

**T.R.
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ATATURK'S PRINCIPLES AND HISTORY OF
TURKISH REVOLUTION
MASTER PROGRAM**

MASTER THESIS

**LEVANT TRADE REVIEW AND TURKISH-
AMERICAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS
(1911-1931)**

**HASAN KÜÇÜK
14701008**

**THESIS ADVISOR
ASSOC. PROF. ERCAN KARAKOÇ**

**ISTANBUL
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ABSTRACT

LEVANT TRADE REVIEW AND TURKISH-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS (1911-1931)

Hasan KÜÇÜK

May, 2019

In this master thesis, the function, content and views of *Levant Trade Review*, published by the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant from 1911 to 1931 in Istanbul are studied in relation to the milestones of its time.

American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant (ACCL) was established in Istanbul in 1911 when the Chester Project which marked a remarkable attempt of the American capital to take part in the Near East was on the agenda of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies. ACCL established branches in Selanik, Patras, Izmir, Beyrut, Atina, Kahire and even in the USA. The Chamber was in the intention of gathering the business people who were engaged in trade with the United States of America under an organization to build better conditions for the American interests as well as supporting the Chester Project. However, ACCL was lack of a platform to promote the USA and the Levant as well as a medium of communication. Thus, *Levant Trade Review* emerged as the resolution to the need for a platform to create a link among members, to promote American products and industry, to introduce regional commodities, trade and investment opportunities in addition to its being a positive source of information about Turkey.

During its publication period, *Levant Trade Review* adopted a non-political stance and preferred to be out of the political and diplomatic conflicts of the region as long as they were irrelevant to the trade and business which were crucial to the American interests. The reports, op-eds and articles of the magazine were prepared by the experts, American consular officers and the employees of the America institutions in the region, which enabled the magazine to follow the up-to-date local conditions and opportunities for the benefit of the Chamber's members and American entrepreneurs.

In this context, this master thesis aims to study *Levant Trade Review* to constitute a frame for the American views about the changes in the region during the publication period of the magazine. Furthermore, the content of *Levant Trade Review* was investigated and analyzed to describe the structure and activities of ACCL; to reveal the activities of American companies in the region and to determine the true importance of the commercial ties between two communities through focusing on specific cases of wheat, flour, fruits, nuts and motor vehicles. Furthermore, the repercussions of the Tripoli and Balkan Wars, the World War I and the Turkish Independence War in case of the trade and economy and the developments in the new republic in Turkey and the reforms were all analyzed and studied. Besides, the magazine provided detailed information about the American companies and business

organizations works in the region, expectations and views on the economic future of the region as well as the bilateral relations between two countries.

Levant Trade Review was in close cooperation with the American institutions and companies as the most widespread business organization in the region and the United States of America. Because of its publication which concentrated on the economic and commercial relations, *Levant Trade Review*, proffered substantial data on the bilateral commercial relations between the countries in the region and the USA, American companies' activities in the region while presenting valuable information on the point of view of the Americans on the transformation in the region. Therefore, the magazine is a true resource of information about the American capital in the region and American institutions, operating in health, education and charity.

Key Words: American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, American Investment, American Trade, Istanbul, Balkans, the Near East, *Levant Trade Review*



ÖZ

LEVANT TRADE REVIEW VE TÜRK-AMERİKAN TİCARİ İLİŞKİLERİ (1911-1931)

Hasan KÜÇÜK

Mayıs, 2019

Bu çalışmada, American Levant Ticaret Odası (Memalik-i Şarkıyye Ticaret Odası) tarafından 1911-1931 yılları arasında İstanbul'da basılan *Levant Trade Review* isimli iş dünyası dergisinin işlev, içerik ve görüşleri dönemin önemli olayları ile ilişkili olarak incelenmektedir.

Amerikan Levant Ticaret Odası, Amerikan sermayesinin Yakın Doğu pazarında yer almak için geliştirdiği meşhur Chester Projesi'nin Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi'nde görüşülmekte olduğu bir dönemde İstanbul'da 1911 yılında kuruldu ve Selanik, Patras, İzmir, Beyrut, Atina, Kahire ve hatta ABD'de şubeler kurmuştur. Oda, Chester Projesini destekleme planının yanı sıra Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ile ticari ilişkileri olan iş insanlarını, Amerikan çıkarları için daha iyi koşullar inşa etmek üzere bir kurum altında toplamayı da hedeflemiştir. *Levant Trade Review* da Oda'nın üyeleri arasında bir bağlantı oluşturma, Amerikan ürün ve sanayisinin bölgedeki varlığını artırma, bölgenin ürün, ticaret ve yatırım imkanlarının ABD'de tanıtımını yapma ihtiyacına bir cevap olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Levant Trade Review basıldığı süre boyunca, politika dışı yayın politikası takip etmiş, Amerikan çıkarları için hayati önem taşımadıkça ticari ve iş alanı dışında yer alan siyasal ve diplomatik çatışmaların dışında kalmayı tercih etmiştir. Uzmanlar, Amerikan konsolosluk görevlileri ve bölgedeki Amerikan kurumları çalışanları tarafından ekonomi üzerine yoğunlaşarak hazırlanan rapor, görüş ve makaleler derginin ana temasını oluşturmaktadır. *Levant Trade Review*, bu sayede, Oda üyeleri ve Amerikan girişimcileri yararına güncel yerel koşul ve fırsatları takip etmiş ve bölgenin gelecek vaat eden sektör ve fırsatları hakkında detaylı bilgi sunmuştur.

Levant Trade Review, ayrıca, savaşlar, devrimler ve dönüşümler yaşayan bölgenin yerel durum ve gelişmelerinin iş ve ticaret üzerindeki etkilerini, Oda üyeleri ve Amerikan okuyucularına aktarmıştır. Trablusgarb Savaşı, Balkan Savaşları, I. Dünya Savaşı ve Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın ticaret ve ekonomik alandaki etkisini, yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin reformlarının yansımalarını analiz ederek, ilgililere ulaştırmıştır. Keza, Amerikan firmalarının ve iş dünyası kurumlarının bölgedeki faaliyetleri ve çalışmaları, bölge ve ülkenin ekonomik geleceği hakkındaki görüşleri ve ABD ile bölge ülkelerinin karşılıklı ticareti hakkında detaylı bilgiler sağlamıştır.

Levant Trade Review yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere bölgedeki en yaygın iş dünyası örgütünün yayın organı olması dolayısıyla Amerikan kurum ve şirketleri ile yakın bir işbirliği içerisindedir. Ekonomik ve ticari ilişkiler üzerine yoğunlaşan yayınları sayesinde bölge ülkeleri ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri arasındaki ticarete ve Amerikan şirketlerinin bölgedeki faaliyetlerine ve yaşanan değişime bakış açılarına ilişkin önemli bilgiler sağlamaktadır. Ayrıca, ABD’de Türkiye hakkında yaptığı çalışmalar ve yayınlar ile de ikili ilişkilerin gelişmesine katkılar sunacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerikan Levant Ticaret Odası, Amerikan Yatırımları, Amerikan Ticareti, İstanbul, Balkanlar, Yakın Doğu, *Levant Trade Review*



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In this master thesis, an American business magazine in the Near East, *Levant Trade Review* has been studied. This magazine was published between 1911 and 1931 by the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and constituted a considerable influence range from the Near East to the United States. The magazine not only contributed to the development of business ties between two communities but also supported the improvement of Turkish image in the USA. Furthermore, *Levant Trade Review* provided valuable information with regard to the American institutions, companies, trade and investments in the region as well as the views of the Americans about the radical transformation of Turkey at that time.

During the study of *Levant Trade Review*, American Archives, Atatürk Library, İSAM Library, founder Gabriel Bie Ravndal's books were of great use and contribution to the development of the work. Additionally, the works which covered the coinciding year and issues, relevant periodicals, missionary memoirs and works, statistical data of Turkish and American Governments have been investigated suitably and added to the scope of the thesis.

I would specifically express my deepest appreciation and regards to Assoc. Prof. Ercan Karakoç for his guidance, suggestions and opinions which paved a magnificent way to develop my work. Furthermore, I want to state my thanks to my wife and son for their tolerance and support during the preparation of this study.

Bursa; May, 2019

Hasan KÜÇÜK

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABCFM	: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ACCL	: American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant
Co.	: Corporation
CUP	: The Committee of Union and Progress
Ed.	: Edition
i.	: Issue
Ibid	: In the same place
Inc.	: Incorporated
Ltd.	: Limited Company
Passim	: Everywhere
PRFRUS	: Papers Related to the Foreign Relations of the United Staes
TDVİA	: Türkiye Diyane Vakfı Ansiklopedisi
The Chamber:	American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant
The Empire	: The Ottoman Empire
USA, US	: The United States of America
USD	: American Dollar
v.	: Volume

1. INTRODUCTION

This study aims to reveal one of the under investigated part of the Turkish-American relations, which had a history more than two hundred years. Bilateral relations between two countries started owing to the attraction of trade and then transformed into a political cooperation, especially after the World War II. The ties which gradually evolved into a politics-based interaction overshadowed the commercial past of the relations, particularly, the trade and business activities of Americans in the Ottoman Empire in the first quarter of the 20th Century. This study has the intention of making up the deficiency in this field. American existence in the Middle East can be traced back to the last years of 18th Century. Even before the independence of the United States of America, there were merchant ships plying between the Ottoman and American ports. Having started as irregular lines carrying American manufactured goods to the region and taking raisins, figs and carpets back to the United States, the American merchants gradually increased their number and trade whilst the missionary institutions grew rapidly around the region as of 1820s. During their intense activities in Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire, American people managed to found long-lasting organizations in different segments of life. Schools, colleges, charities and hospitals were the leading representatives of American missionaries while the businessmen who had a considerable amount of trade at their hands established the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant (ACCL), which managed to expand to almost all prominent centers of the Near East, the Balkans and could even organize in the United States of America.

Levant Trade Review was a significant part of these extensive commercial activities and published by ACCL, which realized remarkable achievements for the good of the bilateral trade. *Levant Trade Review* allocated coverage to the economic influences of the wars, revolutions and transformation in the region as well as providing the American insight on these issues. Furthermore, the magazine not only contributed to the development of bilateral commercial relations but also released news to improve the “negative” image of

Turks in the USA in addition to informative articles about the real conditions in the region through up-to-date reports. *Levant Trade Review* provided monthly, yearly statistics, extensive reports on market conditions and the views of businessmen. These reports of *Levant Trade Review* on the bilateral commerce between the countries in the region and the USA proffer valuable information on this trade's volume, profile and development.

More importantly, closely following the developments in the region, *Levant Trade Review* acquainted the relevant authorities and parties by presenting the existent obstacles and opportunities for the improvement of bilateral economic ties whereby *Levant Trade Review* also contributed to the gradual removal of the obstacles to the thrive of bilateral trade. Furthermore, the magazine notified the American entrepreneurs about the promising sectors such as flour and motor vehicles in advance through publishing regular market reports and evaluations to present the prospects of the region.

Apart from these, *Levant Trade Review* provided a closer look at the American companies operating in Turkey by supplying information about their businesses, interests and points of view in addition to the details about the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant which reached a considerable number of members and influence scope. Furthermore, the views of the American officials about the changes, developments and reforms as well as their economic perspectives, expectations and suggestions can be followed through the issues of *Levant Trade Review* which was supported by the American consular staff which makes the magazine a valuable source of data for the past of the Turkish-American commercial relations.

Because of *Levant Trade Review*'s being a significant source of data for the study of economic side of the Turkish-American relations, experts working in this area used the articles and data of *Levant Trade Review* in their works. Nonetheless, there was not an historical and diplomatic academic study on this magazine. Therefore, *Levant Trade Review* is the key focus of this thesis to contribute to the literature on Turkish-American relations in terms of direct and indirect American influence on the Ottoman-Turkish economy, American commercial activities in the region and American approach towards the Empire and the Early Modern Turkey which underwent a radical change during the publication years of this magazine. Taking all these of *Levant Trade Review* into

consideration, this study will focus on the structural and organizational profile as well as the content, data and reports which was of importance for the Turkish-American relations.

Levant Trade Review was released as 165 issues and 2 Addendums, which had pages ranging from 48 to 144 for 19 years between 1911-1931. At the preparation phase of the thesis, all issues of *Levant Trade Review* were acquired thanks to the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) and studied in depth to create a detailed index of articles published in the magazine. Afterwards, American archives were researched to constitute an institutional basis of the magazine while the historical background of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant as well as some other American institutions in Istanbul were also formed thanks to the findings which resulted from further research ignited by the *Levant Trade Review*'s news and articles. Following the study of the magazine itself and the American archives, American newspaper archives were investigated to fully reveal the *Levant Trade Review*'s impact area in the USA, which were, at that time, quite biased and negative to the Turkish state due to the missionary publications and Armenian Events in the region. In addition, the works of the American consular staff and missionaries were also studied to shed light on the ACCL's and *Levant Trade Review*'s activities.

Furthermore, a broad literature review was conducted to detect the existent works and studies in this topic. In this context, "Selective Bibliography on Turkish-American Relations" which was authored by Mustafa Aydın and Çağrı Erhan was studied as the initial guide.¹ After the collection of the article index, source materials, contemporary periodicals and leading secondary sources, books, articles, dissertations and memoirs were classified and studied to construct a basis for this thesis. Two prior works in this field were observed to be referenced in many other studies particularly for the American commercial activities in the region. The first one was a Ph. D. Thesis, *American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930, An Economic Interpretation* which was authored by Leland Gordon, who conducted an extensive research and held interviews with the relevant authorities even in

¹ Çağrı Erhan, Mustafa Aydın, "Selective Bibliography on Turkish-American Relations". **The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations**, v. 31, (2000): 267-292.

Turkey. Gordon focused mainly on the economic ties between two countries and provided a profile of Turkish-American bilateral trade thereby clarifying the comparative importance of this trade for both of the countries until 1930.² Another work was John A. DeNovo's *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East* in which it is possible to find information about all American works in the Middle East. DeNovo's book included not only the commercial interests and political issues but explained the development of Missionary Schools as well.³ Because these two works also corresponded to this M.A. thesis in terms of time and subject, both of them contributed to this work during the preparation phase.

The investigation of the literature on this field indicated the need for a further research on *Levant Trade Review*, the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and relevant specific issues of bilateral trade. Consequently, this thesis was decided to proceed to demonstrate the activities of ACCL, to explain the contributions of *Levant Trade Review* to the bilateral trade, to describe the American approach to the regional developments through an insight of the magazine, to show the activities of the American companies in the region and significant items of commerce through synthesizing the information principally from *Levant Trade Review* as well as the primary resources of American Department of Commerce and other works in the field.

Thus, this thesis studies the function, content and views of *Levant Trade Review* by considering the radical changes in the Ottoman-Turkish history as well as the extensive economic and commercial ties between Turkish and American business community. In this context, the publication life of *Levant Trade Review* was classified into three main periods: the First Period which continued from first issue of *Levant Trade Review* in 1911 until the rupture of the bilateral relations in 1917 when the publication of the magazine also stopped; the Second Period, beginning in 1919 with the resume of the publication of *Levant Trade Review* and the Third Period of 1923-1931 that coincided with the declaration of the Republic, rapid transformation of Turkey and end of the *Levant Trade*

² Leland Gordon, "American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930 An Economic Interpretation" (Ph. D. Thesis. Graduate School of University of Pennsylvania, 1932).

