made by Levant Company merchants before the 1753 Act, Levant merchants were trying to prevent Levant trade from becoming accessible to a larger number of other British merchants. One of the arguments of the merchants was that if a large number of British merchants became involved in the Levant trade, it would help Jewish traders to go one-step ahead in trade competition. It can be said that Jewish merchants were in an advantageous position because of their being local habitants of the Ottoman Empire. However, it was not an enough reason for British merchants to refrain from transacting business with Jewish merchants in the silk trade. It is obvious that this was an excuse, which was pleaded by the Levant Company merchants who feared losing their trade monopoly in Levant.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, p. 130, 17 May 1727.

<sup>187</sup> HERT: DE/R/B356/16, 22 May 1735.

<sup>188</sup> He was a Levant merchant and British Levant Company consul in the period of 1716-1726 with Dutch consulate from 1717 to 1727. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 255. Also, see: <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/schutte/#page=382&accessor=toc&source=2>, p. 352.

<sup>189</sup> HERT: DE/R/B294/27, 19 March 1718.

<sup>190</sup> For further debates, see Michael Wagner, *The English Chartered Trading Companies, 1688-1763: Guns, Money and Lawyers* (London: Routledge, 2018).

In brief, we see that the Lock family was operating commercial operations of raw silk and woven woolens through Aleppo, from the first decades of the 18th century, when the Lock family began to become active in the Levant trade. This trade remained profitable for the first half of the 18th century, but after the 1740s their business began to fall into financial difficulties.<sup>191</sup> Nevertheless, the most important features of the Lock Family can be divided into two sections. Firstly, they did not avoid to expand their business networks even from local actors of the Ottomans and with merchants from abroad until the '1753 Act' of the Levant Company. Besides, the family's serious engagement in money brokering expanded their local network. Secondly, their business success was related to the Lock family members' administrative roles in many commissions in terms of both monitoring and managing shipping delay, prices and import goods issues in the Levant until the middle of the 18th century.<sup>192</sup> In Table 25, the Locks' commercial operations contained goods in importation related to the silk, Persian textile materials, and dyestuffs from Aleppo, Scanderoon, Smyrna and Cyprus.

**Table 25:** Imports to Britain from the Levant where Locks were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Raw Silks	Persian Silks – Textiles
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Dyestuffs	Cotton (limited)

<sup>191</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 245.

<sup>192</sup> Malachy Postlethwayt, and Philémon-Louis Savary, *The universal dictionary of trade and commerce*, Vol. 2. (London: AM Kelley, 1774), p. 248.

As for exportation of the family, Fawkeners sent cloths, sugar, and spices to Aleppo, Acre and Cyprus in the mid 18th century.<sup>193</sup> You can see the goods from Table 26 below.

**Table 26:** Exports from Britain to the Levant where Locks were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Aleppo – Scanderoon – Acre	Cloths	Cloths
Aleppo – Scanderoon – Acre	Spices	Broadcloth

### **The Barnardiston Family**

From the beginning of the 18th century, it appears that the five different Barnardiston family members were associated with commercial activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities.<sup>194</sup> The family business started from the 1640s with Samuel I Barnardiston. He was appointed in 1640 and started to trade textile raw materials from Smyrna. Thereafter, the other family members operated business mostly in Smyrna. The names of these five members of the Barnardiston family according to their duties in different institutions and companies with their dates of admission were chronologically; Samuel Barnardiston I, Nathaniel Barnardiston I, Samuel Barnardiston II, Arthur Barnardiston, and Samuel Barnardiston III from the middle of the 17th century to the 1753.

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., pp. 244-245.

<sup>194</sup> The names and the ports information of the Barnardiston Family member merchants were compiled from The Hertfortshire Archives and Local Studies (HERT), (with reference of DE/R) and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

**Table 27:** The Barnardiston Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>195</sup>

Name – Surname	Port and City	Year	Job - Duty
Samuel Barnardiston I <sup>196</sup>	LT Smyrna	1640 1647	Turkey (Levant) Merchant Treasurer of the Levant Company (1747-1751) <sup>197</sup>
Nathaniel Barnardiston <sup>198</sup>	LT Smyrna	1684	Turkey (Levant) Merchant
Samuel Barnardiston II <sup>199</sup>	FM Smyrna	1684	Turkey (Levant) Merchant
Arthur Barnardiston <sup>200</sup> (The cousin of the Radcliffes)	Smyrna Smyrna LT Smyrna <sup>201</sup> Smyrna Smyrna	1708 1710 1712 1724 1730s	Factor of the Radcliffe Company Factor of the Radcliffe Company Factor of the Radcliffe Company Turkey (Levant) Merchant (silk and cloth merchant) Factor of the Radcliffe Company
Samuel Barnardiston III	FM Smyrna	1711	Turkey (Levant) Merchant

<sup>195</sup> The names and the ports information of the Barnardiston Family member merchants were compiled from Llyods Lists and Register Books, 1753-1755 List and The National Archives State Papers related to the Levant Company accounts. TNA: SP 105/332-333; HERT: DE/R/B series.

<sup>196</sup> S. Hart Jr James, (2016, January 07). Barnardiston, Sir Samuel (1620–1707), politician. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 29 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1461>.

<sup>197</sup> Sonia P. Anderson, and Northam Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 88.

<sup>198</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 89, 1684.

<sup>199</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 89, 120 b, and 155 b, 1684-1686.

<sup>200</sup> TNA: C 113/11-12, 1730; TNA: C 11/1880/76, 1736.

<sup>201</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, p. 59, 24 May 1712.

The Barnardistons went into Levant trade at quite an early period. The members of this family who assumed so important roles for the 17th century retreated from Levant trade in 1740s and continued their commercial activities in London. Arthur Barnardiston, the last member of the family in the Levant trade, was a cousin of the Radcliffes. Thus, he kept track of all the business of Radcliffes in Smyrna and served as their agent. This business relationship started in the early 1700s and continued until the 1740s.<sup>202</sup> This being the case, most activities of the Barnardistons during the period between 1700 and 1753 were connected with the Radcliffes. Such a trading business proceeded through the agent relationship in a sense. Therefore, it is possible to mark the Barnardistons as the least effective family in terms of their share in British trade being conducted at this time.

In Table 28, the Barnardistons' commercial operations contained goods in importation related to the silk, Persian textile materials, and dyestuffs from Aleppo, Scanderoon, Smyrna and Cyprus.

**Table 28:** Imports from the Levant where Barnardistons were most active

<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>	<b>Type of Commodity</b>
Cyprus	Wool	Cotton Yarn
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Raw Silks	Persian Silks -Textiles
Aleppo – Scanderoon	Dyestuffs	Fruits (limited)
Tripoli – Syria	Cotton	Silks

<sup>202</sup> HERT: DE/R/B77/1, 28 August 1708.

As for exportation of the family, in Table 29, Fawkeners exported cloths, sugar, and spices to Aleppo, Acre and Cyprus in the middle of the 18th century.<sup>203</sup>

**Table 29:** Exports from Britain to the Levant where Barnardistons were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Cyprus	Textile materials	Luxury Goods
Aleppo – Scanderoon – Acre	Cloths	Cloths
Aleppo – Scanderoon – Acre	Spices	Broadcloth

Apart from these families, there were a few families engaged to the Levant trade in the period of 1700-1753. For instance, the Whately Family, of Norman origin, operated business in chiefly Cyprus and Aleppo starting from the end of the 17th century. Thomas Whately, appointed for the Aleppo trade in 1714, was also influential in business and financial sector in London. He became the director of the Bank of England after coming back to the London from Aleppo.<sup>204</sup> In the second half of the 18th century, members of the Whately family were not active as in the past years. Another family that operated business in the Levant was the Salways. Their trade centre was Smyrna in the first decade of the period of 1700-1753. They also operated business with Bosanquet family in

<sup>203</sup> TNA: CUST 3: 4-82; CUST 17: 1-21.

<sup>204</sup> Cornish, R. (2004, September 23). Whately, Thomas (1726–1772), politician and author. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved. 29 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29177>.

Aleppo.<sup>205</sup> Lastly, in the Levant trade, Table 30 indicates the all big-wealthy merchant families in alphabetical order. Some members of the Chadwick Family, Clarkes Family, Cookes Family, Eyles Family, Frye Family, Godschall Family, Hamond Family, Jennings Family, Lethieullier Family, Levett Family, Phillips Family, and Reynardson Family were registered in the records of the company.

Such great number of family members point to the characteristic feature of the period before 1753. Besides, the business networks of these families remained locally on a Levant level except for the strong bonds of the Vernon family with other European ports. As a result of the suggestions provided by the big families in question here, a highly disciplined merchant admittance order was established and this state was maintained properly. In addition, as we have stated previously, a strict body of shipping rules was also available. This inflexible institutional approach and the operating of strict rules emerged as a result of the big merchant families' desire to sustain their prevailing monopoly in Levant trade. The increase in Levant trade, which developed from the 17th century onwards, undoubtedly owes much to the big role played by these merchant families. As the mid-18th century approached, however, a system and commercial structure dominated almost entirely by themselves began to attract criticism. This situation went on until the institutional transformation and liberalization in 1753.

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<sup>205</sup> TNA: C 11/1486/36, 1730.

**Table 30: Merchant Families in the Levant Trade (1695-1753)**

Barnardiston Family	Boddington Family	Bosanquet Family	Chadwick Family
Clarkes Family	Cookes Family	Eyles Family	Fawkener Family
Frye Family	Godschall Family	Hamond Family	Jennings Family
Lethieullier Family	Levett Family	Lock Family	March Family
Phillips Family	Radcliffe Family	Reynardson Family	Vernon Family

### **Family Business after the Act of 1753**

In the 18th century, big-wealthy merchant families who operated their commercial activities were in competition with French merchants. This competition began to intensify in the Levant starting from the end of the 1720s. The trade of the Levant began to decline for the English between 1730 and 1753. This decline was mainly due to the silk trade competition with the French. From the 1710s, British exports from the Levant were 300,000 pounds a year, but by 1753, it was almost three times lower for the Levant Company merchants.<sup>206</sup>

It is possible to say that during this 40-year period, Levant Company merchants were losing their market share and trade volumes only due to the competition with French merchants. This kind of commercial constriction prompted very serious discussions by

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<sup>206</sup> TNA: CUST 3:4-82; CUST 17:1-21. Also, see Chapter 2.

the merchants from the 1740s. The debate centred mainly on the number of ships operated by the French merchants.<sup>207</sup> The greater numbers of ships available to French merchants enabled French domination of the silk trade, in particular. As for the Levant Company merchants, they continued to trade in the Levant with only a dozen large vessels during the same period.<sup>208</sup> With the Act of 1753 approved by parliament, the number of these large ships began to increase considerably in the Levant trade. In this sense, we know that many retail merchants<sup>209</sup>, as well as big family merchants, started to appear in the Levant trade after 1753.<sup>210</sup> When we compare the numbers of merchants appointed as a freeman before and after the Act of 1753, there was a distinct difference between the two periods. Accordingly, the numbers of the individual merchants reached almost 1000 in the end of the 18th century.<sup>211</sup>

As a matter of fact, according to the list of merchants who were co-members of the Levant Company, we see that the names of the merchants at the beginning of the 1753 Agreement were the members of certain big merchant families. After 1753, we see that merchants were doing business more individually and the numbers of retailer merchants were starting to increase until 1794.<sup>212</sup> The big merchant families reacted to these

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<sup>207</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 141-142. "with almost 400 small and 200 large vessels operated by French merchants."

<sup>208</sup> Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, p. 27. Moreover, the debate within this period led far more merchants to trade as a freeman in the Levant ports. This Act opened up Levant monopoly to all merchants and made it easier to gain membership in the Levant Company in 1753. See Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 27.

<sup>209</sup> It refers also Individual merchants.

<sup>210</sup> See the comparison of the numbers of merchant in 1700-1794. TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>211</sup> TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

decisions taken after the 1753 Act in the parliament. The decision of the March, Lock and Fawkenner Families to get out of the Levant trade can be seen as an example of these reactions. For this reason, starting from 1793-94, the number of factors in the Levant centres decreased drastically. For example, we know that there were almost no factors at that time in Aleppo, only five factors in Constantinople and six in Smyrna.<sup>213</sup> The trading volume between the Ottoman State and Britain shows a downward trend during the period between 1753 and 1800 in comparison to the time before 1753. However, it can still be stated that the trading volume that preserved its stability at certain periods marked an increase trend especially between 1780 and 1794. This decline in trade volume which took place over 20 years (1760-1780) and the great decrease in the number of factors in the Levant should be evaluated together with increasing number of individual merchants. The meaning of this paradox was remarkable in order to trace developments between 1753 and the end of the 18th century.

Nevertheless, the long-established family merchants who left the Levant trade relinquished their position to new big-wealthy merchant families who took their place. The most important example of this fact was the business activities of Abbott Family. Even though they started their business operations from 1650s in Levant, their business developed after the 1750s in many centres such as Constantinople, Smyrna, Salonica, and Acre. Apart from the Abbotts, there were several families active in the Levant trade

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<sup>213</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 27.

in the period of 1753-1793. For instance, the Lee Family was a new actor in the Levant trade especially in Smyrna and Salonica. The Humphrys and Jolly Family's initiatives appeared in Smyrna after the Act of 1753. In Constantinople, the new families started to join the business operations after 1753. While Hughes Family, Hayes Family and Fitzhugh Family operations took place mostly in Constantinople, the Edwards and Free Family members were running their business in Aleppo, in particular. Moreover, some family business continued in the period of 1753-1793. The initiatives of Clarke and Bosanquet Families in Aleppo continued to run as they had before. In Smyrna, Boddingtons and Barkers business networks and commercial activities were still steady at that time.

When the numbers of merchants in the Levant trade and the social-business networks of the merchants are examined together for the period 1753-1794, it is possible to attain the result that the Levant trade was regarded as a transit point trade and was profitable in certain goods related to manufacture sector by British merchants. Also, in the last two decades of the 18th century, Levant Company merchants started to export tin, iron, lead, coffee, sugar and indigo.<sup>214</sup> The exportation of these products to the Levant by the British merchants is the most significant evidence that no situation regarding a total destruction is in question at all. In this context, in the following section, the operations of the big merchant families newly included in the Levant trade after the Act of 1753 will briefly be reviewed.

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<sup>214</sup> The goods were determined in the 'Customs' series: TNA: CUST 3/4-82 and CUST 1/17-21.

## **The Abbot Family<sup>215</sup>**

The Abbott family's trading adventure in the Levant began with Robert Abbott who was scrivener in London in the 17th century. For the first time in 1646, Robert began to take a position as an actor in the trade of Levant with membership of the Levant Company, especially in Constantinople. Thomas Abbott, father of Robert, developed his commercial life, which he started as a small farmer, by mediating the operations of renting and leasing land in that region. At the same time, he continued to turn into a big factorship businessman. Robert's father, along with his father-in-law Jasper Chapman's business networks with the East India Company and his apprenticeship in Chapman's businesses, provided him with considerable experience in business operations. Thus, Robert played an active role in the trade of the Levant Company from 1646 until his date of death in 1658.<sup>216</sup>

The commercial operations of the Abbott family started in the Levant ports from the middle of the 17th century through Robert Abbott's initiatives. In the beginning, the family trade was confined to Robert Abbott's individual efforts<sup>217</sup> but from the time of the Act of 1753 it began to be carried out by more family members. Robert Abbott operated business in the Levant with two ships named the *Angell* (200 tonnes) and the

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<sup>215</sup> Jasper A. R. Abbott, "Robert Abbott, City Money Scrivener, and his Account Book, 1646–1652" *The Guildhall Miscellany* V. 7 (London: August 1956), pp. 31-33.

<sup>216</sup> For short biographic information, see <http://www.mikesclark.com/genealogy/abbott.html>

<sup>217</sup> <http://www.mikesclark.com/genealogy/abbott.html>. Additionally, for the Morris Abbott's initiatives with links to the Levant trade before 1646, see TNA: C 2/JasI/L10/58, 1603-1625.

Edward Bonaventure (160 tonnes) out of six ships at least in that time.<sup>218</sup> He was usually doing business with goods of textiles mostly linens and silk.<sup>219</sup> After the middle of the 18th century, the business scope expanded from commercial activities to the financial activities for Abbott family members exactly like the other new rich-big families operating in the Levant. In this development, the commercial networks started to expand due to the influence of familyties. It also enabled the Abbots to grow relations with retail traders. This growth of networks and relations progressed until the dissolvment of the Levant Company and the Abbott's commercial-financial operations enhanced the efficiency until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Just five years before the closure of the Levent Company; in 1820, we know that Peter Abbott, a member of the Abbott family, was appointed consul to the Acre, which was an important Ottoman port for the cotton and grain trade.<sup>220</sup> After the Levant Company dissolved, Peter Abbot's continuation of the commercial activities in Acre was important in order to demonstrate the Abbott family's effectiveness in the Levant trade.<sup>221</sup> After 1825 and the dissolving the

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<sup>218</sup> The rest of the ships were operating somewhere other than the Eastern Mediterranean at the same time. <http://www.mikesclark.com/genealogy/abbott.html>

<sup>219</sup> TNA: E 351/1192, 19 Apr.-25 Dec. 1699.

<sup>220</sup> Luna Khirfan, *World Heritage, Urban Design and Tourism: Three Cities in the Middle East* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 15.

<sup>221</sup> TNA: SP 105/124, pp. 287 – 92, 20 September 1820, the Levant Company (London) to Peter Abbott (Acre).

Levant Company, Kula<sup>222</sup> and Söke<sup>223</sup> and İğneada<sup>224</sup> (Thynias) business of mining sandpaper's right were given to the Melen Abbott in 1873.<sup>225</sup>

From the mid 18th century, it appears that the seven different Abbott family members were engaged in commercial and diplomatic activities in the Ottoman lands and Levant port cities.<sup>226</sup> The names of these eight members of the Abbott family according to their dates of admission were; in Table 31 with chronological order; Peter Abbott, John Thomas Abbott, George Abbott, Peter Abbott, Robert Abbott, Edward Bartholomew, Peter Abbott, and Edward Bartholomew Edward for the period of 1700-1800. Also, for the period of 1800-1825, there were two members of the Abbott family in the list with names of Henry Abbott and William Abbott.

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<sup>222</sup> Kula is located the hinterland of the Smyrna. It is a town in Manisa, Turkey nowadays.

<sup>223</sup> These small towns inner Aegean region in Turkey nowadays.

<sup>224</sup> İğneada is a small town in Turkey's Kırklareli Province nowadays. It lies on the Black Sea coast and the border city with Bulgaria.

<sup>225</sup> BOA: A.(MKT.MHM.) 460/25. 6 Cemazeyilahir 1290 (1 Ağustos 1873).

<sup>226</sup> TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

**Table 31: The Abbott Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century**<sup>227</sup>

<b>Name - Surname</b>	<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Job - Duty</b>
Robert Abbott <sup>228</sup>	LT Constantinople	1650	Founder of Abbott Company and Scrivener
Peter Abbott <sup>229</sup>	Constantinople	1735	Treasurer of the Levant Company at Constantinople
	LT Ankara-Smyrna	1735	Ankara - Smyrna- Constantinople
John Abbott	FM Constantinople	1759	Merchant – Agent
George Abbott (Died in 1801 in Constantinople)	LT Constantinople	1762	Merchant – Agent
Robert Abbott	FM Constantinople	1765	Merchant – Agent at Smyrna and Aleppo
Peter Abbott	LT Constantinople – Aleppo	1766	Merchant – Agent at Aleppo
Edward Bartholomew Abbott	LT Smyrna	1773	Merchant – Agent at Salonica
Peter Abbott	LT Constantinople	1789	Merchant – Agent at Aleppo
Edward Bartholomew Edward Abbott	LT Salonica <sup>230</sup>	1795	Merchant – Agent at Smyrna
Peter Abbott	C Constantinople	1799	Consul at Constantinople
Henry Abbott	LT Constantinople	1805 and 1806	Merchant – Agent at Aleppo
William Abbott	FM Constantinople And Smyrna	1818	Merchant – Agent at Smyrna
Peter Abbott	FM Acre	1820	Consul at Acre
William Abbott	of London	1822	Merchant

<sup>227</sup> TNA: SP 105/155-156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>228</sup> The first merchant of the Abbott Family-Company in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>229</sup> HERT, DE/R/B340/1. 20 Sep 1735. Letter from Peter Abbott to John and Arthur Radcliffe in Ankara about the Factory of cost and charges (invoice) which is important to see the business operations' details and goods in commercial activities. Mostly, the Radcliffe and Abbott Family operated textile material commerce from the Levant.

<sup>230</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1619/24, 03 August 1819. Will of Bartholomew Edward Abbott.

It can be seen that in the middle of the 18th century, Abbott family members spread out to the most important port cities and commercial centres of the Ottomans in order to conduct business activities. The aforementioned merchants who were members of the Abbott family had the right to trade in different Ottoman port cities such as Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonica, Acre and centres like Ankara, and Aleppo is a clear indication to see the Abbotts' trading volume and networks. As a matter of fact, it is quite obvious that the members of the Abbott family did business in almost all ports of the Levant. In fact, this situation represents the most distinguishing feature of the family. No other family involved in such broad local network was so active either before or after the year 1753.

Another significant point regarding the Abbotts was that they were engaged in trade in three different ways while performing business activities throughout the whole century. The first of these was the activity conducted as a Levant Company merchant; the second was running the family business fastidiously and finally doing individual business on their behalf. Based on what can be understood from the archive correspondence, they developed business relationships acting in their own name as individual merchants especially from the late 18th century until the winding up of the company. No doubt family ties and power had an important facilitating effect in the formation of such connections.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> For the case of Bartholomew Edward Abbott who traded and resided in Salonica in the last decades of the 18th century, see Vlami, *Trading with Ottomans*, pp. 247-249.

The Abbotts' commercial operations contained many goods in exportation related to the luxury textile materials such as different kinds of coats. As for importation of the family, in Table 32, the Abbotts imported textile raw materials, silk, mohair and cotton from Ankara, Bursa, and Acre in the 18th century. In general, the goods in terms of dyestuffs, textiles, and the other luxury materials were imported to England from Levant ports and centres such as Ankara, Bursa, Salonica and Smyrna where the Abbott family members were mostly active.

**Table 32:** Imports to Britain from the Levant where Abbotts were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Ankara (Angora)	Mohair	Dyestuffs
Smyrna - Salonica	Woollen Londres	Jewellery
Smyrna - Salonica	Cashmeres	Coffee
Smyrna - Salonica	Linen	Indigo
Smyrna - Salonica	Muslin	Pepper
Smyrna - Salonica	Lead	Ginger
Smyrna - Salonica	Tin plates	Watches

Moreover, the exportation of the Smyrna and Salonica based on goods contained some textile materials, earthenware, silverware, and some other British colonial products and tobacco, sponges and grains.<sup>232</sup> These goods can be seen also in Table 33 below.

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<sup>232</sup> Vlami, "Entrepreneurship and Relational Capital in a Levantine Context", p. 140.

**Table 33:** Exports from Britain to the Levant Ports where Abbotts were most active

Port and City	Type of Commodity	Type of Commodity
Smyrna - Salonica	Textile materials	Earthenware
Smyrna - Salonica	Silverware	Tobacco
Smyrna - Salonica	Sponges	Grains
Smyrna - Salonica	Tin	Steel
Constantinople	Hardware Materials	Hardware Materials <sup>233</sup>

Abbott family members appear to have been in association with the new centres of the Levant during the period after 1753 in particular. For instance, Edward Bartholomew Abbott began business activities in Salonica and became a quite significant figure for Salonica.<sup>234</sup> Whether he owes this status mostly to his family bonds or personal network remains an important question. The answer to this question can essentially be in the form of a mixed model. Family ties hold a significant place in the background of Abbott's commercial success in Salonica undoubtedly. Far beyond this, however, the local network and business partnerships he established himself should be viewed as the sole reason of his achievement. Similarly, in later years, after 1800, other family members are seen to have performed both commercial and financial business relationships in new centres like Acre and Beirut. Peter Abbot is the central figure of these connections. Due

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<sup>233</sup> Saim Çağrı Kocakaplan, *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve İstanbul Gümrüğü*, (İstanbul, Ötüken Yayınevi, 2017), p. 185.

<sup>234</sup> Vlami, 'Entrepreneurship and relational capital in a Levantine context', pp. 137-139. For his will, see TNA: PROB 11/1619/24, 03 August 1819. Will of Bartholomew Edward Abbott.

to his commercial activities in Acre as a member of the Abbott family, he was appointed as the Acre consul in the year 1820.<sup>235</sup>

The changing conditions forced the merchants belonging to the Abbott family to operate separately in different cities. Both Bartholomew and Peter Abbott succeeded in running their family business as well as performing their individual activities together due to their social networks and local business relationships.

### **The Lee Family**

The Lee family's trading adventure in the Levant began with Robert Lee who was merchant in London in the 17th century. For the first time in 1660, Robert began to take a position as an actor in the trade of Levant with membership of the Levant Company, especially in Smyrna.<sup>236</sup> Robert Lee was the founder of Lee Family enterprises in Levant. Thus, Robert played a key role for the family business in the late decades of the 17th century.<sup>237</sup>

In the beginning, the trade with Francis and Nicolson Lee's individual efforts<sup>238</sup> began to be conducted by more family members from the Act of 1753. For instance, Mr. J. Lafontaine was appointed a freeman of the Levant Company in 1791. According to the archival documents, they ran the family company that operated business in the Levant

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<sup>235</sup> TNA: SP 105/124, pp. 279-280, 15 August 1820 and SP 105/124, pp. 287-292, 20 September 1820.

<sup>236</sup> TNA: ADM 106/432/115, 8 February 1683. In this date, he was already appointed Merchant in Smyrna.

<sup>237</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 28.

<sup>238</sup> TNA: PROB 11/855/104, 10 April 1760.

mostly in the last decade of the 18th century. For the short story of the Lee Family in the Levant trade, James La Fontaine who became a freeman for the Levant Company in 1791<sup>239</sup> wrote some important notes on businesses of Lee Family for that time.<sup>240</sup>

According to his diaries and notes, Lee family was very active in the business and financial operations in the Levant, Smyrna in particular. As a factory of the Levant Company, Lee family members were influential merchants in Smyrna with other important factories such as Werry, Hayes, Perkins, Wilkinson and Maltass after Act of 1753. In this sense, the Lee family had a partnership with Maltass Family in Smyrna starting from 1760s.<sup>241</sup> They were all in the the Smyrna assembly of the Levant Company in the end of the century.<sup>242</sup>

From the middle of the 18th century, it appears that the seven different Lee family members were engaged in commercial and diplomatic activities in the Ottoman lands

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<sup>239</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 72. (Appointment Date: 30 September 1791)

<sup>240</sup> "Mr Lafontaine returned a few days since (end of July) and is now a partner in our house. The beginning of the house of Lee I cannot state. In 1776 Richard Lee was head of the firm of Lee and Maltass. In 1789, Richard Lee (jun.), was admitted into the firm, and in 1790 as a member of the Company. In 1786 and 1787, Richard Lee became Treasurer of the Factory. On 1st of Jan, 1794, the well-known John Lee, who is referred to by the travellers of this century, was admitted as a member of the Company, and on 13th January 1796 as a member of the firm. In 1797, Peter Lee of Smyrna was admitted as a member of the company. There was a firm of Richard and William Lee of London. James Lee of London was admitted a member of the company, 27th October, 1791, Thomas Hucknell Lee, 1790, William Lee, 1795, Edward Lee, 1798. Peter Lee was Consul at Alexandria in 1815. Richard and Edward Lee members of the court of Assistants in the Worshipful Company in 1803. In the great fire of 15th March, 1797, the house of Lees was burnt, and a temporary pressure brought on, so that they were obliged to ask the sympathy of their friends. Lee, however, had a stone warehouse, and thereby many goods were saved, on which a contribution was levied to pay the expense of watching. Edward Herbert Lee was admitted a member of the Company in 1818, and Edward Lee, June in 1822." See <http://levantineheritage.com/note12.htm>.

<sup>241</sup> See:

<http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Biography-of-William-Barker-Levant-Company-Merchant-Marjorie-Rear.pdf>, p.32.

<sup>242</sup> TNA: SP 105/126, fols 182r, 15 March 1798, British factory at Smyrna to the Levant Company in London.

and Levant port cities.<sup>243</sup> The names of these eight members of the Lee family according to their admitted dates were in chronological order; Robert Lee, Francis Lee, Nicolson Lee, Joseph Lee, James Lee, Edward Lee, Richard Lee, Richard(jun.) Lee, William Lee, John Lee, Stephan Lee, Peter Lee, and William (captain) Lee for the period of 1700-1800. Also, for the period of 1800-1825, there were three members of the Lee family not in the list with names of Robert Lee II, Edward Hesbert Lee, and Edward (jun.) Lee.

**Table 34:** The Lee Family Members in the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century<sup>244</sup>

<b>Name - Surname</b>	<b>Port and City</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Job - Duty</b>
Robert Lee <sup>245</sup>	LT Smyrna	1660	Founder of Family Business in the Levant, Turkey Merchant
Francis Lee	FM Smyrna	1703	Turkey Merchant, Factor of the family business.
Nicolson Lee <sup>246</sup>	FM Cyprus	1735	Merchant and Agent-Factor of the Radcliffes <sup>247</sup>
Joseph Lee	FM Smyrna	1729	Turkey Merchant, Factor of the family business.
James Lee	LT Salonica	1757	
		1761	Merchant – Agent at Salonica
Edward Lee	LT Smyrna	1757	Turkey Merchant, Commander of Ship. <sup>248</sup>

<sup>243</sup> TNA: SP 105/156 and TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>244</sup> TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>245</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 28.

<sup>246</sup> TNA: PROB 11/855/104, 10 April 1760.

<sup>247</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 140-141.

<sup>248</sup> The name of ship was 'William and Fanny'. TNA: HCA 26/8/109, 3 November 1757.

Richard Lee	LT Smyrna	1767 1773	Turkey Merchant, Factor of the family business. <sup>249</sup>
Richard (jun.) Lee <sup>250</sup>	LT Smyrna	1779 1791	Turkey Merchant, Factor of the family business.
Edward Lee	LT Smyrna	1782	Turkey Merchant in Smyrna. <sup>251</sup>
William Lee	FM Smyrna	1784	Turkey Merchant, Factor of the family business.
John Lee	LT Smyrna	1789 1794	Turkey Merchant, Factor of the family business.
Stephan Lee	FM Smyrna	1792	Turkey Merchant, Factor of the family business.
Peter Lee	FM Salonica	1798	Merchant – Agent at Salonica
William Lee, (Captain)	FM Smyrna	1798	Turkey Merchant, Ship Captain.

It is seen that a great number of the Lee family members conducted business in the Levant ports. The trading share of this family with a considerable amount of members was quite high in the aftermath of 1753. It is quite interesting that the family performed business mostly in the northern ports of the Levant. Smyrna, Salonica and Constantinople can be listed as the commercial centres of the Lee family. The most significant point here is that the family was seriously engaged in trading activities in Salonica. The Lees formed networks largely in Salonica, which flourished and became the favourite commercial centre of many European merchants especially in the last quarter

<sup>249</sup> Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, pp. 185-187.

<sup>250</sup> DRO: Bar D/800/13, 15 November 1787. (Derbyshire Record Office)

<sup>251</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 25. (Appointment Date: 28 May 17982)

of 1800s. The prime centre of this network was certainly Smyrna. The Lee family had a major influence in Smyrna and they resided there too.<sup>252</sup> The fact that Smyrna and Salonica developed together and the number of British ships arriving at these two coastal towns increased demonstrating the Lee family's preference for these trading centres. It should be noted that the Lee family did not restrict their commercial activities only to interior portions of the Levant contrary to the families who were effective before 1753 or the Abbotts. They became interested also in the trading centres outside the Levant and even the trans-Atlantic commerce.<sup>253</sup> This condition represents their characteristic feature. Apart from these families, there were a few families engaged to the Levant trade in the period of 1753-1800. Table 35 indicates the all big-wealthy merchant families in alphabetical order. Some members of the Charnaud, Clarke, Dunnage, Edwards, Hayes, Humphrys, Hunter, Jolly, Prior, Smith and Walker families were registered in the records of the company.

**Table 35: Merchant Families in the Levant Trade (1753-1800)**

Abbott Family	Charnaud Family	Clarke Family	Dunnage Family
Edwards Family	Hayes Family	Humphrys Family	Hunter Family
Jolly Family	Prior Family	Smith Family	Walker Family

<sup>252</sup> TNA: SP 105/126, fols 182r, 15 March 1798.

<sup>253</sup> For Transatlantic Trade Links, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1787-1788, 6 February 1787, No: 1853, p. 2.

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

A dozens of families who were effective in Levant trade before the Act of 1753 lost their former power after this Act due to the reality that Levant territories were made accessible to individual-retailers. This situation reduced the number of big families who were active in the Levant trade after 1753. It is observed that the big families used more factors in Levant lands in the aftermath of 1753. Although an effort was made by the big families to keep the number of these factors to a minimum, their number actually increased as can be understood from Levant Company correspondence. A lesser number of big families was in question between 1753 and 1800 than the period preceding 1753. However, the number of families engaged in trading activities in Levant territories rose again as of the early 19th century. Yet, the reasons and quantity of this increase are not involved within the scope of this study. Thus, the subject matter will only be briefly touched upon.

The fact that Aleppo appears to be the place where big and wealthy families most densely did business before and after 1753 should not lead to the conclusion that they stayed away from other trading centres. In fact, the Boddingtons as well as the Vernon and March families adopted Smyrna as a commercial centre for themselves too. These three families conducted their business by sending their family members to Levant trading centres rather than operating by means of agents. Again, the most important family who did business through agents during the period before 1753 was beyond doubt

the Radcliffe family. The members of this family performed all the big silk trade by means of agents without ever coming to Levant. This was in fact a method used frequently at that time and yet did not prove profitable<sup>254</sup> for everyone who tried it. The Radcliffes, however, proceeded along with this method quite well. Another significant point here is the fact that the members of these mentioned families did individual business on their own behalf too. In accordance with my findings, this situation occurred in restricted numbers before 1753 except for Arthur Radcliffe and a few other examples. After 1753, however, the representatives of the merchant families engaged in the Levant trade appear more inclined to do business in their own names. This condition is in fact a result of the liberalization period taking place after the Act of 1753.

Another significant result is the reality that the government support acquired by Levant Company merchants was at a low level. Levant Company merchants were not granted the kind of government assistance that backed up the French merchants whom they went into competition with. While the French demonstrated a central concern for the Levant, it also protected the merchant ships so as to keep them away from a state of piracy. Contrarily, the British approach to this issue tended to avoid any sort of responsibility.<sup>255</sup> This situation resulted in fact in the reality that British merchants assumed all the risks in Levant trade themselves. A possible imitation of France by the

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<sup>254</sup> One of the reasons for this is that the agents offered brokering service of merchandise for different bosses without depending on a single boss and that they received a commission in return.

<sup>255</sup> Edhem Eldem, "French trade and commercial policy in the Levant in the 18th-century" *Oriente moderno* 18: 1 (1999), p. 29.

British Kingdom in this sense would have positively affected the commercial operations of Levant Company merchants.

Such an approach also reduced the dependency of big merchant families on the state. They could administer Levant Company in whatever way they liked and continue their commercial activities more freely within the frame defined by the state. It is exactly at this point that our main argument comes up. Especially during the period before 1753, the ability to access the network of family merchants emerges as the most significant factor. As far as what we can see, the networks formed by the merchant families in the related period are much more important than even political and diplomatic networks. The essential issue before 1753 was the ability to get involved in the network of merchant families. This situation declined with the company becoming liberalized after 1753. This fact is visible from the commercial domination of merchant family members.

Finally, the most determining factor in Levant trade before 1753 is the commercial monopoly enjoyed by the merchant families. These families focused more on the preservation of their own privileges than on whether Levant trade flourished or not. During this period, individual merchants had to form relationships with big family members and become engaged in their business network. Alternatively, they could get involved in this trade by obtaining a political support from London. However, this included only a limited amount of merchants. When the elimination of shipping obstacles in 1744 and the company making itself accessible to all merchants after 1753 combined together,

a big institutional change came into being. Although this change did not lead to an increase in the general trading volume perhaps, it gave way to breaking up the networks of families and opening the trade to individual merchants. This situation brought along various interactions, economic diversities and the inclusion of new routes to the Levant trade. In what way this change and transformation process took place on behalf of individual merchants makes up the subject matter of the next chapter.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**INDIVIDUAL MERCHANTS IN THE LEVANT TRADE**

**1700-1800**

## INDIVIDUAL-RETAILER MERCHANTS

For the Levant Company, 1688 was a time of opportunities and crises at the same time. The dethronement of the James II in 1689, a main patron/supporter of the East India Company signaled the beginning of hard times for the East India Company, which had formerly been entitled to trade in India with monopoly rights.<sup>1</sup> The gap created by the political developments after the 1688 revolution in East Indian trade provided some benefits for the Levant Company merchants. Levant company merchants were competing with East India Company traders especially in terms of silk imports from Asia and exports cloths as manufactured product from England<sup>2</sup> at that time. This situation, because of the lack of political support for the merchants of the East India Company after 1688, enabled Levant merchants to gain advantages in cloth exports in particular. However, this situation was not used much because of a fire in Smyrna, which was one of the chief trading locations<sup>3</sup> of the Levant Company in the end of the 17th century.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the decade-long parliamentary debate over the future status of the company, see James Bohun, "Protecting Prerogative: William III and the India Trade Debate, 1689-1698", *Past Imperfect* 2 (1993), pp. 63-86.

<sup>2</sup> Until 1707, we use 'England' and 'English Merchants' terms. After that date, we prefer to use these terms following: 'British Merchant' and 'Britain'. "Great Britain or United Kingdom as terms were used after Acts of Union which was admitted in 1707. The Acts of Union, passed by the English and Scottish Parliaments in 1707, led to the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain on 1 May of that year." See <https://www.britannica.com/event/Act-of-Union-Great-Britain-1707>

<sup>3</sup> The role of Smyrna comes after Aleppo until the last decades of the 18th century.

<sup>4</sup> Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1964), pp. 114-119. Also, see Christine Laidlaw, *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century* (London; New York: IB Tauris, 2010), pp. 23-24. On the continuing importance of Smyrna for the British trade in the Levant, see Chapter 5, graph 2, below.

Many products of the Levant Company were destroyed with the Smyrna Factory fire, which took place in 1688. Besides, at that time the competition between Levant Company merchants and French merchants in the Mediterranean Sea was threatening the vessels of the Levant Company and merchants. As a matter of fact, in May 1693, English and Dutch merchant ships were attacked by French fleet which resulted in great losses for English merchants. Moreover, from 1695, due to the retrieval of political support obtained by the East India Company merchants, the influence of the East India Company traders especially in the trade of silk and English woolen goods started to increase again. This commercial competition with East India Company resulted by the end of the 1690s in serious loss for the Levant Company merchants. Because of this commercial competition, the number of Levant Company members who were around 400 in the 1670s decreased to around 100 in the middle of the 1730s. At this point, we can see from the following figures (Figure 2 and 3) how the number of merchants of the Levant Company changed from 1695 to the Act of 1753.<sup>5</sup>

Between 1700 and 1800, 800 different merchants, members of the Levant Company, were actively involved in the Levant trade. Also, 49 different merchants were appointed as Levant Company merchants between 1695 and 1699.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, in total 850

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<sup>5</sup> Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, pp. 22-23. Also, we will show the numbers of new entrant freeman-merchants with related figures in the conclusion of this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> David Wilson, *Levant Company: Admissions of Freeman and Grants of Liberty of Trade, 1695-1824*, November 2017, pp. 30-56. <http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Levant-Co-Members-1695-to-1824-D-Wilson.pdf>

merchants took part in the Levant trade between 1695-1800 in total.<sup>7</sup> While about 380 of these merchants were in the Levant Trade between 1700-1753; this number has increased even further for the other half of the century. As a matter of fact, it can be seen from the records<sup>8</sup>, there were nearly 500 merchants in the Levant trade between 1753-1800. The number of these merchants and information on ships that operated in the Levant Seas indicates that other merchants who entered the Levant trade as freemen after the Act of 1753 approved by Parliament became involved in the Levant trade in the second half of the 18th century. Provided that the distinct superiority of English merchants in the 17th century is acknowledged, this supremacy passed on to the French in the 18th century. The French achieved this dominance by developing their diplomatic relationships with the Ottoman Empire on the one hand while striving to improve their textile industry on the other.<sup>9</sup> These figures above indicate that the commercial competition that existed in the Mediterranean after 1750 with French merchants did not lead to a decrease in interest on the part of merchants in the Levant. The French, who gained 25% discount right over the Ottoman customs duty in 1740, were also exempt from the internal customs duty collected on exportation by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>10</sup> By the 1750s, the French share in the Levant trade had risen to a dominant position of

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<sup>7</sup> Merchant numbers for the period of 1700-1800 are compiled from the following archive sources; TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>8</sup> TNA: SP 105/332-333 and Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists for the period of 1741-1799.

<sup>9</sup> Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western trade", in Suraiya Faroqhi, (ed.), *The later Ottoman empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 311-312.

<sup>10</sup> Ali İhsan Bağış, *Osmanlı Ticaretinde Gayrî Müslimler* (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 1983), pp. 11-12. See Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 141-143.

around 60-65%. In this century, France stands out as the largest trade partner of the Ottomans in foreign trade. Between the years 1750 and 1780, the French position stabilized and accounted for 44% of the total trade of Constantinople with Europe, 49.9% of the total trade of Smyrna with Europe and 59,4% of the total trade of Salonica with Europe. Even with these later developments, so far as the second half of this century is concerned, English and Dutch trade in Constantinople accounted for only 24.4% and 14.1% respectively. As for the trade relationship in Smyrna, France was followed by England at the rate of 11.6% and Holland at the rate of 18,3%.<sup>11</sup>

This French superiority was felt most prominently before the Act of 1754. Along with the liberalization having started within the body of the Levant Company following the year 1753, the British share in the Levant trade began to increase. The appearance of several individual merchants in the Levant trade thanks to the Act of 1753 raised the British share from 15% to 25%. It is quite apparent from the table below that this increase was due to a decline in the French and Venetian shares. The significant point here is that the liberalization, although objected by the big merchant families who were members of the

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<sup>11</sup> Daniel Panzac, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire During the 18th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24: 2, 1992, pp. 192-193. For the developments in the first quarter of the 19th century, Frangakis-Syrett mentions that the British merchants have taken French merchants' place in trade with the Ottomans in the first quarter of the 19th century. See Frangakis-Seyrett, Elena, "Market Networks and Ottoman-European Commerce 1700-1825" *Oriente Moderno* 25: 1 (2006), pp. 120-121.

The French have taken their place.

Levant Company for the sake of preserving their monopolies, increased the British trade volume.<sup>12</sup>

**Table 36:** Shares of the major European nations in the Levant trade, 1686–1784 (in livres French tournois and percentages)

	France	Britain	Holland	Venice	Austria	Others
<b>1686</b>	1,519,290 (15.7%)	4,184,700 (43.4%)	3,697,440 (38.3%)	246,900 (2.6%)	-	-
<b>1750</b>	2,550,868 (65.1%)	595,850 (15.2%)	134,164 (3.4%)	637,421 (16.3%)	-	-
<b>1780</b>	13,448,791 (45.1%)	7,432,045 (24.9%)	4,300,901 (14.4%)	2,875,279 (9.6%)	872,018 (2.9%)	861,973 (2.9%)

**Source:** Edhem Eldem, “Capitulations and Western trade”, in Suraiya Faroqhi, (ed.), *The later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 327.

