

IMPACTS OF A LEVANTINE BOURGEOIS FAMILY; THE “WHITTALLS” IN  
THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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IMPACTS OF A LEVANTINE BOURGEOIS FAMILY; THE “WHITTALLS” IN  
THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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Effects of a Levantine Bourgeois Family; the "Whittalls" on Economy, Social Life,  
Consumption Habits, and Urbanization in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Empire

Levanten Burjuva Ailesi Olan "Whittall"ların, Ekonomi, Sosyal Hayat, Tüketim  
Alışkanlıkları ve Şehirleşme Sürecinde 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerindeki Etkileri

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Title: Impacts of a Levantine Bourgeois Family; the “Whittalls in 19<sup>th</sup> Century  
Ottoman Empire

The westernization movement of the Ottoman Empire which gained speed during the 19th century brought along a contradiction. With the increasing number of European merchants coming to the Empire, the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in the society became even more apparent. This M.A. thesis, keeping away from the military background of the period, tries to reveal how Levantines influenced economic, social, cultural, and political life of the Empire.

This thesis mainly models the Whittall Family on portraying the change of Levantines. This is mostly because the Whittalls sustained their social, economic, and political life in two important trade centers of the Empire such as Istanbul and Izmir. The growing trade relations and agreements created a European lifestyle executed through specific club memberships representing the power of money. This eventually led Levantines and non-Muslim groups to consume imported products. It is no surprise then the demand for more European style of urbanization became such apparent among these groups. This urbanization model came into existence in the Empire thanks mostly to the Whittall family and their belongings. The companies, social clubs and splendid houses established in suburbs of Istanbul and Izmir are clear examples to the issue. Their social, economic and political relations with both the Ottomans and with their own country England led the Whittalls grab a prestigious position in the society unlike other Levantine groups living in the Empire. In the view of such information, based on the social and economic life of Levantines and their own lifestyle they established among the society, this M.A. thesis tries to point out that a bourgeoisie occurred in the Ottoman Empire despite being out of the Empire.

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Başlık: Levanten Burjuva Ailesi Olan “Whittall”ların, 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerindeki Etkileri

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun batılılaşma hareketinin hız kazandığı 19. Yüzyıl aynı zamanda bir ikilemin de ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmuştur. İmparatorluğa Avrupa'dan gelen tüccar sayısının artması ile toplum içerisinde gayri Müslimler ile Müslümanlar arasındaki fark, daha belirgin hale gelmiştir. Bu tezin amacı, genellikle altı çizilen askeri gelişmelerden uzak kalarak, Avrupa göçmeni olan Levanten toplumunun yardımları ile İmparatorluğa yayılan ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi gelişmelere ışık tutmaktır.

Levantenlerin geçirdiği değişimlerin en kapsamlı örneği olan Whittall ailesi temel örnek olarak kullanılmıştır. Aile seçimindeki başlıca etken, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun iki önemli ticari merkezi olan İstanbul ve İzmir'de ikamet etmeleri, ticari, sosyal ve siyasi hayatlarını idame ettirmeleridir. Ticari ilişkiler ve ekonomik anlaşmalar temel alınarak, paranın gücünü temsil eden özel kulüp üyelikleri, Avrupai sosyal aktiviteler ve yaşam tarzı, Levanten ve gayri Müslimleri, Avrupa'dan ithal edilen ürünlerin tüketimine yönlendirmiştir. İlerleyen aşamalarda başta bu toplulukta ve akabinde gayri Müslim Osmanlı vatandaşlarında Avrupa modeli şehirleşme isteğine yöneltmiştir. Kullanılan en temel örnekler arasında, Whittall ailesine ait olan çeşitli şirketler ve temsilciliklerini aldıkları Avrupa şirketleri, Osmanlı toplumuna kazandırdıkları sosyal kulüpler ve her iki şehrin banliyölerinde yaptırdıkları görkemli evler yer almaktadır. Hem toplum içerisindeki ailenin duruşu, hem ülkeleri İngiltere ile hem de Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile olan ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi ilişkileri, Whittall'ları Levanten toplumunun diğer üyelerine kıyasla daha prestijli bir konuma getirmiştir. Bütün bu verilerin ışığında, batılılaşmayı benimsemek isteyen Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Levanten toplumunun gerek ticari kazanımları, gerek sosyal hayatları ve gerekse de kendileri için oluşturdukları yaşam alanından yola çıkarak, imparatorlukta yaşayan ancak Osmanlı toplumuna ait olmayan bir burjuva sınıfının ortaya çıktığı gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*The Port of the Levant, you know that they are what is richest  
and the most populous! Smyrna, what wealth!*

*Tsar Alexander I to General Comte de Caulaincourt, ambassador of Napoléon I  
12 March 1808<sup>1</sup>*

Periods of modernization contains unique components and dynamics for various societies. The western part of Europe had to deal with the collapse of feudalism and the creation of bourgeoisie in its place along with development of industry. As a consequence of all these changes population composing the society had gained access and the ability to spread their political rights. Within the process of creation and adoption of these rights, “citizenship” and “national culture” were tried to be introduced and believed to be interpreted as a connector to economic and political balances of the society. These last points represent the essence of Ottoman Empire’s lack in the process of Westernization.

In an economical perspective, a new system for the survival of different part of society was not created. Instead, new consumption trends and ideas were introduced under the idea of Westernization. The situation was not very different in social life, the society was divided between commoners and distinguished people working in exclusive posts for the Palace who were far away from creating a common sense but had a system divided in itself and was distant enough from each other.

In this transition period, a new group living in the Empire who were familiar with both the Ottoman and European systems, generally coming from various European countries for the sake of trade known as “Levantines” made also great

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Mansel, *Levant Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean*, (John Murray, 2010), p.16



contributions to this transition period. Their presence in Anatolia dates back to Byzantium. However, the focus would be on the interactions between Levantines and The Ottoman Empire. First interactions date back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the conquest of Istanbul, which grew and continued till the foundation of Turkish Republic.

There is a great debate in order to form a proper definition for the term “Levantine”, however, the difficulty comes from the complex nature of the term as well as development process endured based on different political and economic policies.

The main focus would be given to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the duality of the era. Special edicts were introduced within the Ottoman system containing economic, political and social measures in order to make the Ottoman Empire part of Europe.<sup>2</sup> One of the most visual transformations of this period represents changes in Levantine Community. The ones who came to the Empire on the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries made a clear distinction among the early period Levantines.<sup>3</sup> It is important to underline that presence of Levantines is not interrelated with the Westernization period. Meaning that, simple nature of Levantines started to transform. Yet, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century combination of modernization and industrialization made changes in the expectations of these merchants wishing to have same life standards as their home countries and made them a community extremely close to Europeans or even describe them as Europeans. Complexities and variety of the Levantines created great difficulties in reflecting the true characteristics of these merchants in order to fill the gap of self-definition. Thanks to various economic, social, cultural and political privileges, the Levantines had the ability to act according to European’s,

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<sup>2</sup> Tanzimat and Islahat Edicts as well as Balta Limanı Treaty.

<sup>3</sup> Arus Yumul and Fahri Dikkaya, *Avrupalı Mı Levanten Mi?* (Bağlam Yayıncılık, İstanbul 2006), p. 30

Ottoman's or simply based on their self-benefit. Levantines started to grow their level of influence in Smyrna<sup>4</sup> which quickly spread to other important port cities of the Empire which would be underlined in details in the first chapter. Their importance and uniqueness lies on the fact that Levantines represent a different community which could influence the Empire at a high degree without being legally part of the system meaning, not being considered as an Ottoman subject.

The main cause of this study will be to discuss the position of Levantines who did not require the necessity of creating a self-defining term for themselves instead, accepted one created by others; acknowledged their prestigious position based on capitulations and other trade agreements and their level of involvement in the Empire's Westernization period as well as their position within society. The main reason behind this interesting subject is the fact that Westernization is conducted by Levantines coming from Europe. In fact, interactions between Levantines and different Ottoman communities were on the one side helping the Port with desire of staying close to Westernization process yet, might still cause problems in controlling the Levantine community who were under severe protection of capitulations and Consuls.

Beneficial position of Levantines was leading them to have a distinct part within the society and they were envied for their powerful nature. This power of envy quickly led to an agent for transformation of the society based on life style, business and mentality. Freedom, born mainly from economic independence followed by social, cultural and political power, made Levantines the perfect example in the eyes of the Ottoman Empire for being the presenters of a bourgeoisie wished to be established, however, could not be succeeded in the reign of Ottomans.

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<sup>4</sup> Modern day İzmir, Turkey.

Geographical position and its effects over Smyrna could not be underestimated. It is being a port city contributed not only to the fame among different merchants, tolerance toward multiple views, cultures, ethnical and religious backgrounds but also to the cosmopolite nature of the city which made Smyrna even more important in the eyes of Levantines, Ottomans and continental Europeans.

In order to reach my goal, experiences of a respectable Levantine family who came to the Empire from England, the Whittalls will be used and comparison would be made. Personal experiences would be helpful to underline the important points especially concerning social, economic, cultural and political involvement of Levantines as well as discussing their position in the Ottoman Empire along with their level of belonging. The main example to reflect the position of Whittalls would be their properties. Two specific houses will take part in the study as a symbol of two important port cities namely; Istanbul and Izmir. These properties will help to underline the life standards of the family, social activities and social clubs will take part in order to reflect the social interactions and social contribution of the family to the Ottoman culture.

Consumption habits would be another subject to analyze. Based on findings, choices in consumption would be suitable for making comparisons with the West and see the demands within the society. To be able to talk about consumption habits, economic activities and preferences regarding profitable sectors should be examined. In addition, Whittalls' position within the Ottoman Economy, sectors in which they are investing and influence of the treaties signed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century would help to clarify the situation.

The place of the family in social hierarchy would also be a subject of another debate. The main focus of this discussion would be the location of the properties and

the reasons behind these choices. A bridge would be formed among properties, the location of properties, consumption habits and the economic position and would be used in order to discuss whether Whittall family can be seen as an example forming the base for a new class of bourgeoisie.

Their impact is quite remarkable considering that Levantines were never united under a unifying political or religious belief who were far away from nationalism and creation of a unique culture for themselves. Despite they were quite successful to transform their position into a role model in the eyes of some Ottoman citizens as well as being the motive in various developments made in Ottoman territory.

Levantines still become subjects of criticism by European travelers coming to mainly Smyrna and to other important trade centers of the Empire for being “Orientalized” or being superficial imitations of Europe. Yet, Whittalls here again shares a special role. At the beginning of their carrier Charlton Whittall represented a regular merchant from Liverpool, however, once came to Smyrna Charlton and the rest of the Whittall family not only gained profit and respect but also had special moments with the Ottoman ruling elites especially the Sultan. Their economic power which would be discussed in the second part combined with their entourage along with special social activities like different branches of sport and their success emphasized in the third part would become indicators for Whittall family’s distinct place not only among Ottoman society but also among Levantine communities.

Studies on Levantines and Levant started with travelers and their memoirs which frequently emphasize some important Ottoman port cities that later became subject to various academic studies. Oliver Jens Schmitt<sup>5</sup>, Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Les Levantines Cadre de Vie et Identités D’Un Groupe Ethno-Confessionnel de L’Empire Ottoman au “Long” 19eme siecle*, (Isis, 2007)

and Daniel Goffman<sup>7</sup> represent main sources regarding Levantines, their life style and the Ottoman Empire. Especially Goffman would be used in order to reflect Smyrna's position as a port city and the dynamic behind trade relations and the nature of Levantines. Smyrnelis' approach to reflect the cosmopolite nature of Smyrna combined with dynamics of various neighborhood located in Smyrna would especially be underlined. The essence of being equally distant toward each community composing the Ottoman Society and their benefits represent key points of their interactions to understand the level of communication, internalization and spread of Western mentality in the Ottoman Empire.

Schmitt's approach toward nature of Levantine is made by underlining the fact that they are embracing a title attributed to them by others. Their lack of self-definition was the sole reason for them to be located in a separate part of both the Ottoman and European society, as a distinct ethnical group as claimed by Schmitt. Rather feeling the necessity to define themselves they do not attribute attention to what others think about themselves and concentrate on trade and their private life. Work conducted by Schmitt reflects most inclusive source focusing on various elements. Yet, the most important component of Schmitt's source is the classification of Levantine community into different sub groups among themselves. Schmitt is dividing Levantines into five different groups as elites, bourgeoisie, Catholic clergy, middle and lower class. Components of these classes would be emphasized to understand the place of Whittall family and discuss their contribution to the society.

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<sup>6</sup> Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi? Bir Osmanlı Limanından Hatıralar*, (İletişim Yayınları, 2009); *Une Ville Ottomane Plurielle, Smyrne au VIIIeme et XIXeme siecles*, (Isis, 2006)

<sup>7</sup> Daniel Goffman, *İzmir ve Levanten Dünya (1550-1650)*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1990)

Additional sources focusing specifically on Smyrna was written by Çınar Atay<sup>8</sup>, Tuncer Baykara<sup>9</sup> and Rauf Beyru<sup>10</sup> which would mainly be in use to reflect various turning points in the life of Levantines for the start which successfully became characteristics of other communities of the Ottoman Empire. Image of bourgeoisie mainly composed of financial wealth, social network and prestige coming from luxury consumption would be built based on their images. In order to have a deeper discussion, sources focusing on different coastal trade cities would be used to point out similarities and differences with Smyrna. For that purpose Meropi Anastasiadou<sup>11</sup>; R. Ilbert, I. Yannakis, J. Hassoun<sup>12</sup> and Leila Tarazi Fawaz<sup>13</sup> would be referred.

In addition to these sources, Whittalls and other relative families had left great documents focusing on their personal life, assets, and trade relations as well as underlining special events that took place in Smyrna and Istanbul. Having been written in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century made these sources valuable archival materials.<sup>14</sup> Yet, further work related with Whittall family was only produced by Osman Öndeş.<sup>15</sup> Regarding their publication dates these sources are very rare and unfortunately do

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<sup>8</sup> Çınar Atay, *İzmir'in İzmir'i*, (Ege Sanayicileri ve İş Adamları Derneği, 1993); Çınar Atay, *İzmir Rihtimunda Ticaret Kordon Boyunda Yaşam*, (İzmir Ticaret Odası Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2012)

<sup>9</sup> Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, (Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1974)

<sup>10</sup> Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam*, (Literatür Yayınları, 2000)

<sup>11</sup> Meropi Anastasiadou, *Tanzimat Çağında Bir Osmanlı Şehri Selanik (1830-1912)*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998)

<sup>12</sup> Robert Ilbert, Ilios Yannakakis, Jacques Hassoun, *Geçici Bir Hoşgörü Modeli: Cemaatler ve Kozmopolit Kimlik İskenderiye 1860- 1960*, (İletişim Yayınları, 2006)

<sup>13</sup> Laila Tarazi Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in 19th-century Beirut*, (Harvard University Press, 1983).

<sup>14</sup> Hugh Whittall, *The Whittalls of Turkey 1809-1973*, (n.p.), "A Record of the Origin and the History of the Giraud and the Whittall Families of Turkey" and "Trading in the Levant the Centenary of C. Whittall & Co. Smyrna"

<sup>15</sup> Osman Öndeş, *Modalı Vitol Ailesi*, (Tarihçi Kitabevi, 2012); Osman Öndeş, *Asıl Efendiler Levantenler*, (Şenocak Yayıncılık, 2010); Osman Öndeş, *Son Levantenler*, (Denizler Kitabevi, 2003)

not take part in several archives. *“The Whittalls of Turkey 1809-1973”* is very precious and only few copies of the book survived.<sup>16</sup> This source is very valuable for creating a base for the study. There is another book of the family called *“Trading in the Levant Centenary of C. Whittall & Co. Smyrna 1811-1911”* taking part in the personal archive of Osman Öndeş which is claimed to be the only copy available in Turkey. A final source dealing with the Whittall family is “Family Records by Edmund H. Giraud”. The source is not only focusing on two important merchant families but also playing a crucial role in order to reflect blood lines among “Giraud”, “Whittall” and “La Fontaine” families.

Introduction to Western idea and the influence of Levantines would be discussed under five chapters. As mentioned above, the first part would bear the necessity to clarify the term “Levantine” and go over the transformation process of these specific merchants, The second and third parts would contain economy, underlining commercial reforms made by the Ottomans with various agreements which straightened the base of Levantines economic independencies, whereas the following part underlining social life is approached by establishment of different social clubs and their tremendous effect on society, basically discussing whether the nature can be internalized by the Ottomans or, at what level this process can continue to represent the main questions. Consumption tendencies would take place in the fourth chapter. This specific part represents one of the most important reflections of Levantine world coming from European modernization process. Combination of financial power and being able to share this superiority by luxury goods was a new concept for the Ottoman Empire yet quickly became an instrument to underline Levantine nature of life, as well as to see the level of Westernization in the Empire

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<sup>16</sup> Only a segment is available at <http://www.levantineheritage.com/book2.htm>

by reflecting how different communities were affected by new shops or items imported from various European countries. Even though, luxury was always linked with financial power, the era of the 19<sup>th</sup> century represents high profits gained without control or limitation of the Port. Finally, the last part would contain the bourgeois nature of Levantines and the hierarchical division of Levantine community.

## CHAPTER 2: LEVANTINES

The term “Levant” comes from “se lever”, which means “to rise” in French, also used for the purpose of defining the rise of the sun and its geographic location; the East. Levant, the Eastern land in the world represented a symbol for expansionist vision of Europe and Levantines, people who came to the Levant had different characteristics and connections which changed them throughout the time. Based on these diversities, formulating a complete definition is quite complex. For that matter, several ideas and proposed definitions would be mentioned and discussed. Highlighted points would help to understand the changing structure of the Ottoman Empire vis-a-vis Europe and finally would lead us to the dual nature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

According to the Turkish Encyclopedia and Ana Britannica, “Levantine” is a person originated from European countries who moved to Near East preferably in major port cities of the Ottoman Empire such as Istanbul, Smyrna, Antalya, Beirut and Aleppo. They had the tendency to get mixed with the local citizens with marriages. With the help of this mixing process they became part of the local culture



and customs.<sup>17</sup> The Redhouse dictionary's definition is much more narrowed by attributing Levantine as, all person borne and grew in the mentioned peripheries of Ottoman Empire. The concept created great discussion within academia as well, as according to Ali Püsküllüoğlu, Mehmet Doğan and Behzat Üsdiken's definitions of Levantine goes hand in hand with both Turkish Encyclopedia and Ana Britannica.

One of the most important components to understand the nature and changing figure of Levantines are mentioned by Edhem Eldem who puts emphasis on geography's role to formulate the concept of "Levantine" and makes a distinction between "Orient" and "Levant". This is a very reasonable point to combine the different characteristics of Levantines and visualize the territories. Although each word focuses on the same geography "Levant" had a more narrowed down significance for defining today's Middle and Near East which was known as the Ottoman Empire.<sup>18</sup> Eldem defines Levantines as Europeans. He refers that the term is used in order to define the "other", however, this cannot be attributed to a group or a person and therefore is not a tool for social analysis. Eldem also pays attention to the difficulty in defining this notion regarding its contrast and flexible sense as well as its dangers.

İlber Ortaylı defines Levant as all Eastern Mediterranean port cities and the individuals living in those cities. By these accounts Ortaylı includes foreign trade conducted by Italians, Catalans and French. He goes on with making a separation between the Byzantium and early periods of the Ottoman Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> century which is known as the modern period of the Empire under the influence of Westernization. Based on his assumption the term also includes all foreigners who

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<sup>17</sup> Oban (Çakıcıoğlu) Raziye, "Levanten Kavramı ve Levantenler Üzerine Bir İnceleme," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no:22, 2007.

<sup>18</sup> Eldem Edhem, "Levanten" Kelimesi Üzerine, in Yumul, p. 14.

came from the Middle and Northern Europe to the Empire starting from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At this point he feels the need to include the religious differences of the new group and mentions that it is no longer valuable to call Levantines as “Latins” due to the Protestant population who moved to the Empire. Ortaylı’s definition contains the second and the third component reflecting the changes in the nature of “Levantine”, adding further complication for the term formulation process. Underlining of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and religious differences shows the inadequate content of the word “Latins”, so Ortaylı acknowledges the overreaching term “Levantine”.

Stefanos Yerasimos prefer to define Levantines as a group who moved to the Empire in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries for making trade, however, it was far away from the notion of nationalism and unable to form a life. This definition is closely linked with the difficulty that they faced concerning their self-definition. Yerasimos is acknowledging the presence of Latins and Europeans living in Byzantium and in the early periods of the Ottoman Empire, however, proposed that it still would not be right to call these groups of people living in the territories of the Empire as “Levantine”. According to his definition, Levantines are people who migrated to the Empire from European countries during the 18<sup>th</sup> century with the aim of trading which leads to the most significant characteristics of Levantines; their cosmopolitan culture. This cosmopolitanism is linked to their independent figure from nationalism or any other activities far from forming a new identity as well as an ideology.<sup>19</sup> These observations constitute the fourth component by making a sharp distinction of time period as well as the place they occupied within the society.