³ John A. DeNovo, **American Interests and Policies in the Middle East**, 2nd Ed. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1968).

Review in 1931. This study mainly focused on the influences of the historical developments on Ottoman-Turkish economy as reflected by *Levant Trade Review* which constituted the repercussions of Americans' views. Furthermore, the activities of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, the owner of *Levant Trade Review*, and operations of the American companies in the region have also been included in this study. In addition, the reports and news of *Levant Trade Review* on Turkish-American commercial relations; the conditions in Izmir and Istanbul markets; the profile of fruits, flour, wheat and motor vehicles trade have been evaluated as parts of this work.

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters including the Introduction and the Conclusion. The narration has been enriched through tables, figures and appendices to create a better understanding of argument. Furthermore, short biographies of historical figures who had a significance for the thesis have been summarized concisely in the footnotes of the relevant pages. Throughout the thesis, Turkish versions of the locations which were provided in the Appendices as a list have been used to facilitate the follow up of through the current geographical documents.

As for the content of the thesis, to begin with, the Introduction will introduce the extent of the topic, the goals of the thesis, the study of *Levant Trade Review* issues, the literature review on the relevant topics in addition to the explanations on the originality of the study.

The second chapter will provide a historical background through summarizing the past of the Turkish-American relations by focusing on the milestones and the crucial factors that determined the progress of the relations. Moreover, the contemporary economic profile of both countries at the beginning of the 20th century will be investigated as based on the contrast which was emerged from the American rapid industrial and commercial expansion against the permanent economic problems of the Ottoman Empire. Additionally, Turkish-American commercial ties will be studied to demonstrate the volume of bilateral trade, the importance of this trade for both of the countries as well as the principal commodities that took the lead in this commerce whereby the basis of the thesis will be laid to further the study for the period after 1911.

Within the third chapter, the history and the structure of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and its prominent activities will be studied. Then, the mission, aims, design, features and the publication policy of *Levant Trade Review* will be examined in detail. Moreover, the economy and market conditions of the region, trading habits of the local merchants and their difference from the American methods, the American charity institutions, the advertisements in the magazine will also be studied in this chapter. Apart from these, this chapter will investigate the function and contributions of *Levant Trade Review* to the bilateral commercial relations; the attitude and perception of the magazine towards the Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Turkey, the advices and suggestions for the development of American business in the region.

The fourth chapter will cover the era from 1911 when *Levant Trade Review* came into existence until 1917 in which the bilateral relations between the Ottoman Empire and the USA ruptured due to the World War I. In this chapter, the effects and damages of the Tripoli and Balkan Wars on the commerce will be studied from the point of view of the magazine. Furthermore, *Levant Trade Review*'s views and expectations towards the war, which concentrated on the World War I in 1914, its evaluation of the Ottomans' entry into war and the comments on the ensuing economic conditions formed the major part of this chapter. Afterwards, the suggestions to utilize the commercial advantages that resulted from American neutrality in the war by *Levant Trade Review* and the conformity of the magazine with the general foreign trade policy which was determined by the relevant American institutions were also evaluated in the third Chapter.

The fifth chapter focused mainly on the reflections of the postwar period and Turkish Independence War in the magazine. Firstly, the radical changes as a result of the World War I and the postwar situation in the region were laid out. Next, the reflections of the Turkish Independence War on *Levant Trade Review*, a foreign media outlet, will be studied together with the issue of American Mandate on Turkey and its evaluations in the magazine. Furthermore, the attitude of *Levant Trade Review* towards the Ankara Government and the general economic conditions in the country will be investigated in addition to the USA-Ankara relations. Further in this chapter, the Chester Project which

came into the agenda of Turkey for the second time will also be investigated including the historical background.

The sixth chapter focuses mainly on the early years of Modern Turkey and the repercussions of the Turkish transformation in *Levant Trade Review* with a further concentration on the new economic and commercial conditions which were created by the Peace Treaty of Lausanne. Additionally, the new business opportunities after 1923, the American attempts to enter the Turkish market, the Great Depression and its reflections in the magazine will be studied in this chapter. In addition, the rapprochement process between two governments, the contribution of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant to this process and Turkish-American relations from 1923 to 1931 constituted rest of the sixth chapter.

The seventh and the last chapter will be focused on the commercial relations of the American and Turkish business communities. Turkish-American trade between 1911 and 1931 will be studied with regard to the relative importance of this trade for both parties. Furthermore, fruits and nuts export to the USA, import of flour, wheat and motor vehicles from the USA will be demonstrated with the contribution of data provided by *Levant Trade Review*. In addition, the activities and works of the American companies in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey will be evaluated by focusing on the leading companies in this sense.

The Conclusion will lay out the results of the study which will include the important commercial partnership of the USA with the Ottoman Empire and Turkey while proffering the inference that the American business community in the region could create long-term and influential organizations. Apart from these, *Levant Trade Review* will be stated to have formed a widespread and efficient coverage and publication domain as well as addressing to an important need for a platform to facilitate communication among members, promotion for the countries. Furthermore, thanks to the support of American consular staff and missionaries in the region, *Levant Trade Review* has been concluded to be an important media outlet to follow the American views about the economic conditions, business developments in the region. Lastly, it has been deduced that *Levant Trade Review*

presents a valuable content to detect the American commercial existence in the region during the first three decades of 20th Century.



2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Turkish-American Relations (1784-1923)

The bilateral relations between two countries have relatively a shorter past when compared to the other Western countries. Notably, the bilateral relations started mostly thanks to the existence of commercial transactions. Even before the independence of the United States, the colonies under the rule of the Great Britain established strong commercial ties with the Turkish lands. For instance, there were about 100 American merchant ships conducting trade in Mediterranean circa 1780s.¹ These ships employed more than a thousand sailors and conducted a substantial amount of trade between the region and the USA. For example, about 20% of American flour and wheat exports were shipped to the Mediterranean ports in those years.²

At the beginning of Turkish-American bilateral relations, Northern African states of the Ottoman Empire took such a leading part that anthem of the US Marine Corps has the line “From the Halls of Montezuma to the Shores of Tripoli.”³ Tripoli with Tunisia and Algiers formed the Northern African states of the Ottoman Empire and were called as the Barbary States (Berberi Devletleri) by the Americans. Contemporaneously with the American Revolution, these Northern African states were loosely tied to the Ottoman Government since the local dynasties had the authority and rule in practice.⁴ American merchant ships were exposed to the attacks of the Barbary Corsairs as there was not an agreement between Barbary administrations and the USA. Hence, American Government decided to sign

¹ Çağrı Erhan, **Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Kökenleri**, 2nd Ed. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2015), 41-42. Hasan Tahsin Fendoğlu, **Modernleşme Bağlamında Osmanlı-Amerikan İlişkileri** (İstanbul: Beyan Yayınları, 2002), 178-180.

² Mine Erol, “Amerika'nın Cezayir ile Olan İlişkileri (1785-1816)”, **Turkish Journal of History**, i. 32 (2011): 689.

³ John M. Vander Lippe, “The Terrible Turk”: The Formulation and Perpetuation of a Stereotype in American Foreign Policy”, **New Perspectives on Turkey**, i. 17 (1997): 39.

⁴ William Hale, **Turkish Foreign Policy since 1774**, 3rd Ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 1.

agreements with these states to assure the safety of merchant ships and American citizens.⁵ In this scope, Ottoman Empire was included in the countries with which Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were assigned to make commercial agreements. However, this initiative remained obsolete in 1784 due to the abandonment of the plan by John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.⁶

In the following years, the American ships were still on the target of the Barbary States. After the seizure of the ten American ships in Mediterranean in 1793 by Barbary Corsairs, American Government started to build a fleet to protect the American interests. After the arrival of the American fleet of 6 ships in Mediterranean, Dey (Dayı-Chief Ruler) of Algiers had to accept to make an agreement with the USA. In accordance with the treaty, which was signed on September 5, 1795, American Government accepted to pay an annual tribute to the Algiers in return for the security of the American ships.⁷ These commercial treaties continued with Tripoli on November 4, 1796 and with Tunisia on March 26, 1799.⁸ Richard O'Brien who was a captive in Algiers for a few years was assigned as the American Consul General in Algiers as the first American resident representative to the Ottoman Empire.⁹

Even though there were official relations between the USA and the Barbary States, the first contact between the Ottoman Government and the United States occurred some years later. The first official contact between the two governments took place also through the Barbary States in North Africa. Captain William Bainbridge of the USS George Washington arrived in Algiers in September 1800 to deliver the annual tribute to the Algiers. Mustafa Pasha, the Dey, forced Captain Bainbridge to go to Istanbul to deliver his gifts and envoy for the Sultan. Despite the opposition of Bainbridge and O'Brien, USS

⁵ Çağrı Erhan, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Mağrip Ülkeleri ile İlişkileri (1776-1815)", **Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi**, v. 53, i. 1 (1998): 30.

⁶ Orhan F. Köprülü, "Tarihte Türk-Amerikan Münasebetleri", **Belleten**, v. 51, i. 200 (1987): 927. John Adams was the second president of the United States. Thomas Jefferson succeeded him in 1801 and became the third president of the US. Benjamin Franklin was a renowned writer, scientist and one of the founding fathers of the US. Francis S. Drake, **Dictionary of American Biography** (Boston: Riverside Press, 1879), 338.

⁷ Erhan, "Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Mağrib Ülkeleri ile İlişkileri (1776-1815)", 134.

⁸ Hasan Fendoğlu, "Osmanlı-ABD Ticari İlişkileri", **Türkler Ansiklopedisi**, v. 14 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 482-483..

⁹ Erol, "Amerika'nın Cezayir ile Olan İlişkileri", 713.

George Washington were obliged to sail for Ottoman capital under the command of Bainbridge who reached Istanbul on November 9, 1800.¹⁰ This was the first encounter of Ottoman Government's with the American representatives and the establishment of official relations awaited for about three decades.

Although the USA managed to overcome the Barbary attacks through agreements mentioned above at the initial stage and through war in 1815, American merchants had to pay higher duties at the Ottoman Ports for their trade due to the inexistence of a treaty between the USA and Ottoman Empire. Hence, until 1810, American ships hoisted British flag to pay 3% duty rather than %6, which also created an extra payment to the British Consulate in Izmir.¹¹ Therefore, American Government was quite eager to make a treaty to constitute a permanent and more profitable basis for the American ships. After the failure of the first attempt to make commercial treaty with the Ottoman Government, Rufus King, American Minister in London, persuaded John Adams, American President of the time, to resume the attempt to make direct agreement with the Ottoman Government upon the advices by Peter Abbott who was a member of Abbott Family doing business in Western Anatolia.¹² Thus, William Smith, American Minister in Lisbon, was assigned as the first American official representative to the Ottoman Empire in 1799 and charged to conduct negotiations for a treaty. But Smith never sailed for Istanbul and did not commence his duty because of the opposition in Washington that arose due to the war between France and the Ottoman Empire.¹³ Then, in 1802, William Stewart was appointed to Izmir. However, the Ottoman Government did not accept Stewart as the official

¹⁰ "American Consulates in the Levant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 9 (1920): 376, Gökür Akçadağ, "Akdeniz'de Türk-Amerikan Ticari İlişkilerinin Başlamasında Kaptan William Bainbridge'in İstanbul Seyahatinin Önemi", **Tarih Dergisi**, i. 54 (2012): 134-135. Köprülü, *ibid*, 928. William Bainbridge was one of the leading navy commanders of the United States after the revolution and fought in Barbary Wars. Francis S. Drake, *ibid*, 69-70.

¹¹ Ayşegül Avcı, "Yankee Levantine: David Offley and Ottoman-American Relations in the Early Nineteenth Century" (Ph. D. Thesis, Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences, Bilkent University, 2016), 115-116.

¹² Köprülü, *ibid*, 927-928. Abbott Family was a powerful merchant family in the Levant. There were family members in Selanik, Istanbul, Halep, Halep and Akra which were principal ports of the Levant from 18th Century to 19th Century as the officials of the branches of the Levant Company. Despina Vlami, **Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East** (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 63.

¹³ Akdes Nimet Kurat, **Türk-Amerikan Münasebetlerine Kısa Bir Bakış (1800-1959)** (Ankara: Doğuş Ltd. Şti. Matbaası, 1959), 10.

representative even if he arrived in Izmir. Therefore, he had to return to the United States in 1803.¹⁴

Ottoman American relations remained stable through the first decade of the 19th Century. Later, David Offley who conducted the considerable portion of trade between the two countries and owned the major part of the vessels plying between Philadelphia and Izmir came to Izmir in 1811, where he exerted to gain benefits for the American merchants. Firstly, Offley worked to lower the cost for the American ships and he personally achieved to obtain the right for American ships to be subject to the tariffs in force at the Ottoman ports. He even attained the fixation of customs rates at %3 for the American products in 1817 by obtaining an Imperial Firman. David Offley was assigned as the American Consular Commercial Agent in 1823, which makes him the first officially recognized American representative to the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵

As stated above, two previous initiatives to sign a commerce treaty with the Ottoman Empire by the United States of America became obsolete and this situation created commercial disadvantages for the American merchants.¹⁶ The United States restarted attempts to sign a trade agreement with the Ottoman Empire as from 1820 to facilitate the American trade in Mediterranean. However, the Ottoman Government was concerned about the probable reaction and resistance of the Great Britain against a commercial treaty with the United States and therefore, the signing of the treaty took a considerable time.¹⁷ However, an Ottoman military disaster changed the course of the bilateral relations. The Ottoman Navy lost most of its ships in the Naval Battle of Navarino in 1827, which forced the Ottoman Government to search for a new ally and a partner to rebuild its warfare and marine power. Contrary to the Western countries that had ambitions to the Ottoman territories, the USA was perceived as an appropriate partner for the modernization of the Navy with her developed shipbuilding industry. Furthermore, the Ottoman Government

¹⁴ Nurdan Şafak, **Osmanlı-Amerikan İlişkileri** (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2003), 36-37.

¹⁵ Akdes Nimet Kurat, **ibid**, 9. Onur Kınlı, “19. Yüzyıl’da Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nin İzmir’deki Konsolosluk Faaliyetleri” (Ph. D. Thesis, Graduate School of Social Sciences, University of Ege, 2009), 121-124.

¹⁶ Kınlı, **ibid**, 120.

¹⁷ Akdes Nimet Kurat, “Türkiye ile Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Arasındaki Münasebetlere Ait Arşiv Vesikaları”, **Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi**, , v. 5, i. 8 (1967): 293.

was of the opinion that the US had no colonial interest in the region contrary to the Europeans.¹⁸ Accelerated after the Navarino, treaty negotiations resulted in 1830. Trade and Navigation Agreement was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the United States of America on May 7, 1830, thereby starting the official diplomatic relations between two countries.¹⁹

As per this agreement, the United States obtained the status of “the Most Favored Nation” which granted American merchants the right to be subject to the lowest duty rates and American nationals to be subject to the American consular protection. Besides, the United States gained the right to open officially recognized consular missions within the Empire.²⁰ Nevertheless, the fourth clause of the treaty which determined the judicial issues between two countries triggered a big problem in the long run, which was outcome of a translation error. In this context, the Turkish version concluded that the trials of the American nationals would be made by the Turkish judges in the case that an Ottoman citizen was one of the parties of the lawsuit and execution of the sentence by the American consular missions. On the other hand, the English version had the article that both trials and execution of the Americans would be conducted by the American consuls.²¹ This translation difference caused conflicts between two Governments but did not reach a resolution till the Republican Turkey.