In addition, East India Company merchants' domination in the Basra and Persian markets<sup>13</sup> made business of the Levant Company merchants difficult in terms of profitability. The East India Company was disturbed by the commercial activities of big family members associated with the Levant Company as well as individual merchants in Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>14</sup> Levant Company merchants, on the other hand, argued that

<sup>12</sup> Eldem, “Capitulations and Western trade”, p. 327.

<sup>13</sup> In the context of silk and woolen products. See Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company: 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 219.

<sup>14</sup> Emily Erikson, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600–1757*. Vol. 1. (New York: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 80-81. For the background of the relationship between the Levant Company and the East India Company, see, Robert Brenner, *Merchants and revolution commercial change, political conflict, and London's overseas traders, 1550-1653* (London; New York: Verso, 2003).

the East India Company should not trade in the Ottoman territories.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the numbers show that these difficulties did not cause Levant trade to be abandoned by British merchants in the 18th century.<sup>16</sup>

To trace the changes in terms of numbers, commercial centres and networks of merchants in the 18th century, requires us to track developments in the numbers of the merchants who were admitted as a freeman of trade in the Levant. This change in the number of merchants is also important in terms of measuring the effect of the liberalization that occurred in the aftermath of the Act of 1753 and meeting the demand created by individual merchants. The analysis for the numbers of merchants with information of their commercial centres in the Ottoman Empire can be divided into two parts in accordance with dates of admitting the merchants. Firstly, it is essential to show the numbers of the Levant Company individual merchants before the Act of 1753 as well as to demonstrate in which Ottoman ports or cities these merchants traded in this period. Secondly, after the 1753 Act, the number of individual merchants who were active in the trade of the Levant, the information of commercial centres as port or city and the extent to which merchants did or did not belong to big-wealthy merchant families will be determined. The result will allow us to compare developments in the Levant in terms of interactions of merchants, demand to the Levant trade and business

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<sup>15</sup> Eldem, "Capitulations and Western trade", p. 312.

<sup>16</sup> BL: IOR/G/29/25, pp. 7-21, 1765. "East India Company had right to trade in Basra with the Levant Company."

networks. This way of analyzing is crucial to show us what kind of changes happened after the Act of 1753 in the Levant trade.

### **Merchants in the Period 1700-1753**

Before the Act of 1753, there was a restriction related to the monopoly of the Levant Company, which did not enable every merchant to enter the commercial activities in the Levant Seas and centres for importation and exportation of goods travelling to and from the Levant (Turkey). First of all, as we mentioned before, big-wealthy merchant families dominated the commercial activities of the Levant trade in the period of 1700-1753. From the middle of the 17th century, merchant families occupied a dominant place in the Levant trade with their members. For instance, big-wealthy merchant family members with their agents operated business in the Levant trade. These families can be listed as follows: Vernon, Boddington, Whately, Philips, Lethieullier, Jennings, Bull, Cooke, and Chiswell. Apart from these members of the merchant families, there were also many merchants who operated their individual business in the Levant. In the following table, big-wealthy family members were shown with abbreviation of (family business members-FBM), and the merchants without any family tie were shown with abbreviation of (individual business-IB) in order to distinguished those who had family ties or networks. There were nearly 350 merchants in the Levant trade between 1700 and 1753. If we add the number of merchants in the period of 1695-1699, the total number reaches 400 approximately. Out of 400 different merchants, we see only 49 merchants

who were admitted by the company in order to do commercial business in the Levant from 1695 to 1700.<sup>17</sup> The port-trade centre information about the 22 of the 49 merchants could not be determined from archival records. This number is equivalent to 40% of the total numbers of merchants in the Levant in that period. One-fourth of these merchants were operating business-commercial activities with their family members (family business members-FBM) in the Levant at that time. In other words, three-quarters of these merchants were doing commercial business on their own behalf (individual business-IB) who were not members of big-wealthy families and engaged in commercial activity. Most of them were doing business in the centres of Aleppo and Smyrna. Some individual merchants operated their commercial activities in Cyprus, Constantinople, and Leghorn.

**Table 37:** The Approved All Merchants by the Levant Company in the period of 1695-1699<sup>18</sup>

Name(s)	Surname	Period	LT <sup>19</sup> or FM <sup>20</sup> in Port and City	Commerce Centres	Job – Duty - Link
James	Bull	1695	FM Aleppo	Aleppo - London	Merchant, Members of Bull Family. (FBM).

<sup>17</sup> For the numbers of merchants in the period of 1695-1699, see Wilson, “Levant Company: Admissions of Freeman”, pp. 30-56. See:

<http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Levant-Co-Members-1695-to-1824-D-Wilson.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> The names, approved dates, centres, and the other related information of merchants in the period of 1695-1699 compile from State Papers (TNA: SP 105/155-156); Wilson’s List and Davis’s book. See Wilson, Levant Company: Admissions of Freeman, November 2017, pp. 30-56. See:

<http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Levant-Co-Members-1695-to-1824-D-Wilson.pdf>. Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English traders in the Levant in the 18th century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1967).

<sup>19</sup> *Liberty of Trade* (Co-Member of the Levant Company) in the Levant Ports.

<sup>20</sup> *Freeman* of the Levant Company.

William	Cheslyn	1695	FM	???	(IB).
Robert	Jennings	1695	FM	???	(IB).
William	Theyer	1695	LT Constantinople	London	(IB).
Wigher	Woolley	1695	FM	???	(IB).
Thomas	Somaster	1695	FM	???	(IB).
William	Kemble	1695	LT Smyrna	Smyrna – Cyprus – London	Silk Merchant – Father of Richard Kemble <sup>21</sup> , Consul of Salonica in 1716. (IB).
John	Ashby <sup>22</sup>	1695	Constantinople  LT Smyrna	Smyrna - London - Plymouth <sup>23</sup> - Tunis <sup>24</sup> - Tripoli	Ship Commander. <sup>25</sup>  Textile Materials trade in Tunis, Tripoli and Smyrna. <sup>26</sup> (IB).

<sup>21</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, p. 82. (Appointment Date: 16 November 1715).

<sup>22</sup> TNA: PROB 11/415, fol. 232 and some information from Robert Ashby who was Merchant and father of John Ashby see TNA: PROB 11/293, fols. 4–5.

<sup>23</sup> TNA: ADM 106/351/179, July 1680.

<sup>24</sup> TNA: ADM 106/369/14, 1684.

<sup>25</sup> He commanded the Dunkirk in 1678–9, the Constant Warwick in 1680–81, and the Mary Rose from 1681 to 1684, employed in the latter chiefly in convoying the Levant trade. TNA: ADM 106/347/40, 16 August 1680. In this record, Ashby reported an interesting story that related to chasing a Turkish (referred Ottoman) man of the war. “*Captain John Ashby, the Constant Warwick at Spithead. Report of a meeting with Captain Williams, who informed him of his chasing a Turkish man of war on the 1st and another two on the 8th. They lost their main topmast in a storm, replaced it and met the 2 Turkish men of war again off the Lizard on the 12th and lost the main topmast again and for loss of wind gave up the chase. He tried to go to Plymouth but met another storm and got to the Isle of Wight and anchored at Spithead. Asks for orders for the ship to be cleaned at Plymouth. Asks for a mainsail for the Pearl and orders for Captain Lanine at Plymouth to supply the Pearl and Dartmouth with stores. And TNA: ADM 106/369/14, 1684.* This record shows that the ships named as Mary Rose and Constant Warwick sailed to the Tunisian ports, in other words the North African ports of the Ottoman Empire. And see, J. D. Davies, “Ashby, Sir John (bap. 1646, d. 1693), naval officer”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press, date of access 26 Jul. 2018. See:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-744>

<sup>26</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 13, 32, 116, 175, 221, 1681-1682.

Lambert	Blackwell	1696	FM and Consul in Italy	Smyrna – Leghorn – Genoa	(FBM).
Robert	Bristow	1696	FM	???	(IB).
Elias	Deleau	1696	FM	???	(IB).
William	Druce	1696	FM	???	(IB).
George	Boddington	1696	LT Aleppo	Aleppo – Smyrna – London	The founder of Boddington enterprises in the Levant. <sup>27</sup> (FBM).
William	Joliffe	1696	FM	???	(IB).
Simon	Leblanc	1696	FM	???	(IB).
William	Nicholas	1696	FM	???	(IB).
Thomas	Betton	1697	FM	???	(IB).
William	Brooks	1697	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(IB).
Thomas	Carew	1697	FM	???	(IB).
(Mr)	Chiswell	1697	LT Aleppo	Aleppo	(FBM).
Thomas	Hatton	1697	FM	???	(IB).
George	Juxon	1697	LT Aleppo	Aleppo	(IB).
Thomas	Leigh	1697	LT Smyrna	Smyrna	(IB).
Samuel	Lannoy	1697	LT Aleppo	London	Family Merchant in Aleppo. <sup>28</sup> (FBM).
Hugh	Norris	1697	FM	???	(IB).

<sup>27</sup> He was the founder of the Boddington Company. See Gary S. De. Krey, "Boddington, George (1646–1719), merchant and Independent lay leader", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 26 Jul. 2018. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-49744>.

<sup>28</sup> BL: Stowe MS 220, fols 68-69, and 96, 1687.

James, (Sir)	Rushout	1697	Ambassador in Constantinople	Constantinople Smyrna	(IB).
Richard	Westbrook	1697	FM	???	(IB).
George	Whaley	1697	FM Cyprus	London	(FBM).
Peter	Whitcom	1697	FM	???	(IB).
Edward	Vernon <sup>29</sup>	1697	LT Smyrna	Aleppo – Latakia	Naval Officer, (of ships named <i>Jersey</i> , <i>Assistance</i> , and <i>Mary</i> ). (FBM).
Benjamin	Whaely	1697	LT Cyprus	Aleppo – London	(FBM).
Henry	Stiles	1698	LT Smyrna	London	Silk and mohair merchant in Smyrna with his brother Oliver Stiles. <sup>30</sup> (FBM).
William	Hedges	1698	LT Aleppo	Smyrna	(IB).
Walter	Merchant	1698	FM	???	(IB).
Henry	Phill	1698	FM	???	(IB).
James	Harrison	1699	FM	???	(IB).
John	Hooper	1699	FM	???	(IB).
Thomas	Savage	1699	FM	???	(IB).
John	Walter	1699	FM	???	(IB).
Cutts	Lockwood	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	Turkey Merchant.(FBM).

<sup>29</sup> R. Harding, (2008, January 03). Vernon, Edward (1684–1757), naval officer. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from:  
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28237>.

<sup>30</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 37 b, 88 b, and 104 b, 1682-1684.

Richard	Chiswell	1699	FM Smyrna	Oxford	(FBM).
Thomas	Cooke	1699	LT Constantinople	London - Smyrna	(FBM).
William	Dunster	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(IB).
Charles	Frye	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(FBM).
Sir Randolph	Knipe	1699	LT Aleppo	Aleppo – London - Madagascar - Mozambique <sup>31</sup>	Silk Merchant, Sailor. And, The partners of the Radcliffes in Aleppo in term of silk trade. <sup>32</sup> Slave Trade from South Africa. (IB).
Cutts	Lockwood	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	Turkey Merchant.(FBM).
Richard	Chiswell	1699	FM Smyrna	Oxford	(FBM).
Thomas	Cooke	1699	LT Constantinople	London - Smyrna	(FBM).
William	Dunster	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(IB).
Charles	Frye	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(FBM).
Christopher	Lethieullier	1699	LT Constantinople	Aleppo – London	Family merchant in the Levant. (FBM).
John I	Phillips	1699	LT Constantinople	Aleppo – London	Family merchant in the Levant. (FBM).
Edward	Pilkington	1699	LT Smyrna	London	Levant merchant in Smyrna with his brother. <sup>33</sup> (IB).

**Source:** TNA: SP 105/155-156; Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English traders in the Levant in the 18th century*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1967).

<sup>31</sup> He was sailor to Levant, Madagascar - Mozambique in order to import textile materials. BL: IOR/E/1/7 fols 148-149v, 14 Mar 1716.

<sup>32</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 97 b, and 109, 1684.

The above-stated number of merchants with regard to this period is fairly high. Even though most of these merchants appear to be individual traders, their share of the trade is quite low compared to the merchants doing family business. Besides, this high number of merchants is directly related to the fact that the Levant trade was very profitable at that time. It should also be noted in this respect that the English share in Levant trade during this period corresponding immediately before 1700s was around 40%. All merchants of the Levant Company, were trading intensively, chiefly in factories of the Levant Company such as Aleppo, Constantinople, and Smyrna in the period of 1695-1700 as well.<sup>34</sup> Apart from these centres in the Levant, Cyprus (Larnaka) also started to become important for the merchants especially in silk trade. In the last decade of the 17th century, the first consul was appointed to Cyprus in order to protect the company's interest. Before that date, French consuls acted on behalf of the Levant Company's interest in Cyprus.<sup>35</sup> According to the correspondence of the Radcliffes' in the second decade of the 18th century, there was frequent discussion on the silk and cotton trade via Cyprus.<sup>36</sup> That is why Cyprus was becoming a centre for the exportation of British clothes and related goods.

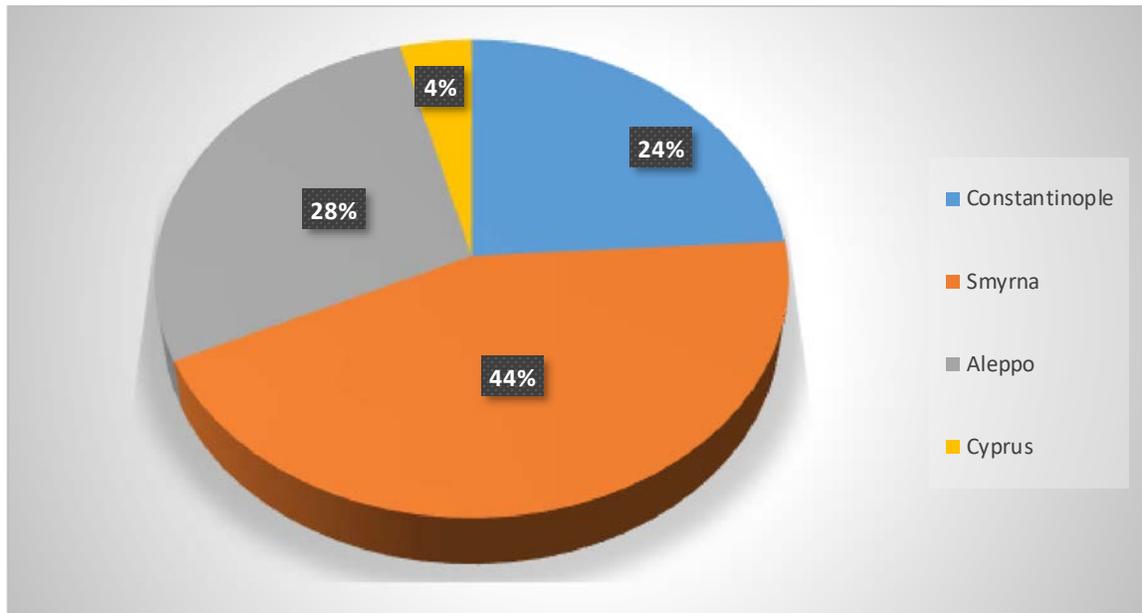
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<sup>34</sup> As we know from the Constantinople Kadi Registers, they were engaged to the local trade in Constantinople starting from the early 17th century. Some English merchants operated fabric and cloth business in the Ottoman capital. See KR: CR 3/161, p. 150, (1618); KR: CR 16/1216, pp. 892-893, (1663-1664).

<sup>35</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 124-125.

<sup>36</sup> HERT: DE/R/B13, 12 Mar 1717.

**Figure 1:** British Trade Centres for the New Entrant Merchants in the Period of 1695-1699

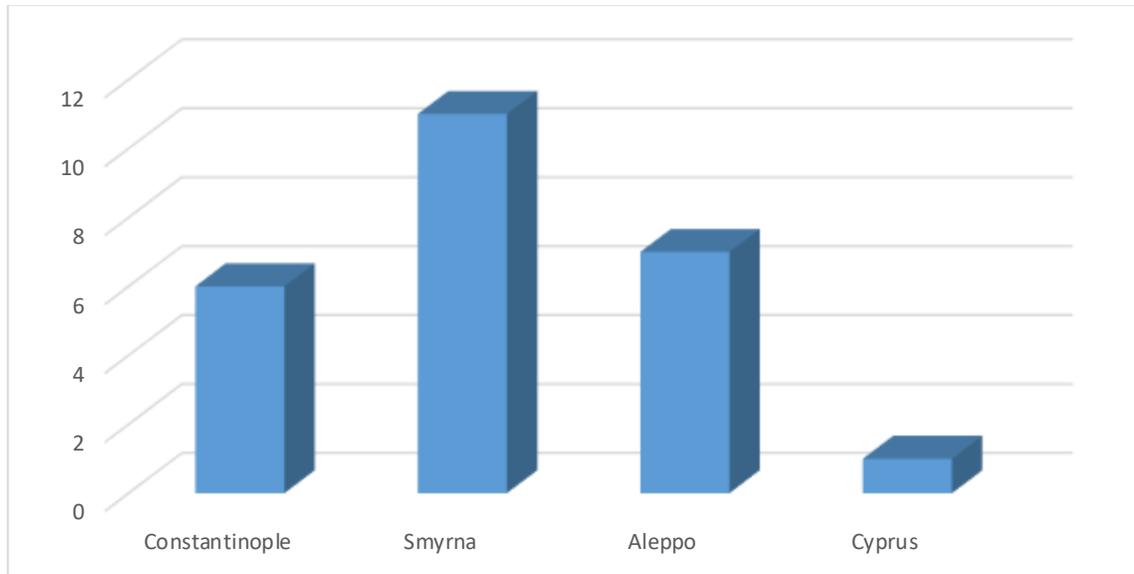


Besides that, 16 merchants operated their family business in this period, and it continued until the middle of the 18th century. These were engaged by the big-wealthy merchant families such as the Vernons, Boddingtons, Whatelys, Philips, Lethieulliers, Jennings, Bulls, Cookes and Chiswells. In this period, there were around 25 new entrant merchants started to operate business in the Levant centres in total.<sup>37</sup> Besides, other actors were individual merchants in the Levant trade.

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<sup>37</sup> The names, approved dates, centres, and the other related information of merchants in the period of 1695-1699 was compiled from State Papers, Wilson's List and Davis's book.

**Figure 2:** The Numbers of New Entrant British Merchants in the Trade Centres of Levant, (1695-1699)



According to the merchant list given in the table 37 above, the merchants' networks were not limited to the Levant Seas before the 1700s. For instance, Sir Randolph Knipe who was appointed as a freeman in Aleppo in 1698 was engaged in other destinations apart from Levant Seas. He was sailing to Madagascar and Mozambique with connection through Levant ports at that time. He was operating commercial business on silk and textile materials from these destinations.<sup>38</sup> He had also partnership relations with Radcliffe family in the Levant.<sup>39</sup> In this sense, we know that he was operating marine transportation with his ships, named as *Hamilton Galley* and *Levant Galley*, in order to

<sup>38</sup> BL: IOR/E/1/7 ff. 148-149v, 14 Mar 1716. (Ship name: *Hamilton Galley*)

<sup>39</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 2.

transport textile raw materials from Levant, and was also engaged in the slave trade in Mozambique via St Mays Port-Madagascar in the first decade of the 18th century.<sup>40</sup> As can be clearly understood from this example, even the experienced individual merchants who were eager for the Levant trade needed to hold network relations with a big merchant family doing business in Levant during the period before the Act of 1753.

Moreover, John Ashby<sup>41</sup> who was trading in the Ottoman capital and Smyrna starting from the last decade of the 17th century was also involved in other duties such as ship commander and in administration of ship conveying. He operated commercial activities especially in the northern African coastal cities of the Ottoman Empire such as Tripoli and Tunis with commercial operations in Smyrna in the late 17th century and later.<sup>42</sup> He was also linked with Plymouth beside London at that time for his trading operations at the close of the 17th century.<sup>43</sup> He was operating commercial activities in terms of textile materials in the Levant and northern African coasts of the Ottomans. According to the archival records, the ships named as *Mary Rose* and *Constant Warwick* were sailed to

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<sup>40</sup> TNA: HCA 26/14/155, 1710 April 17. Information with the ship details: "Commander: Peter Jackson. Ship: Levant Galley. Burden: 300 tons. Crew: 90. Owners: Sir Randolph Knipe, Joseph Jackson, Samuel Read, Alexander Merseal and Richard Chase of London, merchants. Lieutenant: Nicholas March. Gunner: Nicholas Johnson. Boatswain: Thomas Johnson. Carpenter: Joseph Williams. Cook: Thomas Moore. Armament: 20 guns. Folio: 157." BL: IOR/E/1/7 ff. 185-185v, Apr 1716. Information with the ship details: "Ship: Hamilton Galley. Owner: Sir Randolph Knipe."

<sup>41</sup> TNA: PROB 11/415, fol. 232, 10 August 1693. For some information from Robert Ashby who was merchant and father of John Ashby, see TNA: PROB 11/293, fols. 4-5, 28 June 1659.

<sup>42</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, ff. 13, 32, 116, 175, 221 John Ashby, Merchant at Smyrna: Letters to, from Lord Chandos: 1681-1682 in the period of (1681-1688).

<sup>43</sup> TNA: ADM 106/351/179, July 1680. TNA: ADM 106/369/14, 1684.

the Tunisian ports of the North African coast of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>44</sup> John Ashby could participate in the Levant trade due to the commercial network of his father as well as his own intimacy with the Vernon family.

Another influential figure of the Levant Company was a member of the Vernon Family, named Edward Vernon. He was appointed as a freeman of the company in Smyrna in 1697 as mentioned before. He was engaged in high volume silk importation from Smyrna to London. Also, he was involved in the Latakia-Aleppo trade of other textile raw materials in the first decade of the 18th century. Besides, he was naval officer of the following ships; *Jersey*, *Assistance*, and *Mary* at that time.<sup>45</sup> As we know, in order to earn

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<sup>44</sup> He commanded the *Dunkirk* in 1678–9, the *Constant Warwick* in 1680–81, and the *Mary Rose* from 1681 to 1684, employed in the latter chiefly in convoying the Levant trade. TNA: ADM 106/347/40, 16 August 1680. In this record, Ashby reported an interesting story that related to chasing a Turkish (referred Ottoman) man of the war. “*Captain John Ashby, the Constant Warwick at Spithead. Report of a meeting with Captain Williams, who informed him of his chasing a Turkish man of war on the 1st and another two on the 8th. They lost their main topmast in a storm, replaced it and met the 2 Turkish men of war again off the Lizard on the 12th and lost the main topmast again and for loss of wind gave up the chase. He tried to go to Plymouth but met another storm and got to the Isle of Wight and anchored at Spithead. Asks for orders for the ship to be cleaned at Plymouth. Asks for a mainsail for the Pearl and orders for Captain Lanine at Plymouth to supply the Pearl and Dartmouth with stores. And* TNA: ADM 106/369/14, 1684. This record shows that the ships named as *Mary Rose* and *Constant Warwick* sailed to the Tunisian ports, in other words the north Mediterranean ports of the Ottoman Empire. And see, J. D. Davies, “Ashby, Sir John (bap. 1646, d. 1693), naval officer”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press, date of access 26 Jul. 2018, See: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-744>

<sup>45</sup> Harding, R. (2008, January 03). Vernon, Edward (1684–1757), naval officer. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28237>.

dividends from commercial activities, merchants such as Ashby were engaged with the Vernon family in sugar and tobacco importation at the end of the 17th century.<sup>46</sup>

These examples make clear that merchants were engaged in Levant trade before 1700 and had relations and business networks related commerce with many other ports and regions apart from the Levant. These kinds of networks and relations expanded and increased in the period 1700-1753 as well. In this period, there were nearly 350 merchants operating commercial and financial businesses in the Levant trade. Four-fifths of these merchants were doing commercial business on their own behalf (IB) and had limited relations with the big-wealthy families. Besides, we can see from the records of the Levant Company that the business operations of the merchants belonging to big-wealthy families continued uninterruptedly. These records also show us that the members of the big families were actually engaged in commercial activities in the Levant since the 1650s. The initiatives of the members of big-wealthy merchant families were long-termed and steady in the Levant trade. Most of them were doing active business in the centres of Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna as in the period of 1650-1700. This long-term work experience, established business and social networks provided these families with the opportunity to dominate the Levant trade.

However, in the second half of the 18th century, in addition to the aforementioned centres, Cyprus, Cairo, Latakia, Alexandria and the coasts of northern Africa such as

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<sup>46</sup> Søren Mentz, *The English gentleman merchant at work: Madras and the city of London 1660-1740* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2005), p. 52.

Tunis, and Tripoli with a couple of islands around Smyrna were added. In these centres, the business networks of the Levant Company merchants expanded visibly for that period. In this sense, in East Mediterranean, Aleppo- Scanderoon Customs, Latakia Customs, Sidon-Beirut Customs and Jaffa-Gaza Customs in Palestine were important for ongoing commercial operations. In the Mediterranean Cyprus, Alexandria Customs and Tripoli-Tunis (Trablus-i Garb) Customs were centres for the merchants of the Levant Company.<sup>47</sup> Levant Company merchants operated businesses in all these ports. Doing business in such great numbers of commercial centres can be claimed to have close relationships with the increasing number of individual merchants and the reduced monopoly power of the big family merchants.<sup>48</sup> Although the ports had begun to diversify, the centres which British traders used the most in the Levant trade continued to be Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople. In the Ottoman customs system, there were several customs point in the Levant region.

In this period (1700-1753), close to 350 merchants had started trading for the first time in Levant. We have detailed information about 250 of them. Accordingly, a total of 245 merchants in the Levant business centres can be traced from the archive records. The centres that these merchants preferred to do business changed slightly in this period. However, almost half of these new entrant merchants started to operate their

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<sup>47</sup> Saim Çağrı Kocakaplan, "İstanbul Gümrüğü (1750-1800): Teşkilat ve Ticaret" *Phd Diss.* (Marmara University), 2014, pp. 30-32.

<sup>48</sup> This point will be explained in more detail in the analysis section under the title of "Merchants in the Period 1753-1800" available within the same chapter.

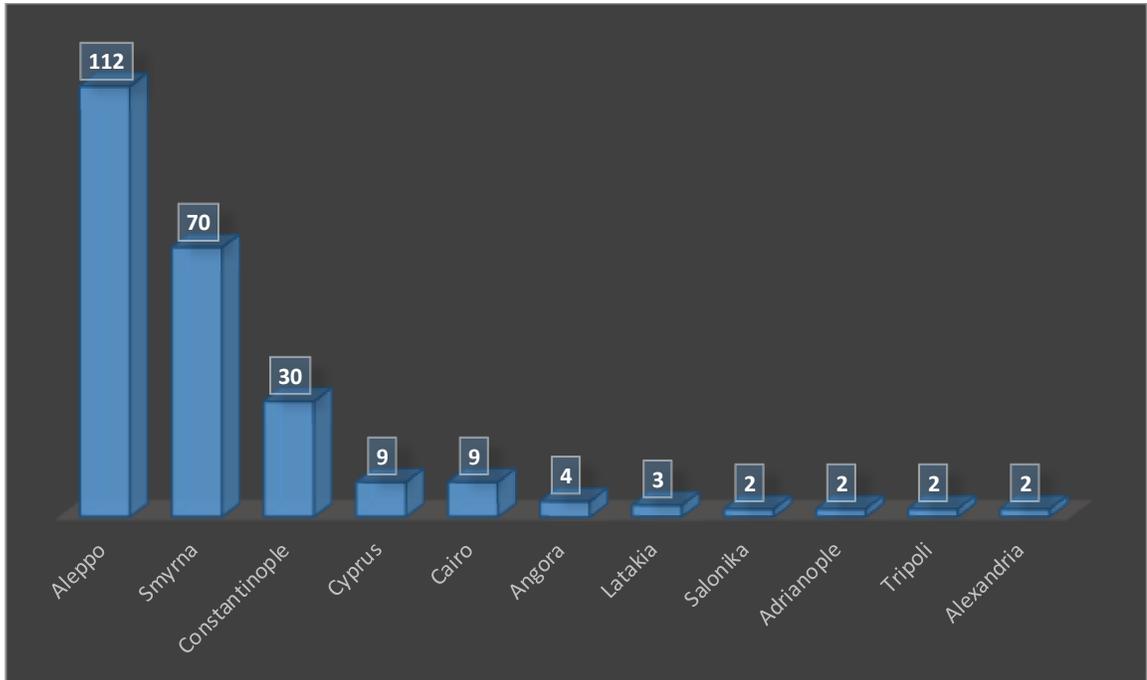
commercial activities in the city of Aleppo with its port Scanderoon. Aleppo, which appears to be the most important centre for the 17th century in the Levant trade, continued to maintain its position in the first half of the 18th century. This was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that the trade of silk and textile materials were still alive in the region. After Aleppo, Smyrna became the second most important centre for the new appointed merchants in the Levant trade. We see that the mobility in Smyrna started from 1695-1700 dates. In that period, a growing number of the new entrant merchants in the Levant concentrated their business in Smyrna. Hence, 70 new entrant merchants started to do business in Smyrna in the period of 1700-1753, while for Aleppo this number was 112 for the same period. Trading dyestuffs required for weaving products played a role in the rise of Smyrna in the Levant trade.<sup>49</sup> Apart from these two important trading centres, a vice-consulate was established in Larnaka, Cyprus, and another consulate was established in Salonica in the first decades of the 18th century.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, there have also been new merchant entrances to trade centres such as Cyprus (Larnaka), Cairo, Angora and Salonica in this period. The Levant trade continued to operate through Aleppo, Smyrna and Constantinople, although Cyprus, and Egypt and Salonica were gradually becoming important for this period.

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<sup>49</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "The economic activities of Ottoman and western communities in 18th-century Izmir" *Oriente moderno* 18: 1 (1999), pp. 11-26. Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the 18th Century, 1700-1820*, (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies 1992), pp. 119-137.

<sup>50</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 36.

**Figure 3:** The Numbers of New Entrant British Merchants in the Trade Centres of Levant, (1700-1753)

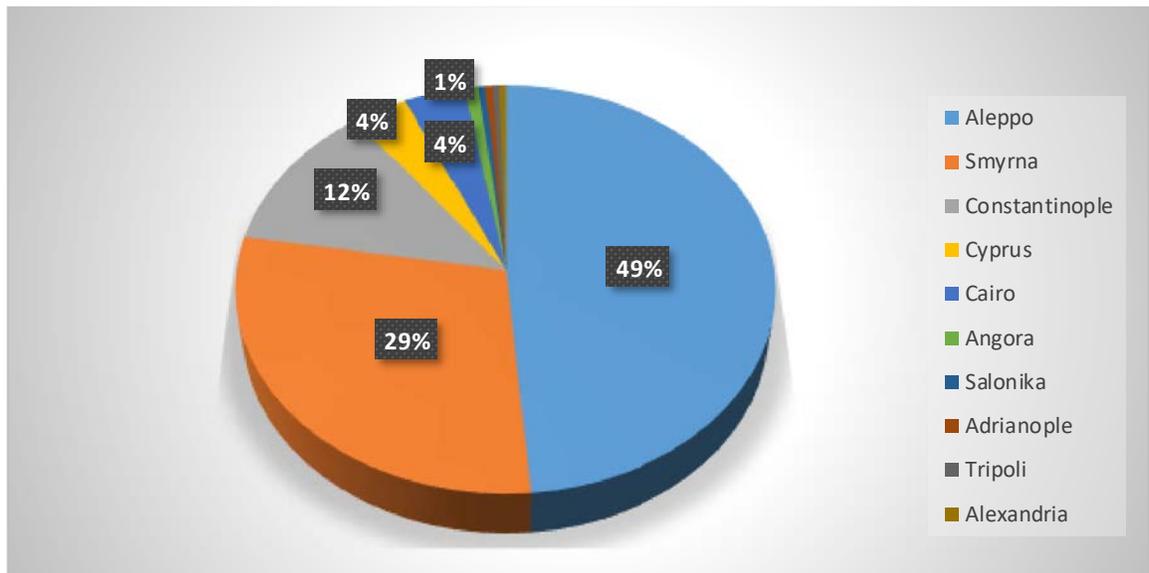


Accordingly, between 1700 and 1753, half of the new members of the Levant trade ( $112/245 = 46\%$ ) began trading in Aleppo. Approximately one third of these merchants ( $70/245 = 28\%$ ) were engaged in the Levant trade with Smyrna. In the same period, the total number of new merchants in Cyprus (9) and Cairo (9) was more than half as many new entrant merchants in Constantinople. Apart from these centres, Angora, Salonika, Adrianople and Tripoli were also seen as centres where new entrant merchants traded

For the period of 1700-1753, there were many merchants who operated business without any family ties in Levant. In order to understand the developments in the Levant for the retailer merchants, we must assess the business operations of individual merchants (IB) in the light of their ship directions on the Lloyd's List and Registers with

other records from several archives. For this reason, it is useful to examine these two merchant groups separately. In this sense, in this chapter, we have sought to examine individual merchants in decades for the period of 1700-1753 to gain a fuller picture of the trade.

**Figure 4:** British Trade Centres for the New Entrant Merchants in the Period of 1700-1753



First, several individual merchants established broad business networks in the first decade of the 18th century. According to the merchant list given in the table below, the individual merchants started to trade in the Levant with their established business networks with other regions apart from Levant Seas in the period of 1700-1710. It means that they were operating business in the other Seas and ports before they were joined the Levant Company. For instance, Alexander Akehurst from Surrey was a ship-owner

from the last decades of the 17th century.<sup>51</sup> Although he was a member of a wealthy family, he was conducting business in the Levant by himself and on his own account. He had a ship named *The Lyon*. It was one of the biggest ships in the Ottoman commercial operations with a 50-strong crew and cargo capacity of 420 tons.<sup>52</sup> According to the records, we can understand that the ship owned by Akehurst and his partners became the general ship for the company merchants at that time. At this point, it is necessary to emphasize the policy of company in shipping. Before 1718, the Levant Company directed their appointed merchants to trade only and solely by general shipping. The company usually sent its cargoes to the Britain in convoys only once a year (sometimes twice) with their chosen ships. In other words, the company determined the ships for trading yearly and it approved only convoy shipping by the general shipping method. The price of all Levant products sold in the Britain was high because of the company's monopoly system. In this sense, they did not want to allow any system of transport except for general shipping in the Levant trade. Apart from general shipping, there was also one more method in shipping. It was 'joint shipping', which allowed any merchant to send goods by any ships they preferred at any time. For the most part however, merchants chose not to run this kind of shipping method in the Levant trade because of the rules of the company. It was for that reason that, prior to 1718, individual merchants were mostly

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<sup>51</sup> SHCA: QS2/6/1755/Mid/51, pp. 5-6. In order to see further information of Akehursts Family, have a look SHC: 5000/ADD/box4. (Surrey History Centre Archive).

<sup>52</sup> TNA: HCA 26/15/147, 24 May 1711. The information of *The Lyon*: Commander: Charles Gibson. Burden: 420 tons. Crew: 50. And it had multiple owners consisted of London Merchants and they shared held jointly controlled the ship.

confined to using the general shipping method in order to send their goods and from to Levant. On an on-and-off basis the requirement to use general shipping for transporting goods from the Levant remained in place until 1744, through in some periods, e.g., 1687-1713, a hybrid system was in operation.<sup>53</sup> Thereafter, they also use the system of joint ships.<sup>54</sup> Accordingly, silk, cotton, and mohair were imported by general ships generally via Constantinople, Smyrna and Scanderoon. In this way, the company took a step towards being more liberated in shipping as of the year 1744. As a change that can be considered institutional. In a sense, this step matters just as much as the Act of 1753 in terms of its transformatory effect on the company. Although such institutional transformation within the policy of shipping did not lead to a big leap in the Levant trade in an instant, it obviously brought about a significant dynamism to this trade.<sup>55</sup>

Another ship-owner was Chamber Slougher operating in the same decade of the period of 1700-1710. His ship name was Grenadier. The ship was operated by Josias Coombes on the Levant Seas. He had also one more ship named *Great Leghorne* jointly.<sup>56</sup> His partners in this partnership were Edward Gould and Thomas Palmers who were also freeman of the Levant Company in the first half of the 18th century. With Thomas Palmers, he had also another ship named *Incomparable*. According to the routes of

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<sup>53</sup> The situation is summarized in Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 136-138; see in particular fn. 136, fn. 3 for the ambiguous state that applied during the period 1687-1713. See also, *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>55</sup> The fact that a serious mobility was in progress especially in the first period after General Shipping imposition was abolished (1744-1755) and as of 1760s can be followed over Lloyd's Registers and Lists. In addition, the change in total trade volume also justifies this. See Chapter 3 and 6.

<sup>56</sup> TNA: HCA 26/13/101, 17 September 1708. TNA: HCA 26/14/43, 5 Augustos 1709. His ship name was *Grenadier*. The ship commanded by Josias Coombes in the Levant Seas.

*Incomparable*,<sup>57</sup> commercial networks contained Levant routes with East India and northern African routes in the first decades of the 18th century.<sup>58</sup> Apart from ship-owners, there were individuals such as John Hunter who, in addition to being an appointed merchant of the Levant Company, was also a ship commander. After being appointed by the company in 1708, Hunter was operating from Smyrna, Aleppo, and Scanderoon. The name of his ship was *Marlborough*.<sup>59</sup> He also operated the ship named *Gardiner Frigate*.<sup>60</sup> From Hunter's case, it can be seen that enterprenuerial networks of individual merchants were not limited to one form of ownership, transport or commercial method. On one hand, the merchants were operating their own business using different routes; on the other hand, they were seen to understand the importance of diverse forms of shipping in the Levant. In short, they did not want to be kept away from the networks of the members of the company. If they were engaged to the company officials, their ships could be appointed as general shipping, but in other circumstances they could engage in trading by means of joint-proprietorship and joint ownership of both ships and commodities. Thanks to the freedom granted after 1744, such individual merchants started to increase their business networks.

Individual merchants benefitted from some experiences gained from their family members in the first decade of the 18th century. John Cary, appointed by the company

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<sup>57</sup> TNA: HCA 26/16/24, 12 October 1711.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> TNA: HCA 26/14/151, 8 April 1710.

<sup>60</sup> TNA: HCA 26/15/175, 17 August 1711.

in 1700, had the experiences handed down by his father.<sup>61</sup> His father was a Smyrna merchant of the Levant Company in the 1660s. With this knowledge, John Cary was also operating commercial activities in textile raw materials and products mostly in Smyrna. One of his main importation goods was silk and mohair from Smyrna via Angora at that time. Harvey Petty had some knowledge from his father on trade in the Levant too. Harvey's father was appointed to oversee the Aleppo trade in 1680. His father continued to trade in Aleppo until 1687.<sup>62</sup> After that, Harvey Petty was appointed a freeman in 1713. His commercial centre was Cyprus at that time. In this manner, the entrepreneurial networks were shaped intergenerationally under the influence of these kinds of experiences and perspectives based on long-term familiarity with prevailing conditions in the Levant.

Also, some merchants played administrative roles in the Levant alongside their commercial activities. John Purnell was consul at the Aleppo Factory of the Levant Company in the period 1716-1726. Before he became a consul in Aleppo, he spent several years in business activities in the Levant trade.<sup>63</sup> Another example of this was Sir Richard Onslow. Onslow was a cloth merchant in the Levant and London. After spending years in commercial activities, he became director of the Levant Company, appointed in 1710.<sup>64</sup> In the 1740s and 1750s, Alexander Drummond was a merchant and vice consul

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<sup>61</sup> TNA: PROB 11/352/44, 23 June 1676.

<sup>62</sup> BL: Stowe MS 220, fols 19, 64, 81, 94, 1685-1687.

<sup>63</sup> BL: IOR/E/1/12, fols 426-427, 1721. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 255.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

in Scanderoon, which was important port for Aleppo trade.<sup>65</sup> When we look all of the consuls and vice consuls of the company factories, the vast majority of them were merchants who resided and traded in the Levant. All these merchants on the management layer took up their positions with the approval and direction of big merchant families. Hence, it appears that the company wanted to see seasoned merchants in its factories and as consuls in order to operate regional businesses successfully in the Levant. Contrary to this, the ambassadors of the company in Constantinople were appointed by the Crown with limited exceptional appointments.<sup>66</sup>

Individual merchants who operated in the Levant were mostly involved with the importation of textile materials importation and British cloth exportation to the Levant at that time. In this sense, they were trading silk, mohair, yarn, some fruits and luxury goods mostly in that period. John Mitford, was a London clothier, engaged to the cloth markets in the Levant in the first decades of the 18th century. Every clothier's concern at that time was on French domination of the cloth trade in the Levant. Hence, Mitford took a close interest in the cloths' cost and quality. According to a letter from William Temple, he was concerned about the French domination of the cloth trade in the Levant. He was also noted the higher cost of British cloth, which impeded competition with the lower-prices French cloths.<sup>67</sup> Mitford was exporting white cloths to the Aleppo and

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<sup>65</sup> BL: Add MS 45932-45933, 1751.

<sup>66</sup> According to Laidlaw, there were two exceptions related to the appointments of William Hussey (1690–1691), and Everard Fawkener (1735–1746). See Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, p. 29.

<sup>67</sup> Julia de L. Mann, "Documents and Sources VII: A Letter from William Temple", *Textile History*, 9:1, (1978), pp, 170-172. "Letter from William Temple, a Trowbridge clothier, to John Mitford of Old Broad Street,

Smyrna with these difficulties at that time. Apart from white cloths, dyestuffs imported from Smyrna, tobacco and rum from Cyprus, in particular.<sup>68</sup> That is why Smyrna and Cyprus were even becoming the new centres of trade in the Levant before the Act of 1753.<sup>69</sup> At that time, Arthur Pollard was the consul at Cyprus Factory of the company. He was trying to expand these commercial activities in Cyprus, especially in luxury goods exportation.<sup>70</sup> As a consul, he was concerned with white cloths, broath clots and other textile goods in Cyprus and later in Aleppo. According to his correspondence, his initiatives in Aleppo were directly related to the raw silk importation and regulating the prices of the British manufactured goods.<sup>71</sup> As can be seen clearly with reference to these examples, individual merchants were trying to expand their business networks in a geographical sense.

In the Levant, factory business was very common for individual merchants. For instance, Henry Morse was operating mohair yarn trade in Smyrna in 1710s and 1720s. On the other hand, he was the factor of the Radcliffes in Smyrna at the same time.<sup>72</sup> He was coordinating the commercial activities for the Radcliffes from Smyrna, which was

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London, soliciting orders. Comments on the rise of French exports of cloth to the Levant at the expense of British trade.”

<sup>68</sup> BL: Add MS 72550, fols 91-143v, 1708-1716. “Business correspondence between Hanger and Sir William Trumbull in the 1710s.” Sir William Trumbull was British Ambassador for the company in the period of 1686-1691 at Ottoman capital. For his Memorials, See BL, Add. 34799, fols 30-33. And, TNA: C 11/1834/1, pp. 1-2. TNA: ADM 106/395/1/32, pp. 1-2, 24 Jan 1690.