Arus Yumul contributes to the definition of Yerasimos by adding “Levantine were people who were alienated from the culture of the territory in which they were

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<sup>19</sup> Yerasimos, Stefanos; *Levanten Kimdir?* in Yumul, p. 31.

living”.<sup>20</sup> Yumul is reflecting the traveler literature in order to show the complexity to appoint a definition to the term. The explanation mentioned in the travelers’ literature is quite superficial for the reason that it only gives importance to the “Western” people who are considered as the ones who did not forget their origins, culture and communicated with the local subjects so they are not yet “Orientalized”.<sup>21</sup> Despite information originating from the travelers, they did not succeed to give a convenient definition for the challenged term.

On the other hand, Alex Baltazzi believes that Levantines represent a Christian group coming from the West who saved their Western connections, customs and religion. Instead, they created a connection with the new territory which doesn’t include any preconceptions but Eastern philosophy and love for the new country. In contradiction to Baltazzi, Pelin Böke mentions that Levantines had a life far from the community although they felt like a member of the land that they were living on.

Meanwhile, Fahri Dikkaya pays attention to the dual nature of Levantines very clearly. Looking from the perspective of economy they in fact represent the West and the politics of colonialism and for that matter they may be referred as Westerners. However, looking from the cultural point of view they will be called Oriental compared with the civilized, nationalized and pure Western culture<sup>22</sup> and this contradiction lies on economic and cultural values that will be discussed all along.

Oliver Jens Schmitt, is focusing on the different terminologies attributed to the group such as “Catholic”, “European”, “Levantine” and “Franc”. When the concept of “Levantine” was used by Italians it had the purpose of defining all people living

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<sup>20</sup> Çakıcıoğlu, p.343

<sup>21</sup> Arus Yumul, *Melez Kimlikler*, in Yumul. p. 41.

<sup>22</sup> Fahri Dikkaya, *Doğu Doğu mudur, Batı Batı mıdır?* in Yumul p. 193.

on the Mediterranean coastal cities both including Muslim and non-Muslim merchants. A change occurred in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the Muslims were no longer included within the definition and all other non-Muslim subjects of the Empire were defined as “Levantine” in the eyes of Europeans.<sup>23</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> century Levantines were immigrants from Europe, who came to the Levant for the sake of their nations and continued to serve them under the supervision of embassies and numerous institutions established by them without getting in any kind of interaction with the Ottoman society. The level of communication with locals was important because based on this specific point Levantines might be criticized for being “levantized” which means getting used to local customs and traditions as well as the language. Europeans were defining such events as “loss of prestige” and transformation of a superior European to an Orient.<sup>24</sup>

The consul had also great difficulties while describing different problems encountered that were related with the term Smyrniot. Defense of the Consul was based on the complexity to have an accurate definition since they conflicted nationalism and speaking about a pretend nationality than reality.<sup>25</sup>

Beside all these controversial notions, Schmitt prefers to define Levantines as “subject” of the Ottoman Empire belonging to a different legal category, beneficial users of capitulations who were unable to form a new distinct “millet system” within the Ottoman Empire due to different policies, far away from a general political consensus as well as uniting under a national church.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Schmitt, p. 60

<sup>24</sup> Schmitt, p. 62

<sup>25</sup> Smyrnelis, *Une Ville Ottomane Plurielle*, p. 68.

<sup>26</sup> Schmitt, pp. 490-497

All these different perspectives concerning the nature of the subject are the proof of the difficulty in formulating a definition. Each and every statement is very valuable; however, a consensus on the most comprehensive definition is not reached. For that matter, acknowledging Levantines as a new group who came to the Empire from the Western countries in different periods of time for the unique desire of trade, with diversity in the religious sects; majorly Christians and Protestants and finally having a cosmopolitan nature without any notion of nationalism could be accepted as undeniable facts.

In addition, another contradiction rises about the connection between these European merchants and the non-Muslim Ottomans. Based on the economic, social and cultural relations between these groups which would be mentioned in the following pages, these Ottoman communities will be cited with the same titles. Thanks to the relationships and marriages, non-Muslim Ottomans were also becoming Europeans. These mixes were not preventing continental Europeans from describing Levantines as the group containing major similarities with them.

Thanks to the inclusive nature of the term “Levantine”, adding further details or starting new discussions is possible. Referring to the components reflecting the changing dynamics within the nature of Levantines, understanding and being able to visualize the position of a merchant coming to “Levant”, in our case the Ottoman Empire in a specific time period, mainly the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, would make the person closer to the economic dynamics of the world system and in exchange the consumption tendencies of Levantines. The nature of cosmopolitanism, self-definition and belonging may be discussed under new influences such as, changes in special policies, trade tendencies, development in technology and changes in the trade routes and their effects on the characteristic of the ordinary merchant as well as

with a possible change in their expectations may be helpful in order to have a clear idea concerning their nature and desire to belong either to the Ottoman Empire or Europe and may be both. “Levantine” and “European” would be used in order to define the same group of people and would be used interchangeably.

### Early Levantines

Starting from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries the Ottoman Empire gave some privileges to the European merchants to have healthy commercial activities. Venice, Genoa and Florence were the most important cities in the Mediterranean trade.<sup>27</sup> Between the years 1590-1610 European merchants chose Smyrna, a promising city which provided a transit port for the products of the Western Anatolia.<sup>28</sup> This decision was based on changes in commercial arena especially with the incapability of Venetians and French to compete with other rising powers such as Holland and Great Britain. Despite these new powers, piracy can be cited as another reason which affected Venetian commerce. The seas were not secure and the competition was very high, therefore Venetian ships were rarely going beyond the Aegean and Adriatic seas. Under these influences European commercial activities started to grow in Smyrna, a city where people settled legally or illegally in order to profit from the Smyrnian benefits as well as the difficulty experienced by the capital to control Western Anatolian trade.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı- Türkiye İktisadî Tarihi 1500-1914*, (İletişim Yayınları, 2005) p. 165

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Goffman, *İzmir ve Levanten Dünya (1550-1650)*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1990) p. 57

<sup>29</sup> Goffman, p.49

Power and commercial glory, once belonged to Venetians, passed to Great Britain in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to the “Levant Company”, Great Britain competed with Holland and France in the Ottoman market . The 18<sup>th</sup> century was the declaration of Great Britain’s dominance in the world economy with some major products such as wheat, other different cereals, angora, cotton and some raw silk for textile.<sup>30</sup> With the growing importance of Smyrna the import rates mounted up to the thirty four percent where the import rates of the capital decreased beyond twenty percent. This increase resulted in a growth in domestic market place.<sup>31</sup>

After the arrival and the settlement of Europeans, Smyrna’s commercial activities grew dramatically especially between the years 1604-1607 when the custom revenues nearly doubled. However, this booming process was only valid for Smyrna due to its geographical position. Meaning that all ships under the threat of being attacked by the pirates may got refuge in Foça Castle and in meanwhile continued exercising their trade activities.<sup>32</sup> Another crucial importance of Smyrna lies on its distance from the capital city, Istanbul. Starting from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century the authority of the Palace started to decrease dramatically especially in rural areas. This gap created a way from escaping the capital and some appointed rules. The most frequent case was the prohibitions on exportation in order to avoid any shortage problems within the country. Interestingly in Smyrna, European merchants gaining power were cooperating with local subjects to overcome this prohibition of the Empire and high taxes on exportation.

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<sup>30</sup> Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme 1820-1913*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005) p. 163

<sup>31</sup> Smyrnelis, *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent mi?* p. 31

<sup>32</sup> Goffman, p.53

Richard James Whittall, a Levantine is referring to the primary steps of the Ottoman Empire in trade and points that they were based on “exchange products”. The second step was taken during the Middle Ages when Venice and Genoa became the major port cities which were getting into communication with other trade centers. Commercial ships were carrying European products who became famous in various cities from Alexandria to Istanbul. The merchants did not want to limit themselves with the Mediterranean and slowly started to get influential on the Black Sea coasts. Richard James is putting emphasis on a link created between these trade relations and the development of modern sea trade law, banking rules and customs.

In the following period, various Europeans came to the Ottoman Empire to trade in a softer atmosphere compared to other countries, and also thanks to the existence of some privileges called as capitulations which gave the permission to form their own communities.<sup>33</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, low taxes, lack of central authority and the extended legal system transformed the Western Anatolia into a highly desired and profitable place among the European merchants.<sup>34</sup>

Commercial prosperity started to become more visible and it effected the silhouette of the city. In 1621, Louis Deshayes describes the Christian merchants’ houses located on the seashore whereas the rest of the population composed of Greeks, Armenians, Jews and Turks were all living together located in more inner sites of the city.<sup>35</sup>

As it can be seen, the power shift among the European merchants changed the nature of people conducting trade in the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean. The rise of the alternative new forces not only changed the power balances but also

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<sup>33</sup> Öndeş, *Asıl Efendiler Levantenler*, p. 249

<sup>34</sup> Reşat Kasaba, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Ekonomisi On dokuzuncu Yüzyıl*, (Belge Yayınları, 1993) p. 62

<sup>35</sup> Goffman, p.46



contributed to the formation of a new merchant image. This new image updated by new trends, politics, power and ambitions of economic success and its reflection over self-definition is the real reason for the confused term and will be analyzed in the following pages.

### A Levantine Family in the Ottoman Empire, the Whittalls

The Whittalls represent an important Levantine family who moved from Britain to Smyrna and Istanbul, two important port cities of the Ottoman Empire with the aim of making trade. Their arrival in Smyrna and Istanbul were not only important regarding economy but also social life. Before getting into details concerning their accomplishments, a brief introduction about the large family would be helpful. Whittalls had a balance within their family which sometimes created some complications in the process of identifying members. These complications might be seen as the traditions and special rules which represent the essence of the Whittall family.

First of all, they preferred to name their children after the names of fathers and grandfathers of the family. Another things that needs attention is the number of children. Considering the great number of all the children and grandchildren, it becomes extremely difficult to locate or emphasize a specific member of the family. Relationships created with marriages are very crucial. Whittalls are a family of merchants, thus their relations with other merchant families reflect their reputation. That is the reason why it is very common to come across with people born as “Giraud”, “La Fontaine” or “Sporel” becoming Whittalls and vice versa. A final point is the geographic division of the family. Although the first Whittalls who

moved to the Ottoman Empire, created a life for themselves and the family made Smyrna the main castle, various other members decided to move to different parts of the Ottoman Empire and even different parts of the world. Even though the emphasis is on Smyrna and Istanbul, settling in other cities show how determined the Whittalls were in business.

The descendants of Whittalls of Turkey lies back to their ancestors from Worcester. Thanks to James, son of Charlton Whittall the records of the early Whittalls were transmitted to the rest of the family. The first record of early Whittalls goes back to the year 1705 with the birth of James Whittall.<sup>36</sup> He was a tobacco seller and was married to Margaret Dumbell, the couple had five children. Francis (born about 1730), George (1732), Margaret (?), Betty Ann (1735) and finally Benjamin Whittall whose birthday does not take part in the family records.<sup>37</sup>

George became a tobacco seller like his father in Worcester and he was married to Marry Speed and had four children. The two sons of George; Charlton and William Whittall became merchants in Worcester and Liverpool.

The first Charlton Whittall of the family, son of George who married Sarah Galliers on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March 1789 at Trinity Church, Chester, had six children. Sarah (born in 1790), Charlton (1791), George (1792), James (1798), Mary (1800) and finally William was born in 1804.<sup>38</sup> Father Charlton had a classical education and served in the navy as a Midshipmen at an early age, he then continued to work until he became a Lieutenant. Once married, Charlton decided to become a merchant and moved to Liverpool. The two sons of the family, Charlton and James Whittall were placed in the firm R.F. Breed and Co. by their father. The importance of

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<sup>36</sup> Family Records by Edmund Giraud, 1934. p. 50

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 45

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 38.

Charlton Jr. and James lies on the fact that in order to make trade they will be the first members of the family to come to the Ottoman Empire's lands. In the family records a "John Whittall" is mentioned. He was known as a merchant who settled in Brazil, Santos. However, the connection of John to the family who would form the descendent of Whittalls of Turkey is a matter of debate. In this case, Charlton and James Whittall brothers might be the first members of the family moving to Levant. For that purpose they represent a great example for other members who also in different time periods decided to settle in several important trade locations all over the world.

#### Charlton Whittall, the Little Men of Smyrna

Charlton Whittall moved to Smyrna in 1809 at the age of eighteen with the purpose of fulfilling the responsibilities given by the Messrs. Breed & Co. He quickly proved his talent in trade and established his own firm C. Whittall & Co., only two years after coming to Smyrna.

Charlton Whittall, the son of the first Charlton of Liverpool got married to Madeleine Victoire Blanche Giraud, daughter of a merchant in Smyrna. Jean Baptiste Giraud, father of Madeleine Victoire Blanche was a respectable French merchant trading under his own firm J.B. Giraud et Cie. Another important family relation that Madeleine Victoire Blanche has is her being the granddaughter of Lui Cortazzi, the last Venetian Council in Smyrna.<sup>39</sup> Madeleine was a well-educated young lady and bore eight children; Richard (1815), Charlton Arthur (1816), Helen (1817), James also known as James of the "Big House" (1819), Frederick (1821), John (1826),

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<sup>39</sup> *The Whittalls of Turkey 1809-1973*, p. 23

William (1828) and finally Lucy Mary (1833). All members mentioned were born in Smyrna and they represent the first generation of Whittalls in Turkey.<sup>40</sup>

All children of Whittall family were sent to England at a proper age for education. Richard was not successful in finding a job in Liverpool and was not willing to settle down in Smyrna. He decided that the solution to his problem would be to move to Havannah where he died in 1843, unmarried.

Charlton Arthur got married to Elise Icegard in Smyrna, then he decided to move to Istanbul. He was known for being free with money, however, he gained a fortune during the Crimean War, selling food to the British Army.<sup>41</sup> When he visited his cousin James of Ceylon in China working in Jardine Matheson and Co., Charlton Arthur embarked on a vessel belonging to the firm and started to travel among ports and attend feasts which were quite privileged at the time.

James Whittall or more commonly known as “James of the Big House” was not willing to turn back to Smyrna even after he completed his education in England. His career started as an apprentice in the firm of Hugh and Joseph Hornby and Co. in Liverpool, he decided to come to Smyrna in the year 1834, worked with his father, however, he did not become a partner in the firm until 1851. With the death of his father Charlton Whittall, James remained as the only person in charge of the business. He decided to get married to his cousin Magdalen Blanche Giraud and he had thirteen children.<sup>42</sup>

Very little is known on the other children of the family and confusions occur based on the repetition of given names. Frederick, John and William are known for

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<sup>40</sup> Family Records by Edmund Giraud, 1934. pp. 51&74; *The Whittalls of Turkey 1809-1973*, pp. 27-30

<sup>41</sup> *The Whittalls of Turkey*, p. 27

<sup>42</sup> Giraud, p. 83

their early deaths and for being single. However, in the will of Charlton Whittall in 1865, he is mentioning about “Charles, son of my late son Frederick”. Surprisingly in another will dating back to 1843 Charlton is talking about another son named Charlton between Frederick and John.<sup>43</sup> John immigrated to California and had an addiction to drinking and gambling. Helen and Lucy Mary were young and unmarried, both died in Smyrna.

Charlton Whittall was a very successful and respectable man and in the year 1812 he was admitted to the Levant Company with the following letter. “I hereby certify that Mr. Charlton Whittall, Jr., Merchant of Smyrna, was, on the 13th day of Feby, 1812, duly admitted to the Freedom of the Levant Company agreeably to Act of Parliament”.<sup>44</sup> Success of Charlton grew throughout years, with all experiences gained along with the profits of the firm his power became worth to celebrate. Described as the pioneer steps within the Smyrnian trade, other merchants of Smyrna presented their loyalty and respect to Charlton with a special gift printed on silk. “To Charlton Whittall, Esquire, Merchant Smyrna. Dear Sir, We, your fellow citizens, of all nations, respectfully beg of you to accept, as a mark of our esteem & friendship, the Portrait of Yourself, painted by Mr. G.E. Tuson, which we have now the honor to present to you.”<sup>45</sup>

#### James Whittall of the Big House

James was working on the firm R .F. Breed in Liverpool as an apprentice. When he was dismissed from his current firm, he took the events as a sign and

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<sup>43</sup> *The Whittalls of Turkey*, p. 30

<sup>44</sup> Giraud, p. 63

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 72-73

decided to move to Smyrna where his brother Charlton Whittall settled. James got married to Mary Schnell and had seven children. Emily (1826), James (1827), Mary (1828), Charlton (1830), Helen Blanche (1831), Edward (1832) and finally George born in 1833. Like the children of his brother Charlton Whittall, all children of James Whittall were born in Smyrna.

George died at very early age. Emily got married to Mr. Bonnal. On the other hand, Mary and Helen Blanche remained single. Sisters never left Smyrna and lived in a property called as “Cousin Mary’s” financed by their three brothers.<sup>46</sup> Charlton Whittall<sup>47</sup> was married to Helen La Fontaine and settled in the mansion located in the square of Bournabat. Had twelve children together James of Ceylon joined the firm Jardine Matheson and Co., got married to Elizabeth Lees and had a life full of travel and trade. Edward Whittall was not very interested in trade activities within the Ottoman lands. Just like his brother James. Edward preferred to move to Japan.

#### James William Whittall in the Capital of the Ottoman Empire

James William Whittall, the eldest son of William Whittall was sent to Manchester in 1860 both to join J. C. Harter and to represent the C. Whittall and Co.’s interests in England. J.W. Whittall was suffering from some health problems and based on the advices of his doctor he decided to leave England and move to the Ottoman Empire with his family. However, going back to Smyrna and competing with his brothers was not the idea that he had on his mind. J. W. Whittall came to the conclusion of moving to Istanbul the capital city of the Empire and establishing his own firm. He represents the first member of the family having trade relations in the capital of the

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.75

<sup>47</sup> Charlton of the Charltons

Empire and enlarging the network of the family. In the year 1862 he got married to Edith Anna Barker and had eleven children; Ethel Marianne Mary (1863), Frederick Edwin (1864), Linda Frances (1866), Edith Mary (1868), Gertrude Anna (1870), William James Harter (1871), Reginald La Fontaine (1872), Harry Augustus (1873), Florence Phillipa (1874), Hugh Elliott Charles (1876) and finally Kendrick Edward Whittall (1878).<sup>48</sup>

### CHAPTER 3: FINANCIAL POWER AND TRADE ACTIVITIES

Economic connections, examining world monetary tendencies and then discussing their impacts over the Empire would lead us to see the effects of a new system on Levantine society especially in trade and commercial investments. Influence of the West started to be felt with the weakened central authority combined with close relations between the central bureaucracy and world economy. This change in balances grew during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and transformed the Ottoman Empire's territory into an ideal area for international trade. The real reason behind the economic boom in the Ottoman Empire is the industrial developments and wars which took place in Europe. However, the real step into this international system was first taken by agreements signed with European countries and second by representation of the Ottoman interests in abroad.<sup>49</sup> Once the central authority placed itself in the hands of the European forces with trade agreements, this new system, severe conditions of capitulations and various other agreements made the Port unable to have an independent trade life.

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<sup>48</sup> The Whittalls of Turkey, PP. 61-66 & Giraud, PP. 84-98

<sup>49</sup> Kasaba, pp. 32-33.

The Ottoman Empire represented a periphery, specialized in the production of agriculture and raw material. The Empire diverted itself to the Western trade where England represented the major force especially after the weakened position of France in East Mediterranean. Twenty seven percent of the Ottoman exports shifted to England, where thirty percent were made from England, led to an increase in the foreign capital over 30 million pounds in 1870's.<sup>50</sup> A major part of the capital flow obtained by trade was transferred to the debts of the Empire where the rest was used in order to make investments to strengthen trade activities.