More importantly, American Representatives in the negotiations accepted to add a secret clause which put the United States under the obligation to build ships for the Ottoman Navy in the USA and to provide technical support for the improvement of Ottoman

¹⁸ Allan Nevins, Henry Steele Commager, **ABD Tarihi**, Translated by Halil İnalçık, 8th Ed. (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2016): 197-200. The Monroe Doctrine was the isolation policy of the United States of America, which was stated in the message of American President James Monroe to the Congress on December 2, 1823. The message, on the one hand, stated the opposition of the USA against the European colonialist ambitions on South America and on the other hand, it defined an isolation for the United States from the European political and diplomatic conflicts. This message was first called as doctrine by another American President James K. Polk in 1845. Edward J. Renehan Jr., **The Monroe Doctrine: The Cornerstone of the American Foreign Policy** (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2007), 89-90.

¹⁹ Yavuz Güler, “Osmanlı Devleti Dönemi Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri (1795-1914)”, **Gazi Üniversitesi Kırşehir Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi**, v. 6, i. 1 (2005): 233.

²⁰ **Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers 1776-1909** (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), 1318-1320.

²¹ Erhan, **ibid**, 128-129 and 209-215.

shipyards. Nonetheless, the American Senate rejected this secret clause as a consequence of the Monroe Doctrine thereby causing discontent of the Ottoman authorities.²²

Subsequent to the treaty, on March 21, 1831, David Porter was appointed as Charge D'affaires to Istanbul and after the ratification of the treaty by the Sultan on October, 1831 and he started his official works.²³ Nevertheless, the Ottoman interest and expectations from the US were quite limited and thus, the appointment of Ottoman representatives occurred after a long time. The first representative of the Ottoman Empire was an American resident citizen, Rapçioğlu Abraham, who was appointed as a Representative of Commerce (Şehbender) in 1845.²⁴ The first diplomatic representative of the Ottoman Empire was Edward Blacque who continued this duty from August 23, 1867 to August 4, 1873.²⁵

After the treaty, mutual relations between two governments developed steadily on the commercial and missionary basis and political relations remained stationary until 1860s. Despite some problems in the bilateral relations, especially in the case of missionaries, Ottoman Empire and the United States of America had rather good relations. For instance, at the onset of the American Civil War of 1861-1865, James Williams from Tennessee was the American Minister to the Ottoman Empire. Tennessee was a part of Confederate States and therefore, he left Istanbul for London after the breakout of the Civil War to support the Confederate States through his writings on the influential newspapers in London, such as *The Times* and *The Standard*.²⁶ Edward Joy Morris from the Union succeeded James Williams as the American Minister in Istanbul. Ottoman Empire favored the Union in the American Civil War and never sympathized the Confederacy. Union Minister Edward Morris was assumed as the sole representative of the USA and

²² Akdes, **ibid**, 17.

²³ Erhan, **ibid**, 146-147. David Porter was the first officially recognized representative to the Ottoman Empire. He was a navy officer, fought in 1812 Anglo-American War and served mainly in the Mediterranean and Mexican Gulf. He was appointed to Algiers as US Consul in 1829. He was also the adoptive father of David Farragut, the famous naval officer of the Civil War. Francis S. Drake, **ibid**, 730. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Farragut> [April 19, 2019].

²⁴ Şafak, **ibid**, 57-58.

²⁵ Kadir Kasalak, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı-ABD İlişkileri", **Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi**, i. 55 (2014): 110.

²⁶ John D. Bennett, **The London Confederates** (North Carolina: Mc Farland&Company Inc., 2008), 46.

Confederate ships were banned from the Ottoman Ports upon the request of Edward Morris.²⁷

Furthermore, these two countries provided help to each other in the third countries. For example, the Ottoman Empire demanded American Government to protect the Ottoman subjects' rights in Mexico, where there was no Ottoman representative.²⁸ This type of requests were repeated for Haiti at the onset of the 20th Century and Panama in 1911.²⁹ As for the US, American Government tried to mediate between Brazil and Turkey in 1911 upon the Brazilian request to open a Legation in Istanbul even though it failed.³⁰ In addition, President William Taft contemplated to take part in the Italo-Turkish conflict on Tripoli as a mediator upon the requests by Oscar S. Straus, ambassador in Istanbul. Nonetheless, President Taft abandoned this idea after the opposition by the State Department owing to European's conflicts on the Near East.³¹

When the World War I broke out, the Ottomans signed a secret military alliance with the German Empire on August 2, 1914 and started its mobilization. The first economic precaution was rumored to be the abrogation of the capitulations which created an immense hindrance for the development of Turkish economy. American companies and merchants used to benefit from the advantages of the capitulations and so, the American representatives in Istanbul followed the situation closely. This rumor of abolishment was reported by Ambassador Henry Morgenthau to the Department of State even in August 1914, which was before the entrance of Ottoman Empire into the war.³² The main concern of the American Embassy was to keep the American citizens away from the Ottoman judicial system and preventing an Ottoman intervention in the educational organizations

²⁷ Jean Haythorne Braden, "The Eagle and The Crescent: American Interests in the Ottoman Empire, 1861-1870" (Ph. D. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1973), 85-87.

²⁸ Mehmet Temel, **XIX. ve XX. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-Latin Amerika İlişkileri** (İstanbul: Nehir Medya, 2004), 66-67.

²⁹ **Ibid**, 69 and 124.

³⁰ **Ibid**, 103.

³¹ Denovo, **ibid**, 51. William Taft came into office in 1909. His main policy included providing credits to the foreign countries to build their infrastructure and sell American products, which was later named as "Dollar Diplomacy". He aimed to expand commercial ties with Central American countries, China as well as the Ottoman Empire. Murat İplikçi, "Taft's Open Door Policy to the Near East: Dollar Diplomacy Practices in the Ottoman Empire" (Master Thesis, Bilkent University, 2015), 9.

³² **PRFRUS 1914**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920, 759.

of the American missionaries as stated in the consular correspondence.³³ During his meeting with Enver Pasha, American Ambassador, Henry Morgenthau stated this opinion, regarding that commercial capitulations could be abolished but the American Government was strictly against the abolishment of judicial and educational privileges.³⁴ However, the rumor came true on September 9, 1914 and all the foreign missions were notified of the abrogation of the capitulations from October 1, 1914 onwards.³⁵ Although the American Ambassador opposed rigorously at the beginning, American representatives later found new ways and intensified their efforts to protect the American citizens who dealt with trade, missionary activities or consular missions through continuous contact with the Minister of Interior, Minister of War or Police Chief.³⁶ Subsequent to the Ottoman's participation in the World War, the two governments maintained relations until 1917. Main problems in the Ottoman-American relations during the war were again related to the Armenian Events. Ottomans received the complaints of the American ambassador and consuls about the Temporarily Removal Act of 1915 and about the use of the American institutions' property for the military purposes. Apart from these, diplomatic problems also troubled the bilateral relations. The consulates of the Allied Countries were deserted and sealed after the Ottomans' entry into the war. In this scope, when the Ottoman military officials ordered the search of these buildings to find a wireless transmitter that sent

³³ **PRFRUS 1914**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920, 767.

³⁴ Enver Pasha was born in Istanbul around 1881. He graduated from the Military School and started his duty in 1903. He was one of the symbol figures of the 1908 Revolution with his revolt in Manastır (now Bitola). He was assigned as the Military Attache to Berlin and worked in Germany. He fought against the rebels in the Balkans and joined the Tripoli and Balkan Wars. Enver Pasha was one of the Unionist Leaders that carried out the 1913 Coup on January 23, 1913 and successfully led the Ottoman Army to recapture Edirne from Bulgaria. Appointed as the Ministry of War in 1914, Enver Pasha modernized the arms and re-organized the Ottoman Army during his tenure. He was influential in Ottoman joining into the World War I as well. He left the country in November, 1918 with other Unionist leaders. He died in Central Asia during the rebellions he led against Russia in 1922. Murat Bardakçı, **Enver** (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015).

Henry Morgenthau, **Büyükelçi Morgenthau'nun Öyküsü**, Translated by Attila Tuygan, 2nd Ed. (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2017), 102-103. Henry Morgenthau was a German Jew who migrated to the USA in 1866 when he was 9. He was a close friend and early supporter of President Woodrow Wilson. In spite of having no prior governmental experience, Henry Morgenthau was assigned to Istanbul in 1913 where he stayed in the office until 1916. Henry Morgenthau adopted an anti-Ottoman and anti-Turkish stance, supported biased publications of the American media outlets especially during and after the World War I. İsmail Köse, "Amerika'nın İstanbul Büyükelçisi H. Morgenthau'nun Türk Algısı", **Tarih Dergisi**, i. 56 (2012): 57-58.

³⁵ Ozan Arslan, "I. Dünya Savaşı Başında Kapitülasyonların İttihat ve Terakki Yönetimi Tarafından Kaldırılması ve Bu Gelişme Karşısında Büyük Güçlerin Tepkileri", **Sakarya Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Dergisi**, v. 10, i. 1, (2008): 265.

³⁶ **PRFRUS 1914**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920, 774.

information about the Ottoman naval action in the Black Sea, they requested the presence of American consular officials. The American Department of State permitted the participation of American consular personnel unofficially in these searches to witness the entry by Turkish authorities.³⁷ In addition, the Ottoman officials went into the French consulates in Syria, which were sealed by the neutral American consular officers.³⁸ These cases created complaints and protests by the American diplomats as a violation to the diplomatic rules. In spite of these, the Ottoman-American relations did not experience insurmountable conflicts and even the USA helped the Ottoman Government to protect the Ottoman rights and interests in Mexico as there was no Ottoman representative there.³⁹ The attitude of the Ottoman Government was also pretty welcoming. For example, the Ottoman Cabinet prohibited the use of languages other than Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Bulgarian, French and German for correspondence in the Empire. However, with the efforts of the Ambassador Morgenthau and ACCL, American (which is still English) was also included in the list along with Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Jewish, German, French and Italian.⁴⁰ In addition, American companies and missionary institutions did not encounter obstacles to their activities.⁴¹

Although the USA did not join the war and focused on development of trade until 1917, the USA did not stay away from the war completely and supplied equipment and credits for the Allied States after 1914.⁴² Thus, Germany decided to obstruct the flow of equipment and food from the US to the Allies through submarine attacks.⁴³ These attacks destroyed many American and English ships including Lusitania which sunk with more than a thousand casualties, 128 of whom were American citizens.⁴⁴ Additionally, relatively sincere ties with the Allies and the risk of colliding a victorious imperial German Empire in the long run were among the factors which aroused American opposition to

³⁷ **PRFRUS 1914**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920, 747-748.

³⁸ Benjamin C. Fortna, **The Circassian** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 172.

³⁹ **PRFRUS 1916**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925, 797-799.

⁴⁰ "The American Language", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 2 (1915): 177.

⁴¹ Nevzat Uyanık, **Dismantling the Ottoman Empire** (Milton Park: Routledge, 2016), 41-58.

⁴² Maxime Lefebvre, **Amerikan Dış Politikası**, Translated by İsmail Yerguz (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 21.

⁴³ Michael Howard, "I. Dünya Savaşı'nı Yeniden Değerlendirmek", **I. Dünya Savaşı ve 20. Yüzyıl**, Translated by Tansel Demirci, 2nd Edition (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2018), 29.

⁴⁴ Lefebvre, **ibid**, 21.

Central States. Incited by the German attacks and aforementioned reasons, American Government decided to participate in the war finally after the German attempt to persuade Mexico to wage war on the US.⁴⁵

Although the Ottoman Empire and the USA had the intention of maintaining the relations and avoiding conflicts even after the Americans' joining in the Allied side, the German pressure on the Ottoman Empire forced the Government to rupture the relations with the USA and deport all the American diplomats from the country on April 20, 1917.⁴⁶ Although President Wilson was in favor of partition of the Ottoman Empire and there was heavy pressure to force the president to declare war, Woodrow Wilson did not wage war on the Ottoman Empire because of the following reasons.⁴⁷ At first, Cleveland Dodge who was a close friend and fundraiser of President Wilson was also the primary financier of the ABCFM and the Near East Relief which had a vast network of education and charity institutions. Dodge requested Woodrow Wilson to prevent the possible declaration of war, evaluating the probable destruction of the American institutions and damages on the minorities.⁴⁸ Taking the close ties of these institutions with Cleveland Dodge who was a close ally of President Wilson into consideration, his request can be said to have been an effective factor in the bilateral relations.⁴⁹ Apart from these, French and English warnings for concentrating the American forces on Germany rather than dividing them into different fronts were of considerable impact on USA war decision on the Ottoman Empire. Besides, the Ottoman Empire was assumed as loosely bound with the Central States and the Allies had a plan to convince the Ottoman Government to make a separate peace.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Şenol Kantarcı, "Osmanlı'da Onurlu Bir Diplomat ve Milli Mücadele'nin Önemli Siması: Ahmed Rüstem Bey", *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, i. 42 (2008): 116-117. Lefebvre, *ibid*, 21-22.

⁴⁶ **PRFRUS 1917**, Volume IV, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926, 602-603.

⁴⁷ DeNovo, *ibid*, 132. Akdes, *ibid*, 40. Woodrow Wilson was a professor of political science and president of the Princeton University until his election as the Governor of New Jersey. He came into presidential office in 1913 and served until 1921. He led the American nation into the World War I, declared the widely-known "Fourteen Points" and persuaded the Allies for the establishment of the League of Nations. However, he could not succeed in passing the Treaty of Versailles in the Congress. He died after the deterioration of his health upon his tour to form a public favour for the Versailles. Frank Freidel, **The Presidents of the United States of America** (Washington: White House Historical Association, 1964), 61.

⁴⁸ Joseph L. Grabill, "Cleveland H. Dodge, Woodrow Wilson, and the Near East", *Journal of Presbyterian History*, v. 48, i. 4 (1970): 252-256.

⁴⁹ Uyanık, *ibid*, 60.

⁵⁰ Frank Jewett, "Why We did not Declare War on Turkey?", *Current History*, v. 15 (1921): 989.

In this context, American Government took an initiative to convince the Ottoman Government to make a separate ceasefire with the Ottoman Empire. After a report by Abram Elkus, the last American Ambassador in Istanbul and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, proffered the plan for a separate peace with the Ottoman Empire to weaken Germany. Upon the approval by President Wilson, a commission was formed which included Felix Frankfurter, Law Professor at Harvard University, Elihu Lewin Epstein, New Yorker businessman and Henry Morgenthau, former American Ambassador in Istanbul. However, this commission could not succeed in reaching Istanbul as their mission was cancelled after the intervention of other Allied countries.⁵¹

American participation in the war changed the conditions for the benefit of the Allied States which urged the Ottoman Government to ask for ceasefire to end the war. Ottoman Government transmitted the call for truce to the American Government via Spain in October 1918. The Ottoman Government's expectation was to preserve independence under the conditions of Wilsonian Principles, by keeping the Turkish-majority territories. Signing the armistice on October 30, 1918, Ottoman Empire did not obtain the rights and protection that was expected because President Wilson, who were of the establishment of a strong mandate regime at the beginning, took a remarkably different stance with regard to the Ottoman Empire during the Peace Conference.⁵² President Wilson remained indifferent to the Greek Occupation in Izmir and partition of the country, which were completely against the recommendations and reports by the American officials in the Empire.⁵³

However, American foreign policy changed completely after the presidential election of 1920 when Warren G. Harding, who defended the return to traditional isolation and non-

⁵¹ İsmail Köse, "Türk-Amerikan Diplomatik İlişkilerinin Yüksek Komiser Amiral Bristol'un Günlük ve Raporlarına Yansıması (1917-1927)" (Ph. D. Thesis, Institute of Social Sciences, Karadeniz Technical University, 2013), 54-58. Abram Isaac Elkus was born in New York in 1867. After studying law, he served as special US attorney to prosecute bankruptcy. He was appointed to Istanbul as the American Ambassador to Ottoman Empire in 1916. Following the entrance of the US to the World War I, Abram Elkus left Istanbul. http://jewish_bio.enacademic.com/835/Elkus%2C_Abram_Isaac [April 19, 2019].