<sup>69</sup> BL: Sloane MS 4067, fols 171, 1702-1709. Also see, TNA: C 11/1920/9, 1718. And, TNA: PROB 11/595/133, 17 January 1724.

<sup>70</sup> BL: Add MS 45932-45933, 1747-1756.

<sup>71</sup> HERT: DE/R/B387/18, 8 Nov 1750.

<sup>72</sup> HERT: DE/R/B121/1-6, 30 April 1715 - 22 March 1717.

profitable for him.<sup>73</sup> Another merchant who was related to the Radcliffes in the same period was Charles Beverley. He was cloth merchant in Aleppo and he too was operating Radcliffes' business in the same centre. He was doing factory business until the end of the 1720s. The other agents-factors were Peter Lupart and Thomas Pelham in the Levant at the same time. They had not any family ties in business, but they became factors of the Radcliffe Family in the 1720s and 1730s. Peter Lupart was appointed in 1723, but he started to do business as a factor of the Radcliffes from the 1730s in Aleppo.<sup>74</sup> For Thomas Pelham, he was operating luxury goods exportation to the Ottoman capital in the 1720s, having been earlier apprenticed to John Lethieullier, a London Merchant with interests in the Levant trade.<sup>75</sup> He became a M.P. for Lewes after he returned to Britain and died in 1737.<sup>76</sup> In the late 1740s, Alexander Drummund was consul at Aleppo factory of the Levant Company. He was also factor with business serving for Radcliffes in Aleppo

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<sup>73</sup> HERT: DE/R/B34/1, 20 August 1717.

<sup>74</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. xii. And TNA: SP 110/26, pp. 7-8 and 229-235, 1731-1737.

<sup>75</sup> BL: Add. MS. 33085, May 1718-1737. Pelham's factory in Constantinople from 1719 to 1726 contains some documents and notes on Levant trade and Levantine commercial affairs between the Ottomans and Levant Company members. (Correspondence of Thomas Pelham, of Stanmer, co. Sussex, merchant at Constantinople, and afterwards M.P. for Lewes.)

<sup>76</sup> <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/pelham-thomas-1705-37>  
"Family and Education: b. c.1705, 3rd s. of Henry Pelham, M.P., of Stanmer, and bro. of Henry Pelham of Stanmer. m. 5 Feb. 1725, Annetta, da. of Thomas Bridges of Constantinople, 1s. 1da. suc. bro. to family estates 1725. Biography: At a very early age Thomas Pelham, commonly known as Turk Pelham, was sent to Constantinople as apprentice to John Lethieullier, a Turkey merchant, whose step-daughter he married, despite the disapproval of his family. Shortly after his marriage he succeeded on the death of his elder brother to the family estates, worth over £2,000 a year. He declined a proposal by Newcastle to nominate him at once for his brother's seat, but after returning to England he was brought in by Newcastle at the general election of 1727, voting with the Government in all recorded divisions. At the next general election Newcastle complained that he 'never comes to Lewes but he gets drunk and then talks in so imprudent and extravagant a manner that he makes his friends very uneasy'. He died of drink 21 Dec. 1737."

at that time.<sup>77</sup> After his retirement, he moved on Edinburgh and continued his commercial activities from there in the 1760s.<sup>78</sup> From such examples, we can see how entrepreneurial networks were established by individual merchants, in accordance with their ambition to become local actors of the big-wealthy merchants at that time.

The common point between all these individual merchants is that they came to the Levant so young in an individual sense and that they began to act as the agents of big merchant families doing business with the Levant by winning their trust in the course of time.<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the reason Aleppo is was so much preferred can be attributed to the abundance of opportunities that allowed these individual merchants to develop local business networks in Aleppo. Aleppo was both a quite significant commercial centre during the first half of the 18th century and a trading town in which the financial market had developed largely. In this way, Aleppo also provided the individual merchants in question with the chance to deal with such extra works as money brokering and lending. The British merchants in Aleppo gained important profits by distributing loans at the rate of 10 to 12% during the periods when they could not commercially put their excess capital savings to good use.<sup>80</sup> The roles played by big merchant families stand out on this

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<sup>77</sup> BL: Add MS 45932, 18 Sep 1747 - 1 Feb 1750. (Correspondence contained the years of 1747-1759 with his consulate in Aleppo for the Levant Company.); HERT: DE/R/B158/1-4, 3 Aug 1752 - 5 February 1759.

<sup>78</sup> HERT: DE/R/C341, 7 February 1763.

<sup>79</sup> The fact that the merchants were at a young age was in fact a state that existed since the foundation of the Company. As can be seen from State Papers and the life stories of merchants, it is understood that these merchants came to Levant when they were just 17 or 18 years of age. Therefore, it is apprehensible that such inexperienced merchants tried to gain the trust of big merchant families with the experience of doing business with Levant.

<sup>80</sup> Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the eve of modernity: Aleppo in the 18th century*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), p. 185.

point of financial earnings too. The Radcliffe family, one of the major families who performed commercial activities in the Ottoman geography, is known to have obtained information about the interest rates in Levant periodically. Richard Stratton, who did business in Aleppo as the agent of the Radcliffes, reported to his boss Arthur Radcliffe that the interest rates ranged between 8 to 10% in Levant market and provided information concerning political and diplomatic issues.<sup>81</sup> It is obvious that this sort of information about political matters was presented due to its potential to influence interest rates. Also, the loan relationship that involved John Woolley, the merchant in Constantinople at the beginning of the century, is directly related to Aleppo. Accordingly, Woolley made collections from the Ottoman-citizen tax collector for whom he issued credits by means of the factory in Aleppo.<sup>82</sup> It was among the taxmen and estate owner groups in Aleppo that the British merchants provided most loans. The producing group who provided the tax revenues of agricultural production available in the rural area outside the city and who themselves engaged in the agricultural sector held an important place.<sup>83</sup>

As for the partnership, many initiatives of individual merchants were can be seen in the period 1700-1753. For instance, Herbert Hyde was appointed merchant of the company in 1726. He was operating business in Aleppo in 1720s and 1730s. Also, he was

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<sup>81</sup> HERT: DE/R/B, 226/2B, 18 March 1734 - 29 March 1734.

<sup>82</sup> TNA: SP, 110/22, p. 159, 13 July 1702 - 24 July 1702.

<sup>83</sup> For the details of the money brokering of the Levant Company merchant whose name was Joh Woolley, see Mehmet Sait Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb" PhD Diss. (Istanbul University), 2014, pp. 138-154.

shareholder of the Hyde & Sherman Free Company in Aleppo.<sup>84</sup> Another Merchant was Thomas D'Aeth who had partnership with Radcliffes in Aleppo in the late 1730s. He was also shareholder of the D'Aeth & Lee Company operating business in Smyrna and Aleppo with Radcliffes.<sup>85</sup> Freeman of the company operated their business with the methods of choosing partners or establishing business partnerships in the local centres of Levant. According to the ship registers, many British merchants had partnership in shipping which will examine in the last chapter.<sup>86</sup> The partnerships were operated with other European merchants such as those from France, Italy, and the Dutch Republic in the century. By using these partnerships, merchants reduced the high transaction costs associated with their operations outside of the Levant ports. Such partnerships reflect the characteristic feature of the period before 1753 as a family business example.

The other important point was extensive business networks of the Levant merchant. Some merchants had business links to other regions outside the Levant Seas in the first decade of the 18th century. For instance, Thomas George Cary was appointed merchant in Smyrna had business networks in the Portugal coasts. He was also operated commercial business in the Madeira Island of Portugal before the 1710s.<sup>87</sup> Another example of that, Matthew Kendrick became a freeman of the Levant Company in 1700. He was doing business in silk trade, in particular. Portugal was also a centre for his

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<sup>84</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 76.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>86</sup> Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 24.

<sup>87</sup> BL: Add MS 61510, fols 136, 1706.

commercial activities. He also operated a business in slave trade in the commercial centres Portugal. He was using the centres of Oporto (Porto) and Viana in Portugal at that time.<sup>88</sup> Apart from Portugal, the ports of Italy such as Genoa and Leghorn and connections East India merchants were also considerable for the Levant individual merchants. John Cutting was a Turkey merchant operating business in Genoa and Leghorn.<sup>89</sup> East India trade was also important for merchants operating in the Levant. One of the other merchants who operating business in both Levant and East India was Francis Eyles. Eyles was engaged to the Persian silk with some Indian goods after 1720s.<sup>90</sup> Lastly, James Saunders also had links with other regions of World trade. He was shipmaster in the beginning of the 1750s. He was operating as a shipmaster and merchant in the Levant ports such as Scanderoon, Latakia, and Smyrna with northern African coasts until 1762.<sup>91</sup> He was shipmaster for the British ships as well as for French ships to the Levant in the middle of the 18th century.<sup>92</sup> The routes of the ships which were operated by him included: Scanderoon-London, Leghorn-Tripooly, Leghorn-London, Galway-London, Virginia-Barbados, Bristol-Jamaica and St. Petersburg-London in the 1760s.<sup>93</sup> This restricted number of merchants as stated here carried the business network so much beyond Levant. When compared to other individual merchants who

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<sup>88</sup> TNA: C108/414, 1709-1711.

<sup>89</sup> BL: Add MS 61620, fols 47b-48b, 1707.

<sup>90</sup> BL: IOR/E/1/12 fols 462-463v, 20 Nov 1721.

<sup>91</sup> Lloyds Lists and Register Books, 1753-1755 and 1757-1758 Lists.

<sup>92</sup> Shipmaster for the British ships and also French ships to the Levant in mid of the 18th century. From 1750 to 1762, He was a Mariner belonging to his ship *Sunderland*. See *Lloyds Lists and Register Books, 1753-1755 List*, p. 373. And will of Saunder, see TNA: PROB 11/879/160, 21 August 1762.

<sup>93</sup> Lloyds Lists and Register Books, 1760-1761 List.

mostly focused on the Mediterranean, the commercial centres reached by these traders represent a quite major economic enterprise related to the period before 1753. In fact, we will start to witness an increase in the number of such examples after the Act of 1753.

**Table 38:** The Approved Individual –Retailer Merchants by the Levant Company in the period of 1700-1753<sup>94</sup>

Name(s)	Surname	Period	LT or FM in Port and City	Commerce Centres	Job - Duty
<b>1700-1710</b>					
(Widow)	Marsh <sup>95</sup>	1700	LT Smyrna	London	Merchant. (IB).
Alexander	Akehurst	1700	FM Constantinople	Surrey – London	Treasurer of the Company and one of the owners of the ship <i>Lyon</i> and merchant of London. (IB)
John	Cary	1700	FM Smyrna	Smyrna – Angora	Silk Merchant imported from Smyrna via Angora. (IB)
Thomas George	Cary	1700	FM Smyrna	Madeira Island, Portugal - London	Turkey and Portugal Merchants in the 1700s and 1710s. (IB).
Mathew	Kendrick	1700	FM Aleppo	Smyrna – Oporto and Viana (in Portugal)	Silk Merchant with his operations in Portugal Seas. (IB).
John	Cutting	1702	FM Smyrna	Genoa – Leghorn – London	Turkey Merchant. He also operated business in the Genoa and Leghorn at that time. (IB).

<sup>94</sup> The names, approved dates, centres, and the other related information of merchants in the period of 1700-1753 were compile from The National Archives, British Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, London Metropolitan Archives, Local Archives, and related secondary publications.

<sup>95</sup> Wilson, *Levant Company*, pp. 19 and 31. <http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Levant-Co-Members-1695-to-1824-D-Wilson.pdf>

John	Uvedale <sup>96</sup>	1703	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey merchant (In term of silk and cloth). (IB).
John	Mille <sup>97</sup>	1704	FM Aleppo	London	Turkey merchant. (IB).
Francis	Eyles	1704	FM Smyrna	Aleppo – East India	Levant and East India merchant (IB).
Chambers	Slaughter	1705	FM Aleppo	Scanderoon – Cyprus	Turkey merchant and ship-owner. (IB).
John	Purnell	1707	FM Aleppo	Scanderoon - London	Consul at Aleppo for the Levant Company. (1716-1726) (IB).
John	Hunter	1708	FM Smyrna	Aleppo - Scanderoon	Commander of ship and merchant in the Levant. (IB).
John	Hanger	1708	LT Smyrna	London – Aleppo	Merchant of Smyrna. <sup>98</sup> (IB).
Thomas	Allen <sup>99</sup>	1709	FM Smyrna	Constantinople	Turkey (Levant) merchant – Trade in Textile Materials, Dyestuff and fruits. (IB).
Richard, (Sir)	Onslow	1710	FM Constantinople	London	Director of the Levant Company appointed in 1710. (IB).
John	Mitford	1710	FM of London	Aleppo – Smyrna	Clothier and Turkey merchant. (IB).
<b>1711-1720</b>					
Edward	Bieskley	1711	LT Aleppo	London	Silk Merchant in Aleppo. (IB).
Charles	Smyth	1711	LT Smyrna	London	Merchant. (IB).
William	Dunster	1712	FM Smyrna	Aleppo	Turkey Merchant. (IB)
Heatley	Carew	1712	LT Tripoli	Aleppo	Turkey Merchant. (IB)

<sup>96</sup> TNA: PROB 11/595/133, 17 January 1724.

<sup>97</sup> TNA: PROB 11/680/304, 8 December 1736. (Will of John Mille, Turkey Merchant of Saint Mary Whitechapel, Middlesex)

<sup>98</sup> BL: Add MS 72550, fols 91-143v, 1708-1716. "Business correspondence between Hanger and Sir William Trumbull in the 1710s." Sir William Trumbull was British Ambassador for the company in the period of 1686-1691 at Ottoman capital. For his Memorials, See BL, Add. 34799, fols 30-33.

<sup>99</sup> TNA: C 11/1834/1, pp. 1-2. TNA: ADM 106/395/1/32, pp. 1-2, 24 Jan 1690.

Harvey	Petty	1713	LT Cyprus	Aleppo – Smyrna	Merchant. His father was also Aleppo merchant in the period of (1680-1687). (IB).
Henry	Morse	1714	LT Smyrna	Smyrna – Aleppo	Merchant, The factor of the Radcliffes in Smyrna. (IB).
Richard	Kemble	1715	C Salonica	Smyrna	Merchant and Consul in Salonica. (IB).
Charles	Beverley	1716	FM Aleppo	Aleppo - Scanderoon	Merchant – Factor of the Radcliffe Family in Aleppo. (IB).
<b>1721-1730</b>					
Peter	Lupart	1723	FM Aleppo	Aleppo	Merchant, The factor of the Radcliffe Company in Aleppo. (1731-1739). (IB).
Thomas	Pelham	1724	LT Constantinople	Constantinople Aleppo - Latakia	Merchant - The factor of the Radcliffe Family in Aleppo. (IB).
Herbert	Hyde	1726	FM Aleppo	Aleppo - Scanderoon	Merchant – The shareholder of the Hyde & Sherman Free Partnership in Aleppo. (IB).
Arthur	Pullinger	1726	LT Aleppo	Aleppo – Scanderoon – Latakia	Merchant – The factor of the Radcliffe Family in Aleppo. (IB).
George	Wakeman	1726	LT Aleppo and Cyprus	Cyprus – Acre Aleppo	Merchant, The factor of the Radcliffe Family in Cyprus. Consul at Cyprus for the Levant Company. (IB).

<b>1731-1740</b>					
Richard	Gaven <sup>100</sup>	1731	FM Smyrna	London	Merchant and Chancellor at Smyrna. (IB).
Thomas	D'Aeth	1739	FM Smyrna	Aleppo – London	He was shareholder of the D-Aeth & Lee Company operating business in Smyrna and Aleppo with Radcliffes. (IB).
<b>1741-1753</b>					
Alexander	Drummund	1747	FM Aleppo Consul at Aleppo	Aleppo – Scanderoon – Edinburgh	Merchant - The factor of the Levant Company. (1747-1756) And Factor of the Radcliffes. (IB).
Jacob	Chitty	1748	FM Aleppo	Aleppo – Scanderoon	Merchant, Ship owner. <sup>101</sup> (IB).
Arthur	Pollard	1749	FM Cyprus	London – Smyrna	Consul at Cyprus for the Levant Company. (IB).
Alexander	Drummond	1751	FM Aleppo	Scanderoon – Latakia	Vice Consul of the Levant Company in Scanderoon. (IB).
James	Saunders	1752	FM Smyrna	London – Marseilles	Shipmaster of British and French Ships. (IB).
Thomas Talbot	Foley	1753	FM Constantinople	London	Turkey merchant (IB).
Stephen	Ludlow	1753	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey merchant (IB).

<sup>100</sup> TNA: PROB 11/674/290, 9 December 1735.

<sup>101</sup> He was brother of Matthew Chitty. Matthew was British Merchant in Amsterdam for a while in the first decade of the 18th century. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 10.

## Merchants in the Period 1753-1800

The fact is that, by one means or another the majority of merchants active in the Levant trade in the first and middle periods were either members of or connected to big-wealthy merchant families. In the 17th century, family merchants established a system in the Levant, and their successors and in some cases direct descendants continued that institutional system in their own commercial activities with monopoly power. Besides, some individual merchants wanted to have links with these family merchants in order to reduce transaction costs, and build trust.<sup>102</sup> With the institutional change in 1753<sup>103</sup>, we see that the number of traders who became actors in the Levant trade increased. Thus, merchants who were not members of the big merchant families and who could be described as retail or individual merchants were beginning to enter the Levant trade operations and relations.<sup>104</sup> It is clear that the rise of numbers of merchants operating trade in Levant in 1748-57 reflected the big entry in 1754 to the Levant trade because of the Act of 1753 that opened up the Company to all merchants.<sup>105</sup> This new situation, can be seen in the list of merchants starting from the middle of the 18th century which in fact, enabled individual merchants operating in the Levant trade to form a large business networks of with other big family merchants.

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<sup>102</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 215.

<sup>103</sup> "Of a small sample of twenty premium-paying apprentices to Levant merchants between 1714 and 1753, only three or four ever entered the Levant Company. Only a handful of the hundred-odd persons who joined the Levant Company in that period appear to have been premium apprentices to anyone at all." See Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 65.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

Before 1753, there were more port names in the south of Britain; it can be said that the names of the other ports in the north were beginning to be encountered more frequently in the Lloyds shipping list and registers after 1753. These ports also indicate the expansion of business networks after 1753 for the individual merchants. Beside London, Dover, the Downs and other southern ports, the new ports of Limerick (Ireland), Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, Bristol, Exeter, Great Yarmouth and Hull began to take their place in commercial activities. It is also possible to determine from the archival records that the merchants started to engage with other regions from all around of the world.

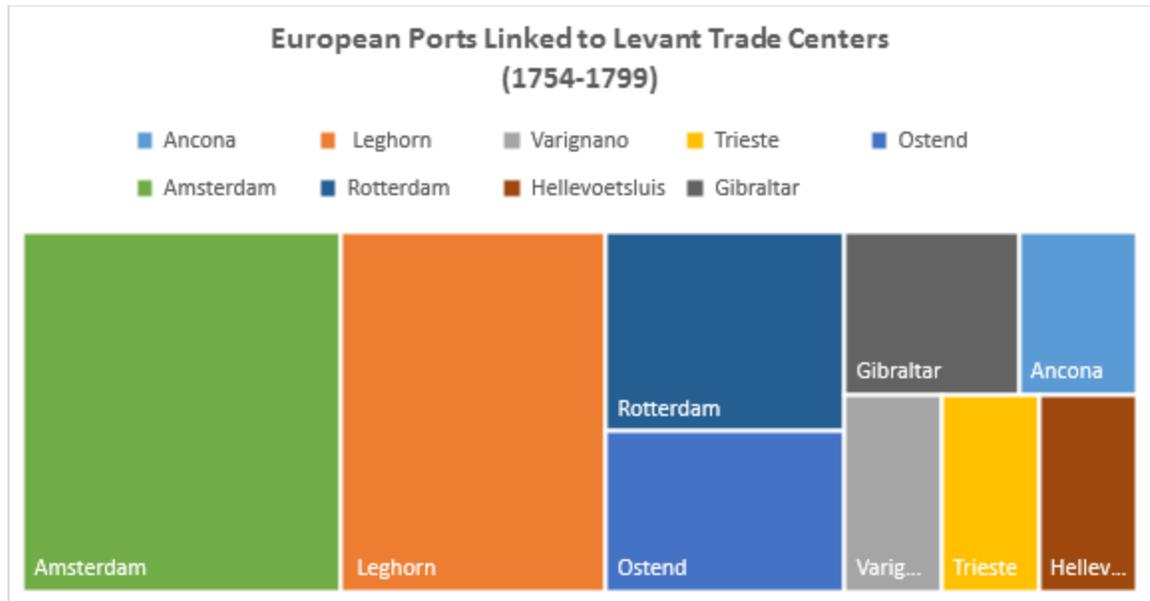
Although the entrepreneurial networks of the individual merchants expanded, their trade on the coasts of the northern Africa such as Tunis and Tripoli was unsafe. For instance, a British ship named *Ancona*, was lost near Tunis with its cargo. According to the Lloyds list of 1779-1780, no cargo was recovered.<sup>106</sup> Despite these situations, individual merchants must have found the Levant trade profitable so that they continued trading on the Levant Seas via several European ports. Individual merchants was engaged with the other European ports such as Ancona, Leghorn, Varignano, Trieste (Italy), Ostend(Belgium), Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hellevoetsluis (Holland), Oporto, and Gibraltar in the last decades of the 18th century in particular.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, 1779-1780, 2 March 1779, p. 49.

<sup>107</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, 1770-1799. The ships route will be examined in the Chapter 6 in accordance with these registers and lists.

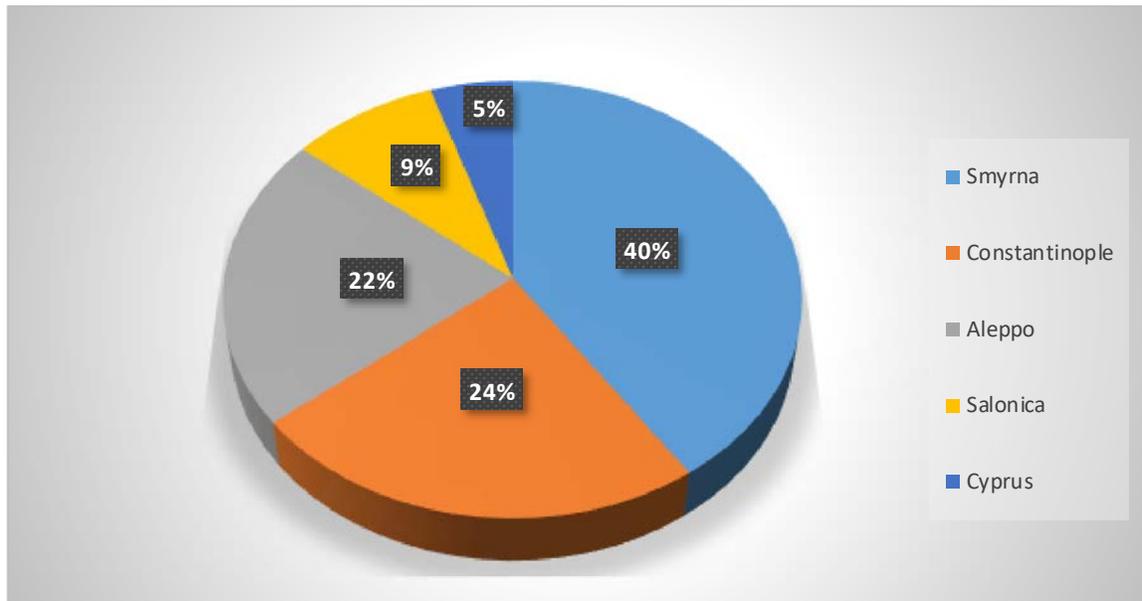
**Figure 5: European Ports Linked to Levant Trade Centres, 1754-1800**



As a consequence of these new additions, between 1754 and 1800 the most favoured centre in which the new members of the Levant trade began trading was Smyrna. One fourth of these merchants were engaged with the Levant trade in Constantinople. In the same period, the total number of new merchants in Salonica was considerably increased, and reached to nearly 20. Cyprus were also becoming a centre for the new merchants. Apart from these centres, Cairo and Tripoli were also seen as centres but limited numbers in that period. Even though there were very limited appointment information related to Alexandria in the company records, Alexandria became one of the most important centre in Levant trade in the last decades of the 18th century.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> According to the Lloyd's Registers and Lists, Alexandria has the central position of the Levant trade with Smyrna starting from 1780s.

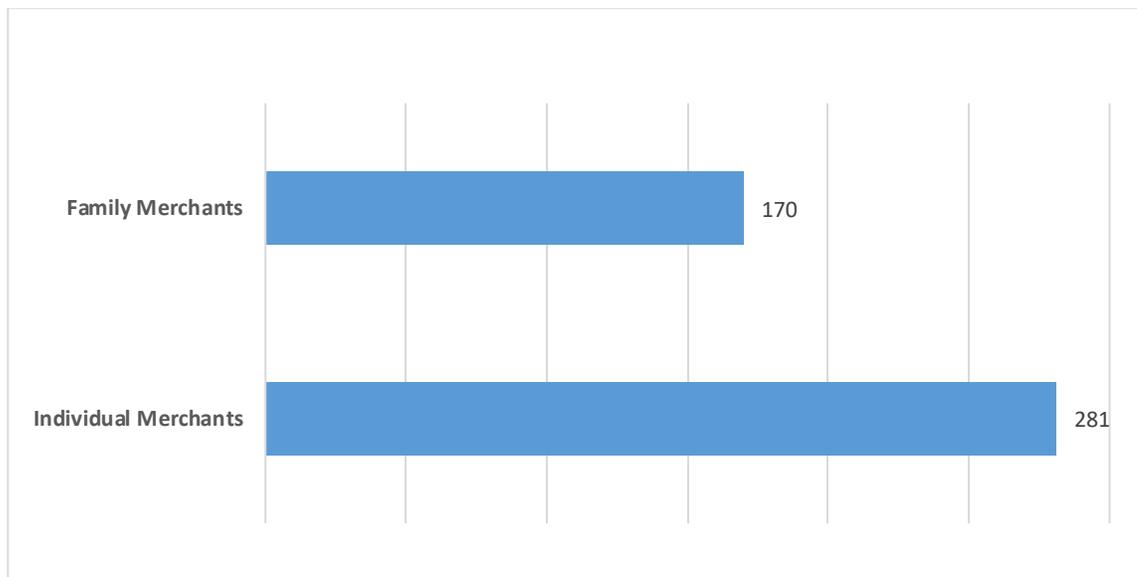
**Figure 6:** British Trade Centres for the New Entrant Merchants in the Period of 1754-1800



In the period 1753-1800, there were nearly 500 merchants appointed by the Levant Company. Out of 500 merchants, there were 350 new entrant merchants, who had a right to trade in the Levant trade. In the first years of this period, there were massive increase in number of the admitted merchants in Levant. The very next year after the Act of 1753, a total of 30 merchants were admitted by the Levant Company as a freeman. This number was only two or three in 1752 and 1753. For the individual merchants, the new entrant merchant number was 22 in 1754 only. It can be said that the increased interest of individual merchants in the Levant trade after the Act of 1753 was dramatic and remarkable. This interest after 1753 continued in almost the same way until 1760, but from 1760, the number of merchants included in the Levant Company fell to a stable level for each year. The period 1773-1800 paralleled developments of the earlier period 1754-1760, which saw such dramatic change. According to the list of admitted

merchants and increases in shipping, many merchants started to trade in the Levant trade in the last decade of the century.<sup>109</sup> To sum up, it can be seen from the new merchants' list after 1753 that there were almost 250 individual merchants who started to trade in Levant in that period. That is why individual merchants were majority of the new entrant merchants in that period. This condition also demonstrates that the Company took a more liberalized form with the institutional change in the year 1753. The big-wealthy family merchants who were previously quite effective in the Levant trade and the decision-making process before 1753 carried on their business in the same market with various new enterprising traders from then on.

**Figure 7: Proportion in Merchant Numbers (1754-1780)**



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<sup>109</sup> The names, approved dates, centres, and the other related information of merchants in the period of 1700-1753 compiled from The National Archives, British Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, London Metropolitan Archives, Local Archives, and related secondary publications.

According to the merchant list given in Table 39 below, most of the individual merchants started to trade in the Levant without any ties or established business networks before the period 1753-1800. In contrast to the period 1700-1753, individual merchants who were admitted in the Levant trade started doing business for the first time after the Act of 1753. There were limited merchants who had established business networks or culture of doing business in the Levant.

### **Established Business Networks**

For instance, Thomas Ashby was a Turkey merchants appointed in Constantinople in 1754 must have had business culture from his ancestors. His grandparent was John Ashby. John Ashby was a shipmaster and operating textile materials from Tunis, Tripoli and Smyrna in the first decades of the 18th century. Also Edward Purnell whose uncle was the consul of the Levant Company in Aleppo in the first decade of the 18th century.<sup>110</sup> That is why he was operating his own business in Aleppo.<sup>111</sup> In addition to established commercial relations, another factor was management experience, which enabled the Levant Company merchants to expand their commercial operations. Henry Grenville, the British ambassador at Constantinople, was appointed for this duty in

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<sup>110</sup> He commanded the Dunkirk in 1678–9, the Constant Warwick in 1680–81, and the Mary Rose from 1681 to 1684, employed in the latter chiefly in convoying the Levant trade. TNA: ADM 106/347/40, 16 August 1680; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press, date of access 26 Jul. 2018. See:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-744>; BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 13, 32, 116, 175, 221, 1681-1682.

<sup>111</sup> BL: IOR/E/1/12, fols 426-427, 1721. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 255.

1762.<sup>112</sup> Before he became an ambassador, he was a member of the Barbados assembly of the British companies. Due to his membership of the Barbados assembly in the trans-Atlantic trade, he was a highly experienced merchant and administrator in commercial business. According to his correspondence, he tried to open new routes in the Levant trade.<sup>113</sup> Another example of an experienced merchant was Peter Tooke. He was a Turkey merchant who spent many years in the Levant. First, he became a treasurer at the Ottoman Capital, Constantinople.<sup>114</sup> After that, he continued the business operations in Constantinople beginning from the first decade of the 19th century. In 1763, after more than 15 years, he started to run the East India Company's business operations.<sup>115</sup> After spending years in the Levant,<sup>116</sup> he operated business for the East India Company.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> TNA: SP 105/109/299, fols 299, 1 May 1761; TNA: SP 105/109/303, fols. 303, 15 November 1765. "George III to John, Lord Delawar, Governor, and merchants of the Turkey Company, informing them that Henry Grenville, Ambassador at Constantinople is desirous of returning to England, and that John Murray is appointed to take his place at the embassy."

<sup>113</sup> For personal information and commercial correspondences of H. Grenville, see the series KENT: U1590/S2/O1-18, and KENT: U1590/S2/O15, 1762. (KENT: Kent Archives and Local History).

<sup>114</sup> TNA: SP 105/217B, 1747-1763. "correspondence from Peter Tooke, treasurer at Constantinople, concerning the payment of salaries and accounts."

<sup>115</sup> BL: Add MS 35523, fols 328, 1781-1792.

<sup>116</sup> For the debates, see Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, p. 251. For information about Peter Tooke see *ibid.*, pp. 44 and 64.

<sup>117</sup> According to Yapp, as an agent of the East India Company, he noted the safety of routes to India: "The overland route of English trade as established before 1798 ran from Basra via Aleppo to Constantinople. In May 1799, Peter Tooke, member of the Levant Company and agent of the East India Company in Constantinople, began to send eastbound dispatches via Baghdad because the advance of the Ottoman forces into Syria had made the Aleppo route unsafe. Manesty still refused to send west-bound dispatches via Baghdad. However, in February 1800 the Bombay Government decided to experiment and ordered that in each month the original packet should be sent by one route and the duplicate by another". See M. E. Yapp, 'The establishment of East India Company residency at Baghdad, 1798 – 1806' *Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies* 30:2 (1967), pp. 333-334.

In this respect, it would be wise to think that merchants with different fields of experience shared information with merchants doing business in Levant after 1753. Accordingly, the fact that these merchants gained experience in the Levant trade and started commercial enterprises in the trading centres outside Levant later on essentially positions the Levant region as a learning centre. In fact, this condition resulted in the Levant becoming a business culture accumulation centre. The interaction of experienced merchants who previously performed commercial activities outside the Levant and conveyed their trading networks onto the Levant seas with young individual merchants working in the Levant virtually necessitates our designating the time after 1753 as a training period.<sup>118</sup>

### **Links and Networks with Big-wealthy Families**

Individual merchants were mostly operating their commercial activities without any family tie mostly in this period. But they had links to some big-wealthy family members in order to expand their business volume in Levant. For example, Colvill Bridger was the last factor of the Radcliffe Family in Aleppo, admitted into the Levant Company in 1754. Aleppo was the main centre of him, and he had networks with Leghorn as well.<sup>119</sup> He was also doing business in Cyprus, and the Radcliffes relied on him for help in the cotton

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<sup>118</sup> Other examples of individual merchants will provide a more solid basis for this concept of business cultural accumulation.

<sup>119</sup> HERT: DE/R/B240/1-12, 31 Mar 1758 – 14 September 1759. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 22.

trade.<sup>120</sup> Another agent was Thomas Dunnage in Smyrna appointed in 1754. While Dunnage was operating his own business in the mohair trade, he was also agent to the businesses of John Barker (Barker Family) and William Walker (Walker Family) in Aleppo at the same time.

In the 1760s, Daniel Giles, appointed as a freeman in 1768 in Smyrna, was part of the commercial operations of Cazalet Family. He was known as a silk broker and ironmonger in Spital Square<sup>121</sup> located central London.<sup>122</sup> As a silk broker, he was operating business in the Levant on his own behalf and on behalf of the family business of the Cazalets in silk import. He was a master in silk manufacturing at that time. That is why he ran the businesses of the Cazalet family with his experiences in silk and other textile goods.<sup>123</sup> Besides, he was not just an influential merchant in silk trade; he was also an important figure in the financial sector in London. Accordingly, he was chosen to serve as a director of the Bank of England in 1786.<sup>124</sup> Later, he became Deputy Governor of the Bank of England in 1793.<sup>125</sup> Finally, he led the Bank of England as Governor in the period 1795-1797.<sup>126</sup> The trading experience achieved in the Levant and the financial savings brought

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<sup>120</sup> HERT: DE/R/B239/1, 28 Dec 1754, Cyprus correspondence. For all correspondences from Cyprus of him, see HERT: DE/R/B239/1-26, 28 Dec 1754 – 30 May 1759.

<sup>121</sup> <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol27/pp55-73>. Spital Square was a centre for silk merchants and master weavers of London located very near to Devonshire Square which “was a favorite place for the town houses of Levant merchants”. See Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup> HERT: DE/A/2674, 1 May 1765; HERT: DE/A/2818, 1 September 1781. Also, see DE/Gp/F2, 1771-1837.

<sup>123</sup> HERT: DE/A/2803, 22 November 1769.

<sup>124</sup> Richard Richards, *The Early History of Banking in England (RLE Banking & Finance)*, (New York: Routledge, 2012). p. 152; *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* V. 78-79, (London, 1792), p. 219.

<sup>125</sup> <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people/governors>.

<sup>126</sup> <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/giles-daniel-1761-1831>.

along with this before the undertaking of such financial roles by individual merchants provided them with the opportunity to become actors in more rewarding positions. No wonder the chances offered by big merchant families seemed attractive to entrepreneurs at the beginning of their business careers. Throughout the 18th century, the Levant trade maintained its function as a learning and training centre.

Another merchant was Samuel Mercer appointed as a freeman in 1769 in Smyrna. He operated silk business in Crosby Square, which was a business centre for silk trade located in central London starting from the 15th century.<sup>127</sup> He acted as an agent of some families in London for the silk import from the Levant ports.<sup>128</sup> William Murrell also had strong links to the wealthy families in London. He was doing tea and spice business in Mincing Lane-London. The centre of Mincing Lane was the central point for the spices and tea importing in the 18th century.<sup>129</sup> He was mostly operating commercial activities for the big-wealthy family members in pepper imports, which reached the level of 2% of aggregate exports of the Levant Company merchants from the Levant in the last quarter of the 18th century.<sup>130</sup>

Before the Act of 1753, the Levant Company wanted to keep a firm grip on shipping in the business operations. Their firm grip on shipping method was an institution, which helped them keep their monopoly in the Levant trade. Due to keeping the monopoly in

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<sup>127</sup> <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/bk9/pp15-32>.

<sup>128</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1031/83, 9 May 1777.

<sup>129</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1176/145, 20 February 1789.

<sup>130</sup> TNA: CUST 3/4-82; CUST 17/1-21. Also see the Chapter 2.

the Levant trade, Levant merchants guaranteed their profit at the maximum level. Controlling the shipping system contained general shipping method, which was mentioned before. The general shipping method could be run within the boundaries determined by the company general assembly. For each year, the general assembly of the Levant Company decided which ships would be part of the Levant trade. Furthermore, merchants who wanted to trade on the Levant Seas had to employ this shipping method with ships that had been designated by the assembly. Without taking part in the general shipping method, merchants could not send any goods to the Levant. If they tried to use another way of shipping in this trade, they had to pay an extra duty (surtax).<sup>131</sup> Before the institutional change in shipping method which took full effect by 1744<sup>132</sup>, big-wealthy merchants were defended the method of general shipping because of keeping their privilege in trade volume. But it left the individual merchants with no alternative way to the Levant without general shipping. This kind of restriction stopped individual merchants from being a part of the Levant trade for a large part until the middle of the 18th century.<sup>133</sup> Ship owners and ship masters began to show up more frequently in the Levant trade as merchants following this liberalization.

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<sup>131</sup> It was about %20 for these merchants.

<sup>132</sup> It was reported in the third chapter. See also fn. 41 above in this chapter.

<sup>133</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 136-138.

## Seamen in the Levant Trade: Shipping, Ship Owners, Ship Masters

After 1744, individual merchants started to use any shipping methods<sup>134</sup> to export their goods to Levant. The institutional change was contemplated already in 1718, in conjunction with other institutional changes, but could only be fully implemented after the Act of 1753, which opened up the possibility for individual merchants to join the Levant trade with their joint-ships. For instance, Robert Willis was one of the ship-owners of the individual merchants after 1754. He was also appointed in Constantinople by the company. The name of the ship was Bosphorus and its commander was William Anson in the 1750s. He was operating business in silk importation to the Downs, Dover, Livorno and Marseilles.<sup>135</sup> In the 1750s and 1760s, Livorno was a central point for the Levant Company merchants. They were shipping from Livorno with French and Dutch cloths in order to sell in the Levant.<sup>136</sup> Captain Anson was also commander of the *New Bosphorus* in 1760s. The owner of the *New Bosphorus* was the brother of Robert Willis.<sup>137</sup> Another ship-owner was John Townson from Smyrna. Townson was admitted in 1754, after the Act of 1753. He was operating<sup>138</sup> from Smyrna, Scanderoon, Cyprus, and Constantinople with cargoes containing textile raw materials to the northern part of Britain such as

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<sup>134</sup> Joint or general shipping methods.

<sup>135</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761 List.

<sup>136</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>137</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/111, 1 September 1761.

<sup>138</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/12, 26 July 1760. "Commander: William Falkland. Ship: Lucretia. Burden: 210 tons. Crew: 35. Owners: John Townson of London, merchant. Home port: London. Lieutenant: Thomas Wadd. Gunner: John James. Boatswain: James Mincher. Carpenter: Joseph Haggins. Cook: John Ruke. Surgeon: John Long. Armament: 20 carriage guns. Folio: 13."

Botton, Cork, (of Ireland) and to Falmouth via Leghorn and Sardinia Island.<sup>139</sup> Also, his ship delivered consignments to other regions as far afield as the West Indies such as Monte Cristi (in Dominican Republic nowadays), and other islands of Caribbean Sea.<sup>140</sup> According to the Lloyd's register and lists, many individual merchants as ship-owner or ship master had broad business networks with destinations outside of the Levant in the period of 1754-1800. For instance, Martin Kuyck Van Mierop and Samule Touchet had networks with the Caribbean Seas, Italy, Holland, France and North Africa coast. Touchet was also in communication with the East India trade.<sup>141</sup>

Institutional changes introduced in 1753 enabled shipmasters and ship-owners operating in the Levant trade to form a large business networks. Thomas Johson was one of the ship masters serving individual merchants in 1776. Before the 1760s, he operated a ship as a ship master for the European and East India trade. After 1776, he operated his own business in Constantinople with his duty in ships, which were engaged to the Levant trade.<sup>142</sup> In 1776, Samuel (jun.) Smith who was a ship master of several ships such as Neptun, Hector, Venus, and Tartar started sailing to Smyrna.<sup>143</sup> The Tartar was the ship which was operated by him in the Levant Seas in the last years of the 1770s.<sup>144</sup> His main trade ports in the Levant were Smyrna and Constantinople and connections with

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<sup>139</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761 List, 23 May 1760, No: 2542, p. 2; Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 1760-1761 List, No: 2569, 26 August 1760, p. 2.

<sup>140</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 1 August 1760, No: 2562, p. 2.

<sup>141</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 28 March 1760, No: 2526, p. 2.

<sup>142</sup> TNA: HCA 26/11/15, 17 March 1759. Also, see LMA: MS 11936/377/582998, 29 April 1791.

<sup>143</sup> Lloyd's Register of Shipping Lists of the period 1772-1782.

<sup>144</sup> Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1776-1777, 18 June 1776, No: 755, p. 2.

Italian merchants in Leghorn at that time.<sup>145</sup> According to the Ottoman archival sources, in the last quarter of the 18th century, the British imports from Smyrna contained mostly textile materials, dyestuffs and spices with drugs.<sup>146</sup> Accordingly, the commercial scope of Smith and the other shipmasters was focussed on these aforementioned goods. As far as we can understand from the examples stated above, individual Levant merchants carried out their business with other European countries by means of their ships too. These individual merchants who appear to have developed their networks before or after they got included in the Levant trade can be marked as the actors of liberalization which was the distinguishing characteristic of the period after 1753.

Besides European commercial ports, many individual merchants operated business in the trans-Atlantic trade after the Act of 1753. John Stewart was an example of both being shipmaster and ship-owner in the middle of the 18th century. Before he became a ship-owner, he operated several ships as a commander-shipmaster in the trans-Atlantic trade in the 1740s and 1750s.<sup>147</sup> In the beginning of the 1760s, he started to operate business with his own ship in the Levant. Generally, he used the centres of Smyrna, Salonica, Scanderoon and the Ottoman capital in order to carry out his export business in the silk

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<sup>145</sup> Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1776-1777, 3 June 1777, No: 855, p. 2.

<sup>146</sup> BOA, D. HMK. 22156, D. HMK. 22158, D. HMK. 22159, D. HMK. 22160, D. HMK. 22161, D. HMK. 22162, D. HMK. 22163, D. HMK. 22164, D. HMK. 22166, D. HMK. 22167. For the analysis of Smyrna imports for the 1772 and 1794-1804, see A. Mesud Küçükcalay and Numan Elibol, "Ottoman imports in the 18th century: Smyrna (1771-72)" *Middle Eastern Studies* 42:5 (2006), pp. 723-740 and Mesud A. Küçükcalay, "Imports to Smyrna between 1794 and 1802: New Statistics from the Ottoman Sources" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51:3 (2008), pp. 487-512.