Since the Ottoman economy was introduced to the international trade under the influence of European economies over its own, fluctuations in the world become also visible within the Ottoman Market. Based on these changes, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman economy can be categorized under three main chapters: First, a period of prosperity between 1840 and 1873, followed by an economic depression all around the world and its effects on the Ottomans and finally 1898-1913, a new era of prosperity and technological development.<sup>51</sup> Taking part into trade in connection with other European countries had also various impacts on the Ottoman Empire especially in a case of a depression and its effects over the stock markets. Due to the instability, all funds deposit in the Ottoman foreign debts were cut off. It was how the Ottoman Empire was delaying the bankruptcy starting from 1850's and acknowledging to have loans under severe conditions each time in increased amounts.<sup>52</sup>

The century is remarked by the steam roller position of Britain. First steps of the Ottoman Empire toward international trade was also made by a special agreement

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p.44

<sup>51</sup> Pamuk, *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme*, pp. 27-37

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. p.35



signed with Britain. Even in the categorization of the 19<sup>th</sup> century economy, the specific “Balta Limanı Treaty”<sup>53</sup> marks the beginning of great prosperity. 1830’s were becoming distinct from early periods of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by strong British involvement within the Ottoman market. This power could not be reached by other European countries thanks to the irrefutable effects of Balta Limanı Treaty.

Despite the fact that the Ottoman foreign trade levels increased, the system had still its own limits. Being a periphery, the Empire was specialized in some basic products and assured certain ratio of production as well as capital. However, the system was blocking the Empire or any other country taking place in the same category of the Ottomans to get involved in new sectors or change category and to invest in industrial production.

The Treaty is the main document for introducing the Ottoman Empire into trade, formulated with Britain. Since the previous document signed in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century created a 50% loss of Ottoman taxes, the Port asked for the renewal of this specific treaty.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, Britain was more enthusiastic about formulating a document which would contain further articles for its future benefit. Although the Ottoman Empire did not agree on the first place; economic instability, capital losses and authority gaps forced the Empire to come to an agreement. The content of this treaty can be summarized as the removal of all prohibitions over export products, by putting aside the system of monopoly. British merchants were acknowledged as the ones who must get the highest tolerance from the Ottoman Empire. Beside the high tolerance and respect, British merchants had also the advantage of trading all other products coming from other countries. Thanks to this special point in the treaty, British who started to come to the Empire and take

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<sup>53</sup> The treaty was signed on August 16, 1838.

<sup>54</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisadî Münasebetleri*, (İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1976), p. 4

an active role within the Ottoman trade had a huge privilege not only toward Ottoman merchants but also toward other Levantines who represent firms of various European countries.

A quarrel among sides occurred when the Ottoman Empire wanted to control and decide ports suitable for trade and limit the quantity of goods, whereas British merchants wanted all ports with a customhouse to be announced and being able to export all kinds of products. Number of ports proposed by the Ottoman Empire was 17, however, Britain increased the number up to 50. Negotiations did not continue for a long time and the two sides agreed on exportation ports.

Balta Limani represents an enormous change regarding the dominance of the Ottoman Empire over its economy and the will of changing it under international trends and circumstances. The break out of the Crimean War had to force the Empire, whose economy was suffering from capital shortage, to borrow money from the European Countries, which remarks the real economic weakness of the Empire and the insufficient manners in order to overcome the shortage by using domestic capital and create an internal borrowing system like the case in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. With the changed ratios in taxes, the Ottoman Empire had agreed to determine the percentage of taxes with the presence of the European forces so, giving up from the desire to conduct an independent trade.

This specific treaty was signed with Britain because British economy was on the rise especially after the defeat of France in Napoleon Wars yet, still it is not the core reason. Although British economy was strong, other European countries were restricting the float of British goods in their domestic market. These obstacles directed Britain to take action in new markets and make new treaties. The main purpose for the acceptance of such a treaty was in order to keep political unity of the

Empire. On one side the Governor of Egypt, “Mehmet Ali Paşa” was representing a threat to the center due to his monopoly over the economy in Egypt as well as his investments on the industrialization of the area and the military forces. Position and power of the Governor was not only blocking the interests of the Ottomans but also the British. The revolt started by the Governor was smothered with the help of British forces. In addition to that, Russia was getting powerful and started to represent a threat to the Empire’s territorial integrity.

After the acceptance of Balta Limanı, the Ottoman Empire had to take some measures in order to strengthen the control of the Empire over the territories, subjects and most importantly over other foreign countries. Severe steps were taken for tax collection including replacement of governors, tımarlı sipahis and others by civil servants working on salary in the name of the Empire.<sup>55</sup> Another point of change was made concerning the taxation system. Before the declaration of Tanzimat, taxation was organized according to religious (şer’i) and customary (örfi) laws known under different names such as “amediyeye, reftiye, müruriye, bac, ihtisabiye, kalemiye, ruhsatiye and kantariye” in the essence based on value.<sup>56</sup> Until the second half on the 18<sup>th</sup> century products to be exported was brought to the port by the merchant himself and the amount of domestic customs were also paid.

### A promising Port City of the Empire, Smyrna in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Smyrna represented one of the most important port cities in the Empire. The greatness of the city lies on the geographical place which is in between the tree major

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<sup>55</sup> Kasaba, p. 47

<sup>56</sup> Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye’de Ekonomi ve Toplum (1908-1950) Milli İktisat- Milli Burjuvazi*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995) p. 23

parts of the Ottoman maritime routes; North Africa, the Black Sea and finally the Red Sea. Although the coast is alleageable for maritime trade, being positioned in the western part of the Anatolia makes it possible to conduct trade activities with the rest of the Anatolian land or simply help them contribute to a larger trade network. The development of Smyrna's trade during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries transformed the city into a place where the Ottoman goods were transported to the West and in exchange western and domestic products were introduced into the Ottoman market.<sup>57</sup>

This situation created a new way of trade where Western merchants preferred to import their goods to a unique port of entry with the aim of spreading them over several markets available in the Empire. The real deal was to exclude the local merchants in order to have more profitable trade activities by reaching other important ports of the Empire.<sup>58</sup> It should not be forgotten that most of the time Western merchants were in a more preferable place due to the industrial, economic and technological developments experienced in Europe.

Beside these developments Western merchants especially during the 18<sup>th</sup> century had to overcome some obstacles concerning network problems in both economic and logistic manner. Merchants were not only competing with the Western Anatolia but with other important cities such as Bursa, Ankara and even Iran.<sup>59</sup> Incapability in language and the lack of formation of new trade relations may be counted as further obstacles. The combination of these problems faced by foreign merchants pushed them to stay away from becoming representatives of local products and leaved this task to the Ottomans.

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<sup>57</sup> Elena Frangakis Syrett, "Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries: The City- Port of İzmir and Its Hinterland," *International Journal of Maritime History*, X, No.2 (December 1998), p. 136

<sup>58</sup> Syrett, pp. 136-137

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* p. 143

A second obstacle was the lack of capital that should be overcome by European merchants. In order to succeed they had help from local trade dealers who were procuring products rather than capital. These products were obtained from different parts of Anatolia based on network and installments. This linkage represents a new form of loan to conduct trade in Levant.<sup>60</sup>

All these notions were making the merchant even more powerful and bringing him to the main goal, being competitive and strong. To obtain success, the Ottoman merchants were hired as employees, allies or brokers. With the help of these people, European merchants did not only have information about markets, networks and goods but also the advantage in the circulation of their products in the market by selling those to local merchants.<sup>61</sup> All capitulations and rights given to European merchants did not put the Empire at a disadvantage. Yet starting from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the authority of the Empire started to decrease, European countries started to demand for more privileges. Real damage was done by non-Muslim Ottomans and their desire to get benefit from these rights. Since a European had more opportunities to get higher profits than the Ottomans, non-Muslim Ottomans bribed the Sublime Port to obtain a “berat” for becoming a dragoman. Capitulations created adequate job opportunities for these Ottomans and automatically exempted them from all taxes of “reaya”.<sup>62</sup>

Even though Charlton Whittall had a gifted position in trade as briefly mentioned, he still had to overcome some problems underlined in one of his letters to his father which created a general obstacle for overall Levantines community living

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<sup>60</sup> Elena Frangakis Syrett, *Uluslararası Önem Taşıyan Bir Akdeniz Limanının Gelişimi: Smyrna (1700-1914)* in, *İzmir 1830- 1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi?* p. 40

<sup>61</sup> Syrett, in *İzmir 1830- 1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi?* p.38

<sup>62</sup> Inalcik, Halil, “*İmtiyazat*”. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed Volume 3. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971. p. 1179-1185

in the Ottoman Empire. “On my arrival here people were anxious to show their friendship to me, but I know that I have many enemies. They have not however destroyed my credits as thanks to God it is nearly as good as when I gave Mr. Breed’s name. I have drawn for 3000 pounds already and my bills were received without any objection whatever. My Brokers are decidedly the best in Smyrna, they are very respectable and moderately rich, all of which they have obtained in my service.”<sup>63</sup>

Mentioned brokers and allies of Levantines were generally composed of non-Muslim Ottomans, “with foreigners being hired as executives, Christians serving at the middle level, and Muslims feeling ‘the lowest-ranking, lowest-paid jobs’.”<sup>64</sup> Yet Greek subjects of the Empire represented the biggest threat for Levantines and their trade activities thanks to their assets and network.<sup>65</sup> Distinctive point of the 19<sup>th</sup> century trade was the formation of “specialized” groups. Syrett is pointing out a raisin export example including merchants who buy crops from the producers or from the local markets, the ones organizing transport of these raisins to Smyrna, sellers to the exporters and finally other merchants serving it to the external market.<sup>66</sup>

Like in all other Ottoman port cities Beirut may be emphasized with its close resemblance with Smyrna especially with its European population who moved to

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<sup>63</sup> Giraud, p. 64.

<sup>64</sup> Yavuz Köse, *Between Protest and Envy: Foreign Companies and Ottoman Muslim Society in Popular Protest and Political Participation in the Ottoman Empire Studies in Honor of Suraiya Faroqhi*, ed. Eleni Gara; M. Erdem Kabadayı; Christoph K Neumann, (İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2011) p. 280.

<sup>65</sup> Syrett, p. 147.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. P. 149

Levant for trade. It can be deduced that territories of the Empire was offering both necessary conditions and raw materials for profitable trade.<sup>67</sup>

#### Foreign Companies in Levant and C. Whittall & Co.

Increase in Levantine population also raised the number of foreign companies in territories of the Ottoman Empire which are other results of capitulations. Even though the Ottoman Empire always wanted to include them within the legal system and break the power of capitulations which these companies were benefiting from, only with the breakout of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire could declare one sided annulment.

Then, foreign companies were free to act without having any approval from the Empire. Even though companies were recognized as legal entities thanks to the capitulations they were accepted as real people and got the advantage of all kinds of privileges which favor their position in trade compared with domestic firms. A step further in this competition was the establishment of “imaginary companies”.<sup>68</sup> There were no deterrent effects for consequences of a bankruptcy, denial or reject of responsibilities over firms. The lack of penalties were causing damages within the Ottoman economy. Unfortunately, the Empire had agreed on several capitulations which were controlling and protecting the foreign companies. “The Ottoman Empire was effected by these developments from the outset; from the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Ottoman market became highly commercialized and the import of the must produced goods increased. The fast – developing mass media allowed

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<sup>67</sup> Edited by Ilbert, R Yannakakis, Y. Hassoun J, *Geçici Bir Hoşgörü Modeli: Cemaatler ve Kozmopolit Kimlik İskenderiye 1860-1960*, (İletişim Yayınları, 2006) p. 44

<sup>68</sup> Toprak, pp. 54-55

Western companies to advertise their products widely; meanwhile, on a lower level, local advertisers appeared on the scene.”<sup>69</sup>

The legal documents such as the constitution, “Mecelle”, “Kitabü'l- Şirket” or “Ticaret-i Berriye” dealing with companies did not contain any remarks concerning foreign companies. In order to prevent any other problems a code of practice was prepared in which it was strictly emphasized to have the approval of the Port as well as a license for any foreign companies wishing to conduct trade in the Ottoman lands. Without the license, the right of opening a branch and designate an agency was prohibited. The submission of a regulation given by the Embassy should be presented to the Ministry of Trade, “Ticaret Nezareti”. License would be provided in three months and only then the firm would have right to appoint a deputy and declare a permanent address. Capitulations were binding Levantines to their embassies and each verdict needed the approval. Regarding this regulation of 1887, embassies supported their opposition against the rules of capitulations, no consensus was reached.<sup>70</sup> Even though couple more attempts were made by the Ottoman Empire, embassies were reacting to all documents wishing to have control over the Levantine economic activities by refereeing the content and the validity of capitulations.

As mentioned, Charlton Whittall had successfully come and settled in Smyrna by taking advantages of capitulations. The second step of Charlton was to establish his own firm and become a member of “Levant Company”. In a letter dedicated to Charlton Mr. Breed is refereeing “your salary to be from this year at the rate of Two hundred pounds per annum for the first year during which you shall transact the business of the Milo at Gibraltar, Malta, Messina, Palermo and Smyrna, etc. and for the second year that you may conduct my business in the Mediterranean your salary

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<sup>69</sup> Köse, p. 262.

<sup>70</sup> Toprak, p. 56.



shall be Two hundred and fifty pounds, and to advance fifty pounds per annum until it shall amount to Five hundred pounds.”<sup>71</sup> Beside these conditions Charlton was also free to work on his own.<sup>72</sup> As mentioned before in the year 1817 Charlton brother James came to Smyrna and took a share in the firm.

In order to follow new trend in the trade business Charlton was communicating with his father back in England and asking his help in order to have news concerning ships of Mediterranean, shipments and sales of Smyrna from Liverpool mainly madder roots, valonea, figs, raisins, silk, oil, olive oil and the prices of wool.<sup>73</sup> At the time C. Whittall and Co. was importing goods from Manchester with manufactured iron. Charlton is summarizing his position in the trade as, “household expenses amounted to 500 pounds per annum and “to gain this this sum I only want one good consignment from England.”<sup>74</sup> In parallel with the growth of the firm Charlton purchased two sailing vessels and a steamer on his account for local use only.

Foreign merchants were not always prosperous, but had to cope with massacres, pillage, plague and pestilence combined with the absence of authority. Charlton was confident in sailing his ships to the West with small loads. Patience was another element in order to see the results of the risky decisions. “In the head office an interesting memento of old times is still preserved in the shape of a jar buried in the ground and covered as so to escape observation or detection. The object of this jar, in the troubles times of this year of the firm’s existence, was to conceal therein jewels, cash and any movable wealth in case of fire, revolution, pillage or massacre.” Whittalls devoted themselves to developing their commercial activities

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<sup>71</sup> Whittall, p. 14

<sup>72</sup> Giraud, p. 63

<sup>73</sup> Whittall, p. 15

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. p. 15

with new tactics to take advantage and profit in various circumstances. This devotion is the key which made Whittalls one of the most well-known and the richest families in Smyrna.

After the death of Charlton, the firm changed its import policy to export due to heavy risks on importation and acquiring long-term credits. The firm was under the guidance of James Whittall and thanks to Charlton the company was very strong both commercially and economically. The Crimean War and technological developments helped the family develop their businesses and have branches of the firm in Dardanelles and Mersin.<sup>75</sup> Barley, cereals, seeds, opium, mohair, leather, sheep's wool, hazel nuts, walnuts, mines, linen, cannabis, saffron and all sorts of agricultural products were the items of trade for the Whittalls.<sup>76</sup> Transportation of these goods was done by ships rented by the firm or simply by shipping agencies within the body of the firm. New technological investments, mainly railroads, increased potential trade ratios, facilitated transportation of goods and increased the quality of communication. To the Whittall family, the core effect of opening branches in Dardanelles and Mersin lies beneath the effects of railroads. Based on the facilities offered by these new engines the number of offices increased up to fourth eight in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>77</sup> The growth of the firm continued with investments on industry. Thanks to the discovery of a local Armenian chemist Elmasian, the Whittalls built and equipped their own factory with their own resources for the "extraction of the tanning properties of valonea."<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid. p. 17

<sup>76</sup> Öndeş, p. 24

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. p. 23

<sup>78</sup> Whittall, p. 18

After celebrating the centenary of the C. Whittall & Co. in 1911, the firm became the leading power in Smyrna and several family members and members of other partners or relative families were taking action within the firm.

Becoming a shipping agency may not represent the ideal career that Whittalls had in their mind. However, it is certainly the most profitable and respectable one based on the circumstances of the Ottoman Empire and the world economy. The fortune of the family was not only based on the shipping but also on representation of other agencies such as “Post Ferry Companies”. Based on the advertisements of companies, the sectors included in the self-definition can be listed as ‘merchant, broker, ship and insurance agencies, owner, seller and manager of various mine reserves.’ Regarding the ship agency, insurance and finance Whittalls were representing firms such as “Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., Pacific Steam Navigation Co., the MOSS Steamship Company Ltd., Khedivial Mail Line, Japanese Steamship Line, The Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation, The Phoenix Assurance Company Ltd., The London Salvage Association and The Committee d’Assureurs.”<sup>79</sup>

Even though great progress was made by the Ottoman Empire to become a part of powerful countries, Mr. Whittall and Paterson were bringing up problems that they had to overcome like other Levantines within the process of Ottoman’s free trade journey in Smyrna. Based on the opinions of these merchants, the Empire did not have adequate systems and policies to become a powerful economy. In a petition given to Consul Cumberbatch, the main problem was identified as the inefficiency of the Ottoman legal system. Basic inequalities were strong complaints to obtain a positive verdict in favor of Levantines in commerce and Mix Courts. Once the

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<sup>79</sup> Öndeş, p. 24

verdict is given, the long waiting process for the decision to be applied were underlined.<sup>80</sup>

Despite the use of railroads, the absence of Consul's influence and protection in inner parts of the city was influencing the verdicts of courts and preventing merchants from spreading their profits beyond city territories. In addition to bad conditions of the legal system, customs and their managements were also not ideal.<sup>81</sup> Buildings reserved for cargos were very crowded which made easier for non-categorized goods to get broken, get missed or simply being open to loot. Combined with appointed officers who were in charge of designating the value of goods were unfair and not willing to work in the institution. These cited problems were present for 50 years, yet exportation and importation ratios tripled in the last 30 years. Industry was not developed at all and the Port was not willing to make investments which wouldn't bring direct profits into the treasury. It was suggested that for the prosperity of British merchants, serious changes should be made in the governing system of the Empire. The great fear was growth rate of the Ottoman economy based on these mentioned points, the influence and number of British merchants were in decrease and if these conditions were not recovered, would be extinguished.<sup>82</sup> Only possible solution according to these influential merchants would be to have an overall reform in the legal system as well as an increase in the influence of the British Consul for the protection of British merchants. Meaning, Consul should have the authority to reject the cases brought by a "Reaya" or foreigners toward a British

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<sup>80</sup> İzmir Ticaret Odası, *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre İzmir Ticareti (1864-1914)*, (İzmir Ticaret Odası No: 55, İzmir 1998) p. 36

<sup>81</sup> Ibid p. 36

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. p. 37

(Levantine). In addition, the structure of the Consul should also be revised and transformed to a Court of Referee.

Foreign Chambers of Commerce was another institution created on the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century on behalf of Levantine merchants and helped the Ottoman survival in the European economy.<sup>83</sup> First British Commercial Chamber was gathered by a group of English merchants who were living in Istanbul in 1887. Chairmanship of the Chamber was the editor of the “Levant Herald”, Whittaker and was passed to James William Whittall after taking the title “Sir” and served for twenty years.<sup>84</sup> The uniqueness of the British Chamber of Commerce was that it was not getting any financial support from England, however, this reality was not decreasing the number of members. After its establishment, the chamber had 101 members, increasing to 250 in 1911. In contradiction with other Chambers the number of members was limited, however, only 104 members were living in England. 105 were located in Istanbul, 12 in Smyrna and Salonika where the rest was divided among Beirut and Bagdad, other important cities of the Empire.