⁵² Evans, *ibid*, 209. Mine Erol, **Türkiye'de Amerikan Mandası Meselesi (1919-1920)** (Giresun: İleri Basımevi, 1972), 9-10.

⁵³ Kamil Necdet Ar, **Türk Amerikan İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Ermeni Meselesi (1918-1923)**, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2011), 180. Orhan Duru, **Amerikan Gizli Belgeleriyle Türkiye'nin Kurtuluş Yılları**, 7th Ed. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2017), 12 and 18-19.

interventionist policy, won the elections.⁵⁴ Treaty of Versailles was rejected by the American Congress and the USA never joined in the League of Nations which President Wilson exerted for the establishment of the organization. These changes influenced the Ottoman-American relations as well. Subsequent to Armistice of Mudros, Admiral Mark Bristol was the High Commissioner in the Empire but the official relations remained ruptured until 1927. During this time, the most important issues in the bilateral relations were related to the failed attempt of an American mandate, the rapprochement and the ratification of another “Lausanne Treaty” which will be studied later.⁵⁵

2.1.1. Turkish Stereotypes in the United States of America

Developing mostly in business, Ottoman-American relations incurred crisis which were commonly caused by the controversial actions of the missionaries from 1820 onwards and the Armenian Events in the Empire, especially after 1890s. These two fields significantly changed the Turkish-Ottoman image in the American society as these two contradiction fields also composed the main resources of information for the Americans.

To begin with, while the American expansion in trade increased gradually particularly thanks to the advantages of the 1830 Treaty, Americans opened a new field in which they rapidly spread around the Empire. Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, two American missionaries, landed in Izmir in 1820, which later had a great impact both on the region and the American community. They travelled to Jerusalem, Beyrut, Iskenderiye and conducted a preliminary research for the expansion of missionary institutions.⁵⁶ After their failure in gaining acceptance by the Catholic and Orthodox communities of the Empire, the missionaries turned their attention to the Armenians and Eastern Catholics to

⁵⁴ Warren G. Harding started his service in the presidential office in 1921 and died in 1923. His presidency mainly marked the resume of isolation for the USA through raising the protective tariff, limitations on the immigration and elimination of wartime controls. Frank Freidel, *ibid*, 62.

⁵⁵ Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol was a naval officer and fought in Spanish-American War of 1898. He served as the American High Commissioner in Istanbul from 1919 to 1927 and participated in the Lausanne Conference in the American Delegation. He contributed to the establishment of American Hospital in Nişantaşı and Admiral Bristol Nursing School. William Stewart, **Admirals of the World: A Biographical Dictionary, 1500 to the Present** (North Carolina: McFarland&Company, 2009), 44.

⁵⁶ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, **Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu’daki Amerika** (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1989), 33-34.

invite/convert them to Protestantism.⁵⁷ Gradually, the missionary activities of the Americans in the Empire grew widespread and there were more than 500 educational institutions serving about 20 thousand students around the country in 1900.⁵⁸ The missionary institutions created a group of intellectuals who were educated in American institutions through American approach around the Empire. These individuals were quite sympathetic to the American policy and they became useful agents of American trade and business in their regions.⁵⁹ In this respect, the largest American investment and interest was mainly these missionary institutions in the 19th Century. They were influential in transformation of especially the Armenian and Bulgarian minorities in the Empire. Furthermore, these people were prone to migrate to found a new life in the New World. Hence, they increasingly migrated to the US and became the leading source of information for the American community about the region.

Even though missionary expansion and American-Jewish settlement in the Ottoman Palestine caused tensions between the US and the Ottoman Empire, political relations between the two governments incurred irreversible damages especially after the Armenian Events of 1890s. Due to the influence of the missionary schools, a considerable number of Armenians had already migrated to the United States and constituted quite an influential community by 1890s.⁶⁰ Furthermore, another powerful pressure group in the country, American missionaries conducted propaganda through American media, which included severe accusations to the Ottoman Empire of conducting massacres on the Armenians.⁶¹

In addition, during these events, American properties incurred losses and the American Government demanded the compensations for the material damages of the missionary institutions. The indemnity to be paid for the damaged properties of the haunted in the bilateral relations until the completion of the payment in 1901.⁶² These problems together

⁵⁷ İlber Ortaylı, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Amerikan Okulları Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler”, **Amme İdaresi Dergisi**, v. 14, i. 3 (1981): 88.

⁵⁸ John A. DeNovo, **ibid**, 9-10.

⁵⁹ Ortaylı, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Amerikan Okulları Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler”, 87-88.

⁶⁰ Lippe, **ibid**, 42-43. DeNovo, **ibid**, 6.

⁶¹ Mithat Aydın, “Amerikan Protestan Misyonerlerinin Ermeniler Arasındaki Faaliyetleri ve Bunun Osmanlı-Amerikan İlişkilerine Etkisi”, **Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM**, v. 19, i. 19 (2006): 112.

⁶² **Ibid**, 116.

with the negative propaganda of the Armenian community and missionaries gradually created a rigid “Terrible Turk” image in the American public, which would result in further crisis in bilateral relations.⁶³

Furthermore, 1909 Adana Events and Temporarily Removal Act of 1915 stiffened this negative image of the Turks in the American community, which was reported to the American press and Government especially through the reports by the American missionaries.⁶⁴ The Ottoman Empire could not counterbalance this defamatory campaign and form a public opinion through raising the awareness in the American public opinion about the events in the Empire, which fortified the “Terrible Turk” image in the USA. This Anti-Turkish campaign in the United States deteriorated the Turkish image in the US which also damaged the relations. In this context, the crisis which occurred just before the World War I should be explained. Ahmet Rüstem Bey who had been sent to the United States as a consular personnel twice, was appointed to the Washington, DC as the Ambassador on May 18, 1914 at a time when there was an intense defamatory campaign in the American press against the Ottoman Empire. Ahmet Rüstem Bey criticized the American policy regarding the accusations which was mostly about the misconducts to the Armenian and Greek people.⁶⁵ His expressions blaming the Westerners for the disorders in the region sparked reaction in the American community. After discussions with the State Department and President Woodrow Wilson about his interview, Ahmet Rüstem Bey refused to apologize, which ended up with his being declared as *persona non grata* and as a consequence, he left the United States in October, 1914.⁶⁶

This negative experiences with regard to the Armenian Events created long-lasting impacts in the mutual ties. The image which emerged subsequent to these events haunted in the Turkish-American relations for a long time together with the other problems with regard to the missionaries.

⁶³ Ar, **ibid**, 141-145. Roger R. Trask, “The “Terrible Turk” and Turkish-American Relations in the Interwar Period”, **The Historian**, v. 33, i. 1, (1970): 40.

⁶⁴ Uyanık, **ibid**, 34. Disorders in Asia Minor and Syria, 6 Mayıs 1909, **USNA RG59**, Numerical Files, 8/1906 – 1910, Numerical File: 10044/196-10050 <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/20079316> [April 6, 2019].

⁶⁵ Mine Erol, **Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Amerika Büyükelçisi A. Rüstem Bey** (Ankara: Bilgi Basımevi, 1973), 21-24.

⁶⁶ Kantarcı, **ibid**, 255-256. Nevzat Uyanık, **ibid**, 32-33.

2.2. An Economic Outlook of the Ottoman Empire in 20th Century

The 19th Century marked an economic transformation of the world subsequent to the Industrial Revolution thanks to which the European countries rapidly developed their industrial production. In contrast, the Ottoman Empire was in a transition period from self-sufficiency to being an integrated part of the European economic system from 16th Century onwards. The period between 1750 and 1873 indicated the peripheralization of the Empire under the influences of the European capitalism. When it turned into the 19th Century, the Ottoman Empire was far from being self-sufficient and the industry of the Empire was limited to the small scale workshops which hardly met the market demand.⁶⁷ Following the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Commerce, the Ottoman Empire changed into an open market for the European industrial nations with low taxes on imports; vast natural resources, agricultural raw materials and concessions. More importantly, the underdeveloped transportation system and outdated methods in the Empire caused the loss of competitiveness of even local agricultural products against the import products.⁶⁸

Moreover, the location of Istanbul created a strategically significant passage to the markets of Russia, Iran and the Middle East. Thus, the country was an appropriate destination for the businesses owing to its demand for manufactured goods, vast natural resources as well as location of Istanbul as the regional distribution hub for the import products.⁶⁹ This economic structure with low duties, insufficient production and transportation together with the location of the country rapidly expanded the Ottoman foreign trade as shown below, which was accompanied by the shift in the production from local consumption towards a market-based cultivation.⁷⁰ Table 1 shows the average export-import of the Ottoman Empire in the relevant period. As can be inferred from the

⁶⁷ Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Ottoman Empire and the Capitalist World-Economy: Some Questions for Research”, **Review (Fernand Braudel Center)**, v. 2, i. 3 (1979): 392-398. Especially the Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy demonstrated a fast development and expansion in manufacturing sector.

⁶⁸ Şevket Pamuk, **Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914**, 11th Ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 210-211. The Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Commerce (Balta Limanı Anlaşması) was concluded in 1838. Representing the economic influence in the region, The Treaty concluded the abolishment of all the export prohibitions, export monopolies while fixing the export duties at 12% and import duties at 5%. Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, **Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisadi Münasebetleri II (1838-1850)** (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1976), 4-6.

⁶⁹ James E. Robertson, “United States with European Turkey”, **Commerce Reports**, Department of Commerce, July 31, 1922, 347.

⁷⁰ Emre Erol, **The Ottoman Crisis in Western Anatolia** (Croydon: I. B. Tauris, 2016), 31-32.

table, foreign trade of the Empire reached to the eightfold of the 1830 levels in 1911. Furthermore, Ottoman imports experienced a faster growth than the exports which resulted in a large foreign trade deficit.

Table 1: Ottoman Foreign Trade (1830-1911)

	Export	Import
1830-32	3.8	4
1840-42	5.2	5.7
1850-52	8.8	9.5
1860-62	12.4	12.9
1870-72	19.4	22.4
1880-82	15.2	15.4
1890-92	17.9	19.2
1900-02	20.3	20.3
1909-11	25.9	37.7
(Units of £1,000,000)		

Şevket Pamuk, **Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme (1820-1913)** (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2018), 32-33.

The total foreign trade of the years coinciding with the publication of *Levant Trade Review* is provided below. The chart has been prepared in USD to enable the comparative study of Turkish-American trade.⁷¹ The calculations ignores the inflation and it should be kept in mind that the Ottoman Empire lost territories in these years, which also influenced the volume of trade. Furthermore, the wars in this period gravely influenced the trade volume and value.

⁷¹ Eldem, **ibid**, 121 and 144. Zafer Toprak, **Türkiye’de Milli İktisat** (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2012), 423-424. Until 1916, 1 Ottoman Lira was equal to 102,6 Piasters and after 1916, 1 Ottoman Lira was equal to 100 Piasters. The exchange rates were: Lira/USD 4,41 for 1913, 4,39 for 1916, 1,25 for 1919, 0,82 for 1920, 0,63 for 1921, 0,61 for 1922, 0,65 for 1923, 0,47 for 1930. 1 British Pound was equal to about 5 USD from 1800 to the early 1900s. <https://www.exchangerates.org.uk/articles/1325/the-200-year-pound-to-dollar-exchange-rate-history-from-5-in-1800s-to-todays.html> [April 27, 2019].

Table 2: Turkish Foreign Trade from 1911 to 1931

	Export	Import
1911-12	126.73	203.22
1912-13	120.06	191.18
1913-14	111.44	183.68
1914-15	66.55	27.64
1915-16	6.13	3.53
1916-17	15.38	12.75
1917-18	17.48	18.85
1918-19	18.61	26.6
1919-20	48.03	115.95
1920-21	39.05	138.9
1921-22	19.13	76.43
1922-23	14.28	42.01
1923	50.79	86.87
1924	82.44	100.46
1925	102.7	128.95
1926	96.44	121.41
1927	80.75	107.75
1928	88.28	113.71
1929	74.83	123.56
1930	71.38	69.54
1931	60.23	59.94
(Units of \$1,000,000)		

Eldem, *ibid*, 17 and 66. Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, **İstatistik Göstergeler 1923-2009** (Ankara: 2010), 431.

As for the 20th Century, the Ottoman economy at the beginning of the 20th Century was mostly an underdeveloped system depending on foreign manufactured products while exporting raw materials and still having agricultural based production.⁷² In the 20th Century, Ottoman exports and imports were still on rise and when the figures are evaluated, the Ottoman Empire stood as a market with huge trade deficit. Except for the years of World War I, Turkish imports always surpassed the Turkish exports. This was resulted mainly from the underdeveloped economic and transportation structure of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, thereby creating a need for manufactured goods while

⁷² Korkut Boratav, **Türkiye İktisat Tarihi: 1908-2009**, 18th Ed. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2013), 19-20. Vedat Eldem, **Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi** (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1994), 1-3.

exporting raw materials. For instance, cotton goods constituted almost half of all Turkish imports.⁷³ However, foreign trade showed a steady decline especially after 1929 when the Great Depression started. From 1930 onwards, Turkish foreign trade started to produce foreign trade surplus owing to the protectionist policies through raising duties, limiting foreign trade and transactions in foreign currency.

2.3. An Economic Outlook of the United States in 20th Century

As for the United States of America, there emerged a developed industry and economy by exploiting and utilizing the immense natural resources of the New World especially during and after the Civil War. This industrial growth increased American foreign trade and American companies extended their activities to almost every part of the world. For instance, Tropical Fruit Company converted the Central America as a banana farm while Singer was selling sewing machines to China, Africa, Asia with 60 thousand salespersons. The sugar cane growers in Hawaii gained such a power that they overthrew the Queen of the islands.⁷⁴ These extensive commercial expansions were interpreted as an “American Invasion” by the Europeans even in the first years of 1900s.⁷⁵ This economic development can also be seen in the following table.

⁷³ “American Cotton Goods in Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 46-48.

⁷⁴ James West Davidson, **Kısa Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Tarihi**, Translated by Can Evren Topaktaş, 2nd Ed. (İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 2018), 300-301.

⁷⁵ Gavin Wright, “The Origins of American Industrial Success, 1879-1940”, **The American Economic Review**, v. 80, i. 4 (1990): 652-653.

Table 3: General Trend of the U.S. Foreign Trade from 1821 to 1918

The USA Balance of Trade by Periods, 1821-1918 (Units of \$1,000,000)						
Period (Fiscal Years)	Totals for the Period		Averages for the Period			
	Export	Import	Export	Import	Balance	
					Excess of exports (+)	Excess of Imports (-)
1821-37	1389	1574	82	93	-	11
1838-49	1392	1358	116	113	34	-
1850-73	6585	8125	274	338	-	64-
1874-95	17231	14738	783	670	113	-
1896-14	32128	22866	1691	1204	487	-
1915-18	19632	9645	4908	2411	2497	-

Charles J. Bullock, John H. Williams and Rufus S. Tucker, “The History of our Foreign Trade Balance from 1789 to 1914”. **The Review of Economics and Statistics**, v. 1, i. 3 (1919): 232.