<sup>147</sup> TNA: HCA 26/11/104, 19 September 1759. "Commander: John Stewart. Ship: Anglicana. Burden: 320 tons. Crew: 70. Owners: John Stewart with Isaac Hughes and John Hughes of London. Home port: London."

and fruit trade.<sup>148</sup> After he was appointed as a freeman of the Levant Company, he operated mostly silk business in the Levant with his own ship, named *Earl of Donegall*. Moreover, he operated business in the trans-Atlantic trade with the same ship at the same time.<sup>149</sup> Another ship master was Richard Burford who was appointed as Freeman of the Levant Company in 1774. He was a commander of merchant ships in 1750s and 1760s. After that he became freeman of the Levant Company. He started to operate his own business in Smyrna, in particular.<sup>150</sup> In the 1770s, the commercial activities of ship-owners increased in the Levant trade. Some ship-owners had been engaged in the trans-Atlantic trade with European trade operations started to focus on the Levant trade. For instance, Michael James, appointed as a freeman in Smyrna in 1772, was engaged in other destinations apart from the Levant Seas. He was sailing to many ports and regions such as, Barbados, Lisbon, and Madeira in Portugal, Gibraltar, and Stockholm in the 1760s. His main commercial activities consisted of the slave trade in Barbados and the trade in woven goods in the ports of Portugal around that time.<sup>151</sup> After 1772, he started to do business in Smyrna, in the Levant.<sup>152</sup>

Some merchants were directly related to the big-wealthy families involved in the trans-Atlantic trade at that time. Thomas Newby was a trader in the trans-Atlantic trade

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<sup>148</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 17 May 1760, No: 2540, p. 2. In addition, see TNA: PROB 11/1156/237, 21 August 1787.

<sup>149</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1768-1769, 27 June 1768, No: 3383, p. 2.

<sup>150</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1772-1773, 14 April 1772, No: 3767, p. 2. For Smyrna operations, see TNA: ADM 106/1217/5, 9 July 1772; TNA: ADM 106/1207/181, 25 April 1772.

<sup>151</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761; TNA: HCA 26/12/49, 12 December 1760.

<sup>152</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 31 March 1772)

centres.<sup>153</sup> He belonged to the business networks of the *Cobb Family* of Margate with their shipping agency, and was also a part of their financial network. Thomas Newby's centre in Britain was Kent. He was a coal and linen merchant who operated his own ships in the trans-Atlantic trade and in the Levant.<sup>154</sup> Another example of broad business networks was Thomas Wagstaffe's initiatives in the West Indies. Wagstaffe was operating his own ship in Jamaica and West Indies outside of the Levant. He operated the family ship as an owner and coordinator of the business networks in the period of 1750-1780.<sup>155</sup> Theophilus Daubuz was a ship-owner and insider of the trans-Atlantic trade admitted as a freeman of the Levant Company in 1765. He was the ship-owner of *Dolphin* in 1750s and 1760s. He was operating business not just on the Levant Seas, but also in the trans-Atlantic trade. After the 1760s, he started to operate his own silk trade from Smyrna to many other cities in the North America and northern ports of Britain such as Liverpool. His directions were mostly to Newfoundland and South Carolina in the trans-Atlantic trade.<sup>156</sup> These two merchants carried on their business in communication with big merchant families in London as well. The trans-Atlantic trade, which was mostly Portugal-oriented, draws attention as the most significant trade circle along with the Levant trade for the individual merchants in question. The fact that Levant merchants

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<sup>153</sup> He was operating business in the British colonies in America.

<sup>154</sup> Toby Ovenden, "The Cobbs of Margate: Evangelicalism and Anti-Slavery in the Isle of Thanet, 1787-1834", *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 133 (2013), pp. 8-9.

<sup>155</sup> TNA: HCA 26/6/40, 8 October 1756. They operated business to Jamaica with their family ship named *St John* starting from 1750s until 1800.

<sup>156</sup> TNA: HCA 26/7/91, 2 April 1757; Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1757-1758, 22 November 1757, No: 2282, p. 2. "Commander: Edward Dillon. Ship: *Dolphin*. Burden: 260 tons. Crew: 40. Owners: Theophilus Daubuz and Peter Fearon of London, merchants."

also participated in the trans-Atlantic trade points to the extensiveness of their business networks.

### **From Fear to Cooperation: The East India Company and the Levant Company**

After 1754, we know that some merchants from the East India Company started to trade in Levant. William Scullard was appointed as a freeman in 1758 in Aleppo. He was silk trader at that time. From 1740s, he was operating business related to the East India Company.<sup>157</sup> For the East India Company relations, we can see the central position of Smyrna as a new port city after the middle of the 18th century. For instance, John Thwaite operated his own business in the East India trade who was a Smyrna merchant of the Levant Company.<sup>158</sup> Lewis Chauvet was also a Levant Company member who was admitted in 1769. While he was operating his own business in Constantinople, in the Levant trade, he continued his commercial activities in the East India. In the 1770s, he continued his commercial and financial operations-initiatives in East India.<sup>159</sup> Members of the Levant Company could not keep away the tea and spices trade in the century. William Murrell was a tea and spices merchant in Mincing Lane, London who was admitted as a member of the Levant Company in 1769. He was doing tea and spice business in London with some textile trade operations from the Levant. The centre of Mincing Lane was the central point for the spices and tea importing in the 18th

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<sup>157</sup> TNA: C 11/838/25, 1749.

<sup>158</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1173/64, 5 December 1788; Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1790-1791, 4 June 1790, No: 2220, p. 2.

<sup>159</sup> BL: IOR/D/152 fols 6, 1792-1794.

century.<sup>160</sup> Another merchant who was related to the East India trade was Thomas Scott. He was admitted as a freeman of the Levant Company in Constantinople, in 1765. He was shipmaster before he got the freeman admission, and after that, he continued to trade in East India and in the Transatlantic trade with Levant ports such as Smyrna and Constantinople during the same period.<sup>161</sup> For the most part, his commercial activities were located in East Indian destinations such as Bengal in the 1760s. Accordingly, he used the routes to London from Smyrna, Leghorn, Gallipoli, and Lecce at this time.<sup>162</sup> After the end of the 1760s, he focused the commercial operations mostly between European states and Britain.<sup>163</sup>

After the 1770s, some Levant Company merchants continued to operate commercial and financial business in the East India. For instance, Lewis Chauvet was both a Levant and East India merchant who was appointed as a freeman of the Levant Company in 1769.<sup>164</sup> He operated commercial and financial operations in East India after the 1770s. Before that, he was a Turkey Merchant mostly in Constantinople.<sup>165</sup> Another example of both East India and Levant business was John Thwaite's initiatives in the East India trade. He operated commercial business in the East India with his own ship, which was named

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<sup>160</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1176/145, 20 February 1789.

<sup>161</sup> For East India trade, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1764-1765, 17 April 1764, No: 2949, p. 2. For Levant trade, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1766-1767, 15 September 1767, No: 3303, p. 2; In order to see the previous routes of Scott, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761.

<sup>162</sup> See Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, from 1764 to 1769.

<sup>163</sup> See Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, from 1770 to 1781.

<sup>164</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 31 January 1769)

<sup>165</sup> BL: IOR/D/152 fols 6, 1792-1794.

*Foulis* in the late 18th century.<sup>166</sup> According to his will, he was a silk merchant in the Levant with India and money broker in the East India in that time.<sup>167</sup>

The association of these merchants also with East India points to a new situation in fact. The Levant Company and the East India Company, which were embroiled in a severe commercial competition before 1753 continued their activities in considerable harmony especially after the 1760s. Although the members of these two companies apparently did not engage in a partnership in an official or institutional sense, nonetheless freemen seem to have avoided a destructive competition from then on. Besides, the transactions between the two companies increased and a number of merchants carried on with their commercial activities in both regions.<sup>168</sup> Apart from the trials on Suez route as performed by the East India Company that struggled to end the French dominance over Egypt,<sup>169</sup> the relationship with the Levant Company did not become particularly fraught.

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<sup>166</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1790-1791, 4 June 1790, No: 2220, p. 2.

<sup>167</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1173/64, 5 December 1788.

<sup>168</sup> Despite the fact that debates went on between East India Company and Levant Company regarding the right to trade in Egypt until 1820, we still cannot associate them with a conflict as the one before 1753. Undoubtedly, the motivation to act carefully with the influence of French domination as well played a role in this situation. For details of the conflict between the Levant Company and the East India Company on Egypt, see Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 219-241.

<sup>169</sup> For the new routes in the Levant business, there are a number of references related to the Suez route. In competition between the French merchants and the Levant Company merchants, Suez became an important route for trading silk in particular. According to letter of Levant Company Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie; "I was worried about Aleppo merchant George Baldwin's attempts to open the Suez route to Levant merchants. And he stated that this initiative would be detrimental to the trade of the Levant Company. George Baldwin was a Cairo merchant of the Levant Company in 1775. He had business networks from Aleppo in silk trade. Baldwin wanted to organize various exchanges from India to Britain via the Suez route in the 1770s. Sir Robert Ainslie mentioned his fears about the possibility of the reopening of the Suez route to India by France. He was worried about the initiatives of Baldwin aimed at using the Suez route. Hence, Baldwin's fortunes annoyed Sir Ainslie at that time, and he did not make George Baldwin a consul in Cairo for the Levant Company. BL: IOR/G/17/6, Part 1: pp. 43-44, 1 August 1786; BL: IOR/G/17/5 pp. 63-64, 25 May 1775; BL: IOR/G/17/5 ff.204-205, 4 Jan 1779; BL: IOR/G/17/5 ff.213-214, 17

## Salonica: As A New Commercial Centre

In Levant, there a new centre rose to prominence in the 1780s. At that time, Salonica was closely linked to the Smyrna Factory. Apart from other goods, drug materials such as opium became an important import commodity in Smyrna and Salonica. For instance, George Webster was admitted in 1763. Before that, he applied to the company to import drugs from Smyrna. That is why he wanted to be member of the Levant Company at that time.<sup>170</sup> Drug imports represented 3.5 or 4 % of total imports of Britain in the 18th century.<sup>171</sup> Webster imported drugs in order to sell in London and Manchester.<sup>172</sup> Another drug merchant was David Wedderburn, who was admitted in 1784. He operated a drug business in Smyrna and Salonica links with London until the end of the century.<sup>173</sup>

Beside the import of drugs, silk, mohair, cotton and other textile materials were important for the trade of Salonica at that time. Clothier Samuel Peach, admitted in 1769, operated trade in textile raw materials. Peach was a silk merchant in Chatford Gloucestershire<sup>174</sup> and ship-owner.<sup>175</sup> He ran his own business from Smyrna in the

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February 1779. "Extract of a letter from Sir Robert Ainslie to Lord Weymouth. Ainslie will not make Baldwin a consul for Cairo as this would imply accepting responsibility for his transactions. Dated Constantinople, 4 January 1779 Received 17 February 1779."; Also, see Wood, A History of the Levant Company, pp. 221-226.

<sup>170</sup> TNA: T 1/495/21-22, 24 July 1774.; TNA: J 90/395, 1769.

<sup>171</sup> TNA: CUST 3/4-82; CUST 17/1-21. Also see the Chapter 2.

<sup>172</sup> TNA: J 90/395, 1769.

<sup>173</sup> LMA: MS 11936/356/548437, 24 September 1788.

<sup>174</sup> TNA: C 11/1577/16, 1742.

<sup>175</sup> TNA: HCA 26/6/101, 19 November 1756." Commander: William Colquhoun. Ship: Kitty Sloop. Burden: 35 tons. Crew: 20. Owners: James Laroche, Samuel Peach, William Colquhoun and James Laroche of Bristol, merchants."

Levant. Admitted freeman George Curling started to trade silk from the Levant via Salonica and Smyrna after 1775. He was also operating a ship named *King George* plying the routes between Salonica-Smyrna-Volos<sup>176</sup> and London-Jamaica-South Carolina in the last decades of the century.<sup>177</sup> At the same time, Richard Burford operated cotton trade in Smyrna who was a commander of ship (Chandelos) and was admitted in 1774.<sup>178</sup> He was a commander of some ships in the 1750s and 1760s. After that, he became freeman of the Levant Company as mentioned before. He started to operate his own business in mostly Smyrna. At the same time, he continued to mostly operate ships from Smyrna-Scanderoon to Leghorn, Angola<sup>179</sup> and Gibraltar in the 1770s.<sup>180</sup> In the 1770s, he became commander of ship named *Levant*.<sup>181</sup> As we can see, as a result of the expanding routes, Smyrna became the most important port city in the Ottoman Empire. This also effected the cities, which were located in the hinterland of Smyrna. For the diversity of routes, Michael James's business can be shown as an example. James was admitted in 1771 who was a ship-owner at that time. He was operating business in many ports and regions such as, Lisbon, Madeira in Portugal, Barbados, Gibraltar, and Stockholm in 1760s. After 1770, he started to run his own business in Smyrna, in the Levant. He had many links and it helped him to develop a broad business network. It also showed that Smyrna had

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<sup>176</sup> Volos is a coastal port city in Thessaly situated midway on the Greek mainland nowadays, about 330 kilometers north of Athens and 220 kilometers south of Salonica. It was very important port for the Ottomans in terms of grain and British merchants in silk importation at that time, in 18th century.

<sup>177</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1774-1775, 14 March 1774, No: 519, p. 2. The name of ship was *King George*.

<sup>178</sup> TNA: ADM 106/1217/5, 9 July 1772; TNA: ADM 106/1207/181, 25 April 1772.

<sup>179</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 24 June 1760, No: 2551, p. 2.

<sup>180</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 4 January 1760, No: 2502, p. 2.

<sup>181</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1772-1773, 14 April 1772, No: 3767, p. 2.

commercial links with European port cities such as Stockholm, Gibraltar, Lisbon-Madeira, Barbados, London, and the Downs.<sup>182</sup> In the light of all this information, it can be stated that Salonica had the characteristic of being a centre that developed along with Smyrna. As of 1760s in particular, Salonica became a port of call for both British and French ships together with its hinterland (Ioannina and some islands).<sup>183</sup> In fact, this density and mobility have been analyzed in detail in the fifth chapter in which the network intensity of the Levant ports is revealed.<sup>184</sup>

Salonica was also the centre for commercial activities with Lisbon in the trade of mohair and currant. As an individual merchant, James Saunders was operating currant trade in Salonica. His initiatives were well received by the company. He was exporting currants from Ottoman Salonica to England and the Amsterdam as well.<sup>185</sup> According to the Lloyds shipping list, the ship, named *Bennitta*, was operating from Salonica to Lisbon at the end of the century, in particular.<sup>186</sup> Also, Francis Bergoin was appointed in Salonica for trading currants in 1760. He was also merchant of Smyrna at that time and became treasurer of the Levant Company in 1761.<sup>187</sup> Apparently, individual merchants of Smyrna were engaged in the trade to Salonica after the 1760s. For instance, Robert Stevenson was

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<sup>182</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761 and 1772-1773; TNA: HCA 26/12/49, 12 December 1760.

<sup>183</sup> For the French ships, see Panzac, "International and Domestic", p. 202.

<sup>184</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>185</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1781-1782.; <http://www.levantineheritage.com/testi23.htm>

<sup>186</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1799-1800, 24 October 1800, No: 4096, p. 2.

<sup>187</sup> See:

<http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Biography-of-William-Barker-Levant-Company-Merchant-Marjorie-Rear.pdf>

Turkey merchant in the same period. He was appointed directly in Salonica, which was the first appointment for this centre after 1754. He continued his business career in Salonica not only with commercial operations, but also in the financial sector until the 1790s.<sup>188</sup> According to the correspondence of Peter Tooke, treasurer at Constantinople, he prepared some comments on the 'bond book' of William Caralet and Robert Stevenson. His notes on these bonds showed the big volume of financial relations in Salonica related to Stevenson in 1780s.<sup>189</sup> In 1768, John Oliver was appointed as a consul at Salonica. Besides, he operated business in Salonica and in Constantinople as well in the 1770s.<sup>190</sup> Before his mission in Constantinople, he became a wealthy merchant in Salonica.<sup>191</sup> Nevertheless, he died in Constantinople with financial difficulties. He lost all of his merchandise in the Ottoman capital.<sup>192</sup> In the beginning of the 1780s, Edward Hague as a Levant Company freeman operated tobacco and silk business in Smyrna and Salonica. He continued to trade tobacco until 1790.<sup>193</sup> He imported tobacco and silk from Smyrna and Salonica in 1780s.<sup>194</sup> After that, he started to do business in the trans-Atlantic trade with connection through Levant ports and Marseilles<sup>195</sup> in the latter part

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<sup>188</sup> TNA: SP 105/217B, 11 Sept 1789. "Correspondence from Peter Tooke, treasurer at Constantinople, concerning the payment of salaries and accounts, 1784 and bonds of William Caralet and Robert Stevenson, sureties for Isaac Morier to be treasurer at Smyrna."

<sup>189</sup> TNA: SP 105/217B, 11 Sept 1789

<sup>190</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 29 November 1768)

<sup>191</sup> Despina Vlami, 'Entrepreneurship and relational capital in a Levantine context: Bartholomew Edward Abbott, the 'father of the Levant Company' in Thessaloniki (18th – 19th centuries)', *Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 6 (2009), p. 136.

<sup>192</sup> Allan Cunningham, *Anglo-Ottoman Encounters in the Age of Revolution: Collected Essays*, Vol. 1, (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 70.

<sup>193</sup> LMA: MS 11936/370/570191, 2 June 1790.

<sup>194</sup> Also, see Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 119-121.

<sup>195</sup> TNA: HO 44/42/29, 5 April 1794.

of the 1780s.<sup>196</sup> Apart from the connections of Salonica with other European ports, it is obvious that the city obtained a significant position in the Ottoman domestic commercial operations as mentioned above. The internal trading activities performed directly with Constantinople, Cyprus and Smyrna undoubtedly increased the importance of Salonica even more.

For business networks in the Italian ports, Captain Thomas Gooch played a key role in the last decades of the 18th century. In 1783, Captain Gooch was appointed a freeman of the Levant Company in Smyrna and Salonica. He was a shipmaster of the Levant trade ship, which was named *Euphrates* and had business networks in the Italian coasts in the 1780s.<sup>197</sup> He was also active in trade links to France French ports at the same time.<sup>198</sup> Besides Captain Gooch, one more captain, whose name was Robert Lancaster, had networks with Italian commercial centres as well. Captain Lancaster was a shipmaster at that time.<sup>199</sup> He became a ship-owner<sup>200</sup> later in order to operate silk business in the Levant ports.<sup>201</sup> In the middle of the 1780s, he operated his ship from London to Constantinople, Salonica and Smyrna via Malta, Naples, and Gibraltar.<sup>202</sup> Another shipmaster was Captain Joseph Brinley, who was appointed as a freeman in 1785 in Smyrna. He operated a ship named *Levant* at that time. In addition, the route of that ship

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<sup>196</sup> See Lloyds List and Register Books, 1781-1792.

<sup>197</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1783-1784, 26 September 1783, No: 1502, p. 2.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 26 November 1784, No: 1624, p. 2.

<sup>199</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1783-1784, 30 January 1784, No: 1538, p. 2.

<sup>200</sup> The name of ship was *Levant*.

<sup>201</sup> LMA: MS 11936/370/570683, 21 June 1790.

<sup>202</sup> See Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1783-1792.

was London-Smyrna via Salonica in both directions in order to trade silk, opium and dyestuffs. Moreover, he had a network in Malta until the end of the century.<sup>203</sup> The business of importing British manufactured goods into Malta was very profitable for the British merchants in the last decades of the 18th century.<sup>204</sup>

This example demonstrates that institutional changes impacted on a variety of business initiatives in the period of 1753-1800. These changes enabled a strengthening of business links in the region. It also affected political actors, and decisions in their commercial aspect as well. These aforementioned changes helped Levant in claiming a central position as the mid-point in commercial activities between East and West. In the second half of the 18th century, many business ventures expanded in terms of new and different routes, and it continued with its expansion networks from all around of the world for the individual merchants. Although the Levant trade volume decreased in the period of 1750-1800, Levant trade with its hinterland was still indubitably important for the individual merchants.

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<sup>203</sup> Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1783-1784, 30 January 1784, No: 1538, p. 2. "Ship Name was Levant. And route of the ship was London-Smyrna in both way boarding." And for Malta, see Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1783-1784, 21 May 1784, No: 1570, p. 2.

<sup>204</sup> Desmond Gregory, *Malta, Britain, and the European powers, 1793-1815*, (Madison; Teabeck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), p. 213.

**Table 39:** The Approved Individual – Retailer Merchants by the Levant Company  
in the period of 1754-1799<sup>205</sup>

Name(s)	Surname	Period	LT or FM in Port and City	Commerce Centres	Job - Duty
<b>1754-1760</b>					
Thomas	Ashby	1754	FM Constantinople	London	Turkey merchant (IB).
Colvill	Bridger	1754	FM Aleppo	Aleppo London	Merchant – The last factor of the Radcliffes in Aleppo. <sup>206</sup> (IB).
Richard	Willis	1754	FM Constantinople	Smyrna London Leghorn	Ship-Owner, the name of the ship was <i>Bosporus</i> . Commander: William Anson <sup>207</sup> (IB).
John	Townson	1754	FM Smyrna	London	Ship-Owner, the name of the ship was <i>Lucreteria</i> . <sup>208</sup> (IB).
Thomas	Dunnage	1754	FM Smyrna	London	Agent to Mr. John Barker and William Walker. <sup>209</sup> (IB).
Martin Kuyck	Van Mierop	1754	FM Smyrna	London	Ship-Owner, the name of the ship was <i>Fly Privateer</i> . <sup>210</sup> (IB).

<sup>205</sup> The names, approved dates, centres, and the other related information of merchants in the period of 1700-1753 compile from The National Archives, British Library Archives and Manuscripts, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, London Metropolitan Archives, Local Archives, and related secondary publications.

<sup>206</sup> HERT: DE/R/B240/1-12, 31 Mar 1758 – 14 September 1759. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, p. 22.

<sup>207</sup> TNA: HCA 26/8/102, October 27 1757.

<sup>208</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/12, 26 July 1760. "Commander: William Falkland. Ship: Lucretia. Burden: 210 tons. Crew: 35. Owners: John Townson of London, merchant. Home port: London. Lieutenant: Thomas Wadd. Gunner: John James. Boatswain: James Mincher. Carpenter: Joseph Haggins. Cook: John Ruke. Surgeon: John Long. Armament: 20 carriage guns. Folio: 13."

<sup>209</sup> DRO: Bar D/800/11, 13 Nov 1787.

<sup>210</sup> TNA: HCA 26/9/155, 22 June 1785.

Samuel	Touchet	1754	FM Smyrna	London	Ship-Owner, the name of the three ship was <i>Favourite, Scourge, and Pitt</i> . <sup>211</sup> (IB).
Edward	Purnell	1755	C Aleppo	London	Turkey Merchant, Nephew of John Purnell, consul of the Aleppo in 1710s. <sup>212</sup> (IB).
Robert	Stevenson	1755	FM Salonica	Smyrna London	Turkey Merchant. Financial actor in Smyrna. <sup>213</sup> (IB).
Richard	White	1755	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. <sup>214</sup> (IB).
Thomas	Lansdown <sup>215</sup>	1757	FM Aleppo	Aleppo Latakia Scanderoon Smyrna	Merchant – Ship owner – The factor of the Levant Company in Aleppo after Act of 1753. <sup>216</sup> (IB).
Richard	Merry	1757	FM Aleppo	Aleppo Latakia Scanderoon Smyrna	Turkey Merchant, Ship-owner. Names of the ships were <i>Expedition, Prience Edward</i> <sup>217</sup> (IB).
Willoughby	Marchant	1757	FM	Smyrna	Commander of the Ship. <sup>218</sup> (IB).
William, (jun.)	Scullard	1758	FM Aleppo	Scanderoon	Turkey and East India Company merchat. <sup>219</sup> (IB).
Francis	Bergoin	1760	FM Salonica	Smyrna	Turkey Merchant. (IB).

<sup>211</sup> TNA: HCA 26/11/106, 19 September 1759; TNA: HCA 26/10/147, 10 January 1959; TNA: HCA 26/12/55, 7 January 1761.

<sup>212</sup> BL: IOR/E/1/12, fols 426-427, 1721. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 255.

<sup>213</sup> TNA: SP 105/217B, 11 Sept 1789. "Correspondence from Peter Tooke, treasurer at Constantinople, concerning the payment of salaries and accounts, 1784 and bonds of William Caralet and Robert Stevenson, sureties for Isaac Morier to be treasurer at Smyrna."

<sup>214</sup> TNA: PROB 11/931/88, August 1767. "Will of Richard White, Merchant of Smyrna."

<sup>215</sup> HERT: DE/R/C346, 20 Sep 1770.

<sup>216</sup> LMA: CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/326/502527, 23 March 1785.

<sup>217</sup> TNA: HCA 26/10/19, 10 August 1758; TNA: HCA 26/11/3, 22 February 1759.

<sup>218</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/80, 18 March 1761. "Commander: Willoughby Marchant. Ship: Chesterfield."

<sup>219</sup> TNA: C 11/838/25, 1749.

David Samuel Henry	Duveluz	1760	FM Salonica	Smyrna	Ship owner of Cecilla. <sup>220</sup> (IB).
Thomas	Williamson	1760	FM	Smyrna	Ship-master.
<b>1761-1770</b>					
Henry	Grenville <sup>221</sup>	1761	FM Constantinople	London	Ambassador at Constantinople, of the Levant Company. (1762-1765) <sup>222</sup> (IB).
James	Porter	1763	FM Constantinople	London	Ambassador of the Levant Company. (1746-1762) <sup>223</sup> (IB).
Peter	Tooke	1763	FM Constantinople	London Basra Bagdad	Treasurer of the Levant Company. (1747-1763). <sup>224</sup> (IB). Agent to East India Company. (1790s) <sup>225</sup>
George	Webster	1763	FM Smyrna	London Manchester Yorkshire	Turkey Merchant. <sup>226</sup> Drug and cotton merchants in Britain. <sup>227</sup>

<sup>220</sup> LMA: MS 11936/395/617322, 18 July 1793.

<sup>221</sup> For personal information and correspondences of H. Grenville, see the series KENT: U1590/S2/O1-18, and KENT: U1590/S2/O15, 1762. (KENT: Kent Archives and Local History). Before the Levant Company, he was a member of the Borbados assembly of the British companies.

<sup>222</sup> TNA: SP 105/109/299, fols 299, 1 May 1761; TNA: SP 105/109/303, fols. 303, 15 November 1765. "George III to John, Lord Delawar, Governor, and merchants of the Turkey Company, informing them that Henry Grenville, Ambassador at Constantinople is desirous of returning to England, and that John Murray is appointed to take his place at the embassy."

<sup>223</sup> TNA: SP 105/109/299, fols 299, 1 May 1761; Wood, A History of the Levant Company, p. 253. And, see BL: Add MS 45932-45933, 1747-1753. He became 'knight' in 1763 with appointment freeman of the Levant Company.

<sup>224</sup> TNA: SP 105/217B, 1747-1763. "correspondence from Peter Tooke, treasurer at Constantinople, concerning the payment of salaries and accounts."

<sup>225</sup> Yapp, "The establishment of East India Company", pp. 333-334.

<sup>226</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 24. (Appointment Date: 1 August 1763)

<sup>227</sup> TNA: T 1/495/21-22, 24 July 1774 and TNA: J 90/395, 1769.

Theophilus	Daubuz	1765	FM Smyrna	London Bristol Liverpool Gibraltar S. Carolina Newfoundland	Ship Owner and Freeman of the Levant Company. <sup>228</sup> (IB).
Henry	Preston	1765	LT Aleppo	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB). <sup>229</sup>
Thomas	Scott	1765	FM Constantinople	Bengal London European ports	Shipmaster. <sup>230</sup> (IB).
William	Allen	1766	FM Smyrna	Leghorn London	Turkey Merchant. (IB). <sup>231</sup>
Peter	Cazalet <sup>232</sup>	1767	FM Constantinople	London	Turkey Merchant and Partner of family business in London. <sup>233</sup> (IB).-(FBM).
Daniel	Giles <sup>234</sup>	1768	FM	London Hertfordshire	Silk Broker and ironmonger in Spital Square-London. <sup>235</sup> Family business agent. And governor of the Bank of England. <sup>236</sup> (IB).
John	Olifer <sup>237</sup>	1768	FM Salonica	London Constantinople	Consul at Salonica Factory of the Levant Company. (IB).
Lewis	Chauvet <sup>238</sup>	1769	FM Constantinople	London India	Turkey and East India Merchant. (IB).

<sup>228</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 24. (Appointment Date: 28 June 1765)

<sup>229</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 25. (Appointment Date: 12 March 1765)

<sup>230</sup> For East India trade, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1764-1765, 17 April 1764, No: 2949, p. 2. For Levant trade, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1766-1767, 15 September 1767, No: 3303, p. 2; In order to see the previous routes of Scott's, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761.

<sup>231</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 15 August 1766)

<sup>232</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 15 May 1767); TNA: PROB 11/1164/170, 4 April 1788.

<sup>233</sup> Jeremy Bentham, *The collected works of Jeremy Bentham*. Vol. 3 (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 410-411.

<sup>234</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 29 July 1768)

<sup>235</sup> HERT: DE/A/2674, 1 May 1765; HERT: DE/A/2818, 1 September 1781. Also, see DE/Gp/F2, 1771-1837.

<sup>236</sup> <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/giles-daniel-1761-1831>.

<sup>237</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 29 November 1768)

<sup>238</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 31 January 1769)

Samuel	Mercer	1769	FM Smyrna	London	Silk Merchant in Crosby Square-London. <sup>239</sup> Family business agent. (IB).
William	Murrell	1769	FM	London East India	Tea and spices Merchant in Mincing Lane-London. <sup>240</sup> (IB).
Samuel	Peach <sup>241</sup>	1769	FM	Smyrna	Clothier, silk merchant in Chatford Gloucestershire <sup>242</sup> and ship-owner. <sup>243</sup> (IB).
John	Thwaite <sup>244</sup>	1769	FM Smyrna	London East India	Turkey and East India Merchant. (IB).
John	Stewart	1769	FM Smyrna	Constantinople Scanderoon Salonica Leghorn St. Petersburg Downs Plymouth	Commander and owner of ship, <i>Anglicana</i> , for the Levant trade. <sup>245</sup> (IB).
<b>1771-1780</b>					
William, (Rt. Hon.)	Radnor <sup>246</sup>	1771	of London	Constantinople	Turkey Merchant. In addition, Governor of the Company. (IB).

<sup>239</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 15 December 1769)

<sup>240</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 1 September 1769)

<sup>241</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 12 May 1769)

<sup>242</sup> TNA: C 11/1577/16, 1742.

<sup>243</sup> TNA: HCA 26/6/101, 19 November 1756. "Commander: Wiliam Colquhoun. Ship: Kitty Sloop. Burden: 35 tons. Crew: 20. Owners: James Laroche, Samuel Peach, William Colquhoun and James Laroche of Bristol, merchants."

<sup>244</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 12 May 1769)

<sup>245</sup> TNA: HCA 26/11/104, 19 September 1759. "Commander: John Stewart. Ship: *Anglicana*. Burden: 320 tons. Crew: 70. Owners: John Stewart with Isaac Hughes and John Hughes of London. Home port: London"; Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 17 May 1760, No: 2540, p. 2. In addition, see TNA: PROB 11/1156/237, 21 August 1787. Before he became a ship-owner, he was operating several ships as a commander-shipmaster to the American coasts in the middle of the 18th century. One of these ship was *Prince Edward*. See TNA: HCA 26/5/27, 10 June 1756.

<sup>246</sup> Wood, A History of the Levant Company, p. 255.

Michael	James <sup>247</sup>	1772	FM	Smyrna Stockholm Gibraltar Lisbon-Madeira Barbados London Downs	Turkey merchant and ship-owner <sup>248</sup> of <i>London</i> . (IB).
William	Anson <sup>249</sup>	1773	FM Constantinople	London Leghorn	Shipmaster. (IB).
Joseph	Franel	1773	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
Thomas	Newby <sup>250</sup>	1774	FM Constantinople	London Kent	Coal and linen merchant in Levant, and Transatlantic trade. (IB).
Richard	Willis	1774	FM Smyrna	London Downs Plymouth	Ship owner and Turkey Merchant. <sup>251</sup> (IB).
Richard	Burford <sup>252</sup>	1774	FM Smyrna Constantinople Scanderoun	London Downs Falmouth Plymouth Dover Liverpool Gibraltar Leghorn Angola <sup>253</sup>	Commander of ship ( <i>Chandelos</i> ) and Shipmaster. <sup>254</sup> Turkey Merchant. (IB).

<sup>247</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/49, 12 December 1760.

<sup>248</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 4 January 1760, No: 2502, p. 2; Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 20 June 1760, No: 2550, p. 2. Also, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 23 September 1760, No: 2577, p. 2.

<sup>249</sup> TNA: HCA 26/12/111, 1 September 1761. He was Shipmaster; the name of the ship was *New Bosphorus*. Owners: Richard Willis of London, merchant.

<sup>250</sup> He was in business networks of *Cobb Family* of Margate and their shipping agency and financial network. Thomas Newby was a coal and linen merchant who operated his own ships in the Sea of America and Levant. Ovenden, "The Cobbs of Margate", pp. 8-9.

<sup>251</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761 and 1770-1799.

<sup>252</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 14 January 1774)

<sup>253</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 24 June 1760, No: 2551, p. 2.

<sup>254</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 4 January 1760, No: 2502, p. 2. Also, see TNA: HCA 26/10/129, 19 December 1758.

Robert, (Sir)	Ainslie <sup>255</sup>	1775	FM Constantinople	London	Ambassador at Constantinople for the Levant Company <sup>256</sup> (1775-1794). (IB).
David	André	1775	FM Constantinople	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
John	Dunnage	1775	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant.(IB)
Joseph	Birch <sup>257</sup>	1775	FM	Liverpool East India London	Turkey and East India Merchant. Slave owner. <sup>258</sup> (IB).
George	Baldwin	1775	FM Aleppo	Cairo	Merchant, Agent of the Levant Company in Cairo. <sup>259</sup> And he had attempt to open the Suez route in silk trade. (1786). <sup>260</sup> (IB).
George	Curling <sup>261</sup>	1775	FM Constantinople	Salonica- Smyrna Volos London Jamaica South Carolina	Turkey – Silk Merchant. Ship commander. (IB).
Thomas	Johnson <sup>262</sup>	1776	FM Constantinople	London East India	Turkey Merchant and Ship commander. (IB).

<sup>255</sup> BL: IOR/G/17/6 Part 1: ff.45-46, 9 September 1786. "Copy of letter from Sir Robert Ainslie to the Levant Company. States that he has not received any information from England about opening a route to India via Suez and that the Porte would be hostile to such moves." He was dealing with India trade via Suez route in the 1780s.

<sup>256</sup> Arthur H. Grant, "Ainslie, Sir Robert, first baronet (1729/30–1812), diplomatist and numismatist" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press. Date of access 26 July 2018. See:

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-237>>

<sup>257</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 30 May 1775)

<sup>258</sup> Lee, Stephen M. 2004 "Birch, Sir Joseph, first baronet (1755–1833), politician." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 6 Sep. 2018. See:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-46310>. Also, see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1311936591>.

<sup>259</sup> BL: IOR/G/17/5 pp. 63-64, 25 May 1775.

<sup>260</sup> BL: IOR/G/17/6, Part 1: pp. 43-44, 1 August 1786. "Levant Company Ambassador Sir Robert Ainslie was worried about Aleppo merchant Baldwin's attempts to open the Suez route. And he stated that this initiative would be detrimental to the trade of the Levant Company."

<sup>261</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 16 December 1775)

<sup>262</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 25 June 1776)

William	Jolliffe <sup>263</sup>	1776	FM Smyrna	London	Ship-owner and Turkey Merchant. (IB).
Samuel, (jun.)	Smith <sup>264</sup>	1776	FM Smyrna	London Downs	Ship commander. (IB).
James	Alexander <sup>265</sup>	1776	FM Constantinople	India – London – Caledon Ireland	Textile Merchant - First Earl of Caledon and Merchant. (IB).
Frederic, (Rt. Hon.)	North, (Lord)	1776	FM Constantinople	Constantinople Smyrna Aleppo	Governor of the Levant Company <sup>266</sup>
Michael	De Vezin	1777	C Cyprus <sup>267</sup>	Aleppo Smyrna	British Consul at Larnaca, in Cyprus for the company. <sup>268</sup> (IB).
Francis	Werry	1778	FM Smyrna	Salonica London	Merchant, Consul at Smyrna. <sup>269</sup> (IB).
Peter, (jun.)	Cazalet	1779	FM Smyrna	Salonica London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
William	Smith	1779	FM Aleppo	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
<b><u>1781-1790</u></b>					
Edward	Hague <sup>270</sup>	1781	FM	London America and Marseilles	Tobacco Broker and Turkey Merchant. (IB).
George	Perkins <sup>271</sup>	1782	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB). <sup>272</sup>

<sup>263</sup> Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1805-1806, p. 591. *The Young* was the name of Jolliffe's ship, which was operated from London to Smyrna after 1805 to 1820s.

<sup>264</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 56. (Appointment Date: 13 February 1776)

<sup>265</sup> For further personal information, see BA: P/St. N/Ch/D/23. (Bristol Archives)

<sup>266</sup> BL: Add MS 61869, fols 106-129, 1782-1790.

<sup>267</sup> He coordinated the routes to Cyprus from Venice, Leghorn and Marseilles. BL: IOR/E/1/70 fols 327-328v, 18 May 1782.

<sup>268</sup> BL: Add MS 61869, fols 108, 1782.

<sup>269</sup> BL: Add MS 34455, fols 201, 1798-1799.

<sup>270</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 1 May 1781)

<sup>271</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 28 May 1782)

<sup>272</sup> DRO: Bar D/800/8, 1787. (Derbyshire Record Office)

Thomas, (Captain)	Gooch <sup>273</sup>	1783	FM Smyrna	Stangate Creek Naples Leghorn Nice and London	Shipmaster, Turkey merchant. (IB).
Robert, (Captain)	Lancaster <sup>274</sup>	1783	FM Smyrna	Constantinople Naples Malta Gibraltar Porstmouth London	Shipmaster and ship- owner, Turkey merchant. (IB).
David	Wedderburn <sup>275</sup>	1784	FM of London	Smyrna	Drug Merchant. (IB).
John Julius <sup>276</sup>	Angerstein <sup>277</sup>	1784	FM Constantinople	London	Underwriter of Lloyds Bank, marine insurer in London. Also, Brokering, Financial and operations for insurance issues. And partnerships in commercial activities from Levant ports. <sup>278</sup> (IB).
Joseph, (Captain)	Brinley <sup>279</sup>	1785	FM Smyrna	London Malta	Shipmaster and Turkey merchant. (IB).
John	Fish	1785	FM Smyrna	London	Mariner at <i>Lyra</i> and <i>Levant</i> . And Turkey merchant. <sup>280</sup> (IB).

<sup>273</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 30 May 1783)

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 3 December 1784)

<sup>276</sup> The Angerstein Family was descended Russian background. John Julius Angerstein was born in St. Petersburg in 1735. For his business operations see LMA: F/ANG-1-2-1. He was a Philanthropist at that time with his business activities. See Sarah Palmer, "Angerstein, John Julius (c. 1732–1823), insurance broker and connoisseur of art." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press, Date of access 26 Jul. 2018. See:

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-549>>

<sup>277</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 31 August 1784); LMA: F/ANG with all folders and pages. It is related to the Family's information and records from 1692 to 1944.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 29 April 1785)

<sup>280</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1133/19, 3 August 1785. He was working as a mariner in ships such as *Lyra* and *Levant* at that time. He must have been traded on his behalf at the same time.

Samuel Hicks	Gribble <sup>281</sup>	1785	FM Salonica	Smyrna London	Turkey Merchant and Factor of the Levant Company in Salonica. <sup>282</sup> (IB).
John	Perkins <sup>283</sup>	1785	FM Smyrna	London	Factor of Barker Family. (IB). <sup>284</sup>
Thomas	Browne <sup>285</sup>	1787	FM Smyrna	Aleppo Constantinople	Ship-owner and merchant of the Levant Company. (IB).
William	Rigby <sup>286</sup>	1788	FM Smyrna	London	Mariner and Turkey Merchant. (IB). <sup>287</sup>
Charles Frederick	Schmoll <sup>288</sup>	1788	FM	Smyrna London Bristol	Turkey and Silk Merchant. (IB).
William	Waring <sup>289</sup>	1789	FM	Smyrna Salonica	Merchant and Ship Owner. The factor of his family company. (IB).
James	Saunders	1790	FM Smyrna	Salonica London	Currant Merchant. (IB). <sup>290</sup>
<b><u>1791-1799</u></b>					
George	Liddel	1792	FM Constantinople	London	Secretary of the Levant Company. (IB).
Thomas	Wagstaffe	1792	FM Smyrna	London Jamaica West Indies	Levant and West Indies merchant and Shipowner. <sup>291</sup> (IB).
Charles	Gribble	1793	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
George	Prior	1793	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).

<sup>281</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 29 November 1785)

<sup>282</sup> TNA: ADM 106/1295/64, 6 June 1788.

<sup>283</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 29 November 1785)

<sup>284</sup> DRO: Bar D/800/21, 11 June 1795.

<sup>285</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 9 March 1787)

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., p. 72. (Appointment Date: 30 May 1788)

<sup>287</sup> TNA: PROB 11/1102/354, 23 April 1783. He was working at ships as a mariner and seaman in 1770s.

After that he started to do business in Smyrna for his own behalf in starting from 1788.

<sup>288</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 72. (Appointment Date: 27 January 1788)

<sup>289</sup> Ibid. (Appointment Date: 23 January 1789)

<sup>290</sup> He was exporter of currants from Greece to England and the Netherlands.

<http://www.levantineheritage.com/testi23.htm>

<sup>291</sup> TNA: HCA 26/6/40, 8 October 1756. They operated business to Jamaica with their family ship named *St John* starting from 1750s until 1800.

George, (jun.)	Prior	1794	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
Arthur David Lewis	Agassiz	1796	LT Smyrna and Constantinople	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
Simpson	Anderson	1798	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
John Albert Abraham	Gout	1799	FM Smyrna	London	Turkey Merchant. (IB).
William, (Rt. Hon.)	Grenville, (Lord)	1799	FM Constantinople	London	Governor of the Levant Company. <sup>292</sup> (IB).