### Commercial Investments

Richard James Whittall is emphasizing the role of technology for the economic prosperity, by comparing the periods of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when Charlton Whittall first established the firm with the time of technological investments. Although economic reforms were made in the Empire, establishment period of the firm does not represent an area of economic wealth. Especially agricultural and some

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<sup>83</sup> Toprak, p. 87

<sup>84</sup> Öndeş, *Modali Vitol Ailesi*. p. 162

other textile products were exported in an undeveloped manner. The special goods demanded by the Levantines were usually located in a distance far from the coast and were taking a very long time (weeks or sometimes months) to be reached by merchants. According to Richard James, the real economic prosperity within the Ottoman Empire started with the support of the European forces during the Crimean War especially with the flow of Western capital.<sup>85</sup>

The Port was also acknowledging the important role of technology especially in the construction of new routes and its beneficial effects on military as well as economic activities, communication and transportation sectors. Important figures of Tanzimat; Sadık Rifat, Faut and Âli Pashas were all willing to introduce these innovations. Technology was believed to provide a safer as well as quicker transportation for all kinds of agricultural or industrial goods in order to find its proper value and place within the market. Beside the transportation especially with the construction of railroads, the Ottoman Empire would take its place among developed European Countries and in return would be able to develop itself.<sup>86</sup>

The lack of modern transportation was not only damaging the Empire's but also the economic activities and benefits of Levantines. Especially after the declaration of Balta Limanı Treaty, all merchants wanted to obtain a higher profit which led them to take part in investing for the technological development within the Empire. The necessity was created by insufficient technology and capital of the Empire in order to decrease transportation costs as well as the use of high technology.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Öndeş, *Asıl Efendiler Levantenler*, p. 250

<sup>86</sup> Dr. Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, (Eren Yayıncılık 1993), p. 27

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* p. 26

First attempt for the construction of railroads was envisaged in 1830 and was realized twenty years later under the leadership of Britain.<sup>88</sup> Preference of geographical location was Western Anatolia and Rumelia. The aim of the European forces was solely based on commercial benefits, however, on the side of the Ottoman Empire, the construction of railroads would also contribute to the military and political needs. In order to fulfill this necessity, the first concession for the Anatolian lands was given to Britain in 1856 for the construction of Smyrna-Aydın railroad. Envisaged distance was 130 km but later it was extended with the inclusion of Sarayköy and Dinar destinations and it was successfully finalized in 1890. The route continued to enlarge again by Britain. This time Smyrna-Cassaba (Turgutlu) railroad started in 1864 composed of a part reaching to Manisa and second part to Cassaba.<sup>89</sup> Possible extension of Smyrna-Cassaba route to Balıkesir was discussed. To appoint the person for the privilege, Monsieur Vaterfield, the president of Smyrna-Cassaba Railroad Company and the president of branch office of the Ottoman Bank in London was chosen.<sup>90</sup>

The privilege given for the construction of Smyrna-Aydın road to R. Wilkin, a British merchant was sold by Wilkin and his partners to Sir Joseph Paxton, George Whytes and Augustus William Rixon.<sup>91</sup> The conditions were to give the 3.3% of the company capital to the Empire, to complete the first part of the road (70 km.) until September 1860. The Empire was guaranteeing a company profit up to 6% for 50 years and willing to compensate the losses in a case of decrease. However, if the

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid. p. 31

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. pp. 38-39

<sup>90</sup> *Hizmet Gazetesi*, 06 December 1890.

<sup>91</sup> Funda R Barbaros, *1830-1930 Döneminde Sosyo- Ekonomik Çözüm Arayışları Çerçevesinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme*, (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi İzmir Yayıncılık ve Tanıtım Hiz. Tic. A.Ş. 1995) p. 47

profits were higher than 7% the Empire and the Company would agree for an equal share. Once the business started the Empire had right to buy the railroad after 50 years and every 20 years. The real privileges started with the right of transporting all equipment from Europe free from taxes, having the right to manage all mines located in a 45 km zone and free use of lands, mines and forests.

Despite these privileges, the business had its own risks and the company suffered from capital losses due to the difficulties in the sale of equity securities and the delay in partial payments. All these lacks were pulling the company back so, the first part of the road was not able to be ready at the declared date. This incident gave right to the Port to confiscate the assurance money, however, the Empire decided to prolong the date up to three years and it constituted another privilege for the company. According to a new document all previous rights were reserved with the adjunction of new ones such as the increase in the profit rate agreed to be paid by the Ottoman Empire from 72 thousand to 112 thousand pounds and to rise the sharable profit rate from 7% to 8%.<sup>92</sup> The construction process was very slow and was affected by corruptions and epidemics, yet finalized in 1866. The Ottoman Empire was very determined to take part among the developed European countries and was ready to make it at any cost. This is why the assurance money taken from the company was paid back even though the road was not ready for the arranged date. Although this decision or others taken by the Empire may have led to a possible question of favoritism, the Port was acting for its survival. As mentioned in Balta Limani, all decisions were made for the continuity of the Empire.

Profit gained by Smyrna-Cassaba railroad in 1875 was 102.399 Pounds whereas in 1876 it increased up to 113.787 Pounds. Trains had first class

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid. p. 47



compartments and people may have enjoyed the service only by informing about their presence two or three hours before departure.<sup>93</sup>

However, for the use of these lines several different opinions raised among the Ottomans. The most prominent criticism was based on the Western atmosphere in Smyrna. Although the Sultan bought the Aydın-Cassaba road line, time periods did not change and it created conflictions between prayer times which represented an obstacle for the community to use the service. In addition, signboards and tickets were in French or English which were sources of trouble in the society.<sup>94</sup>

Propensity to railroad construction spread all over the Empire and the Port prepared sample conditions of contract for the possible companies wishing to get involved in this sector. The content of the contract was gathered under six chapters following, the direction and construction procedures, maintenance and management, validity and annulment of the privilege as well as assurance value and guarantee, tariffs, conditions of transportation of passengers and belongings, special conditions regarding services were finally in the sixth chapter other matters were stated.<sup>95</sup>

The construction of railroads should not be interpreted as a negative development. Thanks to the new roads transportation of products became much easier compared with the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the transportation of products was realized not buy vehicles but by camels, horses and mules which were gathered at least a week earlier to transport goods from Smyrna to Aydın.<sup>96</sup> Simply increase in the production parallel to the construction and use of the railroads was in

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<sup>93</sup> İzmir Ticaret Odası, *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre İzmir Ticareti (1864-1914)*, (İzmir Ticaret Odası No: 55, İzmir 1998) p. 55

<sup>94</sup> *Hizmet Gazetesi*, 25 December 1888.

<sup>95</sup> Engin, p. 39

<sup>96</sup> *Ahenk Gazetesi*, 19 September 1897.

great connection with the British economy which led the Ottoman merchants or Levantines to get influenced by different conditions.<sup>97</sup>

Railroads were distant from the port and created the necessity for the construction of a well-developed harbor for Smyrna to load and evacuate several ships. The privilege passed from cooperation of British and French Levantines to French Dussaud Brothers. Construction was completed in the year 1873 and a huge harbor was placed on the front side of the customhouse. Change of privilege delayed the date which in exchange increased the importance of harbor trade in the eyes of the Empire once again. Before the construction, ships carrying goods could not be pulled to a port, rather used small boats called as “preme”.<sup>98</sup> In order to gain more profit, merchants were aware of the incapability of the old antic quay and the necessity to build a new larger one. The harbor was composed of a quay wall with a length of 3245 meters, 1250 meters belonged to the quay and the rest was planned for promenade.<sup>99</sup> The success of the quay brought the Dussaud Brothers and the Ottoman Empire together for discussing conditions for a new contract in which the custom tariffs of the company took part, in addition the Port agreed on the transfer of 12% of gross national product to the municipality of Smyrna in 1878.<sup>100</sup>

After the construction of the quay, trade which was at high level increased even more and Smyrna became the center of trade. A picture dating back to 1920 is the proof to show how life was built around the harbor. On the right corner there was “Balyon Han” and it was used as a storage by Whittall & Co., next to the Han there

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<sup>97</sup> Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000) p. 13

<sup>98</sup> Mesud A. Küçükcalay, *Osmanlı İzmir’inde İthalat İzmir Efrenç Gümrüğü (1818-1858)*, (Dergah Yayınları, 2013), p. 82

<sup>99</sup> Barbaros, p. 52

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. p. 52

was Greek National Bank. The narrow street between these two buildings were leading to the “Arayyan Çarşısı” for grocery shopping. On the other side of the street, the office and the storage of the “Issigonis Company” was located just next to the Arayyan Çarşısı. Following the “Edremit Han” and “Hotel Macedonia” would lead to the storage of Patterson & Co.<sup>101</sup> Urban transportation of goods was made with camel caravans, however, this collection process was generally causing trouble by blocking the routes. Once the goods arrived to the Han, workers composed of women and children were picking up the good fruits and packing them for shipping. This process should be done in a quick way because the first sample of the first harvest reaching to England was rewarded with 10 gold.<sup>102</sup>

The quay was constituted of a tramway route located on the external side also used as a linkage between the Ottoman railway station and the custom house. In 1884, a privilege was prepared for the construction of “Konak-Göztepe” tramway line, however, waited for the construction of the quay until 1867. In 1875 the first part of the tramway serving all along the harbor was completed. While these developments were happening in Smyrna, other port cities of Ottoman Empire were also investing on these new technologies. Connection and closeness between dates of establishment of these institutions underline the importance given to this specific development. Despite first examples generally taking place in the capital, it should not be forgotten that the main concern of port cities was to make proper use of their geographical benefits. Moreover, this transformation was not conducted based on necessities of these port cities or even on a unique Ottoman invention in order to meet these needs. Rather, the European model was copied which quickly became

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<sup>101</sup> Atay, p. 146

<sup>102</sup> İzmir Ticaret Odası, *1885-1985 Türkiye Ekonomisinin 100 Yılı ve İzmir*, (Ticaret Odası Sempozyumu, 21-23 Kasım 1985 Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, İzmir), p. 14

synonym with modernity. In order to support this idea horse cars might represent a convenient example. Even though these devices was first made in the United States of America in 1830, it represents the first and only Western invention which came to the Ottoman Empire in the same period as it did in Europe. During day time transportation of passengers were leading to the transportation of products in the evenings.

To underline the transformation of wealthy port cities the example of Alexandria is also worth to underline. With the construction of the harbor the silhouette of the city did transformed. One of the most remarkable changes made in this process was the construction of “Korniş” to build a power distribution. A second characteristic of Alexandria was to create a city close to the sea shore both to facilitate trade activities and create adequate space for the European life standards. New streets and parks, dividing living spaces of Bedevies, social clubs and construction of a tramway route are further reforms. Yet, all these cited developments is far away from being unique to Alexandria. All important trade cities of the Ottoman Empire with high European population.<sup>103</sup>

The second quay of Smyrna or the southern part of the quay was created with stretching the wave breaker for an additional 300 meters and protected 75.000 square meters separate from the center quay having a water of 200.000 square meters.<sup>104</sup> The advantage of the harbor construction was not only limited with trade ratios but also it contributed to the hygiene with the sewer systems and the appearance of the city absent from trees and parks with the construction of the promenade route. These benefits are accepted and well profited by all people living in the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>103</sup> Edited by Ilbert, R Yannakakis, Y. Hassoun J, *Geçici Bir Hoşgörü Modeli: Cemaatler ve Kozmopolit Kimlik İskenderiye 1860-1960*, (İletişim Yayınları, 2006) p. 22

<sup>104</sup> İzmir Ticaret Odası, *İngiliz Konsolosluk Raporlarına Göre İzmir Ticareti (1864-1914)*, (İzmir Ticaret Odası No: 55, İzmir 1998) p. 75

Despite the benefits Levantine merchants were complaining about high payments, decline of compensations and the high fees that they should pay as customs that did not exist before. This led them to question the amount of sacrifice made by Levantine community in order to continue trade life in the Empire as well as introducing European manner in trade.

In the year 1890 from the railroad between Smyrna and Aydın, 3.222.410 scales of export product were brought as well as 832.021 scales of imports goods were transported from Smyrna into the hinterland.<sup>105</sup> In the same year the line located between Smyrna and Cassaba was used in order to transport a product of 134.826 tone in total. 46.423 tone of this total product represented store of grain, 26.432 tone acorn, 6775 tone of grape, 4633 tone of vegetal seeds, 4131 tons of cotton and 31.167 tone were belongings.<sup>106</sup> Interco related relations of the harbor and railroads represent other effects of the port cities creating one of the most beneficial routes for the transportation.

This increase was also visible in the maritime sector. The number of ships coming to Smyrna was 510. This number started to increase slowly, 1182 ships in the year 1862, then 1409 in 1872, 1698 in 1883 and finally 2766 in the year 1889. The number of high tonnage ships was increasing and also bringing profit to the merchants. Steamships were generally used by Levantines while hand sailboats were preferred by Ottomans. An editor of the “Macedonia”, a newspaper published in Salonika shared his experiences and thoughts concerning the tramway and its use. The major criticism of the editor was the bad conditions endured during his trip. “Tramway was always late, carriages were not enough”. Combination of these

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<sup>105</sup> Abdullah Martal, *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir’de Sanayileşme 19.Yüzyıl*, (Dokuz Eylül Yayınları) p. 80

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. P. 81

complications made the editor to leave the tramway and continue his trip on foot. His complains continued by the crowd willing to use the engine. “To find a seat in the tramway a person must be ready to struggle, to get crushed, his jacket to get rid, hat to fly away, scare people with his cane”.<sup>107</sup>

Until the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century vehicles were not introduced to the transportation mainly based on the bad conditions of the routes. It is even compared that it would be easier for a vehicle to traverse a gully than the best street in Smyrna.<sup>108</sup> Investments for the amelioration of the routes started to take place in 1834 with installment of stones in the routes of the Frank Street. The process was supervised by the governor, a Consul and a chosen person from the Greek community.<sup>109</sup> Only a year later, the Frank Street was lightened with lighthouses whose number would increase in the following periods.<sup>110</sup> Despite these methods, lights were still not adequate to lighten streets properly. Interesting point of these advances is the fact that they all take place in the same most well-known and cosmopolite side of the city and remain limited with this specific territory. Omnibuses were introduced as a further agent of transportation once the preventer effects of narrow streets decreased. Muis Kardoza and his partners were owners of “Smyrna- Pınarbaşı Omnibus Company” which started to offer its services in August 1897.<sup>111</sup> Automobiles were used as an agent of personal transportation. Introduction of this agent into the world started in 1890, yet the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the period

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<sup>107</sup> Sotirios Dimitriadis, “Selanik Tramwayı 1886-1912,” *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi* 248 August 2014, trans Cansu Kılıçarslan, pp. 72-77

<sup>108</sup> Tuncer Baykara, *Son Yüzyıllarda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu*, (Uluslararası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri. Akademik Kitapevi 1994), p. 9

<sup>109</sup> *Journal de Smyrne*, 29 March 1834.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.* 21 March 1835; 31 October 1835.

<sup>111</sup> *Ahenk Gazetesi*, 16 August 1897.

for Smyrnians to come across with these engines in the city center and close living spaces. Families such as Forbes, Patterson and Rees were possessing “break” automobiles.<sup>112</sup>

Increasing number of Europeans settling in the Ottoman Empire made major transformations in city silhouettes. These changes especially occurred in Smyrna, Istanbul, Salonika, Alexandria and Beirut. Because of the Ottomans’ lack of substructure, Europeans had to make investments. Simply focusing on these five different port cities of the Ottoman Empire we could say that investments realized by Europeans are in parallel with each other. Through cities location and European population density is influential over European investment, even though these trade investments show similarity, financiers might change. One of the important examples could be contradiction of British power in Smyrna versus French domination in Beirut, especially French investment on the construction in new roads and a harbor in Beirut by French.<sup>113</sup>

As mentioned above, these evolvments, at the same time set the ground for Westernization which is visible in the cities. In contradiction to the general thought this transformation was not based on cosmopolite structure of these cities formed with different language, religion or ethnic backgrounds. Nevertheless, a similar cosmopolite structure also existed in the Ottoman social order.

The introduction of the technological developments had benefits for both the Ottoman Empire, Levantine merchants and Europeans. Before, Levantine society was in a disadvantaged place compared with other merchants in the world solely based on the technological lacks of the Ottoman Empire. Even though railroads do

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<sup>112</sup> Sadık Kurt, *İzmir’de Kamusal Hizmetler 1850-1950*, (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2012), p. 70

<sup>113</sup> Ilbert,R; Yannakakis, I; Hassoun, J, p. 71

represent the modern way of transportation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman Empire did not have a strong economy in order to handle all expenses behind such an investment. Absence of production and trade of coal, steel and iron which would be necessary during the construction of railroads would cause some problems. The position of the Empire was making the situation even harder for a possible construction of “national routes” by the Empire itself. Secondly, the existence of “men-i mürur” with domestic customs were supporting the inefficiency of the economy toward such investments as well as preventing the flow of products owned by the local merchants. Taking into consideration all these criterias, the first expectation of the Empire came to be far away from the economic benefits.<sup>114</sup> Disadvantageous position of the Port was helping Levantines and other Europeans to be under the guarantee and protection of capitulations. Not only were they knowledgeable about new investments but also eligible to finance them. Since money represents the most important element in trade, Levantines as a community having this main privilege were becoming distinctive from the rest of the society in which they were living in.

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<sup>114</sup> Prof. Dr. Baykara, Tuncer. Son Yüzyıllarda İzmir ve Batı Anadolu Uluslararası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri. pp. 31-32



## CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL LIFE, CONSUMPTION HABITS AND THE WHITTALLS

### Social Clubs

Another dimension would be the nature of Levantines which rises in different trade centers of the Empire. It is quite remarkable to see how they tended to live similar lives in very far parts of the Empire. This similarity of choices may be linked so far with their economic goals as well as their standards of living in parallel to their assets. In this chapter a closer analyses would be made both in order to see similarities with Smyrna and other coastal cities and standards of Levantines living in those places.

*Le Spectateur Orientale*<sup>115</sup>, a newspaper published in Smyrna was assuming that the city was the only place where twelve different communities were living in harmony. According to this newspaper, Levantines were not only influential in the economic life of the Empire as discussed in the previous chapter but also in everyday life. With their presence in Smyrna, various trends were introduced and many were internalized by the local citizens starting from social life activities and further in consumption habits.

Levantines had a distinctive social life compared with the Ottoman subjects majorly formed around other Levantines, Consuls and foreign visitors. Social activities started by house visits quickly led to the creation of social clubs. This idea was definitely brought and developed by Levantines. In 1835 the atmosphere of

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<sup>115</sup> Beyru, p. 122

Smyrna was reflected by famous clubs like “European Club”, “Casino”, “Cercle Européen” or “Frenk Casino” known for being the most prestigious clubs in Smyrna.<sup>116</sup>

“Le Spectateur Oriental”, this time described a Casino located between the “Great Smyrna Hotel” on marina and the British Embassy as a special place reflecting the uniqueness and diversity behind the idea of social club within the Ottoman cities. The building itself was also a matter of importance and was described with remarks of a foreign guest. Monuments were placed in a yard with several trees. On the margin of the yard, there were double return stairs and they were leading to a hall furnished in a fashionable way. The narrator was interpreting all images as Westerners and added that without the presence of the soldiers sitting in front of the gate dressed and armed in an Ottoman way he would forget his presence in Asia.<sup>117</sup>

Casino quickly became a special place where every foreign visitor was brought without losing time elsewhere in the city. It was composed of a reading room with access to European newspapers and magazines, a ball room, a coffee room with a pool table and finally play rooms.<sup>118</sup> Clubs offered a generous treatment to the guests of Levantines mostly coming from various European countries. These formalities toward any guest show at what point Levantine community living in the Ottoman Empire wanted to experience the same lifestyle lived in Europe. Another hidden desire of this community would be that their importance as a community is not limited with economic activities, it also had a voice in social life which would

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid. p. 122

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. p. 122

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. p. 122

positioned them in a legitimized superior place compared with the rest of the Empire's citizens.

Once clubs representing the European lifestyle was established, Levantines wanted to have control over people enjoying its benefits. From the perspective of these merchants social clubs, which would be followed by many others should be limited with people sharing the same values. For that purpose, a system of membership was introduced specifically for these new social life products.

Becoming a member had some conditions. The most important rule was to be a Levantine meaning that, all Ottoman subjects were not allowed. Yet considering the profitable trade relations between Levantines and the non-Muslim Ottomans did soften membership conditions. Some non-Muslims accepted becoming part of the Levantine clubs. An opposite voice started to rise among Greeks and petitions were prepared for possible memberships. Despite the rejections and transformation of the situation into a "Catholic" question, Greeks had no further solution other than establishing their own institutions while some decided to have their own institutions. These matters became another debate subject among travelers. Addison describes the acceptance of the Ottoman subjects into the clubs as a loss of nobility. In the meantime, he is also witnessing the change of mind and appointment of Greek and Armenians as candidates for a possible membership.<sup>119</sup>

The willingness of the non-Muslim groups to take part in the social life of these merchants is not surprising. Levantine community represents a new group having both economic and social advantages compared with the Ottoman citizens. Even though Levantines were representing diversity regarding religious beliefs, ethnicity and language, both among themselves and the non-Muslim communities of the

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid. p. 122

Empire, Greeks and Armenian felt close to them and believed that their similarities would bring them even closer. Since economic relations and profit are the major impacts for these communities to notice each other, acceptance for a communal life was reached.