As can be seen clearly from the Table 3, the US foreign trade accelerated particularly after 1895 and American exports usually exceeded the imports. More importantly, from 1895 onwards, rising American industry gained more share in the foreign trade from comprising chiefly agricultural raw materials like cotton, meat and grains to selling manufactured goods.⁷⁶ The share of the manufactured goods in the American export was about 25.8% in 1895 and this rate enlarged to almost half of the American export in 1913.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the US had protective customs tariffs which hindered the invasion of European products in the domestic market thereby boosting the development of the local industries.

⁷⁶ Douglas A. Irwin, “Explaining America’s Surge in Manufactured Exports, 1880-1913”, **The Review of Economics and Statistics**, v. 85, i. 2 (2003): 364–365.

⁷⁷ Charles J. Bullock, John H. Williams and Rufus S. Tucker, **ibid**, 232. Irwin, **ibid**, 365.

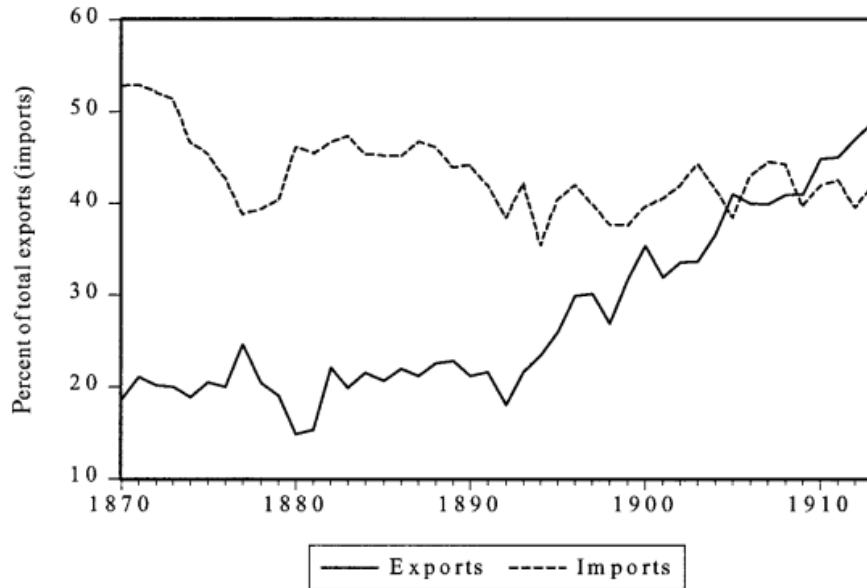


Figure 1: The Share of Manufactured Goods in the American Foreign Trade

Irwin, *ibid*: 365.

Furthermore, this expansion prompted American Government to develop new markets which would serve as the consumer for the American production surplus. Additionally, huge surge in the American manufacturing industry increased the need for raw material at the outset of the 20th Century. “The Open Door Policy” emerged as the resolution to this need in the last years of 19th Century to open up a place for the United States in China which were under great pressure by the European Powers.⁷⁸ Launched by the note which was transmitted by John Hay, Secretary of State, to Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Japan, Italy and France in 1899, the “Open Door Policy” demanded for equal commercial opportunity in China to enlarge the American trade in this country. In the first years of the 20th Century, William Taft, American President, promoted the “Dollar Diplomacy” through which the American companies would obtain opportunities for trade and

⁷⁸ Charles S. Campbell, Jr., “American Business Interests and the Open Door in China”, *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, v. 1, i. 1 (1941): 43-46. Paul A. Varg, “William Woodville Rockhill and the Open Door Notes”, *The Journal of Modern History*, v. 24, i. 4 (1952): 375. Open Door Policy emerged subsequent to the message by American Secretary of State, John Hay, in favor of the equal treatment and regulations for all the countries in the world. American demand was the grant of equal rights and application of equal duties in the less developed parts of the world for all the countries, William Smith Culbertson, “The “Open Door” and Colonial Policy”, *The American Economic Review*, v. 9, i. 1 (1919): 327-328.

investments.⁷⁹ This boom continued through the World War I with a sharp rise thanks to the advantages created by the war.⁸⁰ While European powers used colonialist policies to develop new markets and find raw materials for their industries, United States paved a non-conflict way to provide new customers and suppliers for the American companies. Besides, protectionist policies helped the growth of the local industries in the local market, which later presented an opportunity to open up to new markets.

2.4. Turkish-American Commercial Relations

As summarized in the previous section, the Ottoman and American economies stood in a stark contrast at the beginning of the 19th Century. While the American economy was in a rapid expansion and industrial boom with the support of a powerful financial sources, Ottoman economy did have almost no industrial production and depended on the European financial markets to continue funding the government needs, infrastructure investments as well as the debt payments.

As aforementioned, commercial ties were more influential from the very beginning of the relations. The political and diplomatic relations between two countries started thanks to the existing commercial relations as said before. American merchant ships were plying between the American and the Levant Ports under the protection of Great Britain until the 1830 Treaty, which presented considerable advantages for them.⁸¹ The Turkish raisins and figs were already known in the United States even in 1785 and Izmir was a hub for these products for the American ships.⁸²

In fact, prior to the moving for the direct commercial relations, it should be noted that the Turkish-American economic relations were more intricate because of the production structure in these countries and there was more intense influence of the United States of America on the Turkish economy. The Ottoman Empire was one of the leading sources of

⁷⁹ Walter H. Mallory, "The Open Door in China: A Reappraisal", **Foreign Affairs**, v. 26, i. 1 (1947): 157-158.

⁸⁰ Mark Jefferson, "Our Trade in the Great War", **Geographical Review**, v. 3, i. 6 (1917): 474.

⁸¹ S. E. Morison, "Forcing the Dardanelles in 1810: With Some Account of the Early Levant Trade of Massachusetts", **The New England Quarterly**, v. 1, i. 2 (1928): 209.

⁸² Leland Gordon, *ibid*, 41. DeNovo, *ibid*, 16.

cotton, wheat, barley and sugar for Europe before in the 18th Century. However, the US rose as a large producer and exporter of these products in the 19th Century. Thus, American commodities emerged as a strong rival for the Turkish products. Firstly, the sugar had been produced in Egypt and Cyprus for the domestic consumption of the Ottoman Empire until 18th Century. However, starting from the 18th Century, American sugar with its high quality invaded the Ottoman market also by harming the local production.⁸³

More importantly, cotton was a vital export material in the Ottoman Empire and particularly in the 18th Century, cotton export grew rapidly due to the rising demand of the Western Europe.⁸⁴ One of the significant impacts of the American agriculture on the Turkish economy took place when the American cotton invaded world markets thanks to its lower cost of production. The introduction of American cotton to the Western industries posed the utmost threat to the Eastern agricultural societies. In this context, the Ottoman cotton cultivators could not compete against the prices of the American production and cotton growing decreased almost half of its volume in 18th Century when the Western Anatolia supplied a considerable quantity of cotton to the factories in the Great Britain.⁸⁵ The other important cotton source of the Ottoman Empire, Syria was hit gravely and the Syrian cotton gradually disappeared from the market after the American and Indian cotton's tough rivalry.⁸⁶

Against this competition, the Ottoman Government started to take action to increase the competitiveness of the Ottoman cotton and decided to modernize the cultivation. The American influence also appeared in this field. American experts were invited to the country to teach the new techniques of cotton cultivation to the local farmers. Dr. James Bolton Davis came to Istanbul in 1846 and established an agricultural school at Üsküdar, Istanbul where he trained many Ottoman farmers.⁸⁷ Shortly after these works, a suitable opportunity emerged for the Ottoman cotton farmers. The rupture in the supply of the

⁸³ Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade", **The Cambridge History of Turkey**, Edited by Suraiye N. Farooqi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 315-316.

⁸⁴ Reşat Kasaba, **Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Ekonomisi**, Translated by Kudret Emiroğlu (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1993), 23.

⁸⁵ Orhan Kurmuş, **Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi** (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2008), 124-125.

⁸⁶ Charles Issawi, **The Fertile Crescent 1800-1914** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 6.

⁸⁷ Ricky-Dale Calhoun, "Seeds of Destruction: The Globalization of Cotton as a Result of the American Civil War", (Ph. D. Thesis, Kansas State University, 2012), 131-134.

American cotton to the European industries because of the Civil War increased the demand for the Ottoman cotton and Western Anatolia incurred a new expansion in the cotton cultivation.⁸⁸ The Ottoman Government brought an important amount of cotton seeds again from the United States to encourage the cotton-growing in the Empire.⁸⁹ Furthermore, Egypt which was also an Ottoman state (albeit loosely) and thanks to the efforts of the Egyptian Administration, cotton growing experienced a new boom. Increasing European demand and rising prices contributed much to the Governmental revenues and family income in both of the regions.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this upward trend did not last long and from the end of the American Civil War onwards, the Ottoman cotton could not compete against the American cotton, which resulted in gradual decline in cotton growing in Anatolia.⁹¹

The other product that the United States had a significant influence was the fruits. Among the fruits which created a demand from European and American markets were figs, raisins, filberts, nuts and dates. The production of these fruits was prevalent in Western Anatolia while the preparation, packing and export were carried out in Izmir. The largest buyers were the Great Britain and the United States.⁹² The foreign demand for these commodities provided a profitable market for the Ottoman farmers. Even if the export of these products had quite a long history, the foreign demand showed a substantial rise after the vineyards incurred severe losses and damages as a result of the phylloxera disease which destructed the farms in the USA and Europe in 1850s. The Ottoman raisins, therefore, remained unrivalled in the European and American markets. Suffering from the ruinous prices of the cotton, Ottoman farmers replaced the cotton with vineyards and Western Anatolia rose as a source of grapes and raisins in 1870s.⁹³

⁸⁸ Özgür Teoman and Muammer Kaymak, "Commercial Agriculture and Economic Change in the Ottoman Empire During the Nineteenth Century: A Comparison of Raw Cotton Production in Western Anatolia and Egypt", **The Journal of Peasant Studies**, v. 35, i. 2 (2008): 322.

⁸⁹ Calhoun, *ibid*, 158-159.

⁹⁰ Edward Mead Earle, "Egyptian Cotton and the American Civil War", **Political Science Quarterly**, v. 41, i. 4 (1926): 521.

⁹¹ Sevinç Mihci, "Reflections on the Ottoman Raw Cotton Production and Export During the 1850-1913 Period", **Hacettepe Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi**, v. 20, i. 2 (2002): 54-55.

⁹² Gabriel Bie Ravndal, **Turkey: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook** (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926), 105.

⁹³ Tuğçe Atik, "The Rise of Ottoman İzmir as a Commercial Center" (Master Thesis, The Graduate School of Social Sciences of the Middle East Technical University, 2014), 62-63.

The other important Ottoman product on which the American agriculture had an effect was the grains. During the Classical Era, the Ottoman Empire was one of the leading grain suppliers of Europe as barley and wheat constituted the prominent export commodities (even if it was conducted through smuggling until the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Treaty). However, in the second half of the 19th Century, American grains which were available at lower prices thanks to the mechanization and developed transportation system eliminated the Ottoman grain from the world markets.⁹⁴ Besides, the Ottoman Empire was turned into an open market while the European countries took precautions to raise the customs barriers to prevent the invasion of foreign products. Once a self-sufficient agricultural economy, the Ottoman Empire could not protect the domestic production through tariffs and was forced to import grains. This ruined the food supply system of the Empire by presenting advantages to the foreign grains and flour because of the unfair competition posed by the low import duties, lower cost of production and shipment.⁹⁵ Even though the Anatolian wheat reached Istanbul in the late 19th Century through the newly constructed railways and created an alternative for the imported flour and wheat, American Minneapolis flour, for example, reached further in the Empire by way of the same railways.⁹⁶ Hence, the share of the agricultural products in the Turkish exports declined from 51% in 1878-80 to 44% percent, which mostly resulted from the decrease in the wheat exports.⁹⁷

Apart from these, American economic development and interests contributed to the development of tobacco and licorice root growing in the Ottoman Empire. Tobacco did not reach a significant share in the Ottoman exports to the US at the beginning of the relations. Nonetheless, starting from the late 19th Century, tobacco ranked first among the Turkish export products due to the rising demand of the American market.⁹⁸ The aroma of the Turkish tobacco was favored much in the US because of the taste when it was

⁹⁴ Donald Quataert, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Tarımsal Gelişme”, **Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, v. 6 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 1558.

⁹⁵ Şevket Pamuk, “19. YY’da Osmanlı Dış Ticareti”, **Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, v. 3 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 659.

⁹⁶ Donald Quataert, “19. YY’da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Demiryolları”, **Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi**, v. 6 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985): 1631.

⁹⁷ Pamuk, “19. YY’da Osmanlı Dış Ticareti”, 657.

⁹⁸ Quataert, “Tarımsal Gelişme”, 1559.

blended with the American tobacco. As the Turkish tobacco is unique to Turkish nature, American companies assigned resident buyers in the Ottoman Empire and later in Turkey to acquire the best quality. Upon the intense interest of the Americans, tobacco production rose from 23 Million Kgs in 1885 to 69 Million Kgs in 1927.⁹⁹ In this period, prominent American companies such as Liggett and Myers and Alston established branches in the Empire to conduct their operations.¹⁰⁰ The worth of American tobacco purchases from the Ottoman Empire reached almost 20 Million Dollar which constituted about half the total bilateral trade.¹⁰¹

In addition to the close relation between the Ottoman agricultural system with the USA, commercial relations were also of significance. As expressed before, the American merchants had conducted trade with the Levant ports even in the pre-revolution times. Being conscious of the prominence of Levant trade for the American businesses, the American Government signed agreements with the Barbary States in the late 18th Century to assure the security of the ships and trade. After building a strong fleet to challenge the Barbary Corsairs, the USA defeated these states and secured the America trade in the region. However, the American ships were still unable to sail under the American flag in the Levant because of the higher charges to be applied at the Ottoman Ports. Hence, American merchants hoisted English flag to pay lower duties until 1830. After the 1830 Treaty which granted the United States the status of “the Most Favored Nation”, the bilateral trade showed a rapid growth. The Turkish exports were mostly dependent on the agricultural products like fruits (figs and raisins), opium, wool, licorice roots and rugs as the only manufactured product.

Another area in which the American companies obtained a significant share was the agricultural machinery. As the Ottoman agriculture diverted towards market-oriented production as from the 1838 Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Commerce, the mechanization in cultivation started to gain pace. The Governmental encouragement in agriculture with model farms, as well as the modern techniques increased the use of machinery and

⁹⁹ Gordon, *ibid*, 85.

¹⁰⁰ Robert Carey Goodman, “The Role of the Tobacco Trade in Turkish-American Relations, 1923-29” (Master Thesis, Graduate Faculty of University of Richmond, 1988), 16-23.