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

Between 1700 and 1800, a total of 800 different merchants, who were members of the Levant Company and actively involved in the Levant trade, have been identified.<sup>293</sup> While about 300 of these merchants were engaged in the Levant Trade between 1700-1753, this number increased dramatically during the other half of the century. As a matter of fact, it can be seen from the records,<sup>294</sup> there were nearly 500 merchants active in the Levant trade between 1753-1800. As can be understood from these numbers, the total number of British merchants is observed to have increased after 1753. This increase was around 60% compared to the first half of the century. As has been touched upon in this

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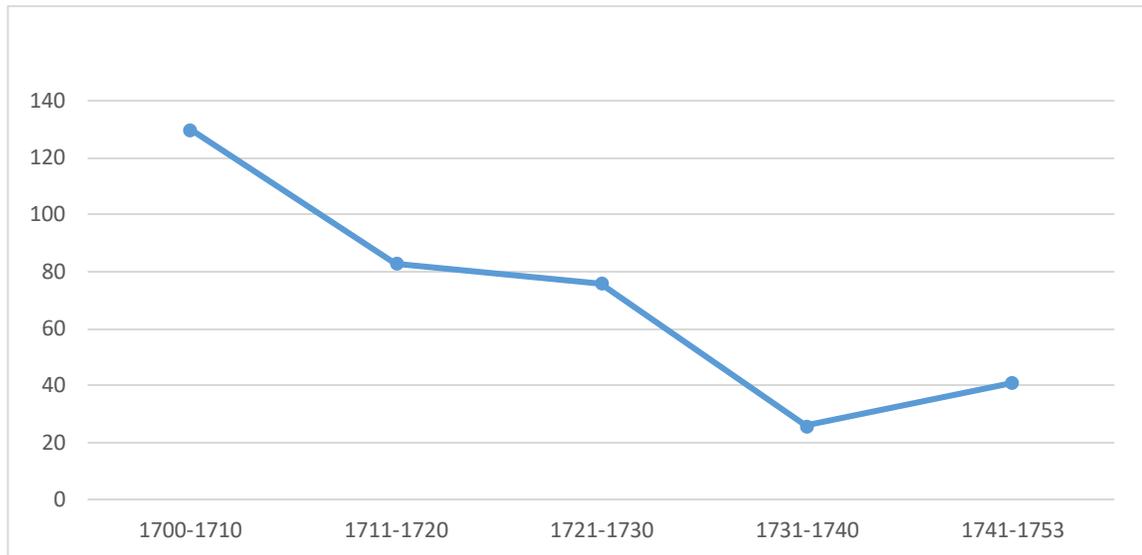
<sup>292</sup> BL: Add MS 59267, p. 160, 1795-1825.

<sup>293</sup> Merchant numbers for the period of 1700-1800 are compiled from the following archive sources; TNA: SP 105/332-333.

<sup>294</sup> TNA: SP 105/332-333 and Lloyd's Registers and Lists, Lists for the period of 1741-1800.

chapter, such a remarkable rise in the number of new merchants should be noted as a result of the institutional transformation as experienced by Levant Company in 1753.

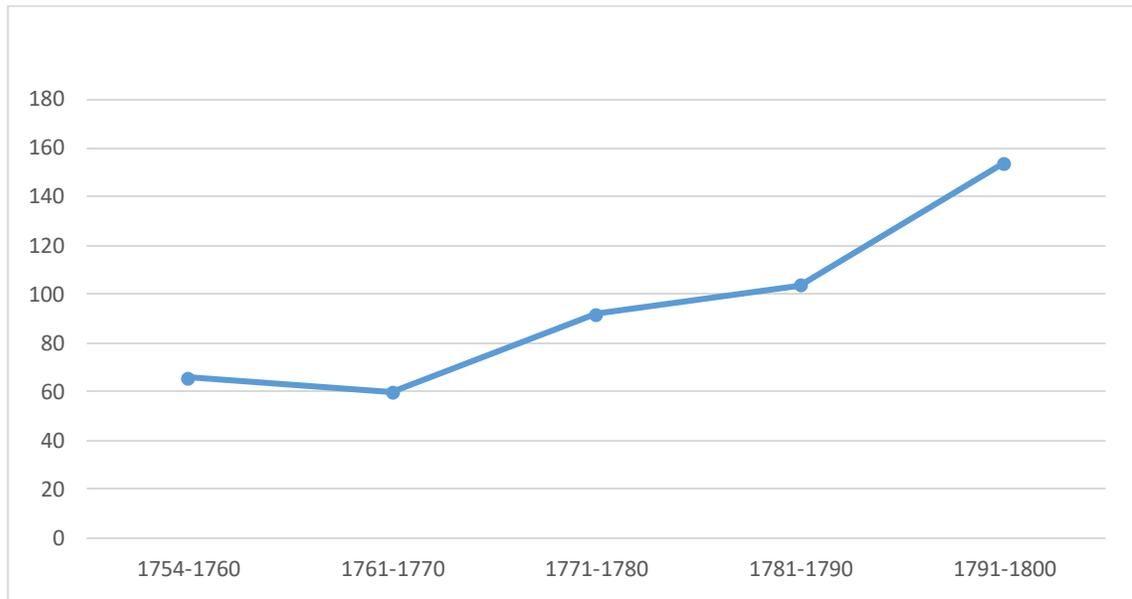
**Figure 8:** Freemen and LT [Liberty of Trade] Admitted in the Period of 1700-1753



**Source:** TNA: SP 105/332-333 and Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists for the period of 1741-1800.

The fact that the number of merchants performing commercial activities within the body of the Levant Company during the period between 1700 and 1753 decreased until the year 1744 can be observed from the preceding graph. The uptrend here was experienced during the years between 1744 and 1753, and the number of new merchants increased from about 25 to over 40. The most significant cause of this increase is undoubtedly the freedom of shipping granted by the Company after 1744.

**Figure 9:** Freemen and LT [Liberty of Trade] Admitted in the Period of 1754-1800

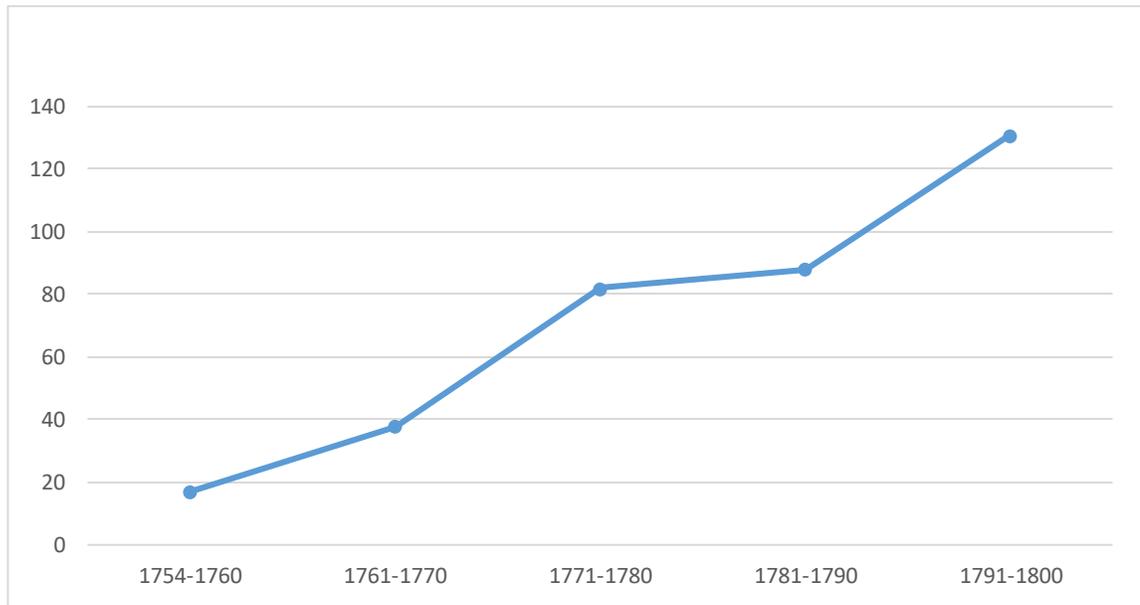


**Source:** TNA: SP 105/332-333 and Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists for the period of 1741-1800.

The determination of how many of these mentioned merchants were individual ones after 1753 is another significant point. Indeed, the knowledge of this number will contribute to our understanding of how retailer merchants reacted to the institutional transformation in the aftermath of the Act of 1753. Based on the information related to the merchants as acquired from the archive records, it can be stated that the rate of individual merchants within the total number of British merchants between the years 1754 and 1800 increased consistently until the end of the century. The share of individual merchants among the total new merchants remained stable until the 1760s, but then increased dramatically in later decades. As can also be viewed from the figure below, apart from this initial period, the number of individual merchants increased rapidly from

1770 on and pushed the limits of 100. In the year 1791, on the other hand, 90% of the total British merchants in Levant operated as individual merchants.<sup>295</sup>

**Figure 10:** Individual Merchants Number in the Period of 1754-1800



**Source:** TNA: SP 105/333 and Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists for the period of 1741-1800.

The fact that Company was a corporation operating at the hands of merchant families to a great extent before 1754 brought about established business networks. Individual merchants whose number increased after 1754 began to develop their business through these established networks. We know for certain from archival sources that individual merchants tried to get involved in the business links of big merchant families especially in the first period after the Act of 1754 in order to make use of their prior knowledge of

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<sup>295</sup> When compared to the previous figure, 135 of the total 155 new merchants appear to be individual merchants. See Figure 9.

the market. As a result of these efforts, we can define the period after 1754 as a learning-trial phase for individual merchants.<sup>296</sup> We have already stated that the individual merchants appointed in the Levant during the time mentioned above were quite young. Doing business in a foreign country with different qualities requires a good knowledge of the conditions related to that country and the working style of tradesmen as well as having a command of other relevant details. Thanks to the sharing of such information, cooperation and business action started to develop. Due to these very reasons, the accumulation of knowledge regarding big family merchants with experience is of importance for British individual merchants who later became active in the Levant market.

Another remarkable point for individual merchants in the aftermath of 1753 is that a considerable amount of these merchants were engaged in shipping activities. The activities of these sailors who were interested in Levant either as ship owners or ship masters intensified after the liberalization of the company. We can by no means refer to the same intensity due to general shipping restriction during the period before 1753. These merchants dealing with shipping activities are also known to have done business with other European countries besides the Levant trade. The essential point here is that these merchants performed their shipping activities in Transatlantic and West Indies at

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<sup>296</sup> For relationship between institutional change and the processes of experimentation, mutation, and learning, see Avner Greif, *Institutions and the path to the modern economy: Lessons from medieval trade*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 12.

the same time with Levant as well.<sup>297</sup> This result provided by the archive records is quite interesting in the sense that it demonstrates the emergence of a serious business network. This situation encouraged the participation of ship owners and ship masters as the new actors of the company. The most significant piece of information regarding these actors is that they began participating in Levant trade after the capital saving they achieved by means of the Transatlantic trade. This state of affairs is highly noteworthy. Accordingly, it is possible to claim that they undertook new enterprises in Levant ports, which were relatively easier and safer, with the capital they acquired in the Transatlantic trade in which shipping was harder, riskier and involved longer-distances. It is also valid to assume that these merchants transferred the experience they gained in long-distance shipping to the young merchants in Levant. The Levant should be depicted as an area where both experienced shipowners and young but inexperienced merchants interacted with one another. From this point of view, it would be wise to describe the Levant of the period between 1753 and 1800 as a phase of training, interaction, networking and experience transfer.

The relationship between the merchants of East India Company and Levant Company was positively affected by this interactive environment too. This interaction was mostly encountered among individual merchants. However, it is hard to claim that the same interaction level was present within the context of Company administration. Indeed, as

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<sup>297</sup> New foundland, and S. Caroline were also centres for that individual merchants in the period 1753-1800.

it occurred in the examples provided in relation to merchants, East Indian merchants were involved in Levant trade while the merchants of Levant Company took part in East Indian commerce. The data obtained with respect to merchants verifies that individual merchants also interacted with East Indian trade. Although the trade performed in the Levant region within British foreign trade regressed proportionately over time, it nonetheless managed to maintain its volume.<sup>298</sup> As a matter of fact, when the stability in this trading volume and the Company's liberalization united with the interaction of several various merchant groups, a striking commercial network came into existence. It should eventually be stated that thanks to the freedom in question and interaction, a hitherto unknown dynamism and vitality began to characterize British trading activity in the eastern Mediterranean.

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<sup>298</sup> See Chapter 3.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **THE EVALUATION OF BUSINESS-TRADE NETWORKS, BUSINESS NETWORK**

#### **ANALYSIS AND VISUALISING THE TRADE ROUTES**

## INTRODUCTION

Business networks are quite effective in overcoming particular obstacles with the help of certain institutional changes.<sup>1</sup> The development of business and social networks leads to the birth of a relationship characterized by mutual advantage. The Levant Company merchants' deepening of the business relationships among them by means of networking and their spreading to new geographical centres are quite remarkable by 18th-century standards. Indeed, it is a known fact that the British merchants were fairly active in world trade during the 18th century and in competition with other European states.<sup>2</sup> During this period, besides contributing directly to technological improvements, international trade is one of the key features that helped industries to survive and continue to grow. As Gayer and his co-authors have argued, international trade helped new industries to keep their momentum of growth.<sup>3</sup> One of the key issues that has been overlooked in the existing literature is network structure of international trade. Network structure can show us how a merchant was able to find a new route-market or their ingenuity/flexibility in the face of changing institutions and political

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<sup>1</sup> James E. Rauch, "Business and social networks in international trade" *Journal of economic literature* 39: 4 (2001), pp. 1177-1178. Also, see James E Rauch and Vitor Trindade, "Ethnic Chinese networks in international trade" *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 84: 1 (2002), p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> The British were in a strict competition with the Dutch and French merchants on the commercial routes both in and out of Levant during the related century.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur D Gayer Gayer, W W Rostow, and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, *The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790-1850: An Historical, Statistical, and Theoretical Study of Britain's Economic Development*, (Harvester Press, 1975), pp. 1-2.

conditions. Another important point relates to the merchants' role and position in the Ottoman economic system.

Along with the institutional change, which affected both the individual and family business of the British merchants, how they were perceived in the Ottoman lands where they went into international commercial relationships is also significant in terms of making an evaluation. The knowledge regarding what kind of status the Levant Company merchants whose number increased after 1753 occupied in the Ottoman system would be helpful in our understanding of the external effects of this assessment. The information concerning the development of the Levant-related commercial routes of the British merchants as well as the contents of their trading networks in the Ottoman lands makes up the subject matter of this chapter.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This chapter will analyse the transformation of the Levant Company merchants underwent after 1753, their networking potential in both the Levant and Levant-related commercial centres, their pursuit of new routes and the entrepreneurial networks of the Levant. Accordingly, the chapter will consist of two parts. The first part will clarify the business networks of the individual merchants after the Act of 1753 in the light of the data and information presented at the end of the third and fourth chapters. In this way, the evaluation of business-trade networks will have been achieved. To complete this analysis, the following topics will be addressed under three rubrics: (1) 'Ottoman

Economic Mind and Merchants’, (2) ‘Agents, Ship-owners, Partnerships and Joint Ventures’, and (3) ‘Knowledge Acquisition, Experience and Business-Social Networks in Levant’.

Under the second subject heading, we will try to visualize the change in the international commercial routes of all Levant merchants during the phase in question based on the data obtained through Lloyd’s Shipping Lists. In this way, a map concerning all the commercial centres worldwide connected with the Levant will be drawn. The visualising of the Levant Company merchants’ trade routes in this way will be achieved through the processing of the data applying a computer-programme named Python by means of a network analysis method.<sup>4</sup> In the light of the records of these mentioned ships, which arrived and left commercial goods in the Levant and transferred the goods taken from Levant to all corners of the world, a periodical comparison will be performed. The turning point for this comparison was defined as the Act of 1753, which was accepted in the British Parliament thus institutionally turning the Levant Company into a structure where any merchant could become a freeman if he requested it. The comparison in question aimed for before and after 1753 will help demonstrate what sort of a transformation the British merchants went through during the 18th century, what coastal towns came to the forefront and which new commercial centres became the business field of the Levant

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<sup>4</sup> Python is an interpreted high-level programming language for general-purpose programming. Created by Guido van Rossum and first released in 1991, Python has a design philosophy that emphasizes code readability, notably using significant whitespace. Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Python\\_\(programming\\_language\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Python_(programming_language))

Company merchants. The visualising of these international commercial centres and trading routes by means of a software programme can be considered a previously-untried method for understanding the activity of the Levant Company merchants and the scope of the Levant trade.<sup>5</sup>

## **Data**

With regard to the first rubric, a variety of archival resources have been consulted with a view to revealing not just the lives of the traders who were members of big-wealthy merchant families, but also the activities of individual merchants and their commercial adventures and business networks in Levant. The data relating to these merchants are available in more detail in the fourth and fifth chapters. Thus, they will not be repeated here again. Such information regarding whether these merchants were freemen or co-members, when they started business in Levant and in which Levant factories and ports they began commercial activities has been gathered from State Papers records.<sup>6</sup> It should also be noted that, apart from the archival sources, a number of significant secondary sources have also been consulted for the analysis undertaken in the first rubric.

For the second section (rubric), I used the Lloyd's Shipping Lists. The Lloyd's Company started as a coffee house, which was opened towards the end of 1688. They began to publish a newspaper that included general commercial information and details of vessels

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<sup>5</sup> Detailed information regarding this programme will be provided in the second part of this chapter.

<sup>6</sup> TNA: SP 105/332-333.

arriving at ports in England and Ireland, around April 1734. After 1760 with the increased interest in Marine Insurance, the Company established a new society to organise publication of a Register Book of Shipping to guide its members.<sup>7</sup> The first list was published in 1741. The lists were published until 2013 and after that time, it was converted to digital format. There are some missing lists; for example, 1742, 1743, 1745, 1746, 1754, 1756, 1759, and 1778. The lists have information of 'the name of vessels-ship' (in column 1), 'name of shipmaster' (in column 2) and 'port of destination' (in column 3).

Lloyd's List of Shipping has been digitised by Google. I used an optical character recognition (OCR) programme to convert the images into a machine-readable format. By this means, the images were turned into text-files. Then I used pattern recognition (I used Levenshtein distance algorithm) to correct OCR mistakes. Finally, I manually searched the results in order to carry out an analysis of the trade routes for the period 1753-1800.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See D. T. Barriskill, *A Guide to the Lloyd's Marine Collection and Related Marine Resources at Guildhall Library*, (London: Guildhall Library, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to my colleague Aytuğ Zekeriya Bolcan for his efforts and support in order to develop my thesis. For another important research on analysis of international trade networks, see Aytug Zekeriya Bolcan, "The Evaluation of International Trade Networks: Evidence from the Continental Blockade" *Master Diss.* (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona), July 2016.

## THE EVALUATION OF BUSINESS-TRADE NETWORKS OF THE LEVANT COMPANY MERCHANTS

The changes that paved the way for the modern economic growth began to take place in Western Europe where, as of the first half of the 18th century, several countries maintained close political and economic relations with the Ottoman Empire. It is a known fact that Britain, the locomotive of this change process, gave weight to international commercial activities on the basis of a mercantile approach from the 17th century onwards. Similar to the other European mercantilist states, Britain focused on the establishment of its own national industries and manufacture for economic growth and development and as a way to encourage commerce too. The most important element of these policies was undoubtedly long-distance trade. As can be observed in the example of Britain, legal regulations were performed for the development of this trade. An attempt was made, in the 'The Acts of Trade and Navigation' put into action in 1651, to establish the institutions to support overseas trade. Accordingly, certain tariffs were put in place with the view of protecting the national economy in its competition with other European states.<sup>9</sup> High tariffs were determined for the import as well, and the importation of the products of particular states was also restricted.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ralph Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London: Macmillan & Co Ltd, 1962), p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> For Dutch and English competition in the 17th century, see Mehmet Bulut, "Reconsideration of Economic Views of a Classical Empire and a Nation-State During the Mercantilist Ages" *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 68: 3 (2009), pp. 791-828.

The mercantilist approach in Europe and the competition between European states carried over into the Levant trade as well. The 18th century in particular was the period in which this competitive attitude was seen at its highest level of intensity. It would be wise to assess briefly the basis upon which the activities that the British merchants who always held a special interest in the Levant trade continued performing in the Ottoman geography. How their activities were shaped both on the level of this mercantilist economic mind in question and on local terms will be examined in the light of the archival data presented in previous chapters. This short assessment will be based on three different topics as stated in the introductory part of this chapter.

### **Section 1: The Ottoman Economic Mind and Merchants**

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the West European economies drifted into a long-term crisis. In several countries, production and the population growth rate slowed down while unemployment spread. Under these conditions exactly, states like Holland, England and France that recently started strengthening in the north-western Europe and competing with one another in the meanwhile began to follow foreign trade policies that were quite different from the ones applied formerly so as to decrease unemployment and revive their economies. This difference essentially represented a change in mental outlook. These European states developed a new viewpoint centred around foreign trade due to the stillness of the domestic market. The basic economic aim was to increase the national wealth; that is, to contribute to it as a foreign trade surplus. Indeed,

the stimulating idea of this mental transformation was Mercantilism. The Mercantilists were measuring a country's wealth on the basis of to what extent the precious metals (gold and silver) remained inside the country; thus, they simply defended an opinion which encouraged export. This being the case, they tried to reduce imports by increasing production also within their own countries.<sup>11</sup>

Contrary to this, the Ottoman Empire held a completely dissimilar economic mind to the one adopted by the Mercantilists. The Ottomans practised an anti-Mercantilist economic policy not only during the years between 1300 and 1600 known as the classical era, but also in the 17th and 18th centuries as well. The basic concern prevailing in the Ottoman foreign trade policies was offering a solution for the problems of provisionism regarding the Ottoman palace, army and cities as well as providing financial income. This policy is known in the literature as the "provisionist" mind for the Ottomans. This principle was adopted for the purpose of making the products sold in the Ottoman domestic market as cheap as possible, of good quality and as abundant as possible. This situation is a pro-consumerist attitude in the expression of Genç.<sup>12</sup> As a result of this, the Ottoman government regarded foreign trade as a way of preventing hardships and scarcity. The continuous abundance of the amount of goods in domestic market prevented price increases too. The Ottomans were generally engaged in price regulation and struggled hard not to allow the prices to increase or for the number and quantity of products

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<sup>11</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi 1500-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007), pp. 72-73.

<sup>12</sup> Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2000), p. 45.

available in the domestic market to decrease. Therefore, instead of restricting imports and supporting export as performed by the mercantilists, the Ottomans employed an opposite attitude. They always encouraged imports and limited export when they felt it necessary, in such cases as scarcity for instance. Foreign traders and foreign maritime fleets were supported by the Ottoman government as they both brought goods into the country and provided the state with customs tax income.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, foreign trade was considered a basis for political friendship in a sense for the Ottomans. The Ottoman Empire aimed at the abundance of products in the domestic market, did not face any problems in the supply of certain strategic goods and used capitulations as a means for making new acquaintances in international relations while it granted, through capitulations, a trading right to foreign merchant groups doing business in the Ottoman lands.<sup>14</sup>

Due to the Ottoman economic mind summarized above and as a result of the Ottomans' viewpoint of foreign trade along with this, the British merchants went on with their commercial activities in the Levant geography for many years. The reason why these merchants continued their activities consistently in the Levant trade cannot be explained by Levant rules and some internal changes alone. This being the case, the Ottoman perspective needs to be touched upon. The environment provided by the Ottomans in

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 47-48.

<sup>14</sup> Halil İnalçık and Quataert, Donald, (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 188-190. For instance, these strategic goods were such as tin, lead and steel, gunpowder, chemicals, and silver and gold coins in the 18th century.

foreign trade and the importance of the Levant in terms of its geographical status led to the maintenance of the British merchants' activities in the Levant centres. To sum up, both the internal elements (such as institutional change in the company regulations, partnerships and family business practices) and the systematic trade that was enabled by the Ottomans and that could be considered as an external effect guide us towards an appropriate analysis.

Apart from this, what kind of a relationship the Ottomans held with the British merchants on the local level is another significant point. The British consuls definitely made acquaintances with the governors and kadis as the administrators of the cities they resided in. Such was a necessary and recommended situation for the merchants and administrators who were engaged in commerce.<sup>15</sup> A reverse case is almost inconceivable. Conducting commercial activities properly is almost impossible without forming relations with the local Ottoman administrators. Keeping the relationships close and sincere by paying visits and offering gifts to both grand viziers in the Ottoman capital city and the Ottoman officials at the local level were regarded as important for the longevity of the relationships too besides the preservation of commercial privileges. Presenting expensive and valuable gifts to the Ottoman administrators was quite an ordinary and expected situation as practised by the consulate officials in Constantinople and it was considered necessary to solve many issues or prevent potential problems that

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<sup>15</sup> TNA: SP 105/116, From London to William Sherrard, Smyrna Consul, 20 June 1716 - 1 July 1716; SP, 105/116, From London to Smyrna, 20 June 1716 - 1 July 1716.

were likely to be experienced.<sup>16</sup> Talbot shows the number of all gifts given in the period 1693-1803. Accordingly, almost 10,000 gifts in total were given by the Levant Company administrative actors for the same period. He found a database of over 10,000 gifts given between 1693 and 1803, among which can be found 457 watches and clocks, comprising 269 silver watches, gold watches, 54 other or undefined watches, and 23 clocks.<sup>17</sup> All these British efforts to keep their relationships with the Ottoman administrators on good terms are also directly related to the fact that the Levant trade was a profitable business field besides its being fairly open to competition.<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, another important local figure the British merchants dealt with in the 18th century were the tax and customs collectors. In the Ottoman customs system, every customs point or centre was checked by a tax collector and the taxes were collected directly by him. Thus, the tax collector was quite a significant actor in the economic relationships of the British merchants who had to pay customs dues and other fees. It is understood that some tax collectors assigned from the state centre performed the same duty with governors and were responsible for a broad domain.<sup>19</sup> Levant Company

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<sup>16</sup> Michael Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807: Commerce and Diplomatic Practice in 18th-century Istanbul* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), pp. 105-107; Mehmet Sait Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb" *PhD Diss.* (İstanbul: İstanbul University), 2014, p. 178.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Talbot, "Gifts of time: Watches and clocks in Ottoman-British diplomacy, 1693-1803." *Jahrbuch für Europäische Geschichte* 17 (2016), pp. 58-59; Despina Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East* (London: IB Tauris, 2014), p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> On this subject, Alfred Cecil Wood points to similar issues in his study and writes that the reality that the Levant trade of Sir Paul Rycaut, who was the Smyrna consul of the Levant Company in the 17th century, was quite profitable forced the British merchants to stay in Levant no matter what. See Alfred Cecil Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1964), p. 232.

<sup>19</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", pp. 180-181.

merchants' paying visits to the Ottoman administrators and trying such methods like gift-giving so as to maintain their warm relationships can be viewed as a means of providing stability for the sustaining of commerce. It is understood that this general attitude continued for many years as a practice that needed to be followed by the merchants who were members of the Levant Company or the factors and agents who were resident in the Ottoman commercial centres. However, another issue here is the credit-debt relationship, which mostly took place between the Ottoman local elements and administrator class and the merchants belonging to the Levant Company. The actors on the basis of this relationship are the tax collectors. These collectors were in the status of the most significant customers for the British merchants within the loan relationship as they owned the rights of tax collecting and tax saving in the name of the Ottoman Empire and on the condition that these rights survived for at least 3 years at the local level.<sup>20</sup> The breakdown of the financial conditions in the Ottoman Empire from the late 17th century onwards resulted in the fact that the central state was inclined to use tax-farming and tax-collection virtually as a source of domestic borrowing. While the time limit of tax farming contracts was formerly 1 year unless an exceptional case took place, these limits were raised to three and even five years as of the 1700s. In this way, the Ottoman central authority was securing internal loans from the possessors of tax-farms and contractors of tax collection by means of relinquishing future tax revenue in

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

exchange for up-front payments in cash.<sup>21</sup> This being the case, the reality that tax collectors had a foreseeable income in the medium term definitely played an important role in their going into a credit-debt relationship with the Levant Company merchants. No details will be given here as the examples of this relationship have already been provided in the previous chapters. However, this business, which was conducted on the local level in fact opened a new income channel to the British merchants besides international trade. As far as what has been identified from the archive documents, the merchants who participated in this lending relationship were generally the representatives of big-wealthy merchant families or their agents in Levant.<sup>22</sup>

The final issue for this topic is the Ottoman Protégés system. Officials who received their salaries from the company and performed active duties especially in the consulate administration were employed in the Levant Company embassy and consulate management by licence (berat) issued by the Ottoman government. The officials in question were generally selected from the experienced merchants who worked as agents in the Levant Company commercial centres. They were in the status of chancellor and treasurer. Among the figures whose salaries were paid by the company again apart from these officials can be mentioned the British clergymen, doctors, native translators,

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<sup>21</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Kurumları Seçme Eserleri I* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2007), p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> HERT: DE/R/B, 226/1A, 5 February - 16 February 1734. Richard Stratton worked as an agent of the Radcliffe family in Aleppo. In a letter written for his London-based boss Arthur Radcliffe in February 1734, he stated that the market conditions were suitable for lending up to 8%, but would have to be very cautious because of the uncertainty in the ongoing Ottoman-Iranian wars.

native clerks, guarding janissaries and mail carriers. This institutional structure was the same for the Levant-wide commercial centres. The protection system turned into a commodity which became commercialized from the 18th century onwards mostly for such people like native translators, brokers and warehousemen. This situation essentially stems from the nature of treaties given to the European states by the Ottomans. Accordingly, they could employ a fixed number of non-Muslim Ottoman citizens they chose at their discretion in embassies and consulates as dragomen so as to help with the work of the foreign traders as privileged European “beratlıs”. For the European states, the significance of dragomen-translators was comprehended as of the second half of the 17th century as a way to contribute to the deepening of commercial activities and as a strategy regarding the training of their own dragomen-translators. In this respect, France and Venice sent young children who were their own citizens and whose ages ranged between 6 and 10 to the Ottoman commercial centres and enabled them to receive commercial education by means of either using their foreign languages or with the help of their consulates there. The British also adopted this method as of the year 1700; however, they trained the sons of Ottoman-citizen Greek families by sending them to Oxford. Sir Robert Sutton<sup>23</sup>, the British ambassador of the period, believed in this strategy and defended its maintenance. As Levant Company was opposed to the adoption of this practice, which started with Suttons’s support to the second group of

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<sup>23</sup> TNA: SP 105/109/277, fols 277, 5 December 1700 – Hampton Court. Robert Sutton was appointed as Ambassador in Turkey. His duty was end in 1716.

juveniles in 1704, this application was interrupted.<sup>24</sup> Contrary to this, the French took the training of dragoman seriously and continued the practice throughout the 18th century. This institutional move was one of the steps that contributed to France's becoming the European state with the biggest share in the Levant trade. The British Levant Company, on the other hand, went on with complaining about the dragomans in Levant due to the interruption of this activity.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, this cutback needs to be interpreted as a step taken institutionally that could not be sustained.

Correspondingly, the fruitfulness of negotiations with the Ottoman statesmen and decision makers could not be improved.<sup>26</sup> Due to the fact that these dragomans were regarded as "beratlıs", the purchase and sale of this right; that is, its turning into a commercial commodity, became unavoidable.<sup>27</sup> The charter right's becoming a valuable commodity created a side income for embassies and consulates. The reason for this was the fact that the salaries of the dragomen in question were sent by the Levant Company from London. In the early periods, however, the state is known to have supplied dragomans to foreign ambassadors who came to Constantinople especially as of the time

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<sup>24</sup> TNA: SP 105/115, 6 July 1704; Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 289-290. This implementation of education for interpreters, which was implemented in Oxford was called The Greek College at that time. See Peter M. Doll, (ed.) *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy: 300 Years After the "Greek College" in Oxford*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 165-172.

<sup>25</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, pp. 289-291.

<sup>26</sup> For comparison between France and Britain in terms of dragoman education, see Fatma Müge Göçek, *East encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 99-100.

<sup>27</sup> Maurits H. Van den Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system: qadis, consuls, and beratlıs in the 18th century* Vol. 21, (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub, 2005). pp. 64-67 and 76-77.

of Mehmed the Conqueror among the Ottoman rulers.<sup>28</sup> The statement in the treaties that the salaries would be paid by the companies of the European states in return for this freedom saved the Ottomans from this trouble. Boogert who declares that the demand for charters during the 18th century was more than the number of dragomen needed indicates that the consuls mediated in these charter sales too.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the reality that the number of “beratlıs” increased throughout the 18th century by means of this protection method points to the understanding that the ambassadors and consuls took much advantage of this practice. The point that should be finally stated here is that this commercialization resulted in the foundation of a business network between the Ottoman non-Muslim subjects and the British merchants. As one of the Levant Company documents states, a dragoman who was previously employed in Aleppo did no other business than receiving salary.<sup>30</sup> This situation alone demonstrates that the people recruited for the status of dragomen took an interest in various business operations by means of the rights they owned. This network structure developed from the 18th century onwards and eventually led to the condition that the Ottoman non-Muslims stood out further in trade and other business fields during the 19th century.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Türkhan, “18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz’de Ticaret ve Haleb”, p. 206.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 74-81.

<sup>30</sup> TNA: SP, 110/29, PP. 58-59, 2 May 1754 - 13 May 1754.

<sup>31</sup> Another study prepared by us with regard to the social networks, which developed in Constantinople and Smyrna due to the networks and marriages between the non-Muslims and ‘*muste’men* merchants’ in the 19th century is in progress within its last stage.

## Section 2: Agents, Ship-owners, Partnership and Joint Ventures

As we mentioned in the chapter 3, the agent institution defined as “factory” by the British is one of the most significant institutions of international maritime trade during the time before the 19th century. The overseas commercial companies established so as to become an international commercial power since Tudor England<sup>32</sup> tried to conduct this mission by means of agents-factors. These agencies that were mostly in the status of the commercial representatives and factors of bosses who were members of the Levant Company in London were resident in Levant. They had the right to purchase and sell goods in the name of their bosses in the commercial centres or coastal towns where they resided. It has been stated previously that the agencies trading within the body of the Levant Company were limited agents. This situation meant that they could not sell goods at a price cheaper than the one determined by their bosses. In the same way, they could not buy goods at a more expensive price than the price again set by their bosses.<sup>33</sup> Agents-factors got commissions from the commercial operations they conducted in return for these services. It is surely beyond doubt that a number of actors were available in the Levant trade. The related examples have already been provided in the fourth chapter. In this respect, it should be noted that the most important actors of the Levant trading system for the British were the factors and agents in question.<sup>34</sup> After all, the

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<sup>32</sup> Katerina Galani, *British Shipping in the Mediterranean During the Napoleonic Wars: The Untold Story of a Successful Adaptation* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 190-191.

<sup>33</sup> Edward Hatton, *The Merchant Magazine or Trades Man's Treasury*, (London 1712), s. 204.

<sup>34</sup> Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry*, p. 90.

trading activities were being performed through these agents. It is also necessary to state that the agents of the Levant Company members could do business on their own behalf while conducting commercial activities for their bosses in the Ottoman lands.<sup>35</sup>

As can be recalled from the chapter in which the big merchant families who were members of the Levant Company have been analyzed, the Radcliffe family who was among such families had an enormous network of factor-agents. It is possible to see agents who did business on behalf of the Radcliffe family in almost all Levant commercial centres. The Radcliffes were a family who reached a great business volume especially before the year 1753. It is a known fact that the families sent their members to Levant as agents at times.<sup>36</sup> A detail emerging from the analysis of merchants is that the agents requested extensive and detailed information relating to prices and demands from their bosses in London. Accordingly, the agents who conducted the business of the Radcliffes and the Boddingtons in Levant asked their bosses to send them the price and demand information in order to make better-informed moves in the Levant market.<sup>37</sup> This situation represents the process of information transfer and decision making which is the most significant rule of commercial activity. Accordingly, it can be stated that there existed a serious information flow and they kept in touch with one another. However, it

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<sup>35</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", pp. 126-127.

<sup>36</sup> The members of almost all big merchant families besides the Radcliffe family spent time in Levant at different times and followed the family business. See Chapter 4.

<sup>37</sup> For Smyrna Agent, see HERT: DE/R/B306/4, 30 Apr 1736; For Aleppo Agent, see HERT: DE/R/B226/12, 26 November 1734 - 7 December 1734; DE/R/B/226/19A, 23 February 1735 - 6 March 1735. For commodities prices in Galata and Smyrna, see DE/R/B387/24, 1 - 29 Dec 1758.

is known that this communication took a lot of time when appropriate. Considering the reality that the correspondence between the agents and their bosses in London took 4-5 months at times during the last quarter of the 17th century<sup>38</sup>, it is not difficult to predict that the agents sometimes took independent initiative for commercial decisions. Despite the fact that this correspondence period shortened with the frequency of shipping traffic during the 18th century, it should be accepted that this time was quite extended for the purpose of reaching time-sensitive economic-commercial decisions. Such hardships made the importance of the agents in the Levant that much more obvious.

Another outstanding factor for the agents was the agreement in which they determined the successor agents who would practise agency in Levant after their own return to England. Accordingly, the merchants who did business in Levant as the agents of a family or a merchant made agreements with successor agents for the sake of the sustaining of business management and memory when they decided to leave the Levant. It is known that a deed of partnership existed between nearly all agents and their predecessors during the 18th century. This deed was signed between the agent who recently arrived in the Levant and the predecessor and it lasted for 7 years. In accordance with this agreement, the new agent would pay half (and sometimes less than the half) of the profit he obtained for himself to the agent he replaced, that is, his predecessor.<sup>39</sup> This situation which was viewed as a fairly significant practice in terms of securing the institutional

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<sup>38</sup> Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English traders in the Levant in the 18th century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1967), pp. 87-88.

persistence was implemented less frequently during the period after 1753. Indeed, the transformation undergone by the number of merchants identified on the familial and individual basis in the former chapters regarding the period before and after 1753 diverges only slightly. The transformation typically experienced by a number of agents who arrived in the Levant in the period after the 1750s, when access was liberalized, was essentially grounded in the same kind of 'on-the-job learning' and gradual acclimatization to local conditions that had guided the representatives of big-wealthy families who dominated the trade in the period before 1753. As we have argued in previous chapters, new entrants to the trade after 1753 were still dependent on the knowledge and experience accumulated by their predecessors. Indeed, as far as the information supplied by a variety of resources is concerned, the number of the agents related to the merchants who were the Levant Company members in the Ottoman lands began to decline after 1750s too.<sup>40</sup> The decrease in the number of agents is, in fact, was a result of the decline in the number of merchants who were members of big merchant families occupying themselves with commerce in Levant. Again, the increase in the

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<sup>40</sup> For detail background of the numbers of agents in the period 1596-1752, see Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", pp. 130-131. "There were at least 70 agencies in 1596, when the first commercial activities began in Aleppo, and in 1662 there were about 50 British commercial agencies, which decreased to 40 in the 1670s. In the 17th century, with the general decline in British trade, the number of agencies dropped from 40 in 1701 to 25 in 1725. In the city in 1734, there were a total of 15 commercial establishments, 6 of which were small. In October 1739, 9 agencies participated in the Council meetings of the Aleppo for the Levant Company, which gathered after the death of Consul Nevil Coxe. The traveler Pococke, who came to Aleppo the same year, stated that there were no more than 7-8 British businesses in the city. In 1743, a total of 10 small businesses were active. In 1747, there are a total of 12 agencies in the city. In 1748, a total of 7 large commercial enterprises were active, after 1750 the number of active traders is less than 7403. Frederic Hasselquist who lived in 1749-1752 between 1749-1752 in Levant shores of Smyrna, Cairo and never visited Aleppo and died in Smyrna in 1752, stated that there were 9 French and 8 English commercial buildings in Aleppo."

number of individual merchants demonstrates that the merchants who would perform business as agents were not needed as much as they had been during the period before 1753 but, regardless of their social status and connections, the new operatives still relied heavily on the inter-generational transfer of information acquired by their predecessors.

Another element in the evaluation of the transformation experienced by the Levant trade in the 18th century was ship owning and mastering. Ship owning and shipping offered several advantages to merchants in international trading activities. It was possible to obtain information about the commercial concerns and strategies of merchants and achieve capital accumulation by means of ship owning. According to Davis, almost all ship owners were merchants. Again, it is a known fact that the majority of merchants were ship owners or ship partners. However, it should be stated here that these people used the title “merchant” instead of “ship owner”. Accordingly, the essentially important point was the reality that they were merchants. Being a ship owner or partner represented, in fact, a limited area among the several businesses done by the British during the 17th and 18th centuries. As the essential field of occupation was commercial activity, they introduced themselves as ‘Turkey or Levant merchants’.<sup>41</sup>

After 1744, individual merchants started to use various shipping methods to export their goods to the Levant. The institutional change was contemplated already in 1718, in conjunction with another institutional changes, but could only be fully implemented

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<sup>41</sup> Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry*, pp. 81-82.

after the Act of 1753, which opened up the possibility for individual merchants to join the Levant trade with their joint-ships. With the liberalization of the shipping business in the aftermath of this institutional change, navigation activities became diversified too. The number of ship owners who got permission for the Levant trade and were in freemen status began to increase quite significantly especially after 1753.<sup>42</sup> The institutional change that was established in 1753 enabled shipmasters and ship-owners operating in the Levant trade to form an extensive business network.

As for the responsibilities of ship masters, their duties were considerable since they were responsible for both loading and unloading goods in the Levant trading centres. These ship masters identified the cargo capacity of the ship, received information relating to the goods to be shipped by meeting or corresponding with the agents in the commercial centre, demanded more amounts of goods to be sent in cases of availability of space in their vessels and determined which products should be given priority to when only a small space was available on the ship. The ship masters made decisions about whose goods should be loaded and in what way the loading would be performed by discussing this issue of space availability with the onshore agents. As for the final task, they provided information to the ship owners and the Levant Company headquarters after the ships departed.<sup>43</sup> This major responsibility sphere of the ship masters led to their gaining

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<sup>42</sup> See Chapter 5, information was given under the title of 'Seamen in the Levant Trade: Shipping, Ship-owners, and Ship masters'.

<sup>43</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", pp. 252-255; P. R. Harris, "The Letter Book of William Clarke Merchant in Aleppo, 1598-1602" MA. Diss. (London: University of London), 1953, p. 105.

experience in terms of commercial procedures. During the period before 1753, ship captains who were members of the Company or in the status of freemen were quite few in number. Those few in question were people captaining the ships of big families and could receive trading rights through that means.<sup>44</sup> However, after the Act of 1753, the examples of the Levant Company freemen who were previously ship captains or those who were essentially engaged in ship captainship and performed commercial activities are available to a great extent.<sup>45</sup>

This increase in the number that took place following the year of 1753 also indicates an obvious variety including trade routes. In addition to carrying out business in the Ottoman geography with their trade liberty, ship-owners and ship-masters developed networks with a plethora of other business centres, some of which had connections with the Levant. We also identified a rare incident prior to 1753 in which a ship master operated his ship while at the same time being involved in private enterprise. We are also able to identify trade routes of the captains through the information obtained from the documents of the trade adventures found in several archives for the period after 1760. In this sense, the commercial centres of shipmasters who operated business in the

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<sup>44</sup> Thomas Shaw who worked on the ships of the Bosaquets family is one of these limited number of examples. Shaw was engaged in trade although partially in the early 1750s. In this regard, he occupied himself with ship captaincy during the period after 1753 too.

<sup>45</sup> For detail information please have a look Chapter 5.

Levant ports contained Bengal and East India<sup>46</sup>, Angola and West Central Africa<sup>47</sup>, New York, Jamaica, Halifax, with Leghorn, Naples, Venice with Nice<sup>48</sup>, Malta<sup>49</sup>, St. Petersburg with all European ports in the late decades of the 18th century.

In the same way, the ongoing commercial operations of the ship-owners increased after 1753 and reached a serious business network level. What is noteworthy here was that the owner of these ships, who had acquired the right to trade for the Levant, started to use the Smyrna and Salonica ports in the Levant. Another important point to be made for the last quarter of the century was the connection of Salonica and Smyrna directly to the Transatlantic trade points, in spite of limited shipping operations made by the Levant Company shipowner- merchants.<sup>50</sup> In sum, according to the Lloyd's Register and Lists,

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<sup>46</sup> When we look at ship master and Levant freeman Thomas East's commercial network, we can realize that Bengal and India trade were central points of his commercial links. See Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1764-1765, 17 April 1764, No: 2949, p. 2. For Levant trade, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1766-1767, 15 September 1767, No: 3303, p. 2; In order to see the previous routes of Scott, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Burford was ship master at that time who was engaged to slave trade in Angola and West Central Africa. See Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 24 June 1760, No: 2551, p. 2; Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 4 January 1760, No: 2502, p. 2. And TNA: HCA 26/10/129, 19 December 1758.