New clubs were majorly composed of Greeks protected by the Greek consulate, rich merchants willing to have a similar lifestyle as Levantines. These clubs gained their reputation with the permission of gambling which was prohibited in Levantine clubs. The seductive side of gambling captivated Levantines and also invited them to become the members of these New Greek clubs where gambling became the most favored activity of the ball days.<sup>120</sup> Francis Hervé was a witness of gambling. A characteristic night would be as following:

“Whilst dancing and scrambling went on in some of the rooms, gaming continued with all the intense anxiety that cupidity could excite in the others, and, although, to a frequenter of Crockford’s, it would only be called child’s play, yet it was to a most, extravagant degree for Smyrna, as I have known a person win to the amount of 370 *l.* in an evening; and when it is considered that not one of the players possessed an income amounting to a thousand a year, it must be admitted how criminal is such a pursuit for men who have large families, and such limited funds. They usually play until past midnight; but on those nights when there are balls, they continue playing until ten or eleven o’clock the next morning.”<sup>121</sup>

The picture is not different in the Greek Casino, “On those nights when balls are organized, ladies then enter with great avidity into the game, and often have I seen them weeping over their losses. There are many Europeans who are members of the Greek as well as the Frank Casin, although all Greeks are not admitted to the latter establishment, any more than the Armenians, Turks, Jews,&c., as it would be

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid. pp. 130-131

<sup>121</sup> Francis Hervé, *A Residence in Greece and Turkey; with notes of the journey through Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and the Balkans, Vol. I*, (Whittaker & Co. Ave Maria Lane 1837) p. 341

considered a compromise of their dignity, to suffer any one to belong to the Frank Casin.”<sup>122</sup>

Addison is also coming across with Turks who were invited to clubs attending with formal clothes. It is known that despite these invitations, Muslims were not interested in these activities as much as the rest of the Ottoman society. Hervé also came across with Hadgi Bey, who was the captain of police guard and two other Turks who came by invitation to the ball were also wearing local costumes.<sup>123</sup>

In contradiction to these approaches on behalf of Levantines and the West, some travelers were criticizing the position of the clubs and membership. An American traveler visiting Smyrna in 1828 was pointing out his disappointment after attending to a concert to which only the members of the club had access, and expressing at what point he was depressed for not being able to see beautiful Greek women whom he came across in the street.<sup>124</sup>

### Sport Clubs

The desire of the Ottoman Empire being recognized as a part of Europe was well known. Several accomplishments were made in different domains in the name of Westernization. Military, political, economic, cultural and artistic developments were not only practiced by Levantine community but also supported and financed by the Sultan himself. Sport activities remained generally absent. However, these activities were not only reinforcing communication among different communities but also introducing new concepts into the lives of the Ottomans. Based on these

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid. p. 343

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. p. 344

<sup>124</sup> Beyru, p. 125

assumptions importance of sport should not be underestimated and should be cited among Westernization plans.

Roots of the word “Sport” date back to ancient philosophers’ description of it as “entertainment” and “canalizing the focus on another direction”. Until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Sport was known as “Desport” which is a Latin word. This concept was established in the Ottoman Empire only during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Even though this word started to be used in daily life of late Ottoman period, early Ottoman physical practices should not be forgotten. Wrestling, archery, javelin and horse riding were major sport activities practiced in the Palace garden as well as in special areas arranged by the Port. The most important aim was to make people remember about what Ottoman traditional sport activities were. Within this process, contributions of Sultan Mahmud the Second worth underlining. Several books were written uncover different techniques as well as early practices. The latest example was written in 1835 by Mustafa Kâni Efendi by the order of Sultan Mahmud. This very book published in 1847 is focusing on Ottoman archery.<sup>125</sup> Further examples were written in the same period by Hızır İlyas Efendi, Nazım Serafeddin Bey, Rıza Bey and Selim Sırrı. In addition to these books, Sultan Mahmud tried to influence Ottoman population via other methods. The main focus of an article published in Takvim-i Vekai in 1831 was on archery. The idea was to make people remember old Ottoman activities and successes to create permanency for the future of Ottoman sport activities.<sup>126</sup> Sultan Mahmud’s announcement of being an active sportsman himself was the last encouragement.

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<sup>125</sup> Âtîf Kahraman, *Osmanlı Devletinde Spor*, (T.C Kültür Bakanlığı Başvuru Eserleri 1935), p. 629

<sup>126</sup> Kahraman, p. 635

In contradiction to Ottoman sport understanding, Levantines were also contributing to this ideology by their own European way. Created with completely European point of view, these new activities were introduced and practiced firstly by Levantines living in different important trade cities located within the Ottoman territories. The first example was made in the field of polo. The play was majorly preferred during summer times. A new club called “Therapia Polo Club” was established by famous names in sport such as La Fontaine, Whittall, Baker, Charnaud, Loraine and Léon Zarifi.<sup>127</sup>

“Constantinople Moda Cricket Club” and “Constantinople Bebek Cricket Club” were other clubs created by the Levantines in the purpose of introducing their sense of sport to the Ottoman society. The matches were usually conducted in “Yoğurtlu Çeşme” or “Yoğurtçubaşı Meadow”. Players of the club were George H. Buck, Charles Binns, Edward Thompson, John Byrant, James Whittall, Kenrick Whittall, William Smith – Lyte, Arthur M. Dixon, Peter Charnaud, N. Whittall, Aristotle La Fontaine and finally Charles Maltass.<sup>128</sup>

Tennis was also introduced by Whittall, Giraud and Charnaud families for the first time in Bournabat. The first tennis court in Moda was constructed by the Whittalls in 1908. With the contribution of Sleger, Simonde, Binns, Basil, Weiss and of course Whittall families “Moda Tennis Club” was also established. However, the field of Tennis did not receive as much attention as the other sport activities did and stayed with limited players who were mainly from diplomatic missionaries.<sup>129</sup>

Horse racing was an act of entertainment among Levantines. During the visit of Sultan Abdülaziz in Smyrna a special race was prepared in his honor by Whittall,

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<sup>127</sup> Öndeş, *Modalı Vitol Ailesi*, p. 118

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* P. 123

Res and Aliotti families. Once the race came to an end these Levantines paid their respect to the Sultan by offering him British and Arabian race horses as gifts. In order to encourage further races the Sultan ordered a new race to be prepared each year with a support of 20 gold directly coming from treasury.<sup>130</sup> Even though Smyrna took the first step for this branch, the interest waned occasionally. Especially when Paterson, head of the Smyrna Race Clubi moved to England for the business and Evliyazade Refik Bey who moved to Istanbul due to the requests of “Ittihat ve Terakki” party (the Unity and Progress). This way, races in the capital and their influences started to increase.<sup>131</sup> Starting from Samsun, Manisa and Diyarbakır the Sultan himself contributed to the spread of the branch. Seven different races, Quay Company Flat racing, Suburban Race, Sultan Cup Race, Directors Race, Aydın Railroad Race, Kasaba Railroad Race and finally Consolation Race were organized.<sup>132</sup>

Sporting Club did not only organize races for amusement but also wanted to have a stable for the maintenance and breed of new horses. A special race was organized in Güzelyalı for the same purpose and money was raised in order to cover expenses. Long articles took part in Ahenk Newspaper concerning these new achievement.<sup>133</sup> However, results of the attempts is missing.

Athleticism was another sport activity internalized and practiced again by Levantines. In 1890 after the establishment of an Athleticism Club first competitions were bike races.<sup>134</sup> Due to the fact that a special area for these games did not exist

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<sup>130</sup> Günver Güneş, *1850-1922 Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Modern Sporların İzmir'e Girişi*, (İzmir Büyükşehir Yayınları, 2012), p. 12

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. p. 35

<sup>132</sup> *Le Matin*, 23 April 1879.

<sup>133</sup> *Ahenk Gazetesi*, 29 April 1895.

<sup>134</sup> *Beyru*, p. 271



running, track of horses were used.<sup>135</sup> Athleticism became much more important in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the creation of a committee for the “Paniyonik Games”. Elie Guiffroy, Alfred van Lennep and Richard Whittall were chosen among Levantine community in order to meet with Stellakis for Games in 1905.<sup>136</sup>

Boat and swimming competitions were new activities organized by the Hunting Club toward the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with several categorizations. Different distances were tried to be overcome with both domestic and European boats by shovel.<sup>137</sup> In 1901 swimming contests were also included. Since these races were organized under the roof of the Hunting Club, results and the prizes were mentioned in the newspapers.<sup>138</sup> Smyrnians were very much interested in all these competitions, prizes were given either at the end of the competition or in the Sporting Club with a special celebration prepared for the winners.<sup>139</sup> Whittalls were owners of yacht and were enjoying traveling up to the Prince and Greek islands. “Journal of an excursion of ‘plaisir’ ”, diary of Charlton Whittall were containing notes regarding their trips. Engines possessed by Levantines also differed. Records of 1908-1914 was pointing out three Steam yachts owned by T.B.Rees with the name of “Dragon”, Mr. Albert Aliotti “Abafna” and Mr Ed. Spartali with “Sofia”. The list continues with yawls. Mr. H.F.Giraud was the owner of “Reseda” and Mr. J.A.Skyes was described as the owner of “Marigold”. Cutters were another preference of Mr. R.J.Whittall with “Haydee” and Mr. Ed. Spartali with “Biche”. However, the most widespread engines were motor cruisers. Six different yachts, “Melissande”, “Nacoochire”, “Sunbeam”,

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<sup>135</sup> Güneş, p. 40

<sup>136</sup> Beyru, pp. 276-277

<sup>137</sup> *Ahenk Gazetesi*, 30 June 1896.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* 06 June 1901; 08 July 1901.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.* 18 October 1902.

“Madge”, “Butterfly”, “Helen May i” and “Elise” were owned by the famous families of Smyrna respectively by Mr. S La Fontaine, Mr. H.O Whittall, Mr. A. La Fontaine (owner of both sunbeam and madge footnote), Mr. E.H. Giraud and finally Mr. Edward Whittall.<sup>140</sup> In 1910, yachting activities were organized under “Moda Yachting Club” in the capital of the Empire.

Hunting was a very common activity among Levantines. In the early periods of the 19<sup>th</sup> century locations close to the city center were chosen on purpose, majorly Bornova, Buca, Kokluca, Seydiköy and Balçova. It is only after the construction of the new roads, new places more distant to the city become available.<sup>141</sup>

Bridge had a special place among the British Levantine society of Smyrna. Even though some travelers had made comments about the spread of the game and the establishment of a special club for the game,<sup>142</sup> detailed information concerning the subject is not available.

All the activities cited above were either never practiced or partially practiced by Ottomans. Nonetheless, with the introduction of football by British, all different Ottoman communities became familiar with this branch. Improvement of football regarding rules and transformation to a systematic game was made by the students of Cambridge University. The first football club of the world was formed in Notts County in 1862. Proliferation of football invited many other clubs to be formed. In time, with an increasing number of clubs, a new institution beyond these established association was needed. In order to fill in the gap, first football federation of England

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<sup>140</sup> Brian Giraud, “History of Yachting in Turkey,” *Levantine Heritage*, <http://levantineheritage.com/note78.htm>

<sup>141</sup> Beyru, p. 264

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. p. 278

was established in 1863.<sup>143</sup> Football frenzy which started in England, quickly spread all over Europe. As followed, with the formation of Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, England, Holland, France and Denmark Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) was established in 1904.<sup>144</sup>

Even though the very first place of playing football in the Ottoman Empire is not known, sources from 1870 shows its performance in Smyrna and Salonika. The practice of activities was widespread among Levantines especially among British living in Bournabat who were both practicing physical exercises and benefitting from their spare times.<sup>145</sup> Under the leadership of La Fontaine family and with the contribution of other respectable British Levantine families “Bournabat Football and Rugby Club” was established in the year 1894. This club is famous for being the first legal football club in the Ottoman Empire with a regulation and code that was founded by Arthur Whittall, James La Fontaine, Edwin Whittall, Frank Whittall, Edwin Giraud, Henry Joly and Richard La Fontaine<sup>146</sup> who are considered as successful and respectable merchants of Smyrna.

As mentioned before, Greeks and Armenian were close to Levantines and for that matter they were the first communities to embrace football. So much that, they become the first representatives of this sport in the Empire. Contribution to that field proceeded with creation of new football teams such as “Panionios”, “Apollon”, “Pelops”, “Apetyan” and “Vartanyan”. However, the most powerful team was still the one created by Levantines composed of M.J. Whittall, Ed. Charnaud, Percy Joly,

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<sup>143</sup> Ali Rıza Ertuğ, *Türkiye Futbol Tarihi 1890-1923*, (Ankara Beden Terbiyesi Bölge Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1977), p. 5

<sup>144</sup> Ibid. p.5

<sup>145</sup> Öndeş, *Modalı Vitol Ailesi*, p. 107

<sup>146</sup> Ibid. p. 108

Jim R.Giraud, Pelcoc Whittall, A.J. Whittall, Herbert Joly, A.E. La Fontaine, Edmund Giraud, Jim Gout, Hav. Joly, Th. Tarazzi, Herbert Whittall, D. Whittall, Eddie Whittall, G. Whittall and James Whittall.<sup>147</sup> The activity became so famous that plays were becoming part of the local newspapers.

Although football became a part of the society in Smyrna, in the capital of the Empire people were not aware of its existence. James La Fontaine was the one who introduced this field to the capital and thanks to Henry Pierce it spread quickly. Families living in Smyrna and Istanbul started to organize football and rugby plays in order to increase interactions among different families. Being involved in the field led to a creation of another sport club in the capital. So, in 1896 a new club of football and rugby was created in Moda by the same family members who created the Bournabat Club in Smyrna.<sup>148</sup>

The success in the field led the players to attend to the mid Olympic Games organized for the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the official games. For the Ottoman Empire, football teams of Salonika and Smyrna participated. The team was composed of Edwin Charnaud, Zare Kuyumcuyan, Edward Giraud, Jack Giraud, Hanry Joly, Percy La Fontaine, Donald Whittall, Albert Whittall, Godfrey Whittall, Herbert Whittall and finally Edward Whittall who played in the name of Smyrna became second and was rewarded with a silver medal.<sup>149</sup>

In the memories of James La Fontaine, the reason for not including Turks to the plays were mentioned. "This was the situation of the country. On one side there was the pressure of fanaticism of the families and on the other side the pressure of the administration. For that matter Turkish youth would stay distant and football in

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid. pp. 108-109

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. p. 110

<sup>149</sup> Ibid. p. 113

Turkey would grow among the British and Greeks”<sup>150</sup> As it can be seen, the absence of Turks was not related with economic and cultural differences but majorly related with political reasons. Levantines were not willing to get a group of Turks together to avoid any suspicions from Sultan Abdülhamid.

As a matter of fact in the early periods Seljuk’s and the Ottomans did not enjoy playing “Çevgan”<sup>151</sup> According to some rumors, in Karbala, after Hüseyin the Prophet was beheaded, his head was used as a tool to Çevgan game in Damascus. Ottoman Ulema did take this rumors seriously and used ball or round objects as a symbol to Prophet Hüseyin’s head. Even though the reality behind this rumor is not proven, Çevgan was not a favorite game in Anatolia with the exception of some cities located in northeastern part.

In addition to Levantines football activities, Ottoman students who were sent to Paris, contributed to the branch by translating a French book into Ottoman Turkish in 1869. The book’s name was “Football in the Army and Schools”<sup>152</sup>. After successful attempts of Levantine’s in football, Muslim Ottomans also started to take this sport into consideration and tried to establish their own club. Although the “istibdat” period had some limitations, it is important to underline that most active football gatherings among Turks were made in the capital, Istanbul. In spite of the fact that football came to Istanbul five years later than Smyrna, achievements leaded to have more organized, professional games and even went into the creation of the first Ottoman Football Clubs. Of course, one of the most distinctive examples would be formation of league games. Such great achievements not only contributed to the

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid. p. 115

<sup>151</sup> It is a game played with a ball or a round object

<sup>152</sup> Kahraman, p.670

reputation of the capital but also softened the socio-religious barriers. It is important to notice that one of the factors behind Istanbul's increasing importance is first the settlement of important Levantines from Smyrna to the capital and curious nature of Ottoman Muslim students toward football.

First Ottoman Football Club was Black Stoking Football Club<sup>153</sup> composed of Mehmet Ali Bey, Neşet Bey, Reşat Danyal Bey, Hafız Mustafa Efendi, Arabzade Emced Bey, Cevdet Bey, Fuat Bey, Konstantin Efendi, Daniş Bey, Şevki Bey and finally Nuri Bey himself.<sup>154</sup> The club was established by the Robert College students in 1899, in Boyacı Köy.<sup>155</sup> According to Nuri Bey, they were first practicing with Greek's, Armenian's and British in Moda, Istanbul. The first game of the club which also represents the first game of an Ottoman Football Club was in Papaz Çayırı against Greeks in 1901. Survival of the institution was quite short, which lacked club building and supplies. Despite naming the first Ottoman football club after a foreign name was a genius action, it was still not enough to avoid Sultan Abdülhamid Istibdat Police. Black Stoking Club players were arrested after the game with Elips Club. Final decision was given by Sultan Abdülhamid who banished the club from all activities.<sup>156</sup> The situation of players was affirming Levantine's drawback. For a period with high denouncement, taking such decision was quite rational especially for these people with great desire of playing football. Unfortunately, this same period also prevented a national sports team being formed.

The second Ottoman Club was Galatasaray Club, established in 17.11.1905. It was formed by students of Mekteb-i Sultani starting by Ali Sami Yen, Asım Tevfik

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<sup>153</sup> Siyah Çoraplılar Kulübü

<sup>154</sup> Kahraman, p. 672

<sup>155</sup> Ertuğ, p. 9

<sup>156</sup> Ibid. p.10

Sonumut, Emin Bülent Serdaroğlu, Celal İbrahim, Bekir Sıtkı Bircan, Reşat Şirvani, Refik Cevdet Kalpakçioğlu, Abidin Daver Daver and Tahsin Nahit.<sup>157</sup> After the establishment of Galatasaray Club, Ottoman students in Saint Joseph united for the establishment of the third Ottoman football team. Even though preparation for the establishment started in 1906, it was only in 1907 that Fenerbahçe Club was successfully established by Mühendis Asaf, Bahriyeli Necti, Hasan Ayetullah Okaner, Avukat Hayri, Nasuhi Baydar, Nuri zade Ziya and Hakkı Saffet.<sup>158</sup> Declaration of the first constitutional period not only brought freedom but also prosperity and order to football. The most revolutionary decision was giving license to football clubs. Although Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe teams represent the first and second surviving Ottoman football clubs, the first club which was licensed was “Beşiktaş Osmanlı Jimnastik Klübü” established in 1908 and got the license in 1909.<sup>159</sup>

Being surrounded by other Levantines, having similar education and awareness regarding sport activities were bringing Ottomans closer and helping them to form an alliance other than economic profit. Living in a country with a different culture must be the main reason to push them to practice their own European culture, own pass time activities in order to avoid an asocial life. Whittalls represent an important dynamics in the process of socialization and getting into connection for other than commercial matters. All new sport branches introduced to the Ottoman Empire were automatically bringing different groups or a majority closer.

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid. p.14

<sup>158</sup> Ibid. p.18

<sup>159</sup> Ibid. p.21

## Where to eat? Where to go?

Smyrna represented the only city which can be considered as “Western” in Orient. This assumption is affirmed with the certificate given by Auguste Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont.<sup>160</sup> Smyrna had great similarities with further cited trade centers. High profits in commercial activities transformed the appearance of these cities as well as affected the social life with growing influence of European choices. Even though several steps were taken to transform these ports into European cities, the condition of the roads and streets which are usually narrow and in bad condition are cited as the most important similarities between Smyrna and these cities.<sup>161</sup>

First impression of Smyrna may differ from person to person. “Frank Street”, a well-known place of the city was located on the famous marina where the larger quay takes place. Houses placed in this area were usually low and unorganized but had gardens and yards looking to the port with the quay which was composed of ruined houses and misplaced mansions.<sup>162</sup> Barth is giving the most supplementary description of the sea shore. The north side of the quay is ending with the Smyrna–Aydın railroad located on the Bornova Gulf. A special horse tram was connecting the place with Konak. The Frank Street is described as the representation of European qualities in Orient. The street started from the northeastern part of the city and continued parallel to Marina. “Sultan Çarşısı”, located in the middle of a straight road including various covered passages is the most European part of the city.