¹⁰¹ Issawi, *ibid*, 146. Gordon, *ibid*, 65.

equipment by the farmers. The first use of machinery in agriculture in the Ottoman Empire was pioneered by the foreigners in 1860s.¹⁰² Afterwards, large land owners started to apply modern techniques and used machinery in their farms. Up to the late 19th Century, Western Anatolia and Adana used threshers, metal plows and reapers. Notwithstanding the early domination of the English machinery in the sector, American manufactures gradually spread in the Ottoman market with their products' suitability for the local conditions and easily accessible spare parts.¹⁰³ In 1909, the USA was one of the leading suppliers of agricultural machinery for the Ottomans.¹⁰⁴ For instance, American made Oliver plows were greatly favored in Anatolia.¹⁰⁵ A cotton planting and cultivating machinery was reported to have been imported from the American International Harvester and B. F. Avery companies in 1925.¹⁰⁶

As for the Ottoman imports from the United States, most of the products were manufactured commodities such as agricultural machinery, cotton clothes and leather as well as mineral oils and food stuff. In 1870s, the largest share in the American exports to the Empire belonged to the petroleum and firearms.¹⁰⁷ Towards the end of the 19th Century, American exports to the Ottoman Empire decreased because of the sharp decline in the firearms and oil trade which were mainly supplied by the American companies.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Murat Baskıcı, "Osmanlı Tarımında Makineleşme: 1870-1914", **Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi**, v. 58, i. 1 (2003): 38.

¹⁰³ Mete Çankaya and Demir Çelik, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Tarım Alet ve Makineleri Teknolojileri, Demir Çelik Üretim Teknolojileri ve Demir Yolu Teknolojilerine Kısa Bir Bakış", **Dört Öge**, i. 3 (2013): 142-143.

¹⁰⁴ Baskıcı, "Osmanlı Tarımında Makineleşme", 40.

¹⁰⁵ H. Cevahir Kayam, "Türkiye'de Tarım Politikaları" (Ph. D. Thesis, Institute of Social Sciences, Yıldız Technical University, 1997), 95.

¹⁰⁶ Lewis Heck, "Modern Agricultural Machinery and Methods in Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 2 (1925): 50.

¹⁰⁷ Gordon, *ibid*, 45 and 49-51.

¹⁰⁸ A. Üner Turgay, "Ottoman-American Trade During the Nineteen Century", **The Journal of Ottoman Studies** (1982): 228-229.

Table 4: Ottoman-American Trade, 1866-1900 (in USD)

Years	Ottoman Imports*	Ottoman Exports*	Ottoman Balance of Trade
1831-1835	\$1,750,911	\$3,188,335	\$1,437,424
1836-1840	1,629,247	3,157,731	1,528,484
1841-1845	657,071	2,335,357	1,678,286
1846-1850	654,334	2,919,823	2,265,489
1856-1860	4,123,138	4,200,565	77,427
1866-1870	4,914,091	7,362,868	2,448,777
1871-1875	9,920,391	8,458,319	-1,462,072
1876-1880	10,079,002	9,342,915	-736,087
1881-1885	5,766,396	14,821,283	9,054,887
1886-1890	2,303,616	22,708,327	20,404,711
1891-1895	879,155	24,605,036	23,725,881
1896-1900	1,740,921	30,734,292	28,993,371

Turgay, *ibid*, 242-243. * The values show the total volume for the five-year period.

As can be seen in the Table 4, Ottoman-American trade grew remarkably until the 20th Century and the Ottoman Empire produced trade surplus for almost the entire period. contrary to the Ottoman trade with the European countries. The expansion was mostly related with the rising American demand for Turkish products and it can be said that this was mostly owing to the American companies and officials who were pretty active in business development. For instance, American Consul General Charles M. Dickinson started a permanent exhibition in Istanbul and Izmir for American companies to display and sell their products in 1899. The total number of companies reached 108 companies in 1900.¹⁰⁹ This growth continued during the 19th Century and bilateral commerce volume grew from half a million dollar in 1830 to about 7 million dollars in 1899.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the efforts of David Offley should also be remembered to understand the reasons behind American expansion in trade in the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰⁹ Turgay, *ibid*, 236-237.

¹¹⁰ Gordon, *ibid*, 43. Şafak, *ibid*, 30.

2.4.1. Turkish-American Firearms Trade

Ottoman domestic manufacturing of the war materials and munitions were sufficient until the later part of 18th Century when the technology greatly transformed and accelerated the warfare. Nevertheless, the production capacity and the quality of the Ottoman-made weapons were short of rivalling the European counterparts and hence, the Ottoman Government started to seek ways to supply modern weapons for the Army.¹¹¹

The most remarkable change in the Ottoman-American trade relations in the 19th Century took place due to this need of the Ottomans. Even though the Ottoman Empire had relatively a large and powerful army in the 19th Century, the firearms were still supplied through importation.¹¹² The United States was assumed as an alternative to the European nations with her non-intervention in the European conflicts. Furthermore, the Ottoman Government did not foresee any American ambitions to the Empire and favored the rising power of the United States and developed arms industry.

The first interest by the Ottomans in the American war materials started with the secret clause of the 1830 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation which concluded ship building for Ottomans in the American shipyards. The Ottoman Navy was destructed by the French, English and Russian Navies in Navarino on October 20, 1827. The Ottoman Government was in need of rebuilding the Navy immediately and American shipbuilding was addressed as the best way to create the new Ottoman Marine Power.¹¹³

During the discussions of the 1830 Treaty, the Ottoman delegates demanded either the purchase of American made ships or the supply of necessary equipment and experts to build the ships in the Ottoman Empire. This condition was added to Treaty as a secret clause.¹¹⁴ Even though this was rejected by the American Congress, American experts were hired and they built ships for the Ottoman Navy. In this context, three American experts created great influence on the rebuilding of the Ottoman Navy and modernization of the shipbuilding industry. First of all, Henry Eckford came to Istanbul in 1831 to sell a

¹¹¹ Gabor Agoston, **Guns for the Sultan** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 200.

¹¹² Hale, **ibid**, 6.

¹¹³ İlber Ortaylı, **İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı**, 2nd Edition (Hil Yayın, 1987), 41.

¹¹⁴ Thomas James Adams, "American Foreign Policy and the Ottoman State 1774-1837" (Master Thesis, California State University, 2007), 91-95.

US ship to the Ottoman Government, which was later named as Mesir-i Ferah. Eckford at first presented a report to the modernization of the Ottoman shipbuilding and afterwards, he started to modernize the shipyard and educate the staff. After his sudden death in 1832, Foster Rhodes, arriving in Istanbul also in 1831 was promoted as the chief of construction of the Navy shipbuilding. Foster Rhodes was the pioneer of the steam engines in the Ottoman Navy and he constructed the first steamer of the Empire, Eser-i Hayr Vapuru (the Beneficent Work Steam Ship).¹¹⁵ The other American expert, Charles Ross was also in Aynalıkavak Shipyard at the same time as Eckford and participated in the building of steamships for the Navy.¹¹⁶

As for the fire arms, Ottoman Government decided to import the firearms which were available in abundant amounts after the end of the American Civil War. The state of the art technology of the American firearms and their suitability for the rapid delivery to the Army were the primary reasons for the Ottoman preference of the American firearms.¹¹⁷ Contemporaneously, American firearms industry was in need of new markets to sell the stocks in hand and to maintain their production. As a result of these, the firearms purchase started rapidly and the first purchases of arms from the United States took place in 1869 when Ottoman Army bought about 240,000 second-hand rifles at the initial stage.¹¹⁸

The firearms trade reached its peak with the orders which were placed for the production of brand new rifles from 1872 onwards. Ottoman Government decided to buy new technology rifles that were manufactured in the United States to equip the Army. American Henry-Martini rifles showed their superiority in the trials in Istanbul and consequently, the Government started discussions with the American Winchester Repeating Arms Company. The first contract for the purchase of 200,000 rifles was signed on August 1, 1872 and for the first time in Ottoman history, a military delegation which

¹¹⁵ Şafak, *ibid*, 149-150. Levent Düzcü, “Yelkenliden Buharlıya Geçişte Osmanlı Denizciliği (1825-1855)”, (Ph. D. Thesis, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2012), 200.

¹¹⁶ Bernd Langensiepen and Ahmet Gülerüz, *The Ottoman Steam Navy 1828-1923*, Translated by James Cooper (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1995), 1.

¹¹⁷ Jonathan Grant, “The Sword of the Sultan: Ottoman Arms Imports, 1854-1914”, *The Journal of Military History*, v. 66, i. 1 (2002): 16

¹¹⁸ Oral Sander, Kurthan Fişek, *ibid*, 26-27.

was comprised of officers and experts went to United States of America to supervise the production and test the products.¹¹⁹

Having short of the necessary capacity, Winchester Repeating Arms Company transferred the contract to the Providence Tool Company, which would be the largest American supplier of Ottoman Empire in the armament and ammunition sector. Similarly, the Providence Tool Company was also in difficulty of finding markets and the company resumed its firearm production subsequent to the taking over of the rifle sale to the Ottoman Government. The scope of this purchase widened with two more contracts of 400,000 rifles in August 1873.¹²⁰ Of the 600,000-rifle order from the company, 442,240 rifles were delivered to the Ottoman Army as of 1877. These American guns in the Ottoman military proved to be superior during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 with its longer and more effective range.¹²¹

The contracts prompted the Providence Tool to make new investments to carry out the production in the determined time by the agreements with the Ottoman Government. However, the contracts and these investments coincided with the 1873 Financial Crisis which deeply affected the world economy and continued until 1896 with short intervals.¹²² During this crisis, Ottoman Empire had also a financial bottleneck which finally led to the establishment of Public Debt Administration in 1881. Likewise, Providence Tool incurred hardships to find more credits to continue production. Finally, the Providence Tool declared bankruptcy and ended its production on April 17, 1882.¹²³

In the 1890s, the firearms trade with the US lost its pace steadily because of the Ottoman Government's policy change but the interest of the American companies in the Ottoman firearms market continued. As Germany emerged as an alternative for the Turkish foreign policy as a new ally in 1890s, the Ottoman Army shifted its purchases from the US to

¹¹⁹ Ali İhsan Gencer, Ali Fuat Öreñ, Metin Ünver, **Türk - Amerikan Silah Ticareti Tarihi** (İstanbul: Dođu Kütüphanesi, 2008), 70-71.

¹²⁰ Gencer, **ibid**, 83-84.

¹²¹ Grant, **ibid**, 16.

¹²² Muammer Kaymak, "1873-1896 Krizi: Mit Mi Gerçeklik Mi?", **Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi**, v. 65, i. 2 (2010): 168-170.

¹²³ Gencer, **ibid**, 208.

Germany.¹²⁴ However, in this process, while the German companies had the direct support of the German Government, banks and the German military advisors in the Ottoman Empire, the American companies could not derive enough support from the United States Government.¹²⁵ For instance, former powerful Chancellor of Germany, Bismarck personally supported the German companies to get arm sale contracts whereas the American consulates in the Empire provided weak assistance to the American arms companies.¹²⁶ Even though there were later Ottoman attempts for firearms purchases from the USA, these never came into reality. For instance, during the Tripoli War in 1911, the Ottoman Government resorted to buy rifle parts from the US but this was rejected by the American Government owing to its contradiction to the Monroe Doctrine.¹²⁷

This firearms trade constituted two more visible effects for the bilateral relations. The first one was the first personal ties between the leaders of two countries. In this context, the expansion of firearms trade between two countries helped the development of personal relations between Sultan Abdulaziz and the American President Ulysses S. Grant.¹²⁸ Almost all the entire gun purchases by the Ottoman Empire took place during the Grant's presidency. Grant personally facilitated this trade and enabled the shipment of thousands of brand new rifles to the Ottoman Empire during the first purchases.¹²⁹ This close relation between two Government also enabled the high-ranking authorities to visit Istanbul for the first time in history. At first, Lieutenant Frederic Dent Grant, son of President Grant and General William Tecumseh Sherman, the famous Army General of the American

¹²⁴ Şafak, *ibid*, 144-147. Gencer, *ibid*, 250-257.

¹²⁵ İlber Ortaylı, *İkinci Abdülhamit Döneminde Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Alman Nüfuzu* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasi Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1981), 68-69.

¹²⁶ Naci Yorulmaz, *Arming the Sultan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 36-38.

¹²⁷ Oral Sander, Kurthan Fişek, *Türk-ABD Silah Ticaretinin İlk Yüzyılı (1829-1929)*, 2nd Ed. (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2007), 40-41.

¹²⁸ Ulysses S. Grant was one of the symbol for the Union victory in the Civil War. He was elected president in 1869 and left the office in 1877. He fought in the Mexican-American War. After leading the volunteer brigades at the beginning of the Civil War, Grant was appointed as the General-in-Chief in 1864 by President Lincoln. He died in 1885. Frank Freidel, *ibid*, 43. Sultan Abdulaziz ascended to the throne in 1861. He was the first and only Ottoman Sultan to travel to Europe. The Sultan visited France, England, Belgium, Prussia and Austria in 1867. During his reign, Ottoman Empire modernized the navy, imported modern arms for the army, constructed railways and established modern educational institutions. He was deposed and died in 1876. Cevdet Küçük, "Abdülaziz", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (TDVİA)*, v. 1, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988): 179-185.

¹²⁹ Ali Sönmez, "Ayastefanos Antlaşması'nın Gölgesinde ABD Eski Başkanı Grant'ın Türkiye Ziyareti", *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, v. 3, i. 1 (2013): 40.

Civil War paid a visit to the Ottoman capital during the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz.¹³⁰ General Sherman and Lieutenant Grant visited Istanbul in 1872 and met with Sultan Abdulaziz.¹³¹ Then, Ulysses S. Grant after the end of his term in office started a world tour and made call on to the Levant countries as well. Arriving in Izmir on February 22, 1878, former president Grant was welcomed by the Ottoman officials and visited Efes. When Grant arrived in Istanbul on March 1, 1878, Minister of War Mehmed Rauf Pasha welcomed him even among the disturbances of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Ulysses S. Grant met with Sultan Abdulhamid II on March 5, 1878 and the Sultan gave presents to the former president.¹³²

The firearms trade with the United States did not remain limited to the import of rifles and also knowledge in addition to the experience for the local production of the Peabody-Martini rifles together with the required machinery were all bought from the United States during these transactions. The first attempt was for the local production of enough rifle cartridges which were required for the Snider rifles which were purchased in the first deal and therefore, the Ottoman Government bought machinery for the cartridge production from the USA in 1869. Due to the import of about 600,000 Peabody-Martini for the Army, Ottoman Government decided to manufacture the necessary cartridges locally and the relevant machinery was again bought from the United States and installed in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul in February, 1882.¹³³

¹³⁰ General Sherman was one of the key figures in the American Civil War with great contributions to the Union's victory. Moreover, General Sherman was known as the pioneer of the modern warfare spreading beyond the front. For further information, see Stanley P. Hirshson, **The White Tecumseh: A Biography of General William T. Sherman** (John Wiley & Sons, 1997).

¹³¹ Sönmez, *ibid*, 41-42.

¹³² Sönmez, *ibid*, 46-47. Sultan Abdulhamid II acceded to throne in 1876 succeeding Murad V. Sultan Abdulhamid declared the first Constitution of the Ottoman Empire and opened the first Ottoman Chamber of Deputies. However, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1876-77, Sultan suspended the Chamber and ruled the Empire by himself until 1908. His reign showed a remarkable development in the infrastructure, education and finance in the Empire while incurring ethnic crisis. Germany stood out as the primary ally and supporter of the Ottoman Empire in the modernization of the army. Upon the revolt of the Union and Progress Party in 1908, Abdulhamid had to reconvene the Chamber of Deputies and restored the Constitution. After a counter revolution attempt in 1909 by the radical groups in Istanbul, Abdulhamid II was deposed by the Army and the Unionists. François Georgeon, **Sultan Abdülhamid**, Translated by Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006).