<sup>48</sup> The trade routes of Thomas Gooch were engaged to these ports after the 1770s. Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1764-1765, 16 May 1780, No: 1163, p. 2 and Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1764-1765, 16 June 1780, No: 1172, p. 2. For his admission from the Levant Company, see TNA: SP 105/333, p. 57. (Appointment Date: 30 May 1783)

<sup>49</sup> Malta was a central point of commercial activities for Robert Lancaster and Joseph Brinley. Further information, see Chapter 5.

<sup>50</sup> The route of ship of Michael James; was named London (TNA: HCA 26/12/49, 12 December 1760); contained centres of Smyrna, Stockholm, Gibraltar, Lisbon-Madeira, Barbados, and London. His ship was sailed from Salonica to Barbados via Lisbon-Madeira. See Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 4 January 1760, No: 2502, p. 2; Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 20 June 1760, No: 2550, p. 2. Also, see Lloyds List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 23 September 1760, No: 2577, p. 2.

many individual merchants as shipowners or shipmasters had broad business networks with trading destinations outside of the Levant in the period of 1754-1800.

From the perspective of the British, the Levant Company was defined by doing business with co-members of the Levant Company and the company's internally established partnerships, run with a system composed of a chain of apprentices, agents and co-members. Merchants in London were made up of members of the Levant Company as well as investors and they themselves had climbed up the apprentice-agent chain. Therefore, these merchants had utmost experience in the Levant trade and region. These merchants who had agents in the Levant trade centres belonged to the big-wealthy merchant families. A detailed explanation regarding families who sent their close family members to the Levant as apprentices or agents is provided in chapter 4. Accordingly, families like Radcliffe, Boddington, Bosanquet, Fawkener, Vernon, Lock, March and Barnardiston who had been involved in the Levant trade for a few generations, were more effective in the period prior to 1753. These families' fundamental features were, carrying on their monopolies in the Levant trade through their own family members for the first period of the 18th century. Among these families, the Radcliffes have engaged in agent relations with many merchants other than their own family members. We observe that following the Act of 1753, Abbott and Lee families dominated in guiding the Levant business operations through their own family members. As extrapolated from archival records, these two families, along with their many family members, maximized their own advantage in the Levant trade.

The aforementioned families whose nature we have briefly summarized here, established partnerships among themselves in order to increase their share in the Levant trade. In this context, according to the partnership institutions, the Radcliffes established a partnership in silk, mohair, goat, cotton and fruit trade in Aleppo with the Stratton Family.<sup>51</sup> It was named the Radcliffe & Stratton Partnership in mid-18th century in Aleppo.<sup>52</sup> Another partnership was between Fawkener family and Snelling family in the Levant trade. They started to establish their partnership in the silk and cloth trade. As a very profitable company, the Snelling & Fawkener Company undertook to deliver Persian silk to Britain via Aleppo and Smyrna particularly by the 1730s.<sup>53</sup> Apart from Aleppo and Smyrna, there were partnerships in the other commercial centres of the Levant. Thomas Phillipps Vernon as an agent of the Vernon family was managing this commercial activity in Latakia with his partners, merchants of the Levant Company, and his own family members. He had a partnership with Edward Purnell in Tripoli, and Latakia.<sup>54</sup> These examples were related to the partnerships between big-wealthy families and individual but highly experienced merchants who operated business in the Levant. In addition, there were also partnerships established between two big-wealthy families in the Levant

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<sup>51</sup> Elena Frangakis-Syrett, "Market networks and Ottoman-European commerce, c. 1700 - 1825" *Oriente moderno* 25: 1 (2006), p. 125.

<sup>52</sup> HERT: DE/R/B356/35-36, 28 Sep 1743; Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Suare*, p. 76.

<sup>53</sup> Mason, H. (2015, January 08). Fawkener, Sir Everard (1694–1758), merchant and diplomatist. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9228>.

<sup>54</sup> TNA: SP 110/74, 2 August 1762.

trade. Charles Lock and Arthur Radcliffe had a partnership in terms of doing silk trade from Aleppo to London before the beginning of the 1740s.<sup>55</sup>

We have a few other examples of partnerships dating from the period 1753 - 1800. The first one is of the partnership established between the Lee and Maltass families. The Lee family had a partnership with the Maltass Family in Smyrna starting from the 1760s.<sup>56</sup> They were all in the Smyrna assembly of the Levant Company at the end of the century.<sup>57</sup> Smyrna stood out as the most dynamic places for these partnerships in this period. With this trait, Smyrna after 1753 had the position and the role of Aleppo before 1753. Hence, we have discovered that the Radcliffes carried on their business in Smyrna by doing small joint ventures.<sup>58</sup> This corroborates that the Radcliffe family put an effort into sustained raising of their mercantile bulk and ensuring continuity and longevity for their business.<sup>59</sup> The Barker and Smith families were successful in increasing their commercial influence as they had in Aleppo by partnering with the Radcliffes in Smyrna and Constantinople.<sup>60</sup> Finally, it is significant to mention that these kinds of partnerships between factors and

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<sup>55</sup> TNA: SP 105/332, p. 130, 17 May 1727.

<sup>56</sup> See:

<http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Biography-of-William-Barker-Levant-Company-Merchant-Marjorie-Rear.pdf>, p.32.

<sup>57</sup> TNA: SP 105/126, fols 182r, 15 March 1798, British factory at Smyrna to the Levant Company in London.

<sup>58</sup> HERT: DE/R/B34/1, 20 August 1717.

<sup>59</sup> For the joint ventures of British merchants in the first decades of the 19th century, see Despina Vlami, "Entrepreneurship and Relational Capital in a Levantine Context: Bartolomew Edward Abbott, the "Father of the Levant Company" in Thessaloniki (18th-19th Centuries)" *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 6 (2009), p. 5. She gives information about these joint ventures: "It also participated into joint ventures with the George Frederic Abbott & Co., set up by Abbott's son together with the Greeks Theodore Choidas, Niccola Zade and Ioanni Gouta Caftangioglou. Abbott & Chasseaud had also business transactions with Lee & Brant of London and Smyrna, Roux Frères & Cie of Marseille, Edward Hayes & Co., Fletcher & Co., M. Flitoker and J. L. Gout in Malta."

<sup>60</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 131.

agents were increasingly being replaced by partnerships with the Ottomans after the beginning of the 19th century. These types of partnerships formed with non-muslim Ottoman citizens continued even after the collapse of the Levant Company. One such family was the Hanson family for the first decades of the 19th century. In this context, Charles Simpson Hanson (1803-1874), a family member of the Hansons and the last standing co-members of the Levant Company was the first to settle in Constantinople for the purpose of doing business. In the following generation, Henry James Hanson, born and raised in Constantinople, was engaged in many commercial activities ranging from construction, to finance<sup>61</sup> and building railroads to export and import.<sup>62</sup> Henry Hanson rose to prominence amongst all the Levantine merchants and played a key role in 19th century Ottoman trade and finance.<sup>63</sup>

### **Section 3: Knowledge Acquisition, Experience and Business-Social Networks in Levant**

After 1753, the Levant Company's institutional and organizational transformation brought no harm to the company's monopoly rights regarding trade operations.

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<sup>61</sup> For money and bill of exchange brokering operations of the Hanson Family, see BOA: MAD. d. No. 12494, No. 12496, No. 12499, No. 12497, No. 12498. Hanson family operated businesses with their partner Zohrab Family in the middle of the 18th century. See BOA, A.} AMD. 28/1, 13 Ra 1267 (Hicri) - 16 January 1851; BOA, HR.MKT. 50/6, 05 M 1269 (Hicri) - 19 October 1852; BOA, HR.MKT. 75/31, 24 B 1270 (Hicri) - 22 April 1854; BOA, HR.MKT. 99/16, 19 R 1271 (Hicri) - 10 December 1854; BOA, A.} MKT. MHM. 390/17, 02 Ca 1284 (Hicri) - 1 October 1867; BOA, DH.MKT. 1752/50, 02 M 1308 (Hicri).

<sup>62</sup> Henry James Hanson Collection (HJHC), GB165-0135, Archive Library, Middle East Centre-St Anthony's College, Oxford University, V. 1, p. 4-10. For further information, see Ü. Serdar Serdaroğlu and Kadir Yıldırım, "An Ottoman-English Merchant in Tanzimat Era: Henry James Hanson and His Position in Ottoman Commercial Life", *Turkish Studies International Periodical for The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 10: 6 (2015), pp. 923-946.

<sup>63</sup> For further information on 'Merchant Families' in the Levant trade in the first decades of the 19th century, see Vlami, *Trading with the Ottomans*, pp. 157-198.

However, it did cause an alteration in the member profile of the company and thus, a change of the company organization. The Act of 1753 and the liberalization of shipping process caused many individual merchants to take part in the Levant trade. As shown before, more than 60% of the merchants who became new members of the Levant Company and of those who obtained the right to do trade as a freeman between 1753-1800 were individual merchants. Well-known merchants who were representatives of big-wealthy merchant families ran most of the trade operations and held central positions in the period prior to 1753. During that period, individual traders' impact was not significant. The claim that ship owners' and captains' mercantile roles and activities were a dynamic factor during that period would likewise be invalid. The novel organization and structure for the post-1753 period, which we have examined in this thesis, resulted in a diminution of the role played by the big wealthy merchant families. In the later phase of the company's development, the majority of the traders consisted of a group of individual merchants, namely, retailers, ship owners, and ship masters. Thus, the altered organizational structure in the Levant Company influenced the process of knowledge acquisition and personal experience. Besides these two factors, the social and business networks between merchants themselves significantly escalated in this period.

It is well understood that the networks agents formed starting from their apprenticeship years, shows that over time, this system, along with being informed during the change from predecessor to successor, had a significant impact on making big trade investments

easier. Apprenticeship usually started around the age of 17-18 and took seven years in total to complete. The period of apprenticeship was very costly, so merchants invested in their own family members, children or nephews, or other company members' children as well as accepting patricians' or nobles' kids as an apprentice. Prior to 1753, the completion of this seven-year apprenticeship was a requirement in order to work for Levant company as a freeman merchant. Six years out of the seven-year apprenticeship period was spent as an agent in the field and the last year was spent in London. On the other hand, there are also reports suggesting some agents started this process in London.<sup>64</sup> After the Act of 1753, apprenticeship was not a condition to become a freeman, and Levant trade opened its doors to everyone.<sup>65</sup> Even though, this situation did not help individual merchants join the company assembly,<sup>66</sup> it did however influence the structure of the company as well as knowledge acquisition and transfer processes following the period when they obtained the rights to do trade. This situation also paved the way to spread various trade routes through social networks consolidated between individual merchants.

Knowledge acquisition and information transfer prior to 1753 were provided to young people (apprentices) through their educator merchants (or agents) who were situated in

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<sup>64</sup> Harris, "The Letter Book of William Clarke", pp. 50-51; Christine Laidlaw, *British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century* (London; New York: IB Tauris, 2010), pp. 22-31.

<sup>65</sup> Ina S. Russel, "The Later History of the Levant Company 1753-1825", PhD Diss. (Manchester: The Victoria University of Manchester), 1935, pp. 24-25. For individual merchants, she preferred to use 'provincial merchants'.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

the trade centres. After 1753, this requirement was removed<sup>67</sup> which resulted in the increase of social networks between merchants and knowledge acquisition by means of current news regarding commercial issues. Hence, information and experience transfer was now provided through communication between mercantile networks, which was previously provided by means of a formal company apprenticeship system.

After the Act of 1753, the number of agents gradually decreased in the Levant trade centres towards the end of the century. Accordingly, along with the liberalization in 1753, without any changes in its monopoly rights, the company's organizational structure and its corporation institutions and routines changed. Such a change in a company, which had a long tradition of applied institutional and organizational traditions, through 1580-1753, with roots of its business extending back a century, arguably, at least in the short term, might have caused the local trade to become unguarded. Hence, we had already mentioned some merchant families had withdrawn from the Levant trade along with this change.<sup>68</sup> The powerful authority of Ottoman administration in port and trade cities caused merchants to do trade in an already established ground instead of merchants' own local rules designated by themselves. On contrary to the East India Company's situation, there was no way for any flexibility in the conditions that Ottomans provided. Because, Ottomans had the authority to deport

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<sup>67</sup> Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations, 1661-1807*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter 4.

merchants in the Ottoman lands by means of having the warrant to rescind treaties (capitulations) with European states.<sup>69</sup>

The pre-1753 period was an international trade market for British merchants, but later on it tended to be conducted between local networks. Without a doubt, individual merchants who first started off their business within the body of the Levant Company carried out their activities through established networks dating back to already firmly consolidated traditions. However, over some time, this process gradually changed from established networks and official company regimes to personal experience and social networks. We come to understand this from samples of relations between shipowners and shipmasters. These two types of merchants generally set off to different trade routes by using their own social networks and doing commercial operations with various ships. In sum, we can argue that the reason for the intense use of the Levant ports during certain seasons or times is due to these social-business interactions.

## **VISUALISING THE TRADE ROUTES**

In this part, we aimed to visualize the Levant merchants' change in international trade routes in the 18th century through data acquired from Lloyd's Shipping Lists. This way, a map of all trade centres connected to the Levant Company has been constituted. Visualising the trade routes of the Levant Company merchants, thus, provided the identification of the busiest ports in terms of trade. The data in this thesis was processed

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<sup>69</sup> Boogert, *The capitulations and the Ottoman legal system*, pp. 26-27.

through Python<sup>70</sup> coding language using a network analysis method named “Plotly”.<sup>71</sup> Thereby, a periodical comparison was successfully visualized through the records of ships that transported goods all around the world using the Levant trade centres or ports. Ship records for pre-1753 period can only be found from 1741 onward. Therefore, networks prior to the Act of 1753, will be shown between 1740-1753 records. For the period after 1753, however, we have access to almost the entirety of ship records.<sup>72</sup>

This thesis explored contrasts between different periods by analysing the data by decades. These periods were divided up as follows: 1740-1752 for the years before and including 1753; 1740-1752, 1753-1755, 1753-1761, 1762-1771, 1772-1781, 1782-1791 and 1792-1800 respectively. Network analyses and brief assessments have been made for each time period and we attempted visualising the nature of these periods with network graphs. Separate analyses for each period ranging 1753-1800 have then been combined in order to create a network map for the second half of the century. The aforementioned graphs are visually represented in two different ways: ‘General Entrepreneurial Networks’ and ‘Centrality of Commercial Centre(s)’. The purpose of this is to demonstrate the central port cities and associations between other trade centres.

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<sup>70</sup> For Python programming language, see Python is an interpreted high-level programming language for general-purpose programming. Created by Guido van Rossum and first released in 1991, Python has a design philosophy that emphasizes code readability, notably using significant whitespace. Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Python\\_\(programming\\_language\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Python_(programming_language))”

<sup>71</sup> Plotly is a web-based data visualization and analytical apps. “Plotly, also known by its URL, Plot.ly, [1] is a technical computing company headquartered in Montreal, Quebec, that develops online data analytics and visualization tools.” Plotly provides online graphing, analytics, and statistics tools for individuals. See: <https://plot.ly/>

<sup>72</sup> The collection does not include any issues for 1742, 1743, 1745, 1746, 1754, 1756, 1759 and 1778.

The final part shows a map of trade intensity and locations of port cities within the general entrepreneurial networks. Trade density of the Levant ports and other ports were assessed through the number of ships that appear at that port. The variation of density is represented with different coloured circles on the network map. Blue coloured circles represent the least dense in terms of trade; and red and maroon coloured circles represent the higher trade density; showing heavier ship traffic. The circles' width represents the extent of density.

### **The Entrepreneurial Networks of the Period of 1740-1752**

Availability of data only from the period between the years 1740-1752 before the Act of 1753, made an all-inclusive analysis impossible. However, the analysis and visualising we will have executed for the last decade of the period prior to 1753 carries a significance in order to shed light onto the first half of the century. We were able to identify a total of 28 different ships involved in shipping in the Levant trade via Lloyd's Shipping Lists.<sup>73</sup> These ships<sup>74</sup> carried out commercial shipping with Levant between European ports for the aforementioned period. Graph 1 demonstrates the involvement of ports in Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Italy with the Levant in business networks. Britain is excluded from this business network. Also included in the graph are the

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<sup>73</sup> Lloyds List and Register Books, 1741-1752, shipping information was given starting from 2 January 1740 to 29 December 1752.

<sup>74</sup> The names of the ships from Lloyd's lists, 1741-1752: *Thames – Stambleen – Henry & Mary – Stambleen – Wilmington – Stambleen – Hope – Bosphorus – Vernon – St. Francisca – P. Frederick – Levant – Thames – Sarah&Susanne – Tryton – Barbadoes Packer – Tuscany – Barbadoes Packer – Thames – Barbadoes Packer – Bark – Matilda – Boston Gally – Matilda Francis – St. Francisca – Polacca – Experience – Theoder – St. John Baptist – Sarah – Fortune – susanna province – Delawar – St. Joseph.*

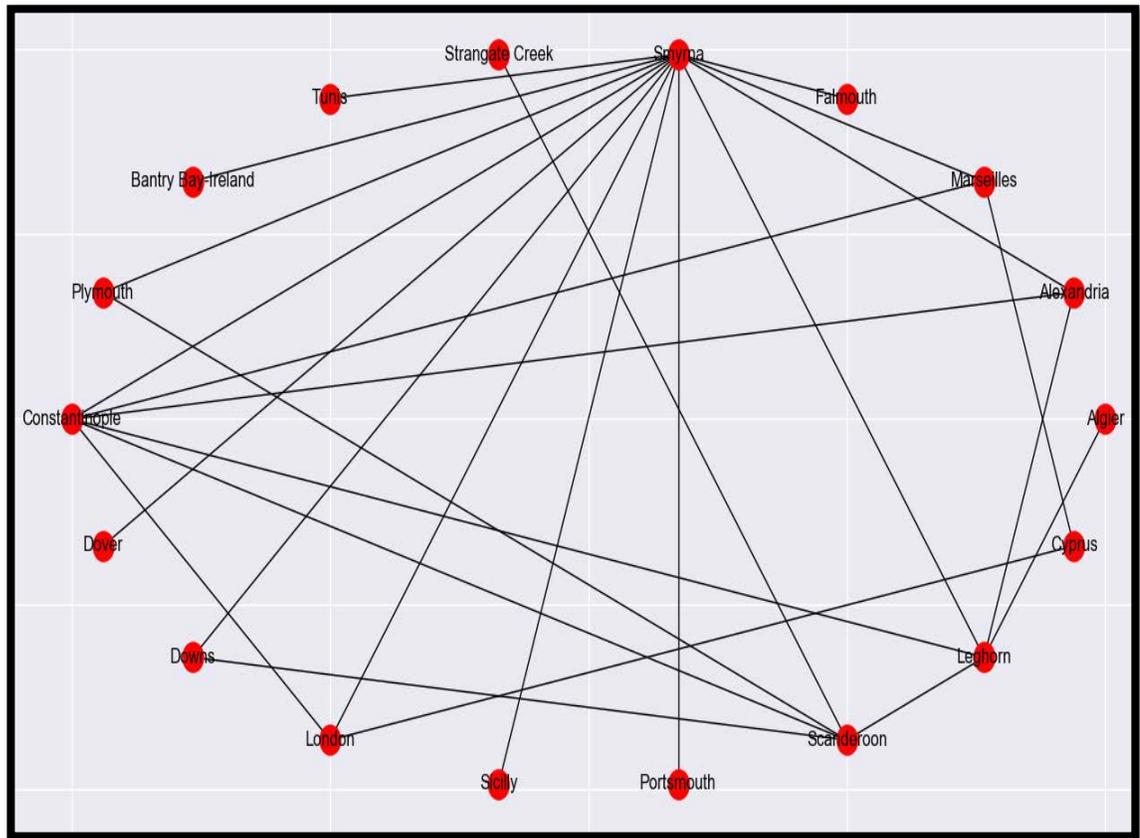
following port cities that played a role in this trade: Constantinople, Smyrna, Scanderoon, Alexandria, Cyprus and North Africa. We found that particularly, Leghorn has made trade connections and formed business networks with essentially all the Levant trade centres for the period prior to 1753. The rest of the European port cities, however, do not hold similar trade relations. For instance, the only port city that has direct connections with Marseilles<sup>75</sup>, Amsterdam, Sicily and Dublin, was Smyrna. Hamburg seems to have had a trade network only with Algiers.<sup>76</sup> Scanderoon (Iskenderun), on the other hand, was remarkable for having connections only with the cities of Britain. This is probably due to a dense trade of weaved products in Aleppo, and Scanderoon being in the position of opening Aleppo's doors to the Mediterranean.

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<sup>75</sup> Also, it can be said that Cyprus had a business links to Marseilles in that period.

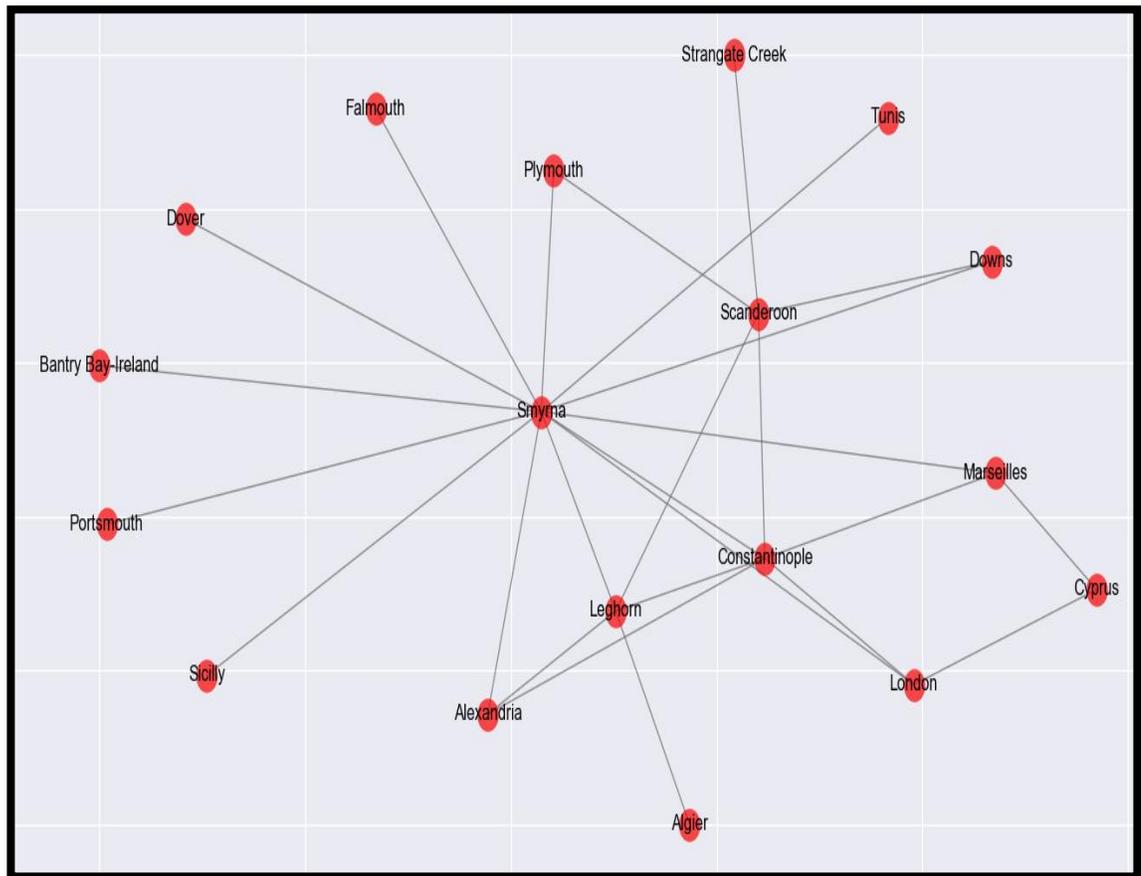
<sup>76</sup> There was also business network between Algiers and Leghorn.

**Graph 1:** General Entrepreneurial Networks of the Levant Trade, 1740-1752



For the period between 1740 and 1752, we noticed that Scanderoon, and thereby Aleppo, and Smyrna occupied a central position in the trade network. In this context, Graph 2 displays Smyrna's connections, not only with the ports outside of the Levant, but also with other trade centres in the Levant. Smyrna had direct business networks with Tunisia and Alexandria and had indirect but wide business networks with Cyprus and Algiers. Along with Smyrna, Scanderoon was also accepted as a considerably dynamic port city in terms of trade. Though limited, the Ottomans' North African coasts were also shareholders of the Mediterranean trade.

**Graph 2:** The Centrality of Constantinople, Scanderoon and Smyrna in Business Networks of the Levant Trade, 1740-1752



We can better comprehend Scanderoon and Smyrna's prominence once we consider preferences of the new Levant merchants in terms of the trade centres and the ship traffic. As we have emphasized in part 5, almost half of all new entrant merchants of the Levant Company in 1700-1753 period preferred Aleppo. Smyrna has become second in line for preferable port city, with a share of approximately 30%.<sup>77</sup>

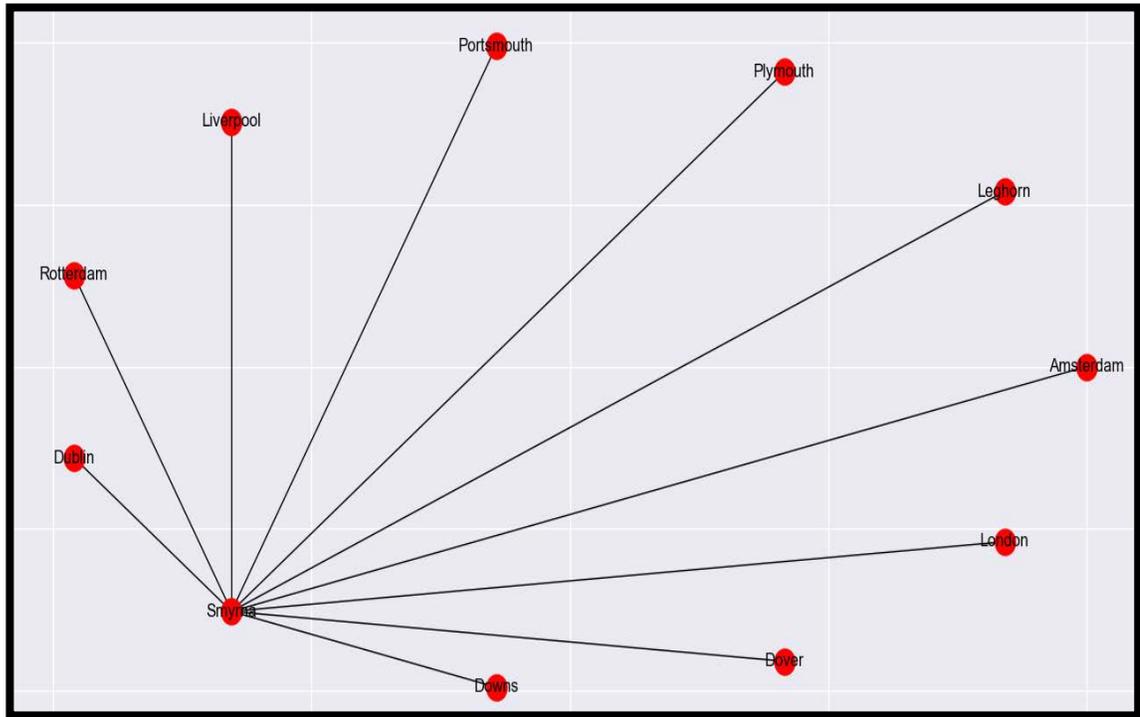
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<sup>77</sup> See figure 4 in chapter 5.

## **The Entrepreneurial Networks of the Period of 1753-1800**

In the period, 1753-1800, there were nearly 500 merchants appointed by the Levant Company. Out of the 500 merchants, there were 350 who were new entrant merchants and who had a right to trade in the Levant trade as individual merchants. In the first years of this period, there were massive increase in the number of the admitted merchants in the Levant due to the institutional change introduced in 1753. Along with this change, newly admitted merchants' preferred port cities proportionally changed as well. Smyrna now became the most preferred Ottoman port city. Smyrna was followed by Constantinople in the order of preference for trade. Aleppo, the most preferred and most significant trade centre between the years 1700-1752, was the preferred trade centre of only 22% of merchants active in the second half of the century. When we initially analysed the ship traffic to inspect the underlying cause of this change, we saw that Smyrna's central location was distinctly defined. A detailed information regarding any ports that Smyrna was connected to can be found in Graph 3. Smyrna has now taken a leading position in terms of ports through acquiring links to Holland and Britain's northern city port, Liverpool.

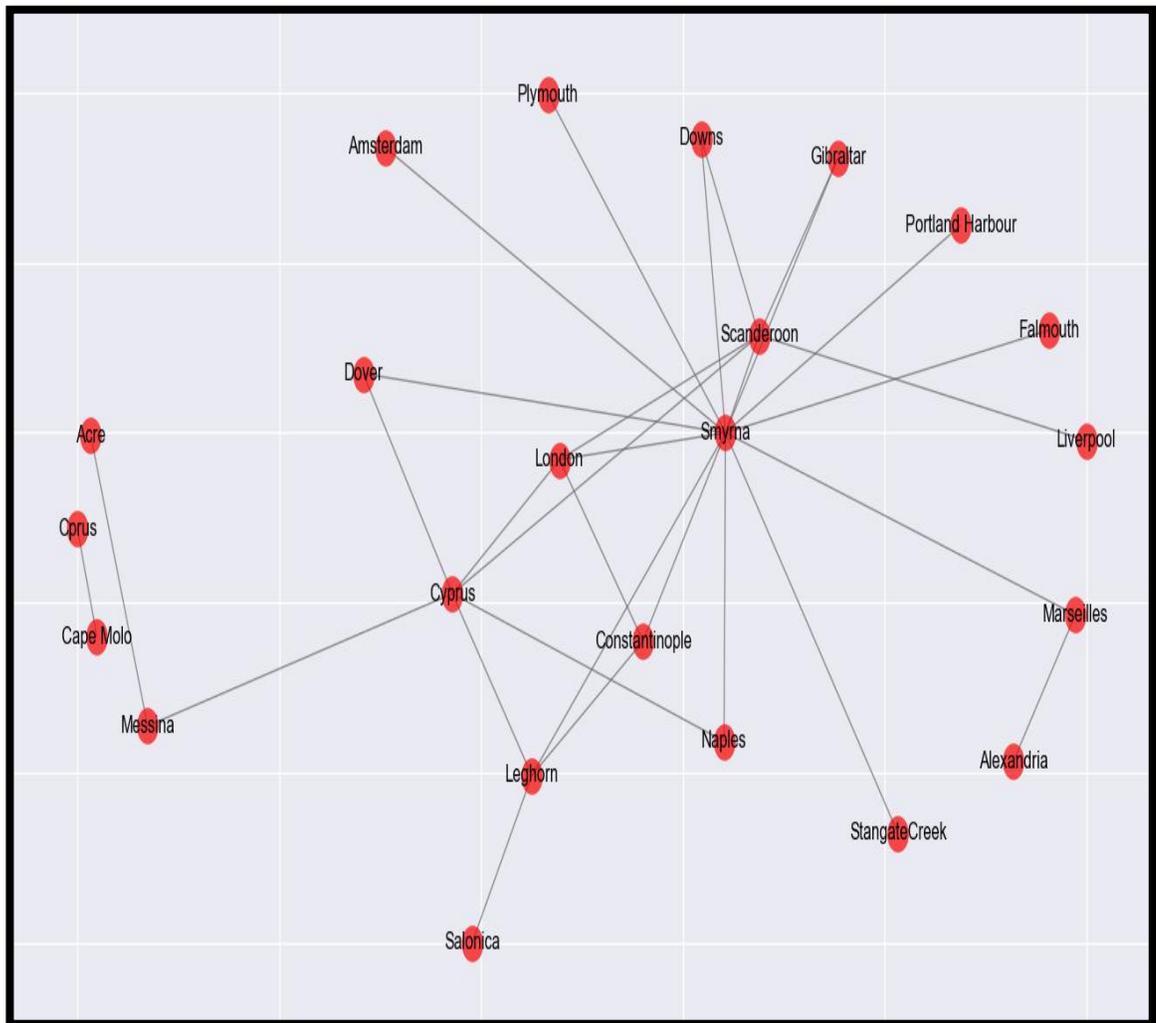
**Graph 3: Smyrna as a Leading Commercial Centre in Business Networks of the Levant Trade, 1753-1755.**



The new structure of a corporate company which came into action (new institutions and structural change led by company regulations, came into play) in 1753 brought about a new period in which individual merchants exerted efforts to expand their business networks through Levant trade. In accordance with this, after 1753, upon British merchants' demand, trade centres concentrated around the Ottoman trade centres, namely, Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonica and Alexandria. Graph 4 depicts these ports' importance and centrality. In particular, Smyrna's central position as well as Salonica and Alexandria's development can be perceived concretely from ship records. Despite these

developments, Scanderon port clearly continues to keep its central position by virtue of Aleppo.<sup>78</sup>

**Graph 4:** The Centrality of Smyrna, Constantinople and Scanderon in Business Networks of the Levant Trade, 1753-1761



<sup>78</sup> See Chapter 3.

Thus, Graph 5 illustrates Ottoman port cities networks in the analyses we have carried out for the period 1755-1761. Graph 5 portrays the general rise in mobility and dynamism in the Levant trade compared to previous periods. This dynamism represents, not a rise in trade volume<sup>79</sup> but a rise in networking. We have reached the conclusion that the Levant trade initiated the forming of business networks with new trade centres in the early 1760s. According to general entrepreneurial networks, direct business-trade networks were established between Liverpool and Scanderoon in the period 1753-1761.

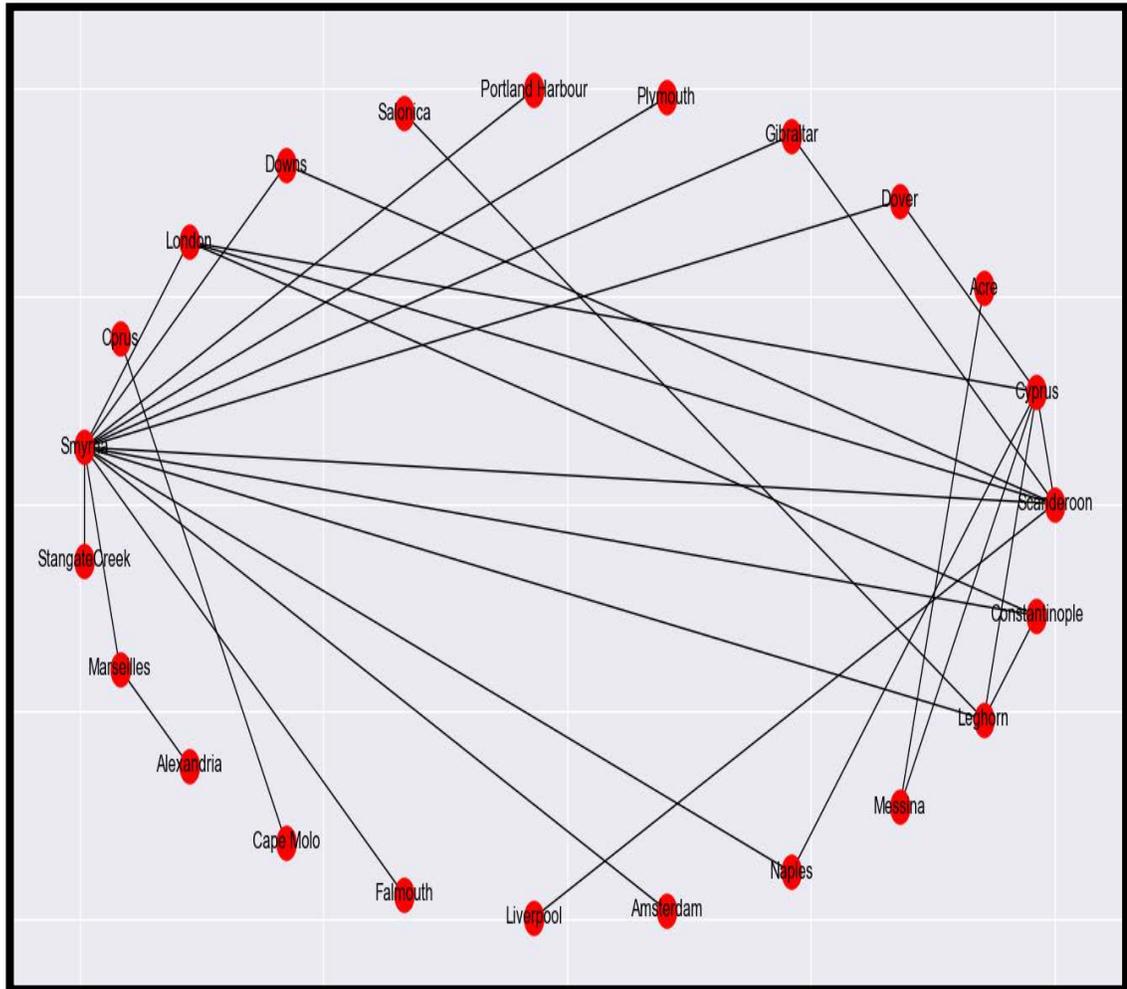
Smyrna seems to have wide trade networks. The same graph details out Salonica and Acre's network between Italian city ports. Yet another striking progression is Cyprus' growing business network with both Britain and Italian ports. Furthermore, a marked situation for that time-period was regular arrangements of commercial ship transportation between Cyprus<sup>80</sup> and other ports.

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<sup>79</sup> For further information, related to the 'Trade Volume' is given in the Chapter 3.

<sup>80</sup> Trade operations from Naples to Cyprus were run with the ship was named *Greyhound* operated by Captain Turner at that time. See Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 13 May 1760, No: 2539, p. 2. And Lloyd's List and Register Books, Lists, 1760-1761, 24 June 1760, No: 2551.

**Graph 5:** General Entrepreneurial Networks of the Levant Trade, 1753-1761



Upon arrival to the period between 1762 - 1771, shipping operations were based on Constantinople and Smyrna. This situation is essentially directly proportionate to new entrant merchants' preferred the Levant trade centres. The first noticeable point of this period is the direct networks Constantinople and Smyrna had established between the internal commerce of the Levant and all of the other Ottoman ports in addition to their networks beyond the Levant. This situation is essentially the result of individual

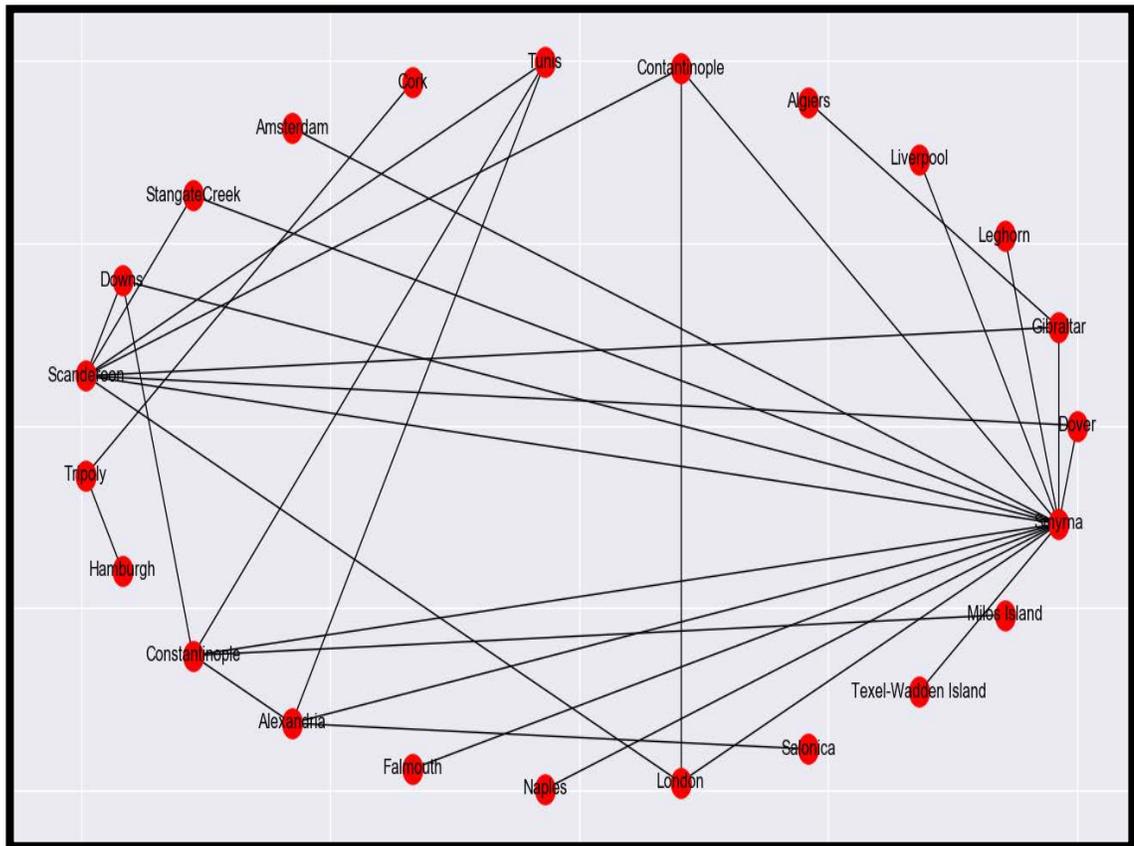
merchants working as freemen in the Levant trade. We had attempted to explain the different paths they had undertaken within the framework of a more independent corporate firm in the fifth section.<sup>81</sup>

Graph 6 explicitly reveals this. Surely, the contrary was unthinkable, yet the situation remains consistent on the North African coast as well. Another striking point is the direct commercial network that Smyrna had established with Texel-Wadden Island, an island belonging to the Netherlands found/situated north of Amsterdam. As with past periods, once again Tripoli remained the commerce central to have a business network with Hamburg. Based on graph 6, it can be inferred that Tunis, yet another North African port town, had direct commercial relations with Scandaroon, Constantinople and Alexandria. As for the port in Algiers, commercial ties with Gibraltar were observed in that same period

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<sup>81</sup> For further information of the business networks of individual merchants in the second half of the 18th century, see Chapter 5.