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<sup>160</sup> Basma Zerouali, *Sanat ve Eğlence Kavşağı* in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent mi?* p.162

<sup>161</sup> İlhan Pınar, *Gezginlerin Gözüyle İzmir XIX. Yüzyıl*, (Akademik Kitabevi, 1994), I. pp. 117-118

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.* p. 87



Houses are usually composed of two floors and painted in the same colour. The picture of the houses is a reflection of similarity. Each of them caged window seats, high windows, and the entry to a living room through a big door with bronze barriers decorated with sofa and table and a back yard with a fountain for hot summer days.<sup>163</sup>

Moritz Bush was referring to an important aspect of the Frank Street never mentioned by other travelers. Street names were usually in French, however, British and German names also started to be used. Shops were selling goods coming from Paris, London or Vienna. Communication became easy with the common use of French, English and Italian. In addition, there was a great number of bookshops, art galleries, photography offices and pharmacy labs.<sup>164</sup> Beside social clubs, cafés and restaurants were the most fashionable places for Levantines to have access to European trends. In 1892, “Cramer”, “Goldstein” and “Procopp” were the most frequently visited cafés, however, the city of Smyrna had 73 other cafés in service for the citizens. Advertisements of these places were encountered very frequently in the newspapers.<sup>165</sup>

As expected Salonika had gone through same developments. “Alhambra, Olimpos, Cristal, Colombo and Royal” represented the most fashionable meaning of Western cafés of the time.<sup>166</sup> Their presence was not only important because people had the chance to consume European products but they had to enjoy them in a European atmosphere. Decorations were highly distinctive compared with the traditional Ottoman coffeehouses. Yet services were not limited with coffee and

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid. II p. 101

<sup>164</sup> Ibid. p. 75

<sup>165</sup> Schmitt, p. 107

<sup>166</sup> Anastassiadou, p. 178

tobacco as it is served in local coffee houses but a large choice of food and music were indispensable part of the European cafés. Not only these new cafés were the symbol of Westernization but they also became a new public space for people to show themselves.<sup>167</sup> Again in Smyrna, Café Kramer, (Cramer) which was famous among citizens and guests wishing to consume beer, was located on the Cordon and it was reflecting the atmosphere of Berlin and Vienna.<sup>168</sup> These new places feeding the varied consumption preferences of Levantines and Ottoman citizens who were under the influence of Europe, became widespread in Pera and Smyrna.<sup>169</sup> The presence of beer combined with a beautiful café which is usually placed on the sea shore was promising to have a good time to its visitors. Although the product was not coming directly from Berlin or Vienna, being able to find the product and witness its consumption even by Muslims was a point underlined by Hans Bart.<sup>170</sup>

New desires led to the spread of cafés, beerhouses and finally to the establishment of a beer factory. Importation was so common that, beerhouses were making direct purchases and were also ordering special bottles form England. Yet the prestige of beerhouses was not limited with ordered products, but also it was desired to put the stamp of the local institution on the bottles in order to increase its fame.<sup>171</sup> “Tissot” and “Homsy” were places to go in order to have the best quality beer whereas in Cordon, “Klanarides”, “Freshfield” and “Hunting Club’s “beer was also very much appreciated by Smyrnians. Paola, owner of a beerhouse located on the

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid. p. 178

<sup>168</sup> Bülent Şenocak, *Levant'in Yıldızı İzmir Levantenler, Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Yahudiler*, (Şenocak Kültür Yayını, 2003), p. 88

<sup>169</sup> Schmitt, p. 451

<sup>170</sup> Şenocak, p. 88

<sup>171</sup> Atay, p. 114

harbor was also offering “nargile” and the chance to play pool to its customers. Frequenters of Paola’s café were generally composed of porters or hamals, Greek marines and low graded soldiers<sup>172</sup> that are the sign for internalization of European trends and socialization methods by Greeks. Yet the social hierarchy would always be present and even though Greeks and other non-Muslims would brake taboos and welcomed in Levantines social clubs, some were still placed in lower social ranks.

Beer does not represent the only alcoholic beverage desired by Levantines or the Ottoman society. Consumption of vine was also common. Foreign vines, especially “Bordeaux” and “Champagne” were generally desired by Levantines. In addition, Hungarian, German and Austrian were especially accessible in the market.

The luxury of consuming foreign goods in such privileged cafés was also creating the chance to get in touch with other groups of the society who were eligible to afford such a life. In the case of Haller, he came across with Greeks who were very similar to Levantines, sitting in groups with women and children enjoying their beer and ice cream.<sup>173</sup> With the spread of various social institutions and material European products, a new style of consumption was encouraged and quickly became a symbol for the representation of the person in the society.

Another important place where all social life was forming around was the “Helen Club” representing the cosmopolite life of Smyrna.<sup>174</sup> A place where there is a great reflection of the Western cities are available. These places were not built for the purpose of amusement alone but also created a convenient atmosphere for commercial discussions. Being able to reach different foreign publications also supported creation and spread of local editions. Various broadcast answering to the

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid. p. 115

<sup>173</sup> Pinar, I. p. 122

<sup>174</sup> Zerouali, in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi?* p. 161

needs of the Levantines were created and quickly gave voice to the different religious, ethnic and cultural differences existing in the city.

Desire of listening to music first contributed to the formation of music soirées at home then developed with the creation of chorus and bands which also created an increase in the demands of musical instruments which became visible in Levantine cafés. Demand for concerts spread quickly and led to the creation of further institutions answering to the needs of the population. “L’Alcazar d’Amerique”, “Trocadéro”, “Cristal Palace”, “Petit Alhambra” were the major famous places of Pera whereas, “Alhambra”, “Théâtre des Quais”, “Concert Monaco” of Smyrna represented examples of the combination of music, cafés and social interactions. “Jardin des Fleurs” was a location of Levantines which mixed the concepts of circus, café, restaurant and hotel. In 1860 these places were able to touch as many customers as possible and their combination of different entertainment techniques gained the loyalty of the high society.<sup>175</sup>

Hotels were the symbol of luxury. “Hotel de la Ville sur les Quais” was famous for its restaurant located in the same building as well as serving examples of French, British and local cuisine to its customers. The Crimean War had also some effects on the restaurant preferences of Levantines. British were preferring “Missiri”, French “Hotel de L’Europe”, German and Hungarians were frequently visible in “Zur Stadt Pesth”.<sup>176</sup> Same division also existed in Salonika and might be expected to have similar consequences in different cities that are famous for their wealth and capacity of trade.<sup>177</sup> Based on major similarities of these two important trade cities of the

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<sup>175</sup> Schmitt, p. 452

<sup>176</sup> Ibid. p. 452

<sup>177</sup> Anastassiadou, p. 177- 181

Empire along with European population living in those cities can lead to the question of nationalism. Even though Levantines did not have any sympathy to unite under any form of nationalism, their selector behaviors over the division of social spaces may have led Ottoman minorities to unite and subsequently contribute to their nationalist feeling to grow.

Friday afternoons were ideal for Muslims to spend their time in the streets. “Vallaury”, a Western café located in Pera, was one the most frequented places by Muslims also preferred for the consumption of beer.<sup>178</sup> This choice of Muslim in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had brought Levantines and Muslim closer. These interactions are very important for the harmony of the society. Not only sharing the same piece of land but also having cultural and at some level economical preferences were acknowledged. Westernization process of the Empire created a curiosity over the European culture, however, with the intersections in these social places reciprocal relations would be built. These relations would not only be the introduction of European customs and style within the Empire but also the introduction of “Orient” into the lives of Levantines. Combination of these notions would lead to the creation of a community with the various dimensions which accepted to live in harmony. One of the most important contributions of these new social spaces to the Ottoman society is having a shift in moral values which would contribute to the place of women in society.

Reflections of westernization combined with interactions of Levantines had their influences on the Ottoman literature. Early literary works were directly translated from European counterparts. In time the Ottomans became allegeable enough to create their own unique works. At this point creation and development

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid. p. 452

process of novels represent a highly important place. While Ottomans exemplified the Western values, they also included their own values such as religious, cultural and social notions. At first this duality was out of consideration. Changes in the consumption tendencies and shifts in sociocultural structure were transformed into a tool for the author in the process of creating characters for their novels.

Westernization of characters created in different novels was interpreted as degeneration and underestimated. Ahmet Midhat Efendi's "Felâtnun Bey ile Râkım Efendi"<sup>179</sup> is the most remarkable example. Felâtnun Bey was the only son of a rich Ottoman living in Beyođlu in a stone house with several servants. He was well aware of all European trend and used to practice them in his daily life. Moreover, Westernization rebounded on his language since he used Ottoman words along with foreign words. Felâtnun Bey's way of understanding Westernization was blindly to accept every custom and to own various European products. And he did not hesitate to show his corrupted values. On the other hand, Râkım Efendi was aware of European culture. Moreover, he also learned foreign languages and a part from Felâtnun Efendi, he finalized his knowledge to make a living. The fact that Râkım Bey maintained his Ottoman values led him to have a more prestigious place in the eyes of Europeans. By comparing Felâtnun Bey and Râkım Efendi's ways of life we may argue how Ottomans might interpret the idea of Westernization. It is crucial to understand that Westernization process represents an important pattern in the survival of the Ottoman Empire. Existence of such novels may be interpreted as a guiding root to Ottomans on the way of Westernization. If it is not interpreted and practiced properly like Eflatun Bey did, it can turn into a disaster.

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<sup>179</sup> Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Felâtnun Bey ile Râkım Efendi*, (Akçađ Yayınları, 2013).

Palace started to pay attention to Western theatre in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Yet the interest would reach its peak with the Westernization period under the leadership of Sultan Selim the 3<sup>rd</sup> and Mahmut the 2<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>180</sup> Limited communication among different groups composing the society was broken down with the influence of theatres as well as other social places and it gave the opportunity to be nationalized.<sup>181</sup> In 1869 Ali Suavi Efendi summoned important people in the name of Grand Vizier Âli Paşa for the establishment of “Tiyatro-i Sultanî”. Based on the agreement, ethical plays and tragedies were to be staged in Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian and Armenian. However, these attempts would not be put into practice.<sup>182</sup>

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Port was also supportive of theatrical activities outside the Palace with special edits and allowances. Still, when it comes to theatrical activities in the Empire, “Ottoman Theatre” and “Güllü Agop” who is the founder of the institution should be remembered.<sup>183</sup> Very first steps of the Ottoman Theatre started with the “Souillier Circus”. Since Ottomans did not have a special place for performing, circuses were used for a period to overcome the problem. An article published in a newspaper was informing a renovation in Souillier Circus and its transformation into a theatre was announced. “Gedikpaşa Theatre” tried to take the attention of the audience with circuses, pantomimes and comedias. When in 1866 the theatre was bought by Razi, ballet and operas were added to the list of performances. Gedikpaşa Theatre is the institution that would be transformed into Ottoman Theatre by Güllü Agop.

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<sup>180</sup> Mehmet Fatih Uslu, *Çatışma ve Müzakere Osmanlı'da Türkçe ve Ermenice Dramatik Edebiyat*, (İletişim Yayınları, 2014), p. 32

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. p. 13

<sup>182</sup> Ibid. p. 15

<sup>183</sup> Metin And, *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu*, (Dost Kitabevi, 1999), p. 27

Periodicals of the era do not contain adequate description of the theatre, however, a letter sent to Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal by Edirneli Rıfat Bey is giving some ideas. “The entry was lightened by lighthouses. After passing through a door of brick a well-furnished casino was welcoming all guests with marble stairs on the left. Despite the theatre had a wooden appearance from the outside, marble stairs were carrying the audience to triplex lodges. As expected the private lodge of the Sultan was located in front of the scene”.<sup>184</sup> Vaspuryan Assemblage was performing Armenian, French, Turkish and Italian pieces. Moreover, they even started to pay attention to Operas. Success of the group was related to their passion toward theatre. Yet the audience of Smyrna must have an advantage too. This assumption might clarify the fact that some artists from the capital came to Smyrna to take part in the group.

Asian Assemblage was under direction of Güllü Agop whose name as director was announced in 1868. Even though Ottoman theatre and Asian Assemblage were used together, in 1869 it was announced as Ottoman Theatre.<sup>185</sup>

A second contribution to the Ottoman theatre was made by “Aramyan Assemblage” gathered by Hovannes Kasparyan. Even though acrobatic performances and *ortaoyunu* may not have been seen completely belonging to the European concept of theatre, this institution represents the first professional assemblage in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>186</sup> In addition to their primary steps, they were successful to take the attention of the public by giving a local flavor to European theatre by *ortaoyunu*. The most important of all “Aramyan Assemblage” was able to unite “Gedikpaşa”

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid. pp. 36-37

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. p. 46

<sup>186</sup> Ibid. p. 37



and “Ottoman Theatre” together and pave the way for the future survival of theatre in the Empire.

Sirapyan Hekimyan’s pieces in Turkish were performed in the Palace in 1859. His contribution to Ottoman theatre was primarily the translation of western pieces into Ottoman Turkish. It is a great regret to not have any way to access to his Turkish work.<sup>187</sup> Another attempt for Turkish productions to see the light was made by Güllü Agop between years 1862 – 1864. Financial issues made sixteen artist leave Smyrna, where the artistic atmosphere was promising. No doubt it is a great motivation to know that Smyrna already had a theatre. Newly coming group named themselves after a group founded earlier in Smyrna as “Vaspuryan Assemblage” and shared the theatre with Italian Opera Assemblage.<sup>188</sup>

The main reason under such a support is the desire of the Sultan to be able to call the Empire as “Western” and entertain various guests coming from different countries to these theatres. Embassies were the first places of practice for the modern theatre. More precisely Italian and French embassies were very active starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Italian companies were performing throughout the year. Subsequently a couple of companies started to perform in the same year which would provoke competition. So, some operas were put on stage before important European cities did. The first opera was “Norma” by Bellini performed in 1843 in the palace of “Valide Sultan”, which gave authorization of male presence in the palace.<sup>189</sup>

The first theatre in Smyrna was established in 1775 by an amateur community, however, the exact location is unknown. It is assumed that it might be on the Frank

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid. p.. 41

<sup>188</sup> Ibid. p. 43

<sup>189</sup> Uslu, p. 37

Street. The certainty is that the building burnt during the fire of 1797. The most important building is “Cammarano Theatre” and very important pieces were played in there. The building was located next to the British Consul, composed of three floors and seven lodges. The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the spread of various theaters such as “Concordia”, “Kraemer”, “Olimpia”, “Eksaristeron” and “Kivos” as well as “Sporting Club Theatre”, “Nea Skene”, “Paradisos” and “Theatron Smirnes” Open air theatres were the Quay Theatre and Eden Garden Theaters beside, Monaco and Palais de Cristal were serving as concert cafés.<sup>190</sup> In the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century theatre represented the center of the social life. A special building was constructed in 1848. The famous big room was white and golden with a ceiling decorated with the portraits of the most famous composers. A chandelier having 42 candelabra was imported from London. Luxurious lodges with silk curtains were adding further importance to the institution.<sup>191</sup> Pieces from Moliere, Shakespeare, Goldini, Schiller, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas and Eugene Sue were presented. The lack of local writers was tried to be overcome by inviting the foreign ones for the purpose of creating amateurs.

However, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century theaters in Smyrna were a real disappointment in the eyes of Europeans. Lindau was describing the institutions as, a building far away from its notion. Good looking ladies were sitting outside on unsecured and unnumbered chairs generally reserved by the adjacent café. Chorus of a very inadequate orchestra was performing and the audience was enjoying it with the presence of chats, smoke or simply with coffee or lemonade.<sup>192</sup> Even though the

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<sup>190</sup> Şenocak, p. 95

<sup>191</sup> Schmitt, p. 457

<sup>192</sup> Ibid. p. 459

position of theatres was referred as mediocre, introduction of movies in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also riveted the position of theaters. In 1913 Smyrna possessed six cinemas. “Cinéma Théâtre Pathé Freres, Paris”, “Cinéma de Paris” of J.B. Caporal, “Cinéma Nea Skini”, “Cinéma Gay”, “Smyrna Theatre Company” and “Cinéma Pallas”, which are under the responsibility of “Levant Cinematography Company Ltd.”, are European institutions. With the introduction of cinema into the life of the Ottomans an atmosphere of inclusiveness was created. Not only the society was engaged in the activity but also used as a propaganda model as well as a media agent on the eve of the First World War.<sup>193</sup>

## CHAPTER 5: CONSUMPTION TRENDS

### The Big House, Bournabat

Charlton Whittall lived in a house in Bournabat known as “the Big House”. At the time possessed by Charlton Whittall the house was constituted of a ground floor or basement and the first floor. The first floor was used for receptions where bedrooms were placed in the basement. After the death of Charlton the property was

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid. pp. 459-460

acquired by his son James and enlarged with the addition of the second floor.<sup>194</sup> This property is also famous for being the oldest property of the family in the Ottoman Empire, however, is not unique. Another property in “Frankhané”, located in the coastal part of Smyrna with a high population of Levantines was half paid half inherited. The property was owned by Jean Baptise Giraud, Charlton’s father in law. The property was acquired this time by James Whittall in an auction sale for a sum of 7,100 pounds. Until its demolition in the big fire of 1922 the place was used as the office of C.Whittall&Co., Smyrna.<sup>195</sup>

According to Ray Turrel, the grandchild of Edward Whittall, when the property was purchased from Dutchs it had a single floor, low, longish simple nature. The first floor was added to the building in 1836 by Charlton Whittall. This part of the garden was stuffed for the garden layout and the stairs at the front gate of the house and the basement went 20-70 cm down. Elevation process is still visible from trees located on the front side of the house. The second floor is added to the property by James who was the heir of Charlton Arthur, the elder son of Charlton Whittall in 1867.

The ground floor contained kitchen, storeroom, servant’s rooms, study rooms for kinds and depot. Marble stairs were leading to the guest room located on the first floor decorated with stuffed animals from hunt parties. The ball room was on the left side of the guest room and was connected with the library, sometimes mentioned as the small ball room by the family members. The right side of the guest room was the dining room. Meals were prepared in the kitchen located on the basement floor and were transported by a simple elevator to the first floor for service.

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<sup>194</sup> Giraud, p. 77

<sup>195</sup> Ibid. p. 77

Before the supplemented buildings the south part of the property had a terrace opening from the dining room. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the kitchen was extended above terrace and new places for serving room and a chimney were created. The old sink of the house is still in use nowadays. On the second floor there are bedrooms and a restroom. Ray Turrel is focusing on the importance of having a restroom located on the second floor of the house as well as exceptionality and luxury of having such a system in the house.<sup>196</sup> The Big House was bought from Harold Giraud, the deed was officially registered on behalf of Ege University and is still used as “Rectorate Building” of the University.

#### The Tower, Moda

The Moda property, owned by Frederick Edwin Whittall, did not survive. The entrance of the property was made of very large green iron doors, they must have been about 4-5 meters high and 2.5 - 3 meters wide. On each side of the building, both outside and inside further establishments were located. On the left side there were stables and a coach house which was transformed into a living room in following periods. The right side was occupied by Herakli and his family who were in charge of the maintenance of the property.

Garden was so big that it was constituted of different levels like “tower level” and “lower level”. On the way of leading to the house there were vegetable and rose gardens. On the right side of the garden, there was a green glass paneled hothouse and next to that a gate was leading to an underground passage toward the sea.

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<sup>196</sup> Sönmez, Nedim; “Büyük Ev”. Egeden, Ege Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayını; Yıl:2 Sayı:5.; Ege Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, pp. 30-36

Just beyond the seating area located in the garden, towards the sea, was the house. The building was also enormous. Based on assumptions of Betty Mc Kernan, it was constituted of 33 rooms. “To enter, one went up one of two marble staircases on each side of the marbled area which lead to the front door. The hall, which ran the length of the house, doubled up as sitting room, with wonderful tapestries, elegant furniture and a grand piano. The drought from the entrance door was stopped by a four panel screen”.<sup>197</sup>

On the left side there was a study room for Edwin Whittall furnished with leather furniture and wood paneled walls. Next to that room a door was leading to a corridor going down to kitchens, laundry and servants quarters and also upstairs to the bedrooms. Dining room, located still on the left side with an enormous table, was giving seat opportunity to a great number of people. Walls were decorated with portraits of the ancestors. From windows a magnificent view with combination of garden and sea was visible.

Opposite the dining room, there was a “Turkish sitting room”, which had a “mangal” in the center furnished with thick cushions. Next door, there was a smaller room, a billiard room with a glorious green baize billiard table in the middle. Majority of bedrooms were located on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> floor.

Grandpa’s office, which was on the left of the front door, was quite small and dominated by a portrait of his son, Roland, who was killed at Gallipoli. The room had dark brown paneled walls and dark brown leather furniture and contained a tiny model of a house with beautiful furniture that had been hand made by some “white” Russians as a thank you when he had helped them. Among his prized possessions

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<sup>197</sup> <http://levantineheritage.com/whittall2.htm>

there was a collection of Turkish pocket watches, and a rifle made for him “by Colonel Holland”.<sup>198</sup>

### Locate “The Tower”

The current location of Whittalls Moda property starts with a dead end a street known as “Whittall Çıkmazı” and continues throughout “Moda Çay Bahçesi”. Property owned by James Whittall was located on the most extensive parcel next to the “Moda Çay Bahçesi”. In order to have a concrete sense of the property one should first locate him or herself on the corner of the right turning street from Moda Street to Moda Çay Bahçesi, counting several flats located on the right side of the street and continue until the sea side of the tea house is reached. This parcel represents the place of the Whittall mansion belonging to James Whittall.<sup>199</sup> During 1950s the Whittall family started to sell their properties in Turkey, and nowadays several flats are located on the property once belonged to the family.