¹³³ Gencer, *ibid*, 241-243.

The initiative for the rifle production emerged in 1868 when a military delegation was sent to the Great Britain and the USA for the investigation of machinery and equipment. In 1880, the purchase of the necessary equipment was completed gradually.¹³⁴ Weapons were produced modelling the Martini-Henry rifles in Tufekhane-i Amire in 1881.¹³⁵ American-type rifle production was between 500 and 1000 pieces a week which can be evaluated as the first examples of technology transfer to Ottoman Empire through “reverse engineering”.¹³⁶

However, the decrease and the termination of the firearms trade between the US and the Ottoman Empire not only reduced the bilateral trade but also inflicted a heavy damage on the local rifle production. In this scope, as the armament importation from Germany increased, the domestic production of the rifles and other guns decreased significantly. For instance, the weekly production of Martini rifles in Tophane, Istanbul plummeted from more than 100 in 1888 to about 10 in 1890.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ **Ibid**, 246-251.

¹³⁵ Julian Bennett, “Bayonets for the Peabody-Martini Rifle”, **Arms & Armour** (2018): 4 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17416124.2019.1581489> [March 15, 2019].

¹³⁶ Yorulmaz, **ibid**, 98. Bennet, **ibid**, 4.

¹³⁷ Grant, **ibid**, 25.

3. LEVANT TRADE REVIEW

3.1. American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant

The main concern of this work is the study of *Levant Trade Review* which was a primary publication of the American business community in Istanbul. In this chapter, the institutional and publication features of the magazine will be studied in detail.

To begin with, the first foreign chamber of commerce in the Empire was founded in 1870 as a part of the Austrian Embassy in Istanbul. There were Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Belgium and Holland Chambers of Commerce in Istanbul in the first years of 20th Century and they had considerable number of members, ranging from 120 to 340 in each chamber.¹

At the turn of the century, there were a lot of businessmen doing business with the United States and the bilateral trade volume was more than 20 Million USD.² The Chester Project which was pioneered by a former American Navy officer Colby M. Chester, was on the agenda of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies. Open Door Policy defined free trade and equal rights also in the Ottoman Empire similar to China and the international seas.³ In this context, William Rockhill who was one of the people who authored the “Open Door Policy Notes” and the key figure of American business success in China was assigned to Istanbul as the American Ambassador on April 24, 1911.⁴ Lastly, Gabriel Bie Ravndal who had keen interest in developing business and trade opportunities for the United States in the Levant was transferred from Beyrut to Istanbul as the new Consul General.⁵ The

¹ Murat Koraltürk, **Türkiye’de Ticaret ve Sanayi Odaları (1880-1952)** (İstanbul: Denizler Kitabevi, 2002), 21-27.

² Gordon, *ibid*, 60.

³ Ar, *ibid*, 28.

⁴ Varg, *ibid*, 375. Alfred E. Hhipisley, “William Woodville Rockhill”, **Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland**, v. 47, i. 2 (1915): 367-74.

⁵ Gabriel Bie Ravndal was born in Norway in 1865 and studied at the Royal University of Norway. After his immigration to the USA in 1885, Gabriel Ravndal worked as teacher, engineer and journalist. He was elected to the South Dakota Congress from the Republican Party in 1893-94. Afterwards, he entered into

establishment of ACCL coincided with the Chester Project negotiations while Arthur T. Chester, son of Colby M. Chester, was the vice president of the Chamber. Therefore, the founding of American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant can also be assumed as an extension of the Open Door Policy.⁶

In this atmosphere in which the US focused her attention on developing business in the Levant, forming a chamber of commerce in Istanbul was first suggested by the newly appointed Consul General in Istanbul, Gabriel Bie Ravndal. The first meeting to set up a chamber which would unite American and local businessmen who had commercial ties with the United States and the Levant was held in March 22, 1911.⁷ At first, title of the chamber was the American Chamber of Commerce for Turkey but in the second annual meeting the name was changed to American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant (ACCL) as an indication of the responsibility area of the organization.⁸ When ACCL went into action, there were only 4 American Chambers of Commerce outside of the US, which were in Naples, Brussels, Paris and Berlin. The American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant became the fifth American chamber of commerce abroad.⁹

The organization was designed to accept both American and local members who had commercial ties with the United States and Levant countries. Membership was subject to a fee which ranged from \$10-\$20 annually or \$200 of lifetime membership, by which any member could benefit from the services of the chamber and acquire a free subscription to

the foreign service and was appointed to Beyrut as the American Consul in 1898. In spite of his assignment to Canada in 1905, Gabriel Ravndal turned back to Beyrut as Consul General in 1906 and remained in this post until his transfer to Istanbul in 1911. Upon the rupture of relations between two countries, Ravndal went to France as Consul General until his return to Turkey in 1919. In 1925, after a 22-year service in Ottoman Empire and Turkey, he was appointed to Zurich, which was followed by Hamburg in 1928 and Berlin in 1929. He was retired from the foreign service in 1930 and died in 1950. Ercan Karakoç and Hasan Küçük, "Gabriel Bie Ravndal", **V. Yıldız Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, 13-15 Aralık 2018** (İstanbul: Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2018): 16-19.

⁶ Admiral Colby M. Chester first arrived in Turkey as the Captain of USS Kentucky to force Sultan Abdulhamid II to sign the agreement for indemnity for the American missionary losses during Armenian Events in 1890s. He, with his partners, founded the Ottoman-American Development Company and sought for the railway and mining concession until 1914 with his son Arthur T. Chester. Russell Yates Smith, "James Wood Colt and the Chester Project, 1908-1914" (Master Thesis, Ohio State University, 1967), 2-3.

⁷ "International Law in its Relation to Interstate Commerce", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 2, i. 1, (1912): 14. "Empire News", **The Orient**, v. 1, i. 47, (1911): 6.

⁸ Gabriel Bie Ravndal, "The Annual Meeting", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 2 (1921): 100.

⁹ Gabriel Bie Ravndal, "Our Chamber. A Bit of History", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 173.

Levant Trade Review.¹⁰ ACCL reached about 592 members from all sectors of economic life in 1913 and established branches in Beirut, Izmir, Selanik, Atina and Patras in spite of the wars in which the Ottomans faced until 1914.¹¹ Apart from the regional expansion, American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant started to open separate sections within the body of chambers of commerce and commercial museums in the United States, first of which was established in Philadelphia to inform and encourage the American businessmen who were interested in the Levant.¹² Moreover, ACCL was the first American chamber to participate in the Chamber of Commerce of the United States from outside of the US.¹³ Besides, to proliferate activities of the Chamber through a legal entity in the United States, ACCL was registered as a corporation in Washington, D.C. on January 18, 1916.¹⁴ Moreover, after the end of the World War I, American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant expanded its existence in the homeland and formed an American branch in New York on March 2, 1921, again pioneered by Consul General Ravndal, the Honorary President of the Chamber. The American Section were quite powerful with members from the leading American companies of A. B. Farquhar, the American Express, the Guaranty Trust Company, General Motors, Standard Oil and Robert College.¹⁵ The American Section was later converted into “the Federated American Chambers of Commerce of the Near East” to address the demands and needs of Greece and Egypt.¹⁶

The American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant committed itself to provide reliable business partners in the region for the American business people to conduct trade.¹⁷ Therefore, the ACCL established an office of information upon the request by American High Commissioner Admiral Bristol for the market research. Accordingly, American

¹⁰ “Membership in the Chamber”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 12 (1921): 1008.

¹¹ “Our Sixth Annual Meeting”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 215.

¹² “Our Chamber in America”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 3, i. 1 (1913): 50.

¹³ “Our 5th Annual Meeting”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 317. “We Are Still Moving On”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 2 (1915): 205.

¹⁴ “Incorporation in America of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 319-320.

¹⁵ “American Section: American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 4, (1921): 260-264.

¹⁶ **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 2 (1923): 67. Gabriel Bie Ravndal, “Our Chamber. A Bit of History”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 173.

¹⁷ “The Perpetual Subject of Credit”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 5, (1925): 204.

businessmen would form committees in every leading port of the region and send reports to the ACCL Information Center about the possible trade opportunities, general economic conditions of the region and the firms of the Near East.¹⁸

Additionally, ACCL organized tours and visits to the principal American trade organizations to promote the region for the American business community. For instance, in 1912, a delegation sponsored by the Chamber and headed by Mr. Ravndal went to Boston to join the Fifth International Congress of Chambers of Commerce.¹⁹ In addition, Mr. L. I. Thomas, president of the American Section of the Chamber, was reported to address the American business people in New York in 1922. In this meeting, he invited more American companies to the Near East by exemplifying the prominent American companies such as the Guaranty Trust Company, the American Express Company, the American Foreign Trade Corporation and the Standard Oil Company of New York which were already in the region. While ensuring the attendants about the bright future of the Empire which probably had 50 million sterling of gold saved under the mattress, he also demanded the support and active work of the Chamber to prevent the legislation of the raise of the tax on tobacco, which would have destructive outcomes on the trade with Greece and the Ottoman Empire.²⁰ Here emerges one of the key missions of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and *Levant Trade Review* in which they put efforts to protect the interests of their members who were natural sponsors of the Chamber through membership fees and advertisements. This action also contributed indirectly to the Turkish people by assuring the retaining of their occupations and earnings as well.

Moreover, the Chamber worked to attract the American businessmen to visit the region and experience the region personally. Both in 1911 and 1914, Gabriel Ravndal and the other directors of the Chamber contacted and invited the American delegations who were on a business trip to Europe. Even though they could not succeed, the Chamber can be

¹⁸ Julian E. Gillespie, "American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant", **Commerce Reports**, April 8, 1921: 145-146. Thomas A. Bryson, "Admiral Mark L. Bristol, An Open-Door Diplomat in Turkey", **International Journal of Middle East Studies**, i. 5 (1974): 460-461.

¹⁹ Gabriel Bie Ravndal, "Our Chamber. A Bit of History", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 174.

²⁰ "The American Section Addressed by President Thomas and Consul Maynard", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 1 (1922): 3-5.

said to have managed to grasp a place on the agenda of the American business circles.²¹ In the following years, the Chamber succeeded in persuading the Americans to visit Istanbul. For instance, the business delegation of American businessmen was reported to extend their trip to Istanbul with the contribution of the American Express Company in 1923.²² Another American delegation which was formed to participate in the Second General Meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce was reported to visit Istanbul in 1924 as well.²³ This delegation made the visit on March 3, 1923 and guest American businessmen were received warmly and happily by the American authorities in the city and then the delegation met with the local members of the ACCL.²⁴

The Chamber dealt also with the long-time ratification problem of Lausanne Treaty between the United States and Turkey. ACCL members expressed their opinion for the ratification by considering the American interests in the region. While American Community in Turkey sent telegrams to convince the Senate Committees, the officials of the ACCL sent petitions to the American Congress to support the pro-Turkish groups in the US.²⁵

Furthermore, the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant achieved to earn reputation and prestige with its members who were prominent American and local businessmen together with its activities to develop trade and therefore, ACCL hosted prominent figures of the era in its events and also included these people among its members. Firstly, Talat Bey, Minister of Interior participated in the ACCL's event in February 1914. Attendance of such a prominent and powerful figure of the new Regime at the event of an American institution signifies the value that the Ottoman Government attributed. Furthermore, Talat Bey stated that the economic future of the country was the most important matter for the Ottoman government and described the US as the great model for the Empire.²⁶ Suleiman Bustani, former Minister and Senator, was an Honorary

²¹ "Our Chamber. A Bit of History", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 173.

²² "American Commercial Delegates will Visit Constantinople", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 11 (1922): 730.

²³ "Names of American Delegation to Meeting at Rome: Who will Reach Constantinople on March 3rd", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 2 (1923): 70-74.

²⁴ "A Welcome Visit", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 4 (1923): 195-198.

²⁵ "The Lausanne Treaty", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 14, i. 5 (1926): 187-188.

²⁶ "American Relations with Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 179.

Member of the Chamber.²⁷ A leading figure in the Ottoman Administration, Halil Bey, President of the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies, joined the chamber as a member in second quarter of 1915.²⁸ Talat Bey (later Talat Pasha who was the leading figure in the Unionist Government) attended to the Chamber's Event in February 1914 and called the United States of America as an example for industrial development for them.²⁹ In addition, the Chamber held its annual meeting on May 1st, 1924 with the participation of Fethi Bey, President of the Grand National Assembly, Haydar Bey, Governor of Istanbul and representatives of the leading business organizations in Türkiye. This positive attitude by the primary policy maker of the Government towards the United States can be assumed as a good guarantee for the American enterprises for their trade and business intentions. Beside the appropriate atmosphere for investing or trading in a country, the good attitude of the country's officials towards the foreign businessmen and their country played a determining role in the decision making process.

²⁷ "Suleiman Effendi Bustani", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 3, i. 1 (1913): 76. Suleiman Bustani was born in Beyrut in 1856. He worked as teacher and journalist in the Middle Eastern lands of the Ottoman Empire. He was sent to the Chicago Columbian Exposition in 1893 as a part of the Turkish Governmental Delegation. He was elected to the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies in 1908 and became the Minister of Agriculture and Trade in 1913. However, he resigned from the Ministry upon the entrance of the Ottoman Empire into the World War I. He died in New York in 1925. Ali Şakir Ergin, "BUSTÂNÎ, Süleyman b. Hattâr", **TDVİA**, v. 6, (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992): 474-475.

²⁸ "His Excellency Halil Bey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 393. Halil Bey (Menteşe) was born in 1874 in Milas (in Mugla now). He went to Paris in 1894 and joined in the Young Turks. Halil Bey was elected to the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies in 1908 as the candidate of Unionists. He became the Minister of Interior in 1911 and in 1912 he was elected as the President [Speaker] of the Ottoman Parliament. During the World War I, Halil Bey was among the leader cadre of the Union and Progress Party. He overtook the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice in 1915-1916 respectively. Even though he was forced to stay out of the politics after the Mudros Armistice, he later participated in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. S. T. Wasti, "Halil Mentеше – the Quadrumvir", **Middle Eastern Studies**, v. 32, i. 3 (1996): 92-105.

²⁹ "American Relations With Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914):179. Talat Bey (later Talat Pasha) was one of the most powerful figures in the Committee of Union and Progress which deeply affected the late years of the Ottoman Empire and the early Modern Turkey via its policies, decisions and figures. Talat Bey was born in 1874 in Edirne, former capital of the Empire. He led the organization of Union and Progress in the Empire and played a key role in the 1908 Revolution. Elected as the Edirne Deputy in 1908, Talat Pasha was assigned as the Minister of Interior in 1909, Minister of Postal and Telegrams in 1912. He pioneered the 1913 Coup (Bab-ı Ali Baskını) which enabled the Unionists to take the whole power of the Ottoman Government. He assumed the Ministry of Interior in 1913 for the second time, during which he took a major part in the Temporarily Removal Act of 1915. He became the last Grand Vizier of the Unionist Government from 1917 to 1918 and after the war, he left Turkey for Berlin in November, 1918. He was assassinated by an Armenian in Berlin on March 15, 1921. Hasan Babacan, **Mehmed Talat Paşa 1874-1921 Siyasi Hayatı ve İcraatı**, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005).