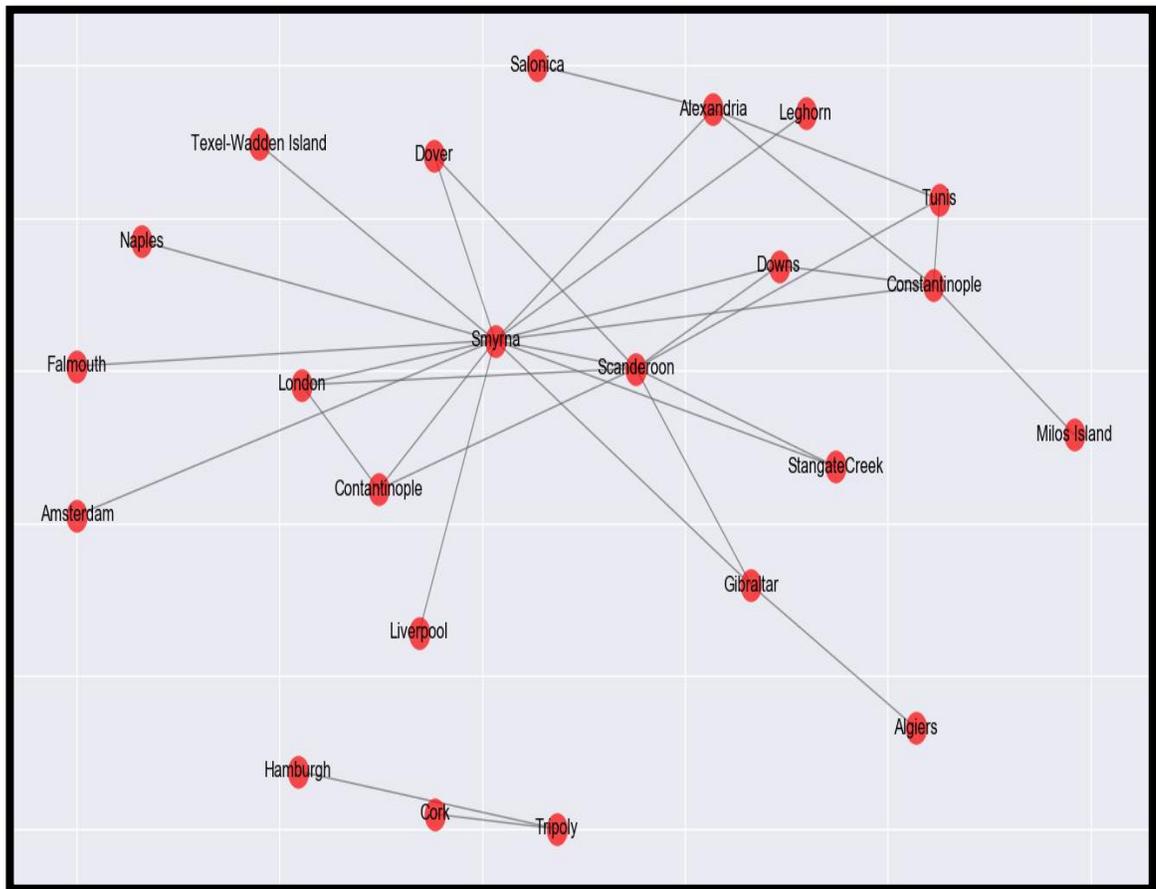
**Graph 6:** General Entrepreneurial Networks of the Levant Trade, 1762-1771



Graph 7 shows that Smyrna and Constantinople had preserved their central positions within these entrepreneurial networks between the period 1762-1771. However, it is observed that Alexandria also began to join these two trade centres for the domestic trade in the Levant. The same situation had also begun in Salonica, albeit at a slower rate. The final characteristic feature that we must point out regarding this period is the distinct position of Tripoli within the general network. Tripoli had only been involved in a commercial network with Hamburg and Cork (Ireland) during that period. Likewise,

Algiers was positioned outside of the general network. Algiers' position was merely that of a player in the trade with Gibraltar.

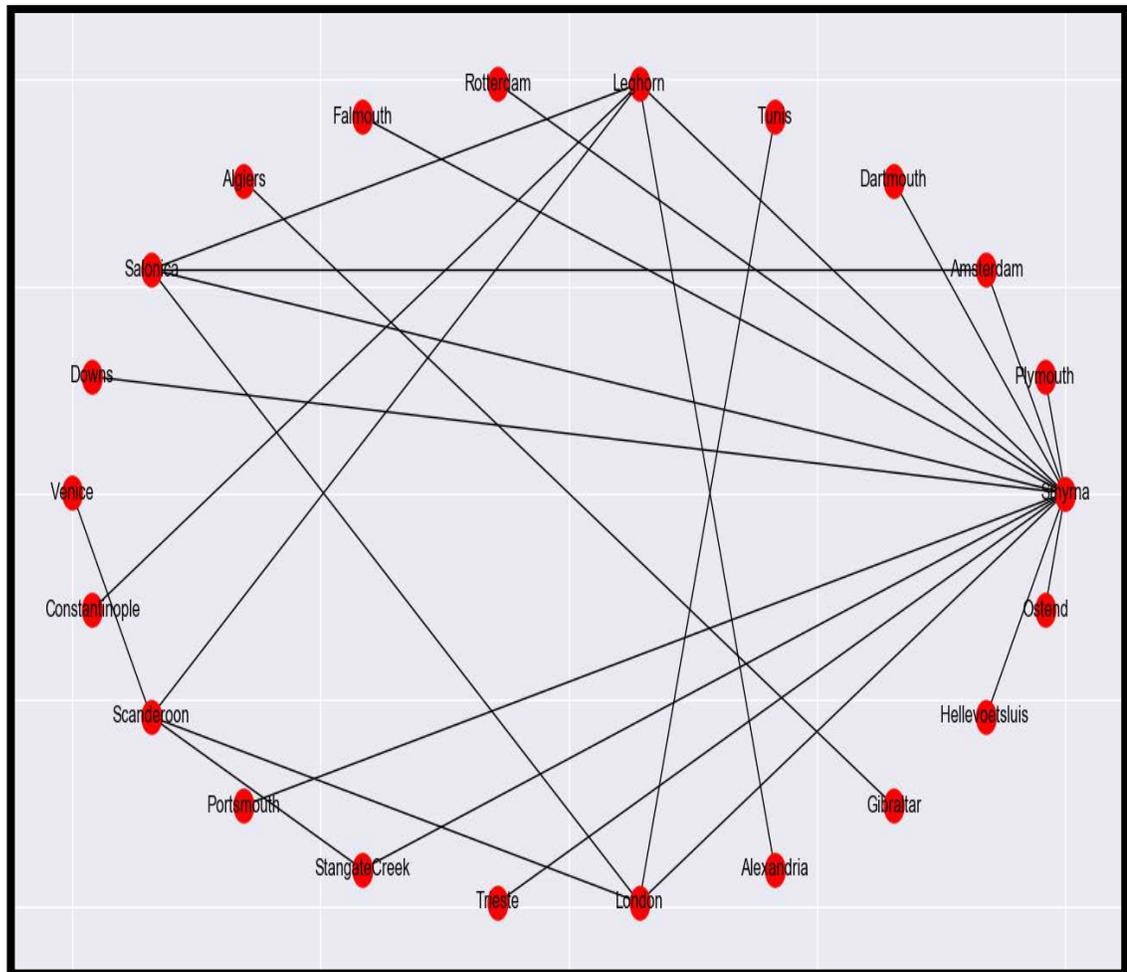
**Graph 7:** The Centrality of Smyrna, Scanderoon and Alexandria in Business Networks of the Levant Trade, 1762-1771



Smyrna had always maintained its position in the top of the Levant trade during the second half of the century. Based on graph 8, Smyrna's connection with multiple Dutch ports alongside Belgium and Italian port towns continued growing exponentially. Similarly, we see that Scanderoon had maintained its position. Once again, similar to the

preceding period it can be stated that Constantinople remained involved in commercial activities.

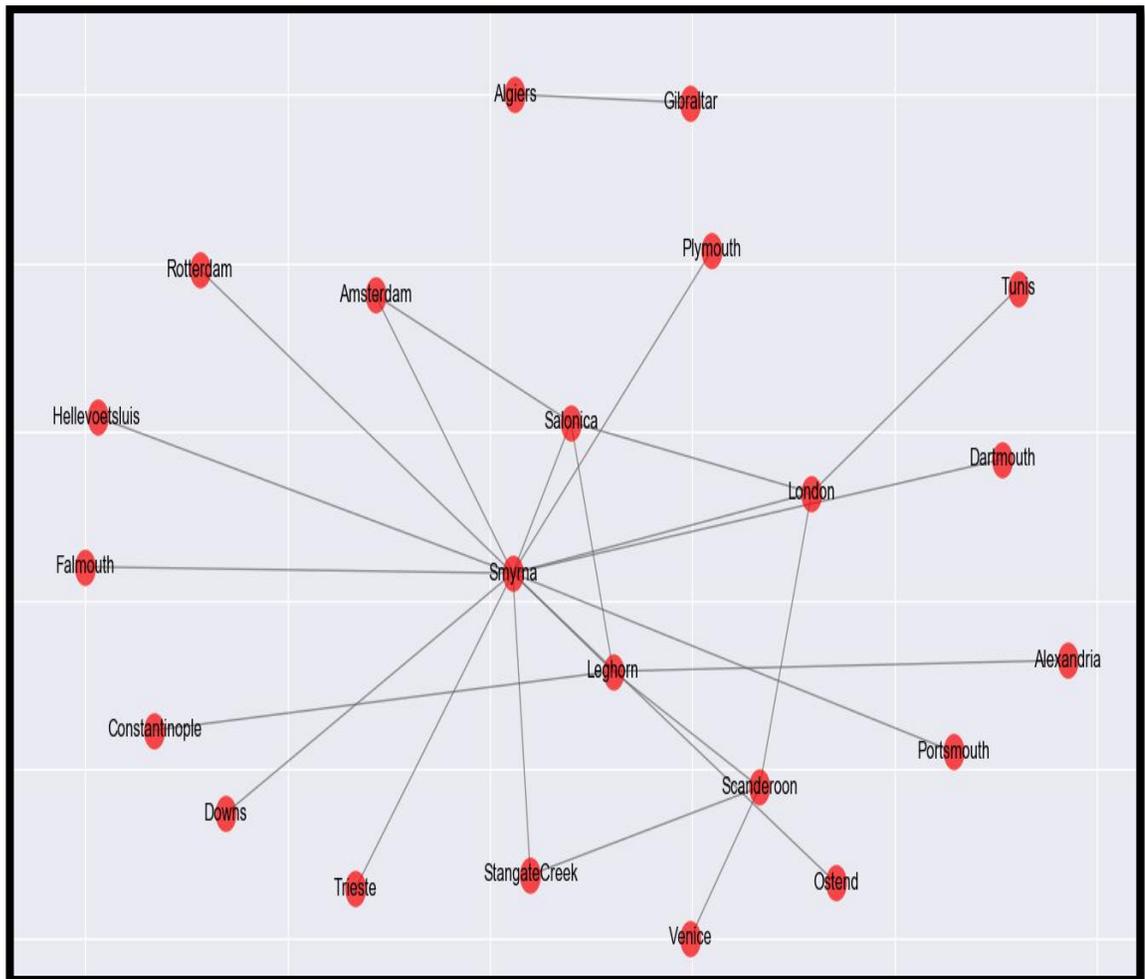
**Graph 8:** General Entrepreneurial Networks of the Levant Trade, 1772-1781



Having been initiated in the previous term, Salonica's development between the years 1772-1781 was outstanding. Upon acquiring more domestic commercial networks than the previous term, Salonica entered a direct commercial network with European ports this period. After securing its spot in the international trade routes during this period the

development of Salonica will continue exponentially. Graph 9 indicates that Salonica had entrepreneurial networks with London, Amsterdam and Leghorn with domestic links at Smyrna at that time. As is the case with the previous term, the limited commercial ties of the North African ports remained peculiar. It could be asserted that the trade between Algiers and Gibraltar remained a constant commercial enterprise fully engaged throughout practically the whole of the second half of the 18th century.

**Graph 9:** The Centrality of Smyrna, Scanderoon and Salonica in Business Networks of the Levant Trade, 1772-1781



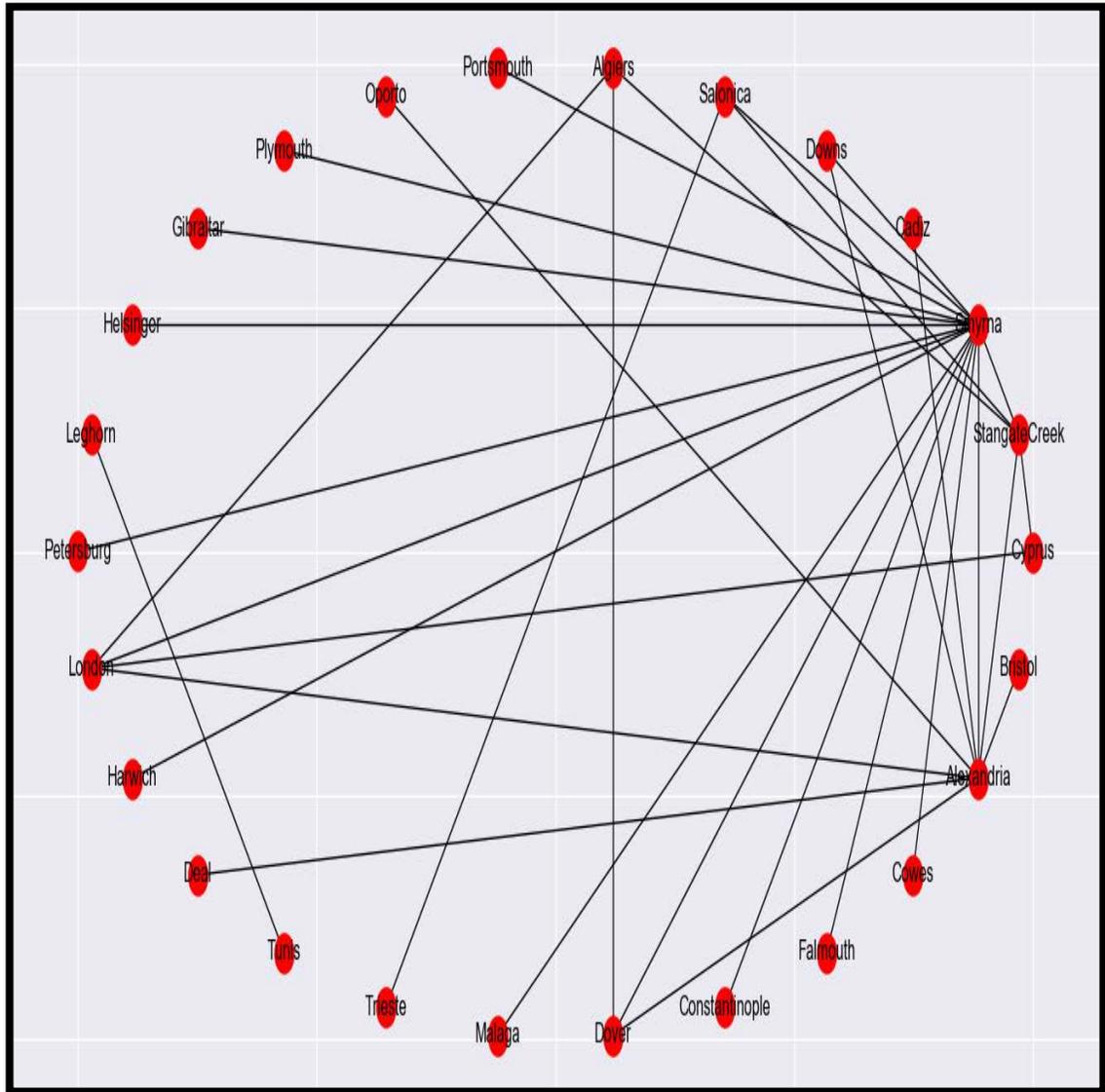
Greatly expanded entrepreneurial networks came into play in the years 1782-1791. Graph 10 shows that the merchants of the Levant Company showed interest to the new commercial centres. These emerged as the ports of Oporto (Porto in Portugal), Helsingør (in Denmark), St. Petersburg and Malaga. This is essentially a result of ship captains or ship merchants who had previously engaged in commerce at these ports continuing to conduct these networks via the Levant as Levant Company freemen. Smyrna's position continued rising throughout in this decade. British merchants considered Salonica as an important centre developing around Smyrna.<sup>82</sup> Salonica especially caught British merchants' attention through its tobacco exportations.<sup>83</sup> Under this context, we know that British merchants did not consider Salonica and Smyrna to be separate. It can be asserted that the ships most certainly either stopped by at Salonica through Smyrna or that the relevant merchandise were swapped between the two cities. In this sense, the entrepreneurial networks of Salonica and Smyrna had become intertwined. After all, as can be seen in graph 10, Salonica's only domestic trade route during this period was to Smyrna. Once again, Alexandria possessed a remarkable network this period as well. Alexandria came to occupy an even more central position after this period with its direct business network with Oporto and Cadiz.

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<sup>82</sup> Despina Vlami "Entrepreneurship and Relational Capital in a Levantine Context: Bartolomew Edward Abbott, the "Father of the Levant Company" in Thessaloniki (18th-19th Centuries)" *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 6 (2009), p. 5.

<sup>83</sup> Türkhan, "18. Yüzyılda Doğu Akdeniz'de Ticaret ve Haleb", p. 70.

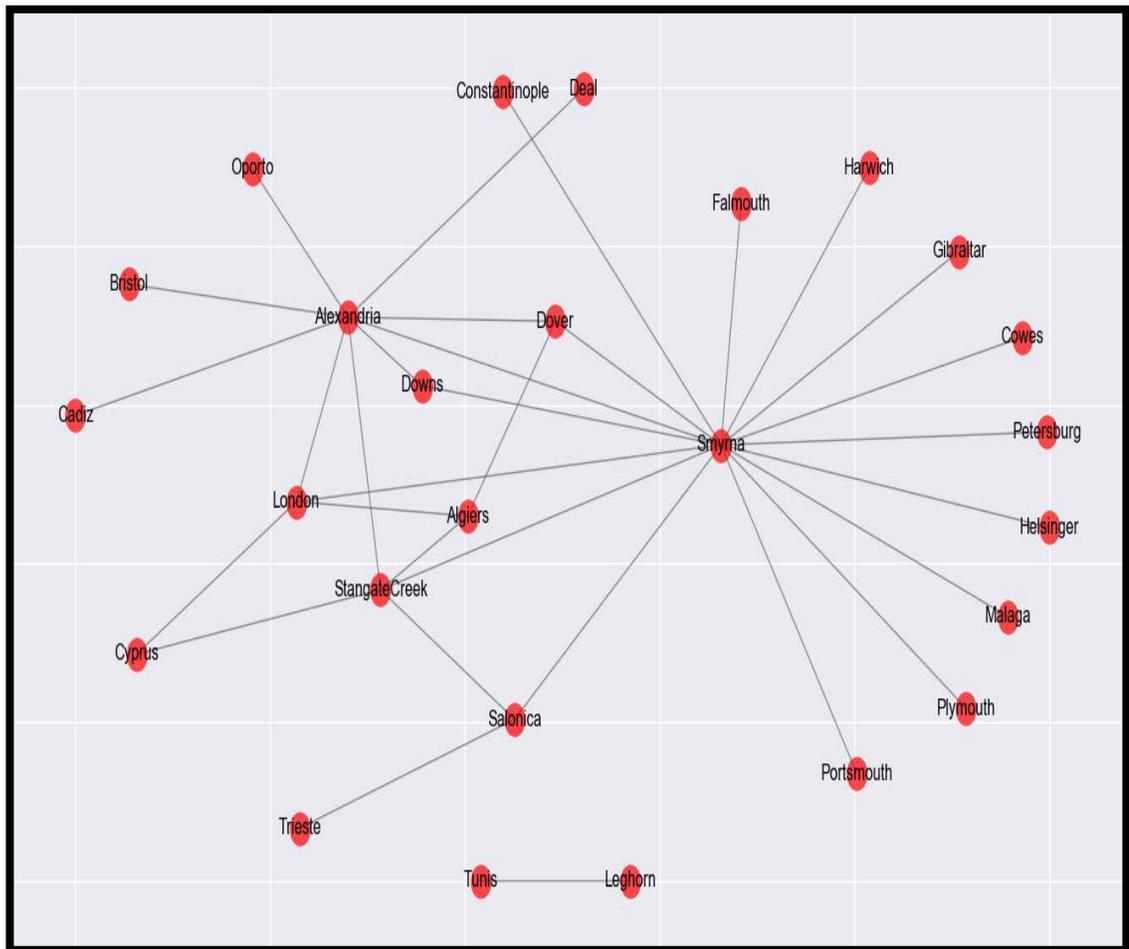
**Graph 10:** General Entrepreneurial Networks of the Levant Trade, 1782-1791



According to graph 11, Smyrna and Alexandria are located in a central position allowing them to access nearly all commercial capitals and entrepreneurial networks. Here, the extent of Alexandria's relations with both Smyrna and other international commerce centres continued to rise exponentially. Once again, another familiar situation with Tunis among North Africa's ports was its commercial collaboration with Italian ports isolated

from the general networks. Relevant to this, the only exceptional situation can be seen in Graph 11 in which Algiers, a different North African port town, witnessed an increase in its network with London and other British port towns.

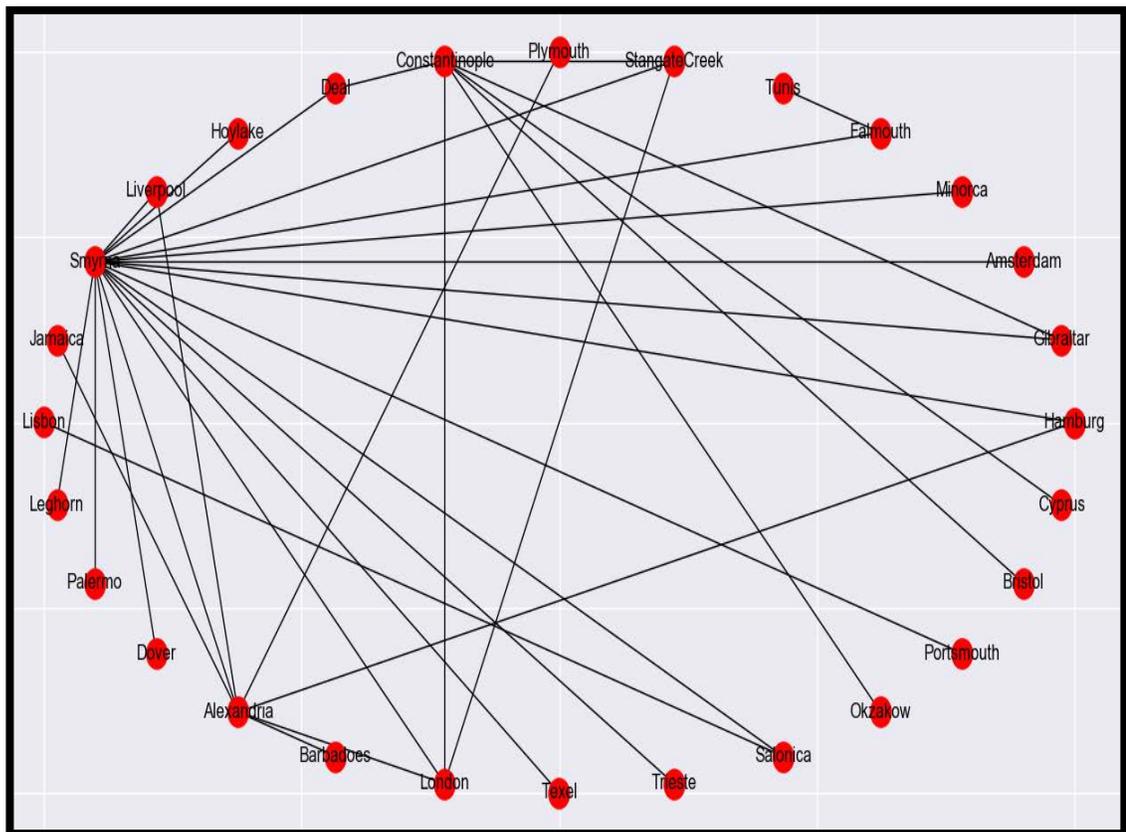
**Graph 11:** The Centrality of Smyrna and Alexandria in Business Networks of the Levant Trade, 1782-1791



1792-1800 is the final period of our analysis. As the Napoleon wars had not yet come into full effect during this period, network transactions remained at a significant level. Among the sixty-year period of our analysis, the highest and busiest shipping rates took

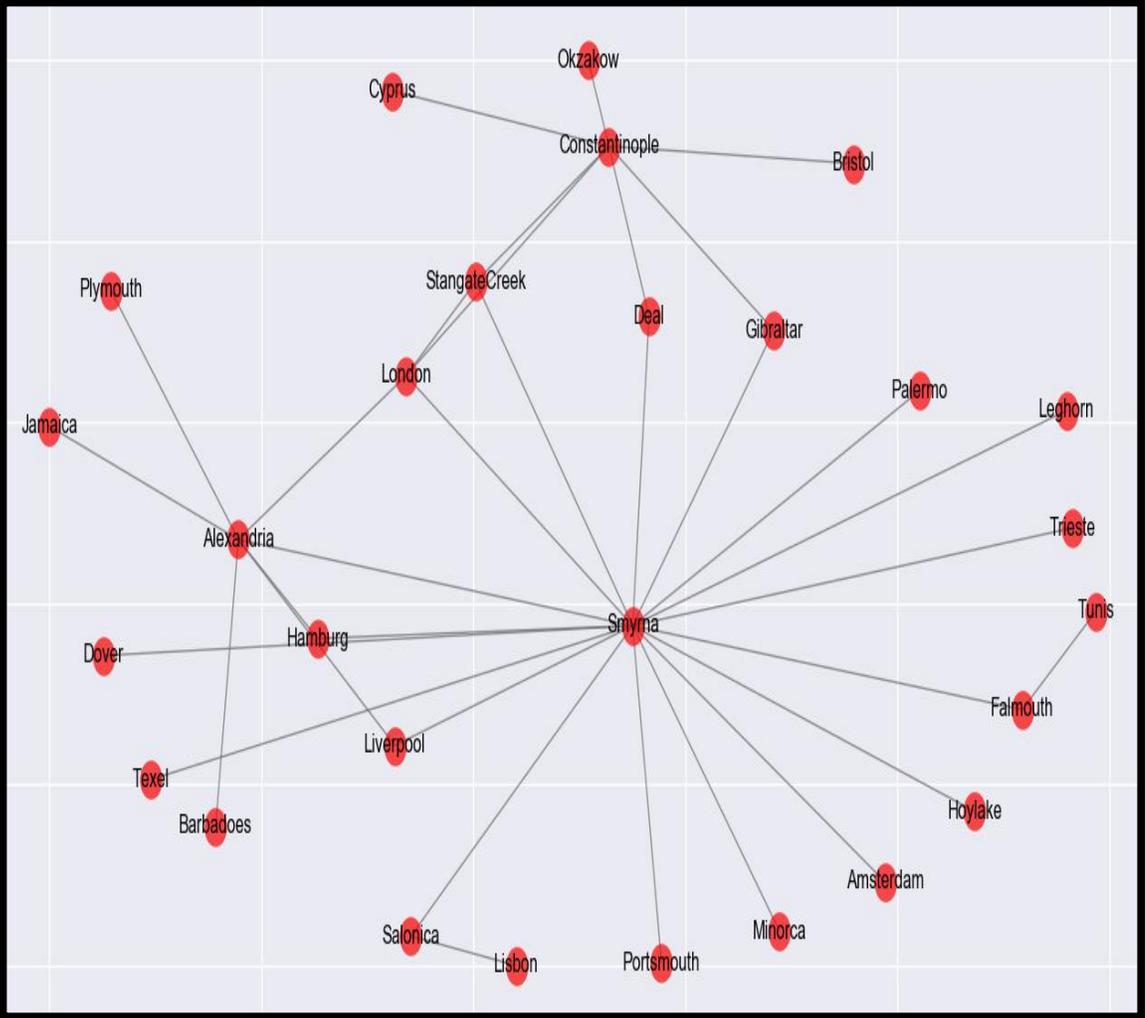
place during this period. Furthermore, another feature of this period is the development of entrepreneurial networks through contact with many new commerce centres. Graph 12 indicates that the networks of all of Europe's major ports, every commercial capital in the Levant, and even the transatlantic commercial centres developed considerably. Following this, entrepreneurial networks were established in the trans-Atlantic trade centres such as Barbados and Jamaica. As far as we understand from Graph 12, it can be inferred that a business network had been established between Jamaica, Barbados and Alexandria. Besides these, Lisbon, Hamburg, Trieste, Texel, Minorca Island, Palermo and Okzakow (in modern Russia) were found to be new network points.

**Graph 12: General Entrepreneurial Networks of the Levant Trade, 1792-1800**



We can benefit from graph 13 in order to interpret the most central trade centre for the Levant for the same time-period. This corroborates that Smyrna once again was the most essential port city. We deduce that towards the end of the century, Alexandria followed Smyrna, and established significant international trade networks. It is noteworthy to add, that in the light of ship records, Alexandria, which had a direct network with the trans-Atlantic trade, generally had links with the entirety of the European ports. On the contrary, to what is generally accepted, trade dynamism that would increase for Ottomans in the 19th century was initially indicated by this expansion of Constantinople's network to the European ports. Finally, Salonica could reach almost all European merchants through Smyrna. In addition, it also had business networks with Lisbon at that time.

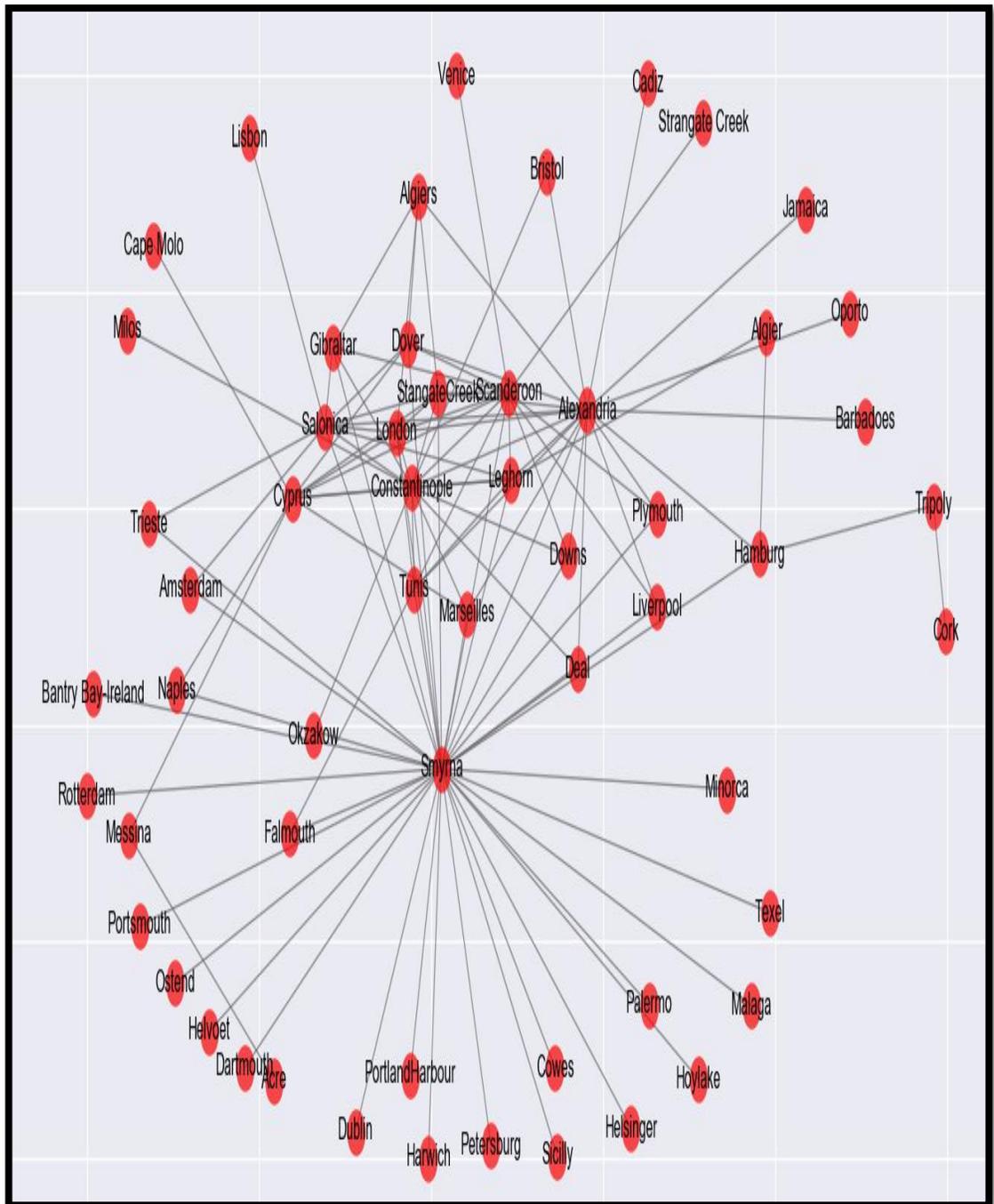
**Graph 13:** The Centrality of Smyrna, Alexandria, and Constantinople in Business Networks of the Levant Trade, 1792-1800



A detailed illustration of the general network graph for the foregoing 50-year period, which we have analysed in detail, can be found in Graph 14. Thus, we arrive at an elaborate/all-inclusive network map of Smyrna and Alexandria. We can identify through these comprehensive graphs of all time-periods that Salonica and Constantinople carried

a considerable amount of significance and had many close connections with a variety of commercial centres.

**Graph 14:** All Points and General Entrepreneurial Networks of the Levant Trade, 1754-1800



## CHAPTER SUMMARY

The Levant Company merchants had been in commercial activity officially in the years 1580-1825 in the Ottoman lands. The long duration of these activities can be associated with many different reasons. In this chapter, the analysis we have undertaken was aimed at understanding the factors that allowed the company to flourish despite the several corporate-institutional transformations and changes that company underwent and to reveal the ways trade routes evolved in the period after 1753. We should emphasize at the outset that the longevity and dynamism of the company's commercial activities were due to many reasons. The length of this period of florescence cannot be explained solely by reference to changes in the Levant Company rules and some internal changes. Undeniably, both regulatory adjustments to the company's internal structures and changes effected to the company's organization had an influence on the company's longevity, as did legislative arrangements introduced by the British Parliament. On the other hand, the Ottomans' economic mind and opportunities they provided for the foreign trade system must not be ignored. Thus, with this perspective, the Ottoman economic mind that encouraged imports and attempted to restrict exports ensured that British merchants' commercial activities could thrive to the same extent as other European merchants.

British merchants had begun to make trade by virtue of the Ottomans' mindset and the capitulations they were awarded underwent many changes over the years. Until the 18th

century, the Levant Company's organizational structure was subjected to very limited change; in particular, the apprenticeship and factory-agent system were sustained virtually intact. Yet, after the Act of 1753 which we regard as milestone of institutional and organizational change in this thesis, the situation begun to change. In the first place, the apprenticeship system was abolished. Thus, the rule of being apprentice for seven years to become a Levant Company freeman was eliminated. At the same time, liberalization of the company provided concurrently that lots of individual merchants gained recognition as Levant Company freemen. This institutional and organizational transformation are considered in the light of three different factors in this chapter. As mentioned earlier, the first of those factors is Ottomans' economic mind that encouraged imports. The second factor relates to the circumstance that while until 1744 trade had been conducted with a limited number of ships, after this time, the commercial operations were opened up to all ships and thus shipmasters and shipowners became important actors. According to our examination, after the Act of 1753, there was a notable increase of shipmasters and ship owners who could be co-members of the Levant Company. This information actually shows us that shipmasters and shipowners substituted for apprentices and agents who had been the main figures of the Levant trade in the previous period. Also, we can see that these people who were familiar in practical terms with the sailors' life had a positive impact on the increase in the number of trade routes. In this sense, the commercial centres of shipmasters who operated business in the Levant ports incorporated Bengal and East India, Angola and West Central

Africa, New York, Jamaica, Halifax, with Leghorn and Naples, Venice with Nice, Malta and St. Petersburg with all the European ports in the late decades of the 18th century. The third and last factor is knowledge acquisition, experience and business-social networks between the Levant Company merchants. After 1753, with the abolishment of apprenticeship, knowledge acquisition and personal experience processes came to a full end for the company. There were not apprentices who stayed in Levant for long years and relayed information of local relationships and business experiences to merchants who followed them. Although there was not any official problem with agents, yet they also decreased in number in the Ottoman lands. It is obvious that these two important actors had a function of interaction with merchants and ship crews in London rather than sharing of information and relaying of experience on a wider scale. In consequence, the company headquarters at centre was increasingly isolated and new business derived from personal experience and social networks generated locally rather than through established networks and the official company hierarchy. We are able to discern this new dynamic especially from the relationships that arose between shipmasters and shipowners. These two types of merchants usually sailed to different trade routes with different ships known to them from their social networks with a view to expanding their commercial operations. Peak usage of the Levant ports in certain time periods were favoured by these social-business networks for logistical reasons. In this context, there

was an expansion in the Levant trade that lasted until the first quarter of the 19th century.<sup>84</sup>

In second part of this chapter, the changing of trade routes and trade centres after 1753, which resulted from the aforementioned institutional and organizational transformation have been visualized in the thesis in a comparative way. This visualization process was operated with a computer program and visualizing of trade routes.<sup>85</sup> Various network graphics were prepared for decade periods for the period of 1741-1800 with this network analysis method. By means of these graphics, we can see the adding of Salonica and Alexandria as new trade centres to the historically most important three trade centres of the Levant Company: Constantinople, Smyrna and Scanderoon. In particular, the connection of Salonica with Smyrna and their co-existence on the same network is shown in the relevant graphics. Beginning from the 1760's, access of business networks through the port destinations of almost every European country apart from the ports of the Levant can be seen. This interaction included all the new northern ports. These ports expanded as far as the Russian, Crimean, Dutch and Danish ports. Apart from the Northern European ports, Spanish ports such as Malaga and Cádiz and Portuguese ports such as Lisbon and Porto were included in the Levant's expanding business networks. In

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<sup>84</sup> This buoyancy is not about trade volume, instead it's related with increasing of new trade routes and number of travels.

<sup>85</sup> Detailed information is given in both in this chapter and introductory chapter of the thesis.

the same period, this network between European trade centres was further expanded and reached to the trans-Atlantic trade.

In fact, we have seen that Alexandria and Salonica developed a direct business network with Jamaica and Barbados. This wide shipping network that we detected represents a process developed by individuals who were in the Levant Company's new organizational structure after the Act of 1753 and sailor merchants in our opinion. This process maybe not have shown itself immediately after 1753 but beginning from 1760 the shipping network expanded to a scale that far outstripped the the levels typical of the period of before 1753. Map 8 indicates that shipping routes contained very limited trade centres in the year 1741. These centres were comprised of a few ports of the European countries. The Italian city of Leghorn (Livorno) which was a partner of the traditional Levant trade from early times, Marseilles, which was the most important port city of France, Dutch trade and its finance centre Amsterdam, and the most important German port of Hamburg and southernmost ports of Britain comprised the main parts of this network. A remarkable matter for the Levant is that Salonica was not an active trade centre in that time-period.



In Map 9, it can be seen that the network of the Levant ports with the trans-Atlantic trade centres contained only Barbados and Jamaica in the period of 1753-1800.

**Map 9:** The Networks of the Levant Merchants in the Transatlantic Trade, 1753-1800



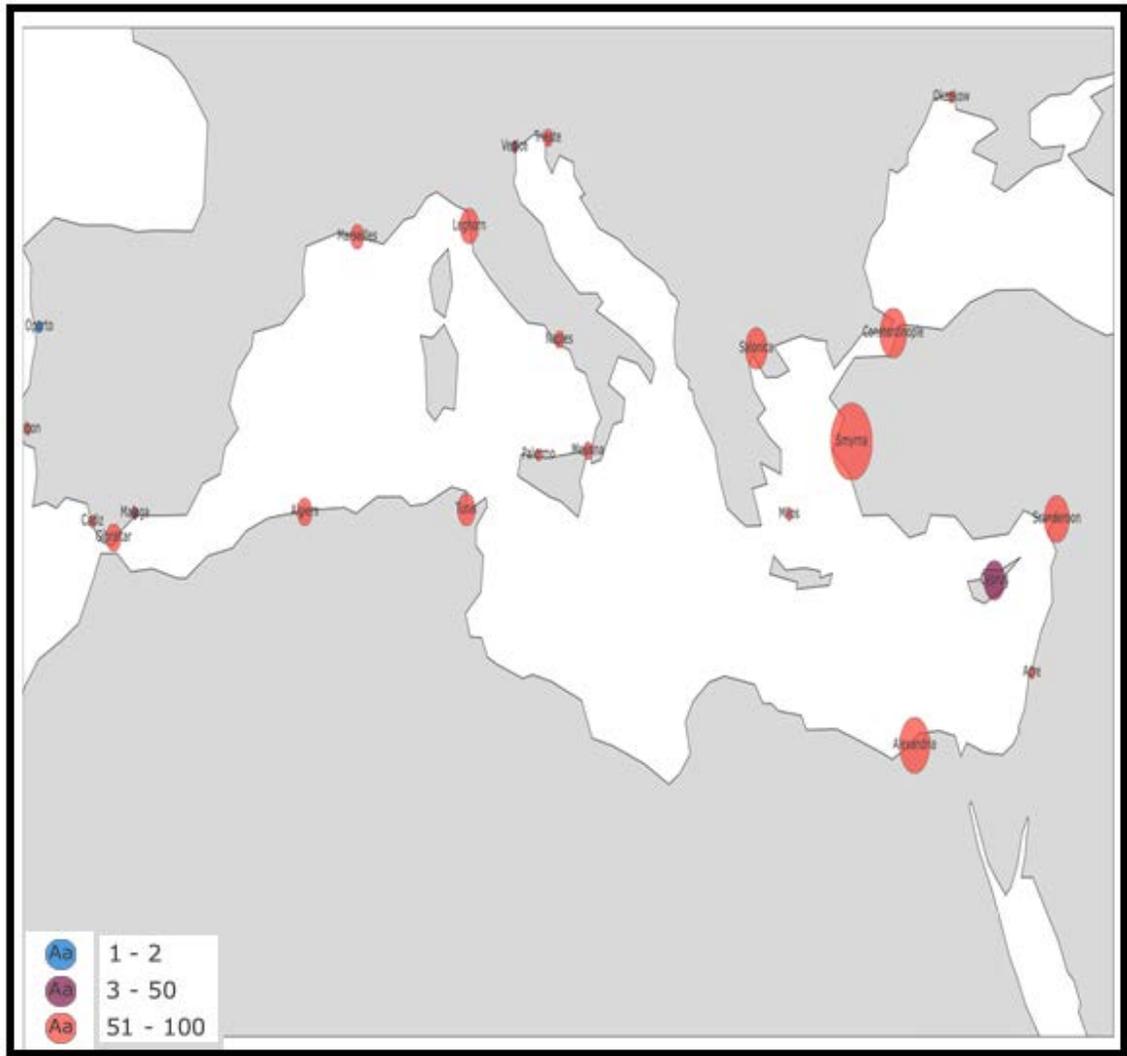
In Map 10 and 11, we can see the Mediterranean and North European trade centres and ports separately. In Map 12, we can see the reach of the shipping network that emerged after the transformation of 1753. Besides, it is shown that Salonica, Acre and the Aegean

islands were trade centres for Levant. Development and enlargement out of the Levant is more spectacular. Map 12 shows that a business network established from Transatlantic to ports of all the major countries of Europe. Moreover, another feature of the new trading system we are able to discern is that northern seaports became trade partners for the Levant after 1753<sup>87</sup>. This is a result of corporate changes, transformation of organizational structures of international trade companies and the removal of obstacles for individual businesses. Of course, the interaction of business and social networks and the increase in individual experience acquisition had an important influence on this development. Therefore, the occurrence of liberalization for regulated or joint stock companies, which were the most important participants in foreign trade gave rise to an increase in commercial interaction. In sum, business network enlargement that we have attempted to analyse and visualise in this chapter verifies the positive impact of liberalization.