Vitol Çıkmazı was designed as a real family property and five different mansions were constructed by James William Whittall for his children. While entering to the dead end street, on the left side the first mansion was welcoming. On the right two others were located both parallel to the street. The forth mansion was located on the sea side. Based on the maps of the year 1937 the construction of a new rectangular mansion was taken into account located close to the left wall of the garden.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> <http://levantineheritage.com/whittall2.htm>

<sup>199</sup> Öndeş, *Modalı Vitol Ailesi*, pp. 81-82

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.* p. 83

## Fashion and Other Goods of Luxury

When it came to luxury consumption the second most important products are the clothes. The way of clothing was always interpreted as wealth and power of the person and the society. Trade of mainly textile and various other materials that may be considered as “luxury consumption” was exported from other countries especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. With new imported products consumption preferences became a representation agent for identity.

New luxury goods were becoming available in the large part of the society. Despite this spread, traditional dress was still a major choice. The Ottoman society started to acquire small foreign goods, objects that would be used in house for the general sake of the family. These products were clocks, textile for the interior design, boxes, furnishings and different collectable products.<sup>201</sup> A direct passage to the European style of dressing was not desired. The main influence behind this decision was again the significance attributed to clothes, definition and expression of identity.

The influence of the Western fashion over the Ottoman society started first with the embracement of Westernization and second by the elites of the Empire starting with Sultan Mahmut the Second.<sup>202</sup> However, the link between the economic power and the dressing preferences should never be forgotten. Yet interconnected embracement of fashion started with the local bounds created among the Levantines and the Ottoman subjects, especially in Smyrna starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>201</sup> Charlotte Jirousek, *Ottoman Influence in Western Dress in Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity*. Eds. Suraiya Fraoqhi and Christoph K Neumann, (Eren Yayıncılık, 2004), pp. 207-208

<sup>202</sup> Charlotte Jirousek, *The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire* in Donald Quataert, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire; 1550-1922*, (State university of New York Press, 2000), p. 208



With the declaration of Tanzimat Edict equal rights were given to the Ottoman subjects which led to the abolishment of the dress code applied to zimmis. Nevertheless, Levantines were not defined as legal subjects of the Ottoman Empire so a specific dress code was not prepared for them. Their privileges and authorities of the consuls were allowing them to dress in Western clothes. However, they sometimes preferred and got the admission of dressing like Ottomans while traveling, starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>203</sup> This was a privilege which was not even obtained by the non-Muslim subjects. Their advantageous position contributed to the creation of a hybrid style. Comfortable robes preferred by Ottomans were combined with European hats.<sup>204</sup> The same comportment existed in the Ottoman subjects. Julia Pardoe who visited the Empire in 1835 did encounter with the Ottoman women having European accessories with a mix of local clothes.

All these developments also contributed to the mass production with the purchase of ready to wear clothes. The mechanism of dresses were changed in order to obtain more efficient costs. Even if dresses were not produced in a factory, the style and the texture was chosen according to these circumstances reflecting industrial faction.<sup>205</sup> As referred before, fashion is a reflection of economic power of the self. In various travel literature a special reference was made to the beautiful women living in Smyrna. These women were generally composed of Greeks and Levantines. Attitudes and their sense of fashion were appreciated by many. They may be mentioned as one due to their economic and social similarities.

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<sup>203</sup> Matthew Elliot, *Dress codes in the Ottoman Empire: the case of the Franks in Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity*. p. 113

<sup>204</sup> Jirousek, in *Ottoman Costumes From Textile to Identity*, p. 209

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.* p. 231

Fashion choices of Levantine ladies living on the Frank Street were competing with European ladies living in Paris and London. As mentioned before Greek and Levantine ladies are usually mixed, however, a general description might be as; young ladies generally playing the piano or guitar, also good at painting and fluent in various languages. Wives of Levantine merchants are usually dressed with ankle length opulent baggy trousers. In winter times ladies preferred to complete their outfits with a jacket made of fur, silk or velvet decorated with silver or golden enrichments around the waist. Young ladies were decorating their hair with flowers, feathers or jewels. During visits they preferred to put a head scarf and they were accompanied by a soldier and followed by maids.<sup>206</sup> In summer times Levantines and all communities affected by them preferred to use white or colors close to white in their clothes. Von Moltké was attributing a chapter in his memories to that subject and became part of the fashion by wearing a white straw hat, white linen coat and pants. He was also pointing out that Levantines were using this outfit while attending to events and accepted it as the summer creation of Levantines in Smyrna.<sup>207</sup> On the other hand, Levantine designers were also creating clothes inspired by the local tastes. A modest look combined with a black veil was the most desired outfit by the earnest ladies of the Levantine community for the church.<sup>208</sup>

There have been some contradictions about the image European woman reflected by Rauf Beyru and the photographs of Levantines. These differences might be related with the fact that Greek and Armenian's which are known as non-Muslim Ottomans and their close likeness with Europeans. To avoid such contradictions and only focus on Levantine ladies, special photographs would be used to highlight this

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<sup>206</sup> Beyru, p. 191

<sup>207</sup> Ibid. p. 198

<sup>208</sup> Ibid. p. 209

challenge. Majority of these pictures Levantines groups are reflecting their sense of fashion, various luxury goods which they consume, transportation methods as well as places that they visit. If a categorization of Levantine ladies clothes were to be made, the style would be long corsage dresses combined with an ornamented chemise placed on the neck and arms generally garnished with lace. Different preferences regarding shirtsleeve may create very simple dresses as well as very puffy lace chemises. The choice of color was usually made by using the seduction of color contrasts. Monochromic dresses were heat up with pileus and many other ornaments usually placed on the neck, waist and on the hemline. Extravagant use of laces especially in chemises tied around neck were decreasing the need of using further accessories. Despite these chemises, the use of necklaces and other accessories are quite widespread. Hats, on the other hand, are seen as the supplementary elements of the Levantine Ladies appearance since coming across with ladies in the street without any hat is quite unusual. In winter time one of the most desirable parts of the outfit would be the fur stoles. However, Levantine gentlemen were usually photographed with their suits composed of jacket generally of dark color, vest, tie and a white shirt. The use of hats was also very widespread among Levantine gentlemen, however, the style and texture was different from ladies. Smaller straw or bowler hats were preferred and were accompanied by canes and umbrellas as hand accessories. The use of umbrellas was also common among ladies and were used in every season of the year.

Special importance was attributed to special clothes. Frock was one of them. Beside the elegance, it represented respect toward social gatherings. Comtess Pauline Nostitz was referring to the importance given to frock without hiding her surprise to see the massive number of gentleman wearing this specific cloth during the events

and referred that she never witnessed such carefulness toward any style of clothing.<sup>209</sup> Another incident witnessed by the Countess was the travel of Levantine ladies by mules in order to attend an evening event. These ladies were wearing hats matching with their outfits with blue fringes attached on the back side of their hats showing their pony tails. The dress was covered with a white cloak. Travelling by mules was preventing their dress to get wrinkled as well as adding a further volume to the appearance.<sup>210</sup>

The most favored shops were located on the Frank Street. “Eksinopulos” or “Xenopoulo” was one of those. There were advertisements in a great amount of newspaper. Items sold in the shop was majorly composed of underwear for men and women, umbrellas for winter and summer use, fabrics for dress and furnishing, which were calling all costumers searching for beauty and good price.<sup>211</sup> Advertisements were not only published in the Levantine publications but also in the Turkish newspaper with high repetition. This shows the desire of Smyrna’s women toward luxury with the aim of taking the attention of the Turkish women as well. Other important stores located on the street were “Au Paradis des Dames”, “Au Printemps”, “Camelia”, “Comptoir”, “Femina”, “Stein”, “Nalpas”. The existence of big magazines such as “Au Bon Marché”, “Orozdi-back”, “The Anglo- Eastern Cooperative Co.” and “Samaritarian” was not an obstacle for the small boutiques.<sup>212</sup>

Lindau had the chance to visit various shops and buy some goods. For summer; he bought an umbrella, a straw hat and couple of handkerchief. For all these purchases he was glad to pay the half of what he paid in Istanbul, Berlin or

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<sup>209</sup> Şenocak, p. 87

<sup>210</sup> Pınar, I. P. 42

<sup>211</sup> *Ahenk Gazetesi*, 02 August 1896.

<sup>212</sup> Beyru, p. 212

London.<sup>213</sup> He was also very surprised by the appearance of the people and not being able to distinguish them from each other as he was able to do it in the Turkish neighborhood. A friend was helping him to show the ethnicity of the guests. Various Armenians, Greeks, Jews, British, French or Germans were present. He was complaining from the similarities in their physical appearances with pale faces, beautiful hairs and eyes, in colorful dressed were making them nearly identical.<sup>214</sup>

As reflected several times, different trade centers of Ottoman Empire had highly similar characteristics. Reflection of this harmony is clearly seen in consumption trends and European products. “Tiring” and “Stein” are two important shops located in Salonika.<sup>215</sup> Despite their commercial and very rich opportunities for their customers, branches of this shops, especially the one of “Stein” is quite remarkable. Establishments made in Cairo, Alexandria, Istanbul and Salonika might be seen as a proof to the transformation and Westernization process of the cities and their importance for both Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

### Luxury Consumption

Consumption in the early periods of the Empire was based on local production. Importation was preferred for goods not found or not produced in the Ottoman lands. Throughout years the mentality behind importation, more precisely consuming foreign goods started to change. Sultans had to take measures to limit or control the flow of financial and social matters. Two decrees in 1778 and 1792 were prohibiting

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<sup>213</sup> Pinar, I. p. 147

<sup>214</sup> Ibid. p. 148

<sup>215</sup> Anastasiadou. p. 182

luxury consumption to officers, presentation of luxury items as gifts to the palace and being exchanged among officers. By these measures, imitating others was tried to be broken down in order to prevent possible future social disturbances.<sup>216</sup>

Formation of bourgeoisie is in relation with the “mode of production” and “economic resources”.<sup>217</sup> Thanks to the economic success of Levantines and their investments, different communities of the Empire wanted to share similar life standards with these merchants. Starting from the 18<sup>th</sup> century non-Muslim Ottomans were placing themselves under the protection of Europeans and continuing their trade activities. By their actions, they became one of the first groups to have resources without the control of the Sultan.<sup>218</sup> Being surrounded with Western influences, non-Muslim communities of the Empire started to be like those Levantines, first of all by starting to consume foreign products, then by imitating the European lifestyle.<sup>219</sup> Combination of economic power with a high quality consumption became components of a new community never appeared before within the Ottoman Empire. The bourgeoisie class, living within the European system was tried to be understood and internalized by the Ottoman society as well. Bourgeoisie is divided as the ones who possess their resources without the control of the Sultan, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and others providing economic resources again without the control of the Sultan who were forming the Ottoman commercial bourgeoisie.<sup>220</sup> Interactions among different Ottoman communities and Levantines helped them to make changes

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<sup>216</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, (Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 38

<sup>217</sup> Ibid. p. 81

<sup>218</sup> Ibid p. 94

<sup>219</sup> Ibid p. 99

<sup>220</sup> Ibid p. 108

in their life and open themselves to new trends starting from Western attitudes, clothing styles, hats, canes, pets, instrument and language lessons, opera, theatre, dances, balls with also being influenced by novels, short stories and newspapers.<sup>221</sup>

### European Products

Distinct part of Europe was preferred based on special goods produced in these areas. Among all the foreign goods silk ties were imported from France. However, not all products were cheap, for instance places like Vienna were influential due to their affordable price. Of course some variable products are not taken into consideration by Muslims such as gloves representing indispensable part of Levantines and other non-Muslim communities' outfits coming from Paris and Grenoble as well as Brussels and Aachen. Taking into consideration hats and all kinds of fake flowers used as decoration on hats, belts, velvet and tulle were imported from Paris. Men hats were imported from various European countries, however, silk and felt hats were also specifically from France. Britain was the most desired place for children hats but production of light weighted hats for gentlemen were also appreciated. Shoe production was quite successful in Smyrna, however, it was far away from being stylish. In these circumstances a great number of shoes were imported from Europe. Fabric, prawn and goat skinned shoes were imported from Paris. When it comes to qualified shoes, Manchester was another important location.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> Ibid p. 119

<sup>222</sup> Karl von Scherzer, *İzmir 1873*, trans. İlhan Pınar. (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2001), pp. 116-117

Ornaments represent an important part of the women dress in order to supplement the outfit besides reflecting financial power of these ladies as well as showing their place in the social hierarchy. Most desirable items such as earrings, shirt bottoms, sleeve links, tie clips, medallion, brooch, ring, seal and winder were counted as the most commonly imported jewelry objects. These products were generally in golden and were imported from Paris, Hanau and Vienna. Unlike ornaments, watches were used in daily life by all members of Levantine community to show their prosperity and it became a necessity of life at the same time. Nevertheless, some watches were basic daily life components, yet some watches with special designs were representing their position. Various kinds of watches were imported from U.S and England with accessible price. Glass bell and golden plated console watches were only imported from Paris whereas Grandfather clocks were imported from Vienna. Moreover, pocket watches were only coming from Switzerland.<sup>223</sup>

Another imported daily product was the paper generally from Austria, Belgium, Italy and France. Imported paper was not just brought in the purpose of writing. Rolling paper was in need for cigarettes were coming from Austria and France. Matches were only coming from Austria in cabs each one containing 200 to 3000 dozen matches. Famous match brands were “A. M. Pollak”, “S. de Majo”.<sup>224</sup>

European products were not only produced to answer to needs of adults but were also paying attention to children’s. Preferences in toys were differing in Smyrna. Expensive toys were generally preferred by Levantines which were composed of dolls made of beeswax with fixed or mobile eyes and natural hair,

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<sup>223</sup> Scherzer, p.119

<sup>224</sup> Ibid. p. 120



strollers, play houses, hand tools, peg top and tin soldiers. These toys were the main imported items but the rest of the society was choosing to use cheap and simple toys.

Due to the increase and quality in the local production in furniture created a decrease in the European demands. However, lack of adornment materials was leading customers to demand imported materials. Like all other luxury goods Paris represented the main center of importation with console, desk, dressing table, buffets, shelves, night table, wardrobe and cribs represented expensive goods imported to Smyrna. Regarding garden furniture, all goods produced in North Bavaria, which were famous for being solid and available at decent price, were not preferred. Rather, iron materials of England were in demand. Other famous important goods were pianos from Stuttgart and Vienna. Porcelain market was divided among Germany, Austria and France even though these objects were very limited. Dinner services from France, stylish and cheap products from Germany especially Bavaria was important for the production of high quality Turkish coffee cups with handles which became not only famous in Smyrna but all over the Ottoman Empire. Ladies were specifically looking for silk of Lyon, wool of Roubaix and Reims also felt hats used by ladies were coming from France and Britain. Perfumes were also essential to complete self-representation, some important labels were "Lubin", "Pinaud" and "Botat". Although all cited products were used in a way to reflect financial and social power, some were used in order to cure health problems. Indian oil from Milano; quinine sulphate sold at herbalist from Italy and Germany, cinnamon, clove, coco and other similar spices were brought from London, Marseille and Trieste represent major examples of this domain. As mentioned before hunting was a widespread

activity among Levantines of Smyrna. During this activity, rifles coming from Belgium and bullets of Genoa were the most preferred hunting accessories.<sup>225</sup>

Increase in variety of products, presented in Frank Street, coincide with the construction of French Duane. After opening this place, all French ships were completing their customary procedure there and products were directed to Frank Street. In addition, all these consumption materials, some of which are indispensable such as, potatoes from France, meats from Australia and Persia, cheese from France and Italy, onion from Egypt, wheat from “Odesa” and “Sebastopol”, candle and petroleum from Baku and sometimes from the United States, were also brought to Smyrna.<sup>226</sup>

## CHAPTER 6: LIVING SPACES IN SMYRNA

### Levantine Bourgeoisie

Thanks to the transformation in the city, some people, especially Levantines felt the necessity of being away from the city center and have a living space in small villages which are in a short distance from the center. Buca and Bournabat were

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid. pp. 123-125

<sup>226</sup> Atay, *İzmir'in İzmir'i*. pp. 108-109

famous and had already become the new fashionable living space for these merchants. In addition to them, Cordélio, Gheuz Tepe ou Caratache were also becoming famous for being defined as new suburban areas of Smyrna.<sup>227</sup>

Once foreigners had gained the authority to acquire property from the Ottoman Empire, Levantines started to purchase lands in a surface of 50 to 60 km around city in order to use it as plantation for exported goods. These purchases caused the increase of prices for both houses and lands located in close distance which forced some modest Levantines to leave Buca and Bournabat and search for new places with decent prices in order to go visiting during hot summer days in a distance of 20 to 30 km to the center.<sup>228</sup>

Based on Smyrna's cadastral registers, Levantines were possessing one third of the taxable property in the mid 1850's; by these accumulations a new group of foreign property owners were created.<sup>229</sup> With the declaration of Tanzimat and Islahat Edicts, a unique incident was authorized within the territory of the Ottoman Empire. This authorization was advantageous for Levantines who were powerful in economic wealth, and consequently their social and political power became much more influential with the establishment of municipalities. Even though foreigners were authorized to come to the Ottoman Empire even in early periods, being able to acquire property was never allowed before.

As referred, this situation changed with Westernization reforms. The uniqueness of the case comes from the fact that people who are not even defined as Ottoman Citizens and who are not under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman laws had got the authorization to have property from this land. It is certain that the powerful

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<sup>227</sup> Smyrnelis, *Une Ville Ottomane Plurielle*, p. 150

<sup>228</sup> *Ibidi.* p. 151

<sup>229</sup> Sayek, p. 48

position of Levantines were putting them in a different position within the society. However, a hidden purpose under these property acquisitions might be related with the needs of the Ottoman Empire to control this powerful group who are increasing their ratio of power every day. Letting them have their own properties would also bring the obligation to register these residences according to the Ottoman laws and from the moment of registration, a foreign person who is not an Ottoman citizen would become subject to Ottoman laws due to the property relations. Another reason might be related with financial problems of the Ottomans. Property acquisition of Levantines would only be beneficial for the entry of capital within treasury.

These developments are the steps taken in Smyrna just like other different cities in order to conclude their urbanization process, mainly realized under guidance of Levantines. The growth toward an urbanized city and becoming an urban citizen is not limited with a legal system but should also contain economic and social activities of the city combined with culture in an urban space.

Only after 1867, with the acceptance of the foreign ownership in the Empire, that Levantines or other foreigners had the chance to acquire property and this time they agreed to register it on their own names and also become subjects of Ottoman Law. This opened a door for the Empire and placed all Levantine owners into the Ottoman jurisdiction.<sup>230</sup> However, Charlton Whittall was underlining that his property in Bournabat was acquired before the mentioned law and date. “Jean Baptiste Giraud evidently owned other houses besides his own family residence in this part of the village, for it was one of the his houses that Charlton rented and used as his country residence until 1891, when he bought the property for the sum of

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid. p. 65

25,000 piasters from the heirs of the late J.B. Giraud”.<sup>231</sup> In one of his letters to his father, Charlton was referring how living in the country decreased his expenses referring to the beauty of his property. He was also expressing his desire to acquire one more property for winter for a period of 4 mounts.<sup>232</sup>

In 1836, the Big House was purchased by the heirs of James from his brother Charlton Whittall for a sum of 135,000 piasters. “At about the same time, or shortly after, the field adjoining the Edward’s property was acquired by James, one of the Charlton’s sons, who built for his own use the house known later as the Clarke house, which to-day is occupied by Charlton and Mercy Whittall”.<sup>233</sup>

So what was the method? The registration of the property was done with the name of an Ottoman subject. For the case of Levantines these people were usually their wives, members of a non-Muslim community of the Empire but still an Ottoman citizen. According to the Ottoman laws despite, marrying a foreign man, women were preserving their original status which gave them authority to become owner of properties.<sup>234</sup> When examined from the perspective of Levantines this method was for their benefit. In this way if the merchant went bankrupt, the property would not be legally his so the creditor couldn’t claim any right over the house or it couldn’t be seized.<sup>235</sup> On a specific issue of a newspaper there was a letter containing complaints of Levantine property owners. After the declaration of the law some Levantines were blamed for not paying property taxes. Responses to these accusations given in this letter by underlining the fairness of accusations were that

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<sup>231</sup> Giraud, p. 76

<sup>232</sup> Ibid. p. 64

<sup>233</sup> Ibid. p. 77

<sup>234</sup> Sayek, p. 53

<sup>235</sup> Ibid. p. 54

Europeans, Levantines were well aware of the ruling right of the government and the right to collect taxes on property based on European countries they are coming from. In exchange they were asking for security and fair division of taxes.<sup>236</sup> At first the Ottoman Empire was willing to put into practice another method. All foreign people living in the Empire for more than 10 years should become automatically a subject of the Empire. Yet with the capitulations and their protection via Consuls made this idea never put into practice.<sup>237</sup>

Despite the nature of Levantines, the life style introduced into the Ottoman system in various domains combined with the desperate desire of controlling, separated them from the rest of the Ottomans. To sum up the characteristics or symbols of bourgeoisie; customs manners, consensus, titles, clothes representing this specific class could be cited. It is well known that in addition to these symbols economic, cultural and social notions were creating the base of this bourgeoisie.

In addition, with the establishment of municipalities the urbanization of Smyrna started pushing Levantines into taking active role in the politics. As mentioned before, Levantines didn't form a community with a distinct nationalist or religious formation. However, demand for municipalities was a key for these merchants to take action in local government and act for their commercial benefit as well as for communal benefit of Smyrna as a Smyrnian.

First of all, the city was making progress in urbanization process thanks to the all investments and institutions. On the other side, Levantines, who were under the protection of Consuls and capitulations and different from Ottoman citizens would have access to local administration. Even though Levantine community did prove, especially with the urbanization process of the city, that their nature is far away from

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<sup>236</sup> *Journal de Smyrne*, 25 July 1862.

<sup>237</sup> Schmitt, p. 131

people with only economic and social wealth, they were still a threat to the Empire. Especially the struggles of the Port with Consuls mentioned in previous chapters.

Even though characteristics of Levantines are discussed in details, an important question is still waiting for an answer. Is it possible to classify composers of Levantine community? Various interaction among society, belief, profit and living spaces led to assume that Levantine community was containing a hierarchy on its own composed of elites, bourgeoisie, Catholic clergy, middle and finally the lower class.<sup>238</sup>

Composition of elites were made by dynasties of drogman and immigrant merchants.<sup>239</sup> Prestigious position of drogman was not only protecting them but also giving right and influence in politics.<sup>240</sup> These components are basic necessary notions reflecting the intelligence of the community. In relation to that point elite Levantines may be referred as “Aristocracy” formed within the Ottoman society with their highly political and economic influences. Their nature for seeking mutual social benefit were leading them to have exclusive social relations reflected in different publications. They feel the necessity to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population which would isolate them. Nevertheless, their position was in a way dictating not only their economic, social and political position but also the people that should be positioned in their entourage. Based on these thoughts it would be understandable to see a group of Levantine totally separated physically and emotionally from Ottoman subjects.

Composers of bourgeoisie were not only successful business men but also quite influential in social life. Economic profit and having the opportunity to be

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid. pp. 236-318

<sup>239</sup> Ibid. p. 236

<sup>240</sup> Ibid. p. 238

independent were making them distinguished from other people working for wages. Their high profits were contributing to their personal life as well as creating opportunities for them to take risky business decisions. Furthermore, their life style, starting from being an important part of urbanism, consumption habits as well as using some goods as the symbol of their social position (like hats), were making them recognized even on their first look.<sup>241</sup>

In contradiction to European bourgeoisie, Levantines were living in a dual world, within two distinct systems. Based on their nationality and citizenship rights in Europe Levantines were getting in touch with economic, social and political matters. Their contribution to the Ottoman world cannot be derogated though. Their legal and political situations and contribution were in relation with municipalities and their area of influence.

Good relations with newly formed Ottoman bureaucracy and introduction to international trade were in a way bringing some Ottomans and Levantines in the same page. Their gatherings may be interpreted as the Ottomans' further step for Westernization. Prestige of these bourgeois families were ensured by marriage among their members. Position and relations of various families such as Whittalls, Giraud, La Fontaine and many others represent important examples. By these new bounds Levantines were contributing and preserving their newly established bourgeoisie.

In contradiction to elites, the members of Levantine bourgeoisie were having interactions with different levels of other communities. Trade relations were the main reason for these interactions. A member of Whittall family and his French guest were invited to the house of Süleyman Ağa. Before this visit Mr. Whittall was well aware

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid. p. 246



of Muslim customs and hospitality. He was willing to sit on the ground and eat the offered food in a common plate with the household and other guests.<sup>242</sup> If he acted differently from the emphasized behavior he would offend the household.

Elites and bourgeoisie were real leading power within Levantine community whereas middle and lower class were majorly involved in small trade, boutique management, artisanship and self-employment. Secret importance of the middle class members is hidden under their way of making money. Even though they may be considered as simple shop owners thanks to their institutions all European fashion and further products were sold in the Ottoman Empire which marked an important point for the introduction and spread of Westernization, also giving services to bourgeoisie.<sup>243</sup> In contradiction to the middle class, all people belonging to the inferior class were known for not possessing goods, being dependent on wages and located in popular neighborhoods close to the harbor.<sup>244</sup>

The Sultan visited the “Big House” of Whittalls in 1863. This visit is a very good example to show the social relations between Levantines and the Ottomans as well as the prestigious place of the family within society. The Sultan was welcomed by a large crowd formed by Hyde Clarke, Patterson, James Gout, James Whittall, Diran Efendi, Costan Oğlu, Baltazzi and Agron Efendi, there were also bishop and archbishop of the Orthodox and Protestant Churches and Jewish community and finally there were the members of the commercial tribune who welcomed the Sultan; Anania Alberti, Dr. Raffinesque, Dr. Borj, J. Fischer and Boghos Efendi.<sup>245</sup> On the following day a special horse race was prepared in honor of the Sultan with the

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<sup>242</sup> Beyru, p. 116

<sup>243</sup> Schmitt, p. 301

<sup>244</sup> Ibid. p. 307

<sup>245</sup> Ibid. pp. 483-484

participations of Whittall, Hanson, Blanchler, Blunt, Gout, Craith, Handkinson, Crick, Hönischer, Wolff, Cooper, Lawson, Routh, Rose, Wood, Abbott, Barker, Joly, La Fontaine, Perkins, van Lennep, Vedova, Cramer, Icard, Aliotti, Alberti, Carrier, Omeroi Amira and Costantiridhi families along with the Consuls.<sup>246</sup> 5 years later, members of the cited families would find the chance to get involved in the municipality and manage city needs.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Journey of Westernization for the Ottoman Empire gained its speed during 19<sup>th</sup> century. Declaration of Tanzimat and Islahat Edicts along with Balta Limanı Treaty created the necessary atmosphere both for Westernization of the Empire and conditions for numerous Levantines to settle and conduct trade activities in the Ottoman lands. Real reason behind such a decision is directly related with the geographical position of these important Mediterranean cities. Even though this thesis gave special emphasis to Smyrna with trying to underline similarities and differences with Alexandria, Beirut, Istanbul and Salonika, further important cities can be added to the list. A second reason behind these cities fame can be supported with rich raw material sources of the Empire along with the chance of making foreign investments and get access to special privileges based on capitulations. Even though Ottoman Empire had a very cosmopolite social structure, with the arrival of Levantines this cosmopolitanism started to become more apparent.

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid. p. 484

As I tried to underline, Levantines who came to the Ottoman Empire for trade, represents a bourgeoisie. Thanks to their contribution, the Ottomans had a great image concerning the formation and structure of this class. Even though a successful class of bourgeoisie was not reached during the reign of the Ottomans, great transformations were made within the society. Especially being protected by capitulations and Consuls were putting them in a more prestigious position as well as increasing their wealth. Moreover, special investments were made in order to increase trade potential, protect quality of imported and exported goods and finally overcome transportation problems. Investing on these special matters would not only increase profits of Levantines and exportation ratios of the Empire but also contribute to the silhouette of the city in which they are living. Dream of transformation of Smyrna and other trade centers of the Empire into a European city was mainly made by construction of railroads, harbor and tramways. Their influences were effective in order to transport goods to harbor and people from suburban areas to city center. Beside, city's relations with technology and its use in everyday life would be considered as the key elements for both financial power and essence of a European city.

Whittall family, a British family who is part of both Smyrna's and Istanbul's Levantine communities also took advantage of Westernization process by exclusive rights given to British merchants by Balta Limanı. As referred, economic profits represent one of the most important components of bourgeoisie. Being aware of the world economic tendencies and their combination with politics conducted by European forces were leading these merchants with ability to gain profit in the Ottoman Empire. Transition to free trade not only increased export ratios of the Ottoman Empire but also changed trade preferences of most Levantines. This switch

was also visible in decisions of Whittall family. Choice of exported products was made quite wisely and was forming the most wanted goods from Europe especially from England.<sup>247</sup>

Once financial power was assured as a bourgeois, Whittalls as many other Levantines started to play an influential role in social life generally formed around Levantines and non- Muslims. The simplest way to accomplish that goal would import European mentality and its institutions into the Ottoman world which was in a way ready to accept them. Spread of social clubs and numerous new social places such as cafés, restaurants, hotels, casinos, theaters, balls, operas, hunting parties and many others<sup>248</sup> were straightening interactions among Levantines bourgeoisie and started to share it with non-Muslims who could be defined as communities in resemblance to Levantines, especially financially and religiously. Even though introduction of new social spaces did created some complications especially concerning membership matters, harmony in both business and social matters seems to have further importance. Yet, some social spaces preserved their prestigious position along with their wealthy customers.<sup>249</sup> Even though this contradiction did not created great dilemmas within society it still had an important emphasis to underline the importance of hierarchy.

Another component representing Levantines exclusive position among social hierarchy would be their sportive nature and the contribution of sport to the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire. All branches of sport introduced in the Ottoman territories were reflecting European especially British mentality. Yet, these

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<sup>247</sup> Whittall, p. 17

<sup>248</sup> Basma Zerouali, *Sanat ve Eğlence Kavşağı in İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi?* pp. 161-181

<sup>249</sup> Schmitt, p. 452, Anastasiadou.

branches were quite successful for pushing Ottomans to think about their past and remember their old physical activities along with their success in those fields. Efforts of Sultan Mahmud the Second was not only encouraging old customs to resurrect but also encouraging all Ottomans to learn and experience these new sport branches.<sup>250</sup> At this point the influence of football is worth to underline. Whittalls were highly interested with the field and this bound could represent an example of their affection toward their home country and the necessity of being close to this European life style composed of social interactions and institutions. From the perspective of Ottoman Empire, football is far from being a single branch of sport. In order to perform football activities Muslim Ottomans had not only forget about old religious decisions, but also had to stay silent about their activities which might end up with arrests. Based on the efforts of Ottomans to take part in football fields and create their own Ottoman football clubs is one of the greatest example concerning Westernization and reflect its level of importance to Ottomans.

Another way of underlining wealth of Levantines which later would become a symbol of prosperity is their consumption tendencies. Just like social institutions, all consumed goods were taking part in their social life, interactions and positions as an agent of self-definition. Numerous goods were not only imported from Europe and sold at different shops and boutiques in Frank Street but also led to the creation of new market and expend it for Europe. Just like economic and social activities consumption was immediately embraced among both Muslims and non-Muslims with creating a great transformation in their appearance.

Thanks to the technological developments and investments, new suburban areas were preferred especially by Levantines. Even though the real reason for

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<sup>250</sup> Âtif, p. 629

Charlton Whittall to choose Bournabat as a residence was related with hygiene problems and contagious illness present at the time in city center, this location was quickly embraced by others. Style of houses similar to “the Big House” or other properties of the family started to increase in number. Furthermore, nature of 19<sup>th</sup> century houses all around Anatolia also have similar components. Focusing only on big houses with highly decorated doors and ceilings are worth to examine to understand the importance and influence of trade over Anatolia and may be over Ottoman lands.

The purpose of this thesis was to underline the bourgeois nature of the Whittall family and trying to link their lives with the rest of Levantines mainly living in Smyrna and other cities of the Empire along with discussing Levantine contribution to the Westernization process. A small summary pointing the real position of the Whittall Family is given by Mansel. “After a short period in the early nineteenth century, British merchant’s fortunes were recovering. Charlton Whittall, founder of a famous English dynasty which stayed in Smyrna and Constantinople until the 1980’s, arrived from Liverpool in 1809. He soon acquired a fortune and wife, Madeleine Giraud, daughter of the Austrian consul. Thanks to the Whittalls’ and other merchants’ country houses, with well-kept gardens and “masses of bed flowers”, Bornova and Buca were beginning to look like English rather than Greek villages– with Turkish guards to keep out brigands. In the summer, when Smyrniots moved there to avoid the heat and plagues of the city, there were parties every night: no family would stay at home. A French visitor, Maxime du Camp, complained, “It is sad to run away from them [the English] everywhere, only to find them unexpectedly under the Asian sun.” As well as making fortunes.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Mansel, p. 43

Edward Whittall who was a well-known botanist spent his time searching for wild plants in Anatolian flora and made the discovery of “Galanthus” also known as Taurus Snowdrop.<sup>252</sup> Edward was also sending some of his plants to England. His discoveries on the hillsides were added to botanic documents under “Turkey”. Edward Whittall is mostly famous for introducing a new type of tulip known as “Tulipa Whittallii”, a wild tulip. The second contribution was made with the discovery of “Fritillaria” documented as “Fritellaria Whittallii” in botanic sources.<sup>253</sup> James Whittall also contributed to the fauna by adding a new kind of extremely rare Anatolian deer known as “Red Deer”. James was also very interested in collecting different coins belonging to different civilizations existed in Anatolia. He ended up having a very extensive collection of Hellenistic coins today available at British Museum.

These kind of scientific discoveries should not be totally strange to Ottoman youth who got their education in important European capitals. These Ottomans are a result of Ottoman Westernization process. Albeit the critical position of the Ottoman Empire and the desire of being part of Europe, literary works are still one the most beneficial sources to understand the Ottoman perspective. While discussing Europe, Levantine Bourgeoisie and Westernization, critics of Ottoman writers are very crucial.<sup>254</sup> Especially focusing on corruption in moral and cultural values and accepting every European manner regardless of its suitability to Ottomans with their harsh comments are very useful to understand the other side of the medallion.

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<sup>252</sup> Öndeş, *Modalı Vitol Ailesi*, p. 263

<sup>253</sup> Alison Rix and Edward Martyn, “Whittall (1851- 1917) and His Contribution to the Royal Botanic Garden, KEW” *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* 2011, 28 (3): p. 220

<sup>254</sup> Other important Ottoman Tanzimat writers are Şimasi, Ziya Paşa, Namık Kemal, Abdülhak Hamit Tarhan, Samipaşazade Sezai.

## APPENDICES

A. Geneology of Early Whittalls. Giraud P. 50

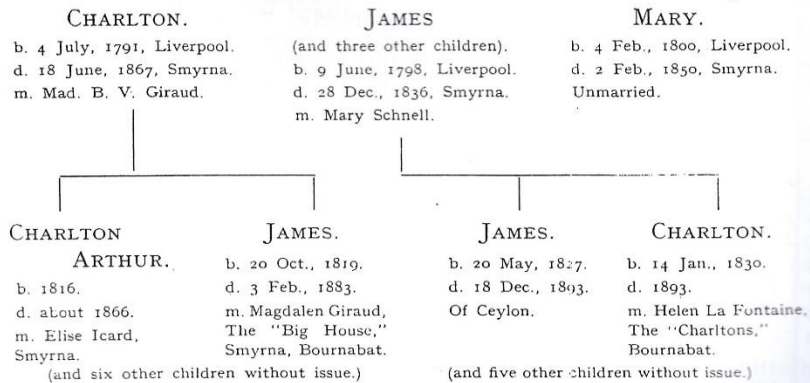


FAMILY TREE OF THE DIRECT LINE  
THE EARLY WHITTALLS

JAMES AND MARGARET WHITTALL,  
Our earliest known Ancestors. James born about 1705. Probable  
origin from Shropshire, around Shrewsbury, later of the Parish of  
All Saints, Worcester.

|  
GEORGE WHITTALL (and four other children).  
Born 1732. Died 1770. Buried at Hallow. Elected Freeman of Worcester, 14th March, 1754.  
Married MARY SPEED.

|  
CHARLTON WHITTALL (and one other son).  
Born 19th Oct., 1764. Died 14th Jan., 1823. Buried St. James' Churchyard, Liverpool. Elected  
Freeman of Worcester, 21st Jan., 1793. Before marriage was Midshipman and Lieutenant under  
Hood and Rodney. Married SARAH GALLIERS, 25th Mar., 1789, at Trinity Church, Chester.



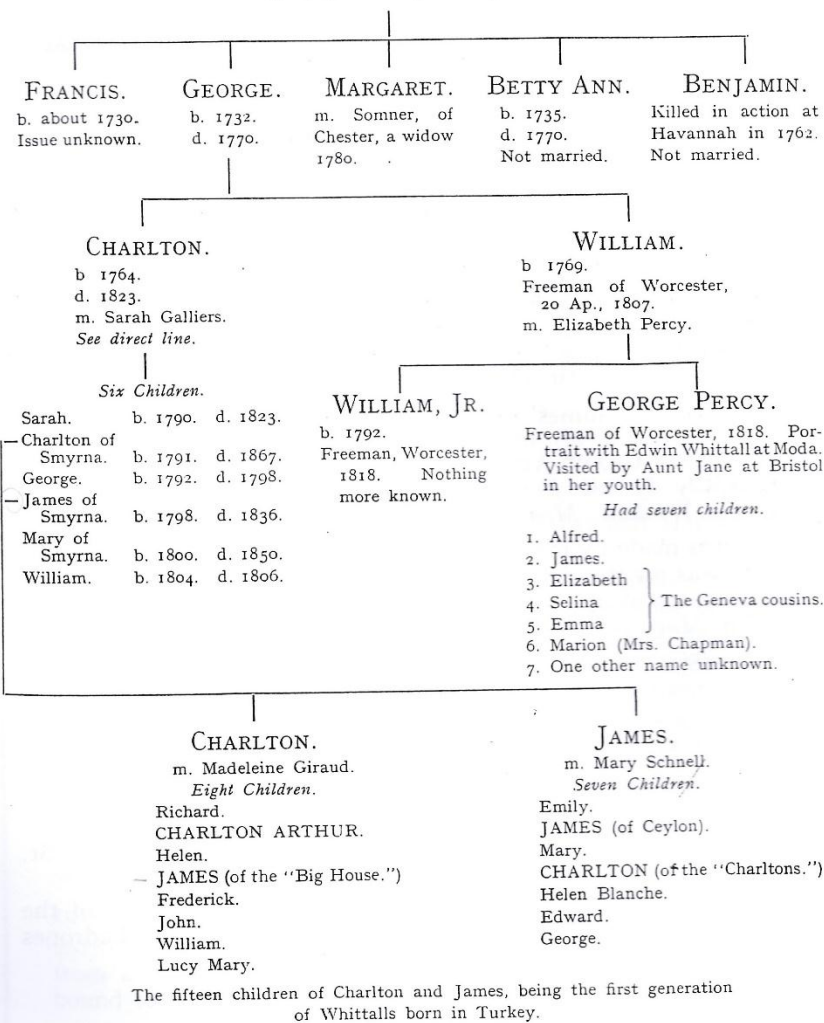
The said four sons of Charlton and James Whittall who had issue were the first generation of  
Whittalls born in Turkey.

[ 50 ]

FAMILY TREE. THE EARLY WHITTALLS

JAMES AND MARGARET WHITTALL.

James born about 1705, of the Parish of All Saints, Worcester.  
Origin, probably Shropshire.





D. <http://levantineheritage.com/abbottk.htm>



E. <http://levantineheritage.com/abbottk.htm>



F. Herbert Octavius Whittall, the “manager” of a football team with a bowler hat,  
<http://levantineheritage.com/whittall2.htm>



G. The Big House in Bournabat,  
<http://humphrysfamilytree.com/Maltass/big.house.html>



H. Moda Tower, <http://humphrysfamilytree.com/Maltass/sir.william.whittall.html>





I. Municipalities in Smyrna,  
<http://humphrysfamilytree.com/Maltass/turkey.history.html>



J. Camels on the tramway line, <http://www.smyrnaflowers.cn/blog/portfolio/a-brief-history-of-smyrna/>



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L' Echo de L'Orient: November 5, 1841; January 19, 1844; June 15, 1844.

Stamboul: March 8, 1886.

Ahenk Gazetesi: April 15, 1895; May 3, 1895; May 13, 1895; May 18, 1895; June 14, 1895; June 17, 1895; June 21, 1895; September 20, 1895; September 30, 1895; October 7, 1895; October 11, 1895, June 2, 1896; May 4, 1897; August 18, 1898; October 30, 1900; March 15, 1902; April 2, 1902; June 5, 1902; June 6, 1901; June 27, 1901; July 8, 1901; June 4, 1902; August 15, 1903.

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