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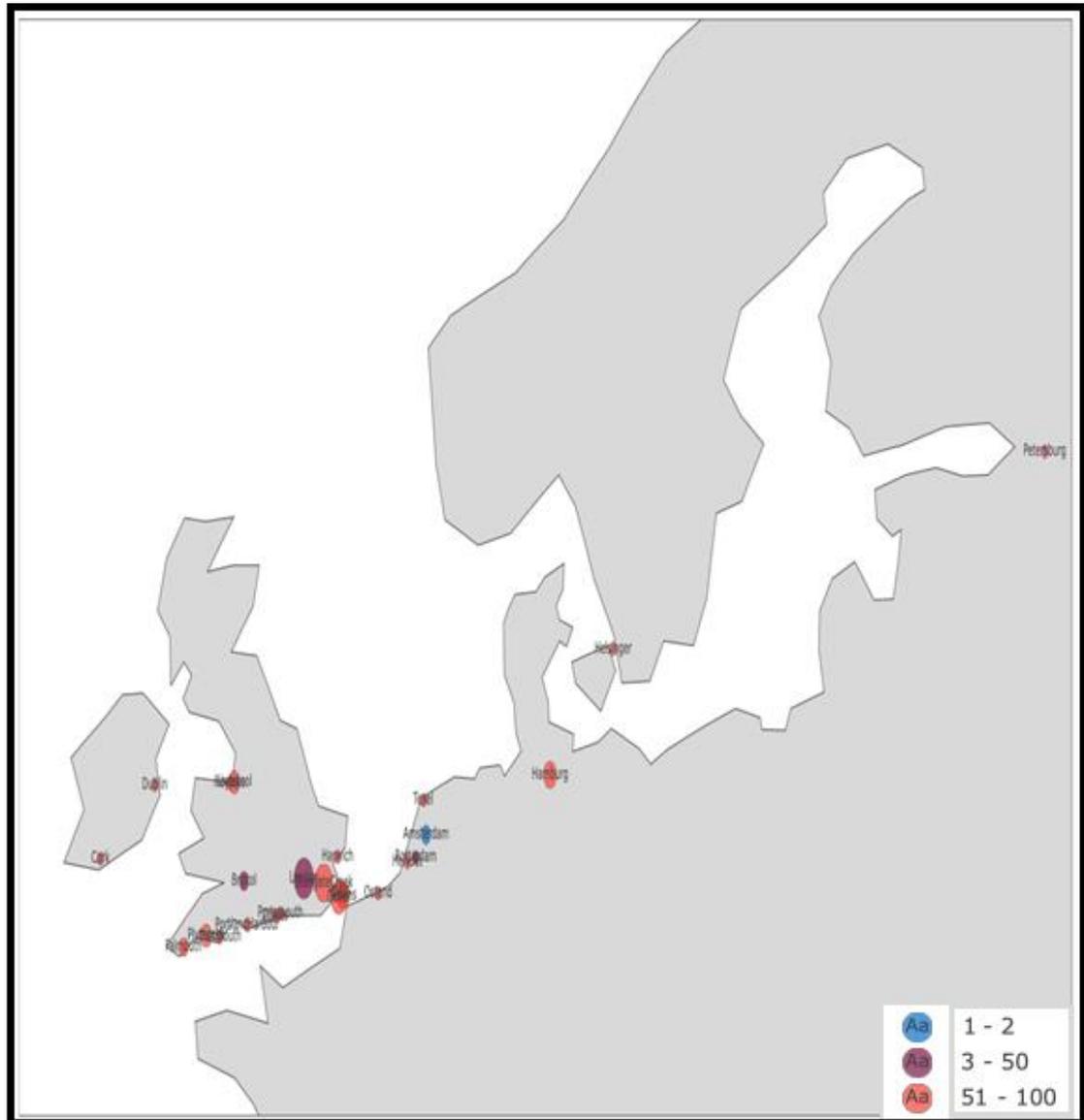
<sup>87</sup> Map 6 indicates the Networks of the Levant Trade in Period 1753-1800 which is below.

**Map 10: The Trade Points in the Levant and Mediterranean in the Period 1753-1800<sup>88</sup>**



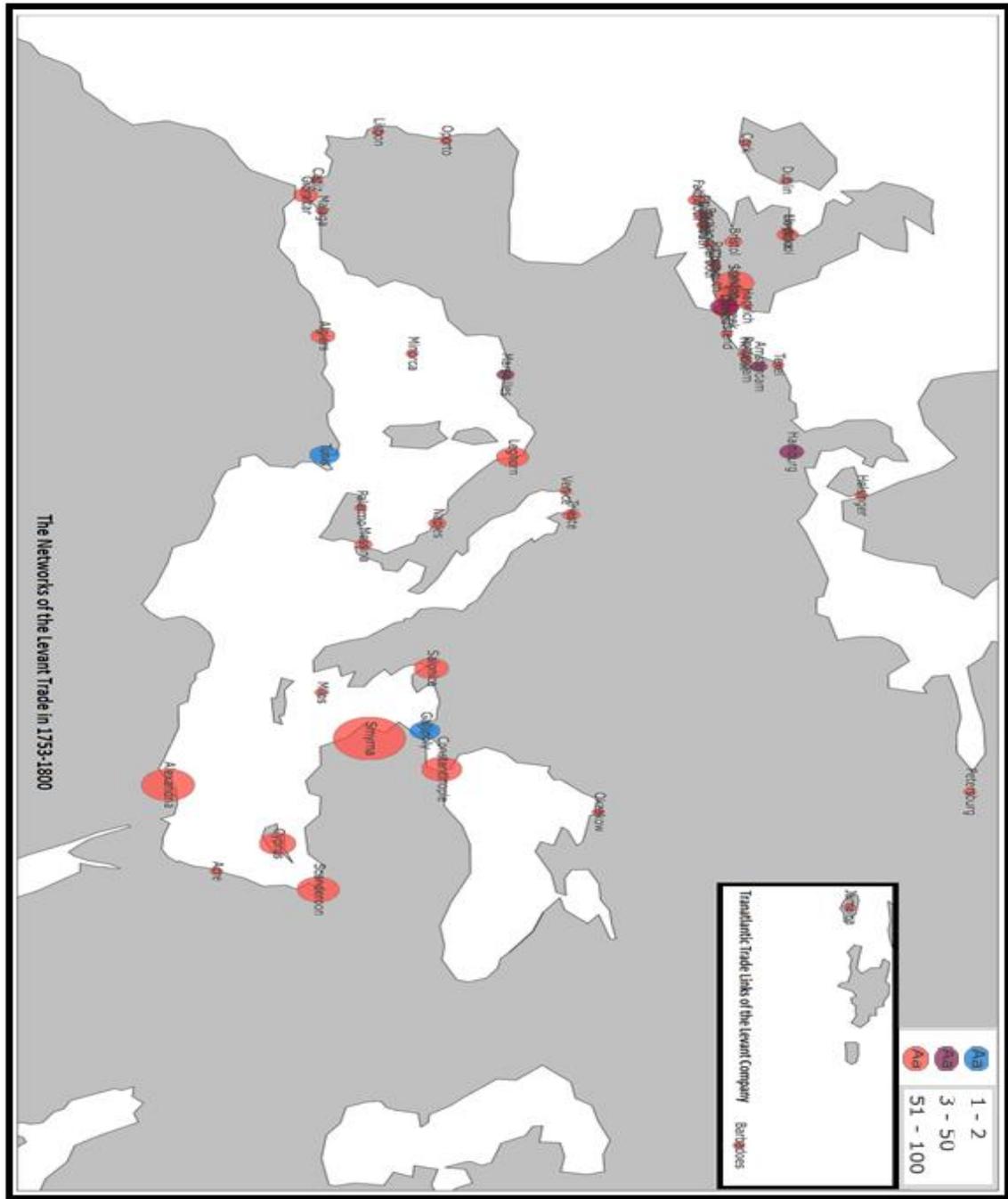
<sup>88</sup> The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.

**Map 11:** The Trade Points in the North Europe in the Period 1753-1800<sup>89</sup>



<sup>89</sup> The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.

**Map 12:** The Networks of the Levant Trade in the Period 1753-1800<sup>90</sup>



<sup>90</sup> The colored circles for the cities on the map show the number of ships coming to the trade centre or port city. Blue Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (1-2), Purple Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (3-50) and Red Circle symbolises category of numbers of ships (51-100). While the colors represent a certain category of number of ships in the commercial centres, the significance of sizes represents the volume of commercial activities.

## CONCLUSION

Business history, which arose as a separate sub-branch of business studies or economics in Western Europe and North America, has attracted increasing interest in recent times. The study of business history enables scholars, not only in Western Europe and North America, but also in other academic settings across the world to reach new insights into the diverse patterns of economic development witnessed in the historical past in countries belonging to different cultural spheres. Until now, relatively few studies have focused in detail on the extensive regions of the Ottoman Empire from a business history perspective. This gap in the literature is particularly noticeable with regard to the Levant trade which, for many years, was the focal point of intense commercial interest and competition for the developing economies of the West. Studies about the Levant Company and their activities in the Levant seas have a wider relevance that reaches beyond the domain of the Ottoman domestic market alone. We are now able to better understand this wider dynamic thanks in part to the tremendous number of documents about the Levant Company held in the British National Archives. Recently published studies about the Levant Company made a great contribution to the general literature on the Levant trade.<sup>1</sup> Because of the availability of a wide range of secondary sources and archival sources, we were encouraged in this thesis to undertake a more specialized

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<sup>1</sup> Detailed information about these publications is provided in the first chapter. Note: the abbreviation TNA “The” National Archives is conventionally used to refer to the National Archives of the United Kingdom. Technically its institutional purview covers only England and Wales since both Northern Ireland and Scotland have their own separate “National” archives or Public Records Offices.

research focus concentrating on the business activities of individual merchants and the and company frameworks within which they operated on the one hand and the business networks developed by Levant Company operatives in various periods on the other.

In this context, this thesis that has been written with the purpose of contributing to the existing general literature on the Levant trade while at the same time being informed by recent advances in research on Ottoman business history. Our aim in this thesis was to study the effect of institutional and organizational change that the Levant Company underwent in the 18th century on the evolution of individual business networks. This thesis is based on an examination of British and Ottoman archival documents and Lloyd's Lists and Registers, which have served as our main source of data and information for the purpose of identifying the initiatives undertaken by individual merchants that led to the creation of new business networks after the year 1753.

On which variables this change in the character of trade depended most and the areas in which the impact of such change was experienced most intensely have been revealed during the course of our study. This thesis has demonstrated the distinctive character of relationships between family merchants on the one hand and individual merchants on the other in different phases of the early, middle and late 18th century. Furthermore, it has confirmed the effects that the liberalization and easing of access to trade that the Levant Company introduced in the period between 1744 and 1753 in as part of a broad institutional as well as legislative transformation had on the character and scope of

business activity of undertaken by Levant merchants. These institutional changes revealed a paradigmatic transformation in the organizational structure of the Levant Company and it meant the liberalization of the company. These changes also led to the increased participation by individual traders in Levant trade and in local Mediterranean trade. This transformation caused the individual merchants to be more important both in general Levant trade and in local Mediterranean trade after the Act of 1753. Although there was an increase only in business activities not in trade volume, yet our study revealed a boom in the number of active merchants engaged in trade after 1753. It also detected that other merchants who operated family business in the new organizational structure after 1753 lost their position of dominance compared to the high levels of business activity they had consistently maintained during the period 1700-1753. It should be noted that the Boddington Family is the exception. As mentioned in the first and fourth chapters of the thesis, the Boddingtons only give family members responsibility for commercial activities and as a result they maintained their dominance in the Levant trade after the Act of 1753. The principle of 'trust for Family Members' played an important role in their maintaining their dominant characteristics. Also, the principle of 'residing in the Levant', which was implemented by the Boddingtons in the century, was at least as effective as the trust principle for the Boddingtons' success in the Levant.

The main contributing to the decline of the influence of the “Great” Merchant Families<sup>2</sup> was the removal of obstacles to becoming a freeman licensed to make trade after the passage of the Act of 1753. There was certainly an important role played by the rising number of individual merchants in the creation of this new structure of the Levant trade, which was able to enter into a phase of diversification stemming from this liberalization. In this respect, the name lists of all new entrant merchants, which we compiled from the Levant Company archival records, were of great assistance to our analysis. We discovered that the number of individual merchants outstripped by a wide margin the number of members of big-wealthy merchant families we gathered for the period of 1753-1800. To state a proportion, we can say that individual merchants had comprised 60-65% of all new entrant merchants.<sup>3</sup>

These merchant lists and other related information that we gathered from State Papers records<sup>4</sup> in order to perform our analysis of individual business networks enabled us not only to calculate numbers and proportions but also to uncover other business networks

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<sup>2</sup> For these Great Merchant Families, ‘Big-Wealthy Merchant Families’ as a describing term was mostly used in the thesis.

<sup>3</sup> For changes in of these number of the new entrant merchants, see Chapter 5. In terms of economic/business significance as well as absolute numbers, before the Act of 1753, the merchants engaged in the commercial activities in Levant were belong to very narrow group of family merchants. In this case, the new entrant merchants, which were engaged to the Levant trade after the Act of 1753, are easily understood whether they are members of these family members. For this reason, we can clearly talk about the new entrant merchant numbers. In addition, we mean the families of tucarers who dominated the Levant trade before 1753 when using the definition of rich tucar families. While we are using the definition of big-wealthy merchant families, we mean the members of these merchant families who dominated the Levant trade before the Act of 1753. All other traders apart from these traders were evaluated as an individual merchant for the second half of the 18th century.

<sup>4</sup> TNA: SP 105/332 AND SP 105/333.

in which these merchants were active. The existence of names, information of city and port they traded with and brief information about their duties and the jobs performed by these merchants who were new entrants to the Levant trade enabled us to draw a more complete picture of the parameters of the individual networks that were created by such merchants. Our research in both British national, county, local and private archives as well as the Ottoman archives in Turkey, allowed the compilation of baseline data relating to an important sub-set of merchants if not all of them. In consequence of this archival research, we have found an opportunity to see the essence of business operations in before and after comparative perspective vis a vis Britain's Levant trade while at the same time revealing the scope of international trade activity carried out in the Levant trade centres by individual merchants recorded in the shipping registers. After 1753, it was not difficult to trace interactions between these individual merchants who operated individual business activities and international trade centres, outside of the Levant. In fact, some of these merchants operated business in the Levant trade and traded at the same time with India, South Africa and various transatlantic routes. Substantially, this determination is mainly about ship owner merchants and ship master merchants. After 1753, dozens of merchant shipmasters that we detected operated these routes concurrently. We inferred that entrant individual merchants to the Levant trade used their experience and monetary capital derived from the Levant to widen the scope of their international activity. Sometimes also the reverse situation applied: namely that trading experience and knowledge of wider markets outside the

Mediterranean informed their business decisions and the kinds of initiatives they undertook in the Levant. At the same time, we determined that some individual merchants utilized their savings (both in terms of their personal experience and capital) from the Levant in London and then operated their business networks with the Levant from London.

The detailed analysis in chapters four and carried out on the basis of these lists shows us that the monopolistic situation of family member merchants who controlled almost all of the trade in the pre-1753 period gradually weakened after the passage of the Act of 1753. With reference to these previously mentioned lists of merchants' information, we have able to show many merchants had an agent-boss, apprentice-agent or ship ownership-master relationship. As we mentioned before, in consequence of archival researches in almost all related archives in Britain for merchants who had names and other information recorded in the Levant Company admission lists, we were able to detect the true shape and scope of the networks generated by these merchants. In the light of this information, these merchants must have entered the Levant at a very young age. In this regard, one of the claims of this thesis is that the Levant trade can be considered as a 'Learning-Trial Phase' for young British merchants.

The fact that Company was a corporation operated on an exclusive basis by merchant families to a very great extent before 1754 brought about established, but essentially narrow, business networks. Individual merchants whose number increased after 1754

began to develop their business through these established networks. We can be certain from data provided in archival sources that individual merchants tried to get involved in the business links of big merchant families especially in the first period after the Act of 1754 in order to make use of this short-cut route to business success. Individual merchants who relied at first on existing frameworks and long-standing relationships were able later on to initiate, and operate, and expand their own business activities in Levant with more experience to form new businesses networks on their own after the 1770's. The Levant Company merchants who began to gain international trade experience at a young age had accumulated a significant amount of capital and then returned to Britain. As we see in the wills of merchants, most of them increased their capitals with the Levant trade then began to do business in London. In addition, as we mentioned before, it is interesting that some Londoner merchants entered into business activities as Levant Company freemen. Even if only for a short time, in order to establish contacts to meet their textile raw material requirements.

In this thesis, significant findings have been made about business networks of individual merchants for the years 1753-1800. Foremost among these findings is the number of individual merchants who had been in the Levant trade and made commercial operations too in various ports and trade routes out of Levant after 1753. According to both archive resources and results of comparison of these archives with Lloyd's Lists, we have found that these merchants had a wide business network from the Levant to European ports, East India, South Africa and finally the transatlantic trade. It's obvious that this network

had been a new development after 1753 when comparisons are drawn with the pre-1753 period. Some of the ship owners' business networks with Barbados and Jamaica were shaped on the slave trade. Besides, between the years 1753-1800, commercial operations of individual merchants increased with Portuguese and Spanish ports as compared to pre-1753 levels. These merchants who had networks with almost all of European seaports organized commercial expeditions to Northern Europe seaports too. These seaports can be identified as St. Petersburg, Helsingr, Hamburg, Texel, Liverpool, Dublin, Cork, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Ostend.

Change and expansion of these aforesaid networks began with the abolishment in 1744 of the obligation to practice "general shipping". After that time, the Levant Company co-members and freemen were no longer restricted or restrained in their choice of either sailing times or vessels.<sup>5</sup> With implementation of these new shipping practices, from 1744 onwards, the most important factor of international trade, that is to say shipping, had become fully matter of individual choice for Levant Company merchants. Accordingly, the British proportion of overall Levant trade began to increase noticeably. After the introduction of the Act of 1753, the influx of new individual merchants in the Levant trade increased Britain's proportional share in the overall trade of the Levant from 15% to 25%. It is certain that this increase was a result of the decrease in the proportional shares of the French and Venetians. Thus, another finding we have reached

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<sup>5</sup> TNA: SP 105/333, p. 21. Moreover, for the discussions on general and joint shipping with implementations in the past, see chapters 4 and 5. Also, see Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1964), pp. 136-139.

in this thesis is that liberalization resulted with an increase in Britain's trade share. It is interesting that Levant Company co-members representing the big-wealthy merchant families opposed this liberalization in order to protect their monopolies. It is definitely a consequence of the association of Levant trade centres with new routes inaugurated by individual merchants due to the de-regulation of shipping. We can indicate the archival resources that show the growing number of merchants as proof of this phenomenon. As a matter of fact, in the light of data from State Papers (SP) 105/332 and 333, this increase in the number of merchants can be correlated directly with the liberalization in the Levant Company after the Act of 1753. Furthermore, closer monitoring of demand by individual merchants engaged in the Levant trade was another consequence directly linked to the increase in their numbers and wider presence in the market. Accordingly, what we found as a result is the fact of a substantial increase in demand for British goods and transport services.

The role of big-wealthy merchant families was significantly reduced as a result of the increased levels of business activity that was being generated by the participation of a new cohort of individual merchants in the Levant trade. Another outcome of this thesis is the conclusion that individual merchants were initially obliged to cultivate a network connection with big-wealthy merchant family members due to these members' acquisition of business experience over long years. The long-term business experience and established business and social networks gave an opportunity to these families to establish their dominance over the Levant trade. Despite the increasing number of

individual merchants, the influence in the Levant trade of big family member merchants who resided in the Levant ports or cities continued albeit at a diminishing rate. Herein a point which we have laid emphasis on the thesis is apposite, which is that some of the individual merchants who became new actors of the Levant trade after 1753 had been merchants who had previously acquired a certain business experience. As we follow with archival records some part of these merchants operated business of international shipping out of Levant before that time. In addition to knowledge acquisition and reliance on established networks, it seems apparent that new merchants who entered the field after 1753 owed their success in some measure to the lessons learned (both positive and negative) from the activities of their predecessors. As we have definitively shown in this thesis, this hospitable environment for interaction and transmission of business ideas and innovations resulted in the emergence of the Levant as a principal global communication and cultural accumulation centre. Another matter that the archival documents sheds light on is the fact that the Ottoman business milieu as a place for knowledge acquisition gave an opportunity to individual merchants to become effective on financial markets when they returned to Britain with deal-making experience and financial accumulation they had obtained from the Levant trade as a result of their networking. In this sense, we referred in chapters four and to the example of several merchants who became executives on the Bank of England after they disengaged from the Levant trade and returned to London.

One of the key questions that this thesis has tried to answer is the question of what kind of networks came into existence in the years between 1753-1800, as a result of the considerable number of merchants who joined the Levant trade after 1753 as a result of expanded shipping operations. The finding which this thesis has revealed is that British merchants had to create networks with many different trade centres outside Britain. Starting from the information from Lloyd's Registers and Lists, when we look at chronological distribution of these merchants' operations, we figured out that there were many ship-owners and shipmasters who had been involved in commercial operations in the Transatlantic trade before entering the Levant Trade. This thesis which was prepared by the help of British and Ottoman archival documents and Lloyd's Lists and Registers as main sources concentrated on change in the business networks of individual merchants after the year 1753. The rapidity and scale of the changes witnessed in this period is quite remarkable. Accordingly, it is possible to claim that they undertook new enterprises in the Levant ports, which were relatively easier and safer than the transatlantic and other trans-oceanic routes, with the capital they acquired from Transatlantic trade in which shipping was harder and involved longer distances. It is also valid to assume that these merchants transferred the experience they gained in long-distance shipping to young British merchants and traders in Levant.

According to our examination, after year of 1753 there was a notable increase of ship masters and ship owners who could be co-members or freeman of the Levant Company. This thesis makes noteworthy contribution to visualizing and mapping of trade routes

and trade centres after 1753, which resulted from the aforementioned increase of ship masters and ship owners in the Levant trade. This visualization process was operated with a computer program and with help of application for visualizing of trade routes, which are presented in the last chapter. Various network graphics and two maps have been prepared for decade periods of the years 1741 to 1800 with this network analysis method and programming. By means of these graphics, we can see the emergence of Salonica and Alexandria as new trade centres alongside the historically most important three trade centres of the Levant Company: Constantinople, Smyrna and Scanderoon. In particular, the connection of Salonica with Smyrna and their existence on the same network with Constantinople links is shown in the graphics we have provided. Beginning from the 1760's access of business networks through almost every European port outside the ports in the Levant Seas can be seen. These ports expanded as far as Russian, Crimean, Dutch and Danish ports. Apart from the ports of the North European countries, Spanish ports Malaga, Cádiz and Portuguese ports Lisbon and Porto were included in the expanding business networks of the individual merchants of the Levant Company. In this thesis, we have also shown that the business network between European trade centres became much wider and reached even to the trans-Atlantic trade. In fact, we have been revealed that Alexandria and Salonica had a direct business network with Jamaica and Barbados, which was related to the slave trade at that time.

Broadly speaking, this thesis contributes to the existing business literature on the Levant Company and shows the way towards discovery and better understanding of 'Ottoman

entrepreneurial networks' while contributing also to a broadening the scope of research on Ottoman economic history. The visualising of trade routes and business network analysis programming offered in this thesis represents a pioneering effort in a relatively new area of research so far as the Ottoman empire is concerned. Moreover, examining the corporate changes, transformation of organizational structures of international trade companies and the removal of obstacles for the creation of individual businesses also represents an addition to the existing literature. This paradigmatic transformation, especially in the organizational structure of the Levant Company after the Act of 1753, demonstrates that the Levant was still an important and profitable business centre for the British merchants in the 18th century. It is not possible to mention about a decline in the Levant trade in this century. According to our findings, Big-Wealthy Merchant Families lost their monopoly in the Levant trade after the Act of 1753. On the other side, with the liberalization of the company after 1753, individual merchants of the Levant Company started to play a key role in Levant. British individual merchants' interest for the Levant trade led to serious mobility in the second half of the 18th century. This mobility and increases in the number of individual merchants demonstrate that the Levant was an attractive trade area for the individual merchants of the Levant Company. The thesis also proposes that the interaction between business and social networks and the increase in individual experience acquisition both had an important influence on these developments and changes. Therefore, the occurrence of liberalization for regulated or joint stock companies, which were the most important actors in foreign

trade caused an increase in commercial interaction. In sum, business network enlargement that we attempted to analyse and, in the final chapter, visualize verifies the positive impact of liberalization.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

#### The List of the Freeman and Co-members of the Levant Company (1695-1699)

Name(s)	Surname	Period	LT in Port and City	Commerce Centres	Job – Duty - Link
James	Bull	1695	Aleppo	Aleppo – London	Merchant, Members of Bull Family. (FBM).
William	Cheslyn	1695	???	???	(IB).
Robert	Jennings	1695	???	???	(IB).
William	Kemble	1695	LT Smyrna	Smyrna – Cyprus – London	Silk Merchant – Father of Richard Kemble, Consul of Salonica in 1716. (IB).
Thomas	Somaster	1695	???	???	(IB).
William	Theyer	1695	LT Constantinople		(IB).
Wigher	Woolley	1695	???	???	(IB).

John	Ashby <sup>6</sup>	1695	Constantinople LT Smyrna	Smyrna London – Plymouth <sup>7</sup> – Tunis <sup>8</sup>  Tripoli	Ship Commander. <sup>9</sup>  Textile Materials trade in Tunis, Tripoli and Smyrna. <sup>10</sup> (IB).
Lambert	Blackwell	1696	Consul in Italy	Smyrna – Leghorn – Genoa	(FBM).
Robert	Bristow	1696	???	???	(IB).
Elias	Deleau	1696	???	???	(IB).
William	Druce	1696	???	???	(IB).
George	Boddington	1696	LT Aleppo	Aleppo – Smyrna –  London	The founder of Boddington enterprises in the Levant. <sup>11</sup> (FBM).

<sup>6</sup> TNA: PROB 11/415, fol. 232 and some information from Robert Ashby who was Merchant and father of John Ashby see TNA: PROB 11/293, fols. 4–5.

<sup>7</sup> TNA: ADM 106/351/179, July 1680.

<sup>8</sup> TNA: ADM 106/369/14, 1684.

<sup>9</sup> He commanded the Dunkirk in 1678–9, the Constant Warwick in 1680–81, and the Mary Rose from 1681 to 1684, employed in the latter chiefly in convoying the Levant trade. TNA: ADM 106/347/40, 16 August 1680. In this record, Ashby reported an interesting story that related to chasing a Turkish (referred Ottoman) man of the war. "*Captain John Ashby, the Constant Warwick at Spithead. Report of a meeting with Captain Williams, who informed him of his chasing a Turkish man of war on the 1st and another two on the 8th. They lost their main topmast in a storm, replaced it and met the 2 Turkish men of war again off the Lizard on the 12th and lost the main topmast again and for loss of wind gave up the chase. He tried to go to Plymouth but met another storm and got to the Isle of Wight and anchored at Spithead. Asks for orders for the ship to be cleaned at Plymouth. Asks for a mainsail for the Pearl and orders for Captain Lanine at Plymouth to supply the Pearl and Dartmouth with stores.* And TNA: ADM 106/369/14, 1684. This record shows that the ships named as Mary Rose and Constant Warwick sailed to the Tunisian ports, in other words the north Mediterranean ports of the Ottoman Empire. And see, J. D. Davies, "Ashby, Sir John (bap. 1646, d. 1693), naval officer.", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, January 03, 2008. Oxford University Press, date of access 26 Jul. 2018. See: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-744>.

<sup>10</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 13, 32, 116, 175, 221, 1681-1682.

<sup>11</sup> He was the founder of the Boddington Company. See Gary S. De. Krey, "Boddington, George (1646–1719), merchant and Independent lay leader.", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 26 Jul. 2018.

William	Joliffe	1696	???	???	(IB).
Simon	Leblanc	1696	???	???	(IB).
William	Nicholas	1696	???	???	(IB).
Thomas	Betton	1697	???	???	(IB).
William	Brooks	1697	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(IB).
Thomas	Carew	1697	???	???	(IB).
(Mr)	Chiswell	1697	LT Aleppo	Aleppo	(FBM).
Thomas	Hatton	1697	???	???	(IB).
George	Juxon	1697	LT Aleppo	Aleppo	(IB).
Samuel	Lannoy	1697	LT Aleppo	London	Family Merchant in Aleppo. <sup>12</sup> (FBM).
Thomas	Leigh	1697	LT Smyrna	Smyrna	(IB).
Hugh	Norris	1697	???	???	(IB).
James, (Sir)	Rushout	1697	Ambassador in Constantinople	Constantinople Smyrna	(IB).
Edward	Vernon <sup>13</sup>	1697	LT Smyrna	Smyrna – Aleppo – Latakia	Naval Officer (of ships named <i>Jersey, Assistance,</i> <i>and Mary</i> ). (FBM).

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-49744>.

<sup>12</sup> BL: Stowe MS 220, fols 68-69, and 96, 1687.

<sup>13</sup> Harding, R. (2008, January 03). Vernon, Edward (1684–1757), naval officer. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 22 Aug. 2018, from:

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28237>.

Richard	Westbrook	1697	???	???	(IB).
George	Whaley	1697	Cyprus	London	(FBM).
Benjamin	Whaely	1697	LT Cyprus	Cyprus – Aleppo – London	(FBM).
Peter	Whitcom	1697	???	???	(IB).
Henry	Stiles	1698	LT Smyrna	London	Silk and mohair merchant in Smyrna with his brother Oliver Stiles. <sup>14</sup> (FBM).
William	Hedges	1698	LT Aleppo	Aleppo - Smyrna	(IB).
Walter	Merchant	1698	???	???	(IB).
Henry	Phill	1698	???	???	(IB).
James	Harrison	1699	???	???	(IB).
John	Hooper	1699	???	???	(IB).
Thomas	Savage	1699	???	???	(IB).
John	Walter	1699	???	???	(IB).

<sup>14</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 37 b, 88 b, and 104 b, 1682-1684.

Sir Randolph	Knipe	1698	LT Aleppo	Aleppo – London – Madagascar – Mozambique <sup>15</sup>	Silk Merchant, Sailor – The partners of the Radcliffes in Aleppo in term of silk trade. <sup>16</sup>  Slave Trade from South Africa. (IB).
Cutts	Lockwood	1698	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	Turkey Merchant. (FBM).
Richard	Chiswell	1699	Smyrna	Oxford	(FBM).
Thomas	Cooke	1699	LT Constantinople	London Smyrna	(FBM).
William	Dunster	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(IB).
Charles	Frye	1699	LT Smyrna	Aleppo	(FBM).
Christopher	Lethieullier	1699	LT Constantinople	Aleppo London	Family merchant in the Levant. (FBM).
John I	Phillips	1699	LT Constantinople	Aleppo London	Family merchant in the Levant. (FBM).
Edward	Pilkington	1699	LT Smyrna	London	Levant merchant in Smyrna with his brother. <sup>17</sup> (IB).

<sup>15</sup> He was sailor to Levant, Madagascar - Mozambique in order to importation textile materials. BL: IOR/E/1/7 ff. 148-149v, 14 Mar 1716.

<sup>16</sup> Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square: English traders in the Levant in the 18th century*, London: Palgrave Macmillian, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> BL: Stowe MS 219, fols 97 b, and 109, 1684.

## Appendix 2

**A Sample Record of the list of Merchants who had "Liberty of Trade Grant" and "admitted to the Freedom" of the Levant Company. (Source: SP 105/333, pp. 24-25.)**

A list of the names of such persons as had been admitted to the Freedom of the Levant Company		A list of the names of such persons as had Liberty of Trade granted to them of the Levant Company	
1726	Mr. George Bland	1726	Mr. John Bland
1727	Mr. William Bland	1727	Mr. William Bland
1728	Mr. George Bland	1728	Mr. William Bland
1729	Mr. George Bland	1729	Mr. William Bland
1730	Mr. George Bland	1730	Mr. William Bland
1731	Mr. George Bland	1731	Mr. William Bland
1732	Mr. George Bland	1732	Mr. William Bland
1733	Mr. George Bland	1733	Mr. William Bland
1734	Mr. George Bland	1734	Mr. William Bland
1735	Mr. George Bland	1735	Mr. William Bland
1736	Mr. George Bland	1736	Mr. William Bland
1737	Mr. George Bland	1737	Mr. William Bland
1738	Mr. George Bland	1738	Mr. William Bland
1739	Mr. George Bland	1739	Mr. William Bland
1740	Mr. George Bland	1740	Mr. William Bland
1741	Mr. George Bland	1741	Mr. William Bland
1742	Mr. George Bland	1742	Mr. William Bland
1743	Mr. George Bland	1743	Mr. William Bland
1744	Mr. George Bland	1744	Mr. William Bland
1745	Mr. George Bland	1745	Mr. William Bland
1746	Mr. George Bland	1746	Mr. William Bland
1747	Mr. George Bland	1747	Mr. William Bland
1748	Mr. George Bland	1748	Mr. William Bland
1749	Mr. George Bland	1749	Mr. William Bland
1750	Mr. George Bland	1750	Mr. William Bland

Appendix 3

The Sample of Book of CUST 3:  
The London importations from Christmas 1699 to Christmas 1700  
with First Cost or Value and Merchandise Composition

London Importations From Christmas 1699. To Christmas 1700. With an Estimate of Their First Cost or Value, Viz<sup>d</sup>.

Where Imp <sup>d</sup> & From whence	To w <sup>d</sup> Merchand <sup>is</sup>	In Eng <sup>l</sup> Shipp <sup>s</sup>	In For <sup>e</sup> Shipp <sup>s</sup>	Estimate of the first Cost or Value	Amount of The value	
					L. S. D.	
To London From Africa	Copper unw <sup>rt</sup>	010	1	20	At 2 10 10 of Cent.	2311 12 1 1/2
	Almonds bitter	366	3	20	At 2 10 3 of Cent.	917 6 5 1/2
	Gum Urabeck	33	0	0	At 24 10 10 of Cent.	57 15 0
	Gum Sandeack	323	1	23	At 26 10 30 of Cent.	854 1 9
	Alph <sup>o</sup> Teeth	207	2	10	At 4 10 7 of Cent.	2741 17 0 1/2
	Teeth Estridge und <sup>t</sup>	270	1	7	At 11 10 15 of Cent.	305 10 0
	Almonds sweet	923	0	23	At 2 10 2 1/2 of Cent.	2077 4 7 1/2
	Anniseeds	221	1	0	At 28 10 35 of Cent.	348 12 5 1/2
	Dates	72	3	14	At 2 10 13 of Cent.	10 0 7 1/2
	Rais <sup>s</sup> Solis	0	3	0	At 12 10 15 of Cent.	0 11 3
	Wates Com in Mays	331			At 6 10 10 of Cent.	202 10 0
	Honey	10	Ball		At 10 10 10 of Gal.	0 10 0
	Indico	150	1	7	At 1 10 3 of Cent.	20 10 2
	Onion seed	82	0	24	At 1 10 10 3/4 of Cent.	10 0 0
	Oil Ordinary	82	0	24	At 25 10 30 of Cent.	2166 8 0 1/2
	Wax beat	106	7	0	At 3 10 6 of Cent.	34 2 7
	Skins Leopard	0	2	7	At 20 of Cent.	3 0 0
	Sops hard	0	2	7	At 20 10 10 of Cent.	0 17 6
	Wax Bees	218	0	15	At 4 10 10 1/2 of Cent.	2428 16 3 1/2
	Whalebans	0	2	14	At 7 10 35 of Cent.	4 10 10 1/2
Wood Redd	210	1	3	At 3 10 10 of Cent.	8643 10 0	
Wool Cotton	625	1	0	At 3 10 3 of Cent.	18 10 5	
Wool Sheep	129	3	0	At	129 15 0	
<b>Totall</b>					<b>23300 9 9</b>	
From The Canaries	Almonds sweet	0	0	0	At 2 10 2 1/2 of Cent.	19 19 6
	Cocheneal Campechea	1520	1	0	At 10 10 19 of Cent.	1552 2 0
<b>Card Over</b>					<b>1572 1 6</b>	



Where Imp'd To whence	Kind Merchandize	In Shipp	Out Shipp	Estimate of The Cost or Value	Amount of The value
To London From Turkey	Linen cov <sup>r</sup> Callicott	75 7/8		Brought Over	26231 11 0 1/2
	Ollives	5 1/2		At 7 1/2 lb of L <sup>l</sup>	22 17 0
	Eyl Sweet	17 1/2		At 2 1/2 lb of L <sup>l</sup> Gallen	0 6 9
	Eyl Ordinary	2 5 3/4		At 2 6 10 3/4 of L <sup>l</sup>	29 2 0
	Seamery	112 1/2		At 25 10 3/4 of Tun	60 16 10
	Silk Woads & Kuffs	12 1/2		At 2 1/2 lb of L <sup>l</sup>	15 11 3
	Silk Ram	215 1/2		At 12 1/2 20 of L <sup>l</sup>	52 2 0
	Silk Thrown	127 1/2		At 12 1/2 20 of L <sup>l</sup>	209 55 10 0
	Silk W <sup>o</sup>	98 1/2		At 20 10 20 of L <sup>l</sup>	127 1 5 0
	Skins Cordov <sup>r</sup>	32 1/2		At 25 1/2 16 of L <sup>l</sup>	196 10 0
	Sops Hard	2 1/2		At 15 10 24 of L <sup>l</sup>	622 16 0
	Wine Cyprus	8 1/2		At 28 1/2 40 of L <sup>l</sup> wt	522 18 0 1/2
	Wood Indrick	75 1/2		At 26 10 3/4 of Tun	197 9 4 1/2
	Wood Ebony	3 0 0		At 8 1/2 10 of L <sup>l</sup> wt	32 17 0
	Wool Cotton	67 1/2		At 14 1/2 14 of L <sup>l</sup> wt	2 9 6
	Wool Cotton	67 1/2		At 3 1/2 2 of L <sup>l</sup>	19136 8 6
	Wool Cotton	215 1/2		At 7 1/2 15 of L <sup>l</sup>	3092 16 10 1/2
	Wool Mohayee	225 1/2		At 2 1/2 30 of L <sup>l</sup>	21003 14 0
	Wool Cyprus	3 1/2		At	1 10 0
	Wool Chochaboya In Ayer	8 1/2		At	1 0 0
Coffee	67 1/2		At	112 2 2	
Wool Garter Silk	2 1/2		At	2 0 0	
Gum Turc	5 1/2		At	11 1 0	
Wool Leopard Swing	1		At	10 0 0	
Linen Alexand <sup>r</sup>	32 1/2		At	13 12 6	
Wool W <sup>o</sup> Handkerchief	1 1/2		At	1 13 6	
Musk Alexand <sup>r</sup>	12 1/2		At	12 2 0	
Model of Temple of Jerusale (1)			At	0 10 0	
Nuts Java	5 0 0		At	0 13 0	
Pictures	3		At	5 0 0	
Rack	3 6 1/2		At	9 12 0	
Quills Emb <sup>d</sup>	2		At	10 13 0	
Silk & Cotton	21 1/2		At	11 10 0	
Silk No <sup>o</sup> Gold	13 1/2		At	13 0 0	
Silk Statches	31 1/2		At	30 5 0	
			Cost Over	301309 3 6 3/4	

Appendix 4

The Sample of Book of CUST 36:  
The imports and Exports compared with the Excess of each Country  
from Christmas 1712 to Christmas 1713

The Imports and Exports compared with the Excess  
of each Country from Christmas 1712 to Christmas 1713

Countries	Imports		Exports		Imports Excess		Exports Excess	
	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s
Africa	115	18 8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1118	05 8 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>			100289	99 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Canaries	24082	14 6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	30714	- 3 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>			6631	5 9
Denmark & Norway	107109	17 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	57947	13 4 1/2	49162	3 11 1/2		
East Country	163816	1 4	80979	9 6	87836	11 10		
East India	963013	7 11 1/4	94179	12 4	858833	15 7 1/2	404155	10 8 1/2
Flanders	14161	2 7 1/2	418610	13 4 1/4			96684	11 1 1/4
France	64792	- 9 1/2	160476	11 11				
Germany	647906	- 11	328296	10 8 1/2	119409	10 2 1/2		
Holland	499705	12 8 1/2	2154470	6 3 1/2			1634764	13 4 1/2
Islands	295926	1 1 1/2	306764	2 8			11638	17 1/2
Italy	314521	5 10 1/4	226729	- 7	87772	5 3 1/4	86046	13 6 1/2
Maderas	2011	- 9	88157	14 3 1/2				
Newfoundlands	12039	18 5 1/2	6677	9 3 1/2	5382	9 2	431564	8 11 1/2
Portugal	196416	1 9 1/4	627980	10 8 1/2				
Russia	157990	9 1 1/2	58028	15 9	99961	13 4 1/2		
Spain	337285	10 5 1/4	483999	5 9			148713	15 3 1/4
Switzerland	30334	1 8 1/2	42014	2 3 1/2			899680	- 0 1/2
Sweden	159863	13 3 1/4	42128	5 7 1/2	117335	7 7 1/2		
Turkey	302730	19 4	138715	13 2 1/2	344015	6 1 1/4		
Venice	63844	11 6 1/4	27622	5 11 1/2	36342	5 6 1/2		
Ulderney	6516	-	637	4 9 1/2			571	8 9 1/2
Guernsey	9552	7 11	21543	11 11 1/4			11993	4 - 1/2
Jersey	17419	14 6	11828	17 7 1/2	5590	16 10 1/2		
Antigua	185677	7 4 1/4	35620	18 1 1/2	130156	9 2 1/2		
Barbados	106699	8 4 1/4	118996	8 8 1/2	47702	19 7 1/2		
Carolina	32449	16 4 1/4	23967	8 2 1/2	8482	8 1 1/2		
Hudsons Bay	6680	15 6	893	14 3	5787	1 3		
Jamaica	243190	6 9 1/4	164119	16 1 1/4	79070	10 8		
Mouunkrat	32181	11 1 1/2	3702	10 7	28479	- 6 1/2		
Nevis	106998	12 2	23988	2 11	83010	9 3	70874	15 1 1/2
New England	49904	4 6 1/2	120778	19 8			32041	17 6 1/2
New York	14428	14 2 1/4	46470	11 9			16858	9 3 1/4
Pennsylvania	178	15	17037	4 3 1/2				
St. Christophers	57600	4 10 1/2	11642	15 11 1/2	45857	8 11 1/2		
Virginia & Maryland	206263	12 11 1/2	76304	11 3 1/4	129959	1 7 1/4	107927	2 9 1/4
West Indies in general	2416	4 10 1/2	110323	7 7 1/2			17600	1 4 1/2
Spanish West Indies			17600	1 4 1/2	115263	13 7 1/2	460913	14 6
Crize Goods	115263	13 7 1/2	460913	14 6				
Foreign Coin & Bullion								
<b>Totals</b>	<b>5811077</b>	<b>16 6</b>	<b>7352655</b>	<b>2 2 1/4</b>	<b>2272568</b>	<b>16 10 1/2</b>	<b>381436</b>	<b>2 6 1/2</b>
Exports Exceeds the Imports							1541577	5 8 1/4

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