Even though ACCL continued its activities during the wars, the Great Depression damaged the funding and activities of the Chamber from 1930 onwards. ACCL had difficulties in maintaining its activities and publication of *Levant Trade Review* which incurred problems and delays. In addition, the statism prevailing in Turkey as a result of the economic hardships which were experienced in the recent years influenced the Chamber adversely. The Chamber seemed to have finalized its services and operations in 1932 as inferred from the weekly bulletin of the American Board, which mentioned Mr. Stem as the representative of “the business fraternity” in the city. Mr. Stem must be F. B. Stem who was the Board Member of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant in 1931. When considered that the other representatives were expressed with their institutions, the absence of such an introduction in the case of Mr. Stem strengthens the possibility of Chamber’s termination of activities in 1931.³⁰ Moreover, Mr. Murat Koraltürk, in his book *Türkiye’de Ticaret ve Sanayi Odaları (1880-1952)* [Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Turkey (1880-1952)], states that the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant did not appear in the 1932 Edition of the “Annuaire Oriental” while it was counted in the previous issue in 1930.³¹

3.2. History of Levant Trade Review

The most important legacy of the Chamber was a business magazine which was published from 1911 until 1931. The magazine was named as “*Levant Trade Review*” and the first issue was published and distributed in June 1911. *Levant Trade Review* served as;

- a tie among the members,
- a tool to inform the American and local members of ACCL about the business, law and administrative details of the Levant and the USA
- a medium of defending American business interest in the region.³²

³⁰ Charles T. Riggs, Dear Friends, No: 377, March 15, 1932.

³¹ Koraltürk, *ibid*, 90.

³² “Our Sixth Annual Meeting”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 216-217.

Levant Trade Review was principally a business magazine which adopted these functions as a way to contribute to the development of American interests in the region. The following sections will focus on the study of the magazine in detail.

3.2.1. The Emergence of Levant Trade Review

As stated above, the first years of the 20th Century stood out as the booming era of American international trade both as imports and export. Therefore, whole world, especially the countries which were not traditional markets for American goods at that time, was perceived as a suitable target for boosting American manufacturing industry. The United States was already one of the chief buyers of the agricultural products such as tobacco, licorice root and cotton of the Near East while the American educational and charity institutions were active in the region with schools, colleges, hospitals and relief organizations that were financed by the American community.³³

American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant was established in March 1911 and the first issue of the *Levant Trade Review* was published two months later as the most prominent service and work of the Chamber. ACCL and the magazine has the word “Levant” in its name as a sign of their region of interest. As a very common word to describe the Eastern Mediterranean coasts, Levant has been used to refer to different geographical areas mainly centering Syria. According to the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, the term “Levant” was derived from the Latin word “levatio” which means “raising” and were mostly used to describe the lands which surrounds the Eastern Mediterranean which are Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the eastern part of present Libya.³⁴ After the involvement of Venice and Genoa in the Mediterranean trade, the Levant gradually evolved to a region which served as the key passage to transfer the goods from the Far East to the Europe. As of the late 15th Century, France and England rose as the leading players in the world trade and the Italian city states lost their power.³⁵ The Levant Company which was established by the English merchants to operate in the

³³ “Industrial Schools”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 56.

³⁴ David F. Graf, “Levant”, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, v. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 247.

³⁵ Şerafettin Turan, “Levant”, *TDVİA*, v. 27 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003): 146.

Levant started doing business in 1592 and the name of the company, therefore, was named after the places in which the Company had the business rights and privileges.³⁶ In the 20th Century, France's dominions which comprised of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine in the Middle East were also called as "The Levant States".³⁷

As for the scope of the Levant as used in the name of the magazine and the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, it refers to a larger and broader area centering Istanbul which was the prominent financial center and a commercial bridge among the continents. The main region of interest of the magazine was the Ottoman lands, including Anatolia, Syria, Iraq, Arabian Peninsula and the Balkans under the Ottoman rule. Furthermore, Egypt, Persia, Russia, Romania, Serbia, Greece, Caucasia, Afghanistan, Albania, Cyprus, Bulgaria were also included in many issues with their economic conditions, their trade with the USA and business opportunities for the American businessmen.

While the scope of the magazine was relatively wider, the headquarters was in Istanbul. Istanbul, as the chief financial and trade center in the Middle East and the Balkans, was an appropriate place to center the operations of the Chamber. Likewise, Istanbul had railway and marine transport facilities that links the capital to other principal cities around the region. In addition, communication systems were relatively better developed than the other cities, which was of great use for *Levant Trade Review* whereby the reports from other regions could be delivered faster and prospective branches could maintain communication easier.

3.2.2. The Design and Distribution

The first issue was out in June 1911 and the final issue was published in June, 1931. The publication of *Levant Trade Review* was maintained continuously except for a two-year interval due to the World War I from December 1916 to June 1919. There were 165 issues and two addendums from 1911 to 1931. Until 1917, *Levant Trade Review* was published quarterly but after the resuming of the publication in 1919, the publication was changed

³⁶ Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company*, (London: George Routledge&Sons Limited, 1908), 37.

³⁷ Turan, *ibid*, 145.

to a monthly magazine. At the beginning, the magazine had 128 pages but in the following years, the number of the annual issues increased up to 12 and the number of pages was shrunk from 144 pages down to 48 pages during the last years of publishing.

The main parts of the *Levant Trade Review* were;

- List of the Publishing Committee at the first page,
- List of American Consular Officers at the second page,
- News, articles and data,
- Advertisements from both local and American companies,
- Personalia which presented information about the travels of the leading Americans in the Levant,
- Categorized list of the Chamber's members.

Moreover, *Levant Trade Review*, developed new sections to provide regular and more detailed information in specific fields. These sections were sometimes finalized later and some sections such as “Constantinople Market Report” and “Smyrna Fruit Market” were maintained all through the publication of the Magazine. These sections were:

- Constantinople Market Report: provides commercial information about some commodities and food products,
- Bulletin Des Offres Commerciales: includes commercial offers from companies,
- Tables of Weight and Measures: explains the regional measures,
- Business Weather Map: reflects the latest business situation in the world,
- Smyrna Fruit Market: gives data about the prices and quantities of the Izmir agricultural products,
- Exchange Rates: contains the Lira-USD rates,

- Country pages: provides information about the economic developments in the countries of the region.

Levant Trade Review was just distributed to the members, leading economic institutions and commercial organizations in the United States free of charge. The magazine was also delivered to the important chambers, commercial clubs and trade boards in the United States. Circulating around 2500 copies, *Levant Trade Review* was distributed through the foreign post offices in the Ottoman Empire and sometimes had problems of delivery.³⁸

3.2.3. The General Function of the Magazine

Levant Trade Review focused on several targets from the very beginning of its publication, which were;

- to inform the American businessmen about the region,
- to attract the members and American businessmen's attention to profitable businesses,
- to defend, protect the rights and interests of member businessmen,
- to strengthen the ties among the Chamber's members,
- to promote American goods and commodities in the region,
- to increase and give data about the bilateral trade between the region and the United States,
- to facilitate the trade and investments by removing the obstacles.

Levant Trade Review continued publication despite the ongoing wars, conflicts to achieve the aforementioned goals and witnessed the economic transformation of the region following the hardest times of the world. Firstly, American local newspapers heralded the publication of *Levant Trade Review*, indicating the magazine's and the Chamber's success

³⁸ **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 11 (1923): 610.

to arouse interest in different places in the USA.³⁹ Furthermore, in South Dakota, which was mentioned with its agricultural capacity in *Levant Trade Review*, *Philip Weekly Review*, a local newspaper, evaluated this as a great advertisement for the promotion of their state.⁴⁰ Considering these impact of the magazine and the Chamber, it can be said that both of them were successful in accomplishing these goals.

The first and foremost aim of the magazine was to increase the awareness and familiarity of the American businessmen about the region. Thus, *Levant Trade Review* provided detailed information about the regulations in the region for the American businessmen. For example, the opportunity for the American business because of the new tariff regulation, which cancelled tax on petroleum, sugar, rice beans and some other products were conveyed to the members.⁴¹ Moreover, the tax on agricultural implements and machinery was reduced to a small figure and this advantage rapidly reported to the readers.⁴² In addition, the magazine aimed to attract American business people to the region. For example, *Levant Trade Review* presented detailed information about the products which were thought to have a suitable and profitable market thereby informing the American businessmen of advantages, features and technical details that these products should have.⁴³ The topics were selected in accordance with the conditions of the market and focused on the sectors which proffered better opportunities for the American businesses. In this context, for instance, there were many articles about tractors and agricultural equipment which were also exempt from duty.⁴⁴ It was clearly stated that the Ottoman Empire was an agrarian society and the economy was depended primarily on agricultural activity. Therefore, the magazine often expressed the necessity of modernization of the agricultural techniques and increase of the mechanization in the region, which would present a ready market for American agricultural machinery

³⁹ **Hopkinsville Kentuckian**, July 17, 1915, 8. **The Citizen**, December 20, 1911, 2. **The Evening Star**, June 17, 1911, 5.

⁴⁰ "South Dakota Gets Boost from French Magazine", **Philip Weekly Review**, September 11, 1913, 8.

⁴¹ "Imports into Turkey Free of Duty", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 4 (1916): 358.

⁴² "The Ottoman Tariff", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 4 (1916): 342.

⁴³ "American Cabots in Relation to Manchester Unbleached Shirtings", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 667-670. "American Flour in the Levant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 9 (1921): 738-744. "The Cabot Name", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 2 (1922): 128-132. "Cotton-Goods in Syria", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 3 (1922): 180-182. "Straight Side vs. Clincher Tires", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 4 (1922): 250-252.

⁴⁴ "American Tractors and Implements in Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 5 (1922): 360.

companies. These articles were accompanied by the advertisements of the relevant American companies such as the Johnston Harvester Co., International Harvester Corporation, A.B. Farquhar&Co. and some other dealers of the American companies. Additionally, the locations which would present the best results were also promoted in the magazine. For instance, some regions of the Empire like Şam, Edirne, Merzifon apart from the well-known agricultural zones like Izmir, Adana and Konya were reported to be a great opportunity for the American agricultural machinery.⁴⁵

Moreover, *Levant Trade Review* was also a proper place for the announcements about the business sector to inform the foreign businessmen. For example, the determination of Friday as the fixed weekly holiday and the increase in the guaranty deposit of the insurance companies were heralded to the members. Furthermore, the United States Government's notifications for the businessmen were also published in the magazine to notify the members who made business with the US. In this case, for example, the shippers for the US were warned to arrange their containers for faster operation, rug exporters to label their products with the origin of the rugs.⁴⁶

Levant Trade Review was utilized as a medium of defending and protecting the rights of member businessmen. For instance, upon a criticism in an Istanbul newspaper against the petroleum suppliers –the largest of which was the Standard Oil Company of New York, a member of the ACCL-, the magazine gave a detailed explanation why the petroleum prices were increasing. Defending that petroleum was imported from Batum to the capital by Greek steamers, *Levant Trade Review* asserted that the hindrances were caused by the Balkan Wars which prevented the transportation of petroleum to the Ottoman ports.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the law to raise the tariff on the import of Persian rugs into Turkey aroused a concern among the wholesale carpet dealers because of the rise of costs and *Levant Trade Review* urged the Government against the possible shift in the transfer routes of

⁴⁵ "Smyrna Branch", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 348. "Agricultural Machinery in the District of Adana", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 252. "Economic Position of Adrianople", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 4 (1916): 374. "Agriculture in the Vicinity of Marsovan, Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 86.

⁴⁶ "Notice to Shippers", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 5 (1924): 204. "Rugs for the United States", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 6 (1924): 258. "Effect of American Immigration Law in Near Eastern Countries", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 7 (1924): 287-288.

⁴⁷ "American Petroleum in Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 2, i. 3 (1912): 270.

Persian rugs to United States. As a result, the Council of Ministers, therefore, decided to reduce the customs duty and to eliminate transaction tax, for which the magazine can be counted as a contributor.⁴⁸

Levant Trade Review functioned as a lobbyist to work to eliminate the obstacles to the development of trade between two countries. Therefore, the magazine focused mainly on the opening of a bank in Istanbul, establishment of shipping lines between the American and Levant Ports and increase of the direct interaction between the Turkish and American business communities. These efforts by *Levant Trade Review* can be said to have reached its goal and these will be explained in later chapters.

As another function, the trade data of the region were also available in the magazine. The exports to United States were registered by the consulates in accordance with the United States Law in order to control the merchandise which was shipped to the United States of America. The exporters had to obtain invoices from the American consulates in their countries to show the description, market value and shipping costs of their products.⁴⁹ Thanks to this regulation, the American Consulates in the Near East could provide foreign trade statistics even without the official data of the relevant countries and *Levant Trade Review* presented these statistics to the readers.

Apart from the specific products for the Turkish market, the magazine also supplied detailed information about the sectorial conditions of the Ottoman Empire (later Turkey) and other Levant countries. For example, the electricity production and electrical appliances market in Istanbul, development of leather sector and market for the sole leather for the American companies, concession by the Soviet Government to the Italians for the right to serve between the Russian ports on the Black Sea shore were presented to the members.⁵⁰

Levant Trade Review was also a platform for the promotion Open Door Policy principles. In this context, the Straits –the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus- along with Istanbul were

⁴⁸ “Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 1 (1930): 20. “Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 3 (1930): 99.

⁴⁹ “Documents Required by American Customs Officials”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 9 (1920): 690.

⁵⁰ “Conditions in Constantinople Favor Electric Heating”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 11 (1922): 734-736. “Turkish Market for Sole Leather”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 6, (1924): 252-254. “Lloyd Triestino’s Black Sea Concession”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 6 (1922): 423.

perceived as commercial sea routes. Therefore, free pass through the Straits were the priority of the American policy. In compliance with this approach, *Levant Trade Review* advocated the establishment of an international free city in Istanbul or the formation of free zone in the city.⁵¹

Furthermore, *Levant Trade Review* published articles in each issue to introduce and promote one of the significant commercial centers around the United States, by giving detailed information about the population, economic situation, industrial and agricultural capacity. Ports, products, buildings and industries were among the topics that *Levant Trade Review* dealt with.⁵²

Lastly, the magazine started to publish a “Bulletin Des Offres Commerciales” (Bulletin of Commercial Offers) to inform the trade offers by the American businessmen from different states in the US. Besides, tenders and concessions were announced for the information of the American companies, thereby providing a great opportunity to develop the commercial ties among members.⁵³ These two functions which presented direct and ready business opportunities were important accelerator for the trade of the American companies.

3.2.4. The Editorial Policy of the Magazine

The general policy of *Levant Trade Review* was to avoid from politics and controversial matters by focusing mainly on promoting trade and business of the American business community.⁵⁴ Accordingly, the magazine did not give coverage to the political issues and conflicts of the era. Temporarily Removal Act of 1915, the course of the World War I, the

⁵¹ “Constantinople as a Free City”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 10 (1921): 808-811. “Admiral Mark L. Bristol”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 598.

⁵² “The Port of Baltimore, Maryland”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 2 (1922): 114-128. “The Port of Wilmington”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 2 (1923): 74-84. “Port of Philadelphia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 7 (1924): 344. “Boston, USA”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 11 (1921): 922-929. “The United States Chemical Trade”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 18, i. 5 (1930): 180-181.

⁵³ “Turkish Match Monopoly”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 7 (1924): 338, “Bulgarian Adjudication”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 3 (1922): 175. “Competitive Bidding in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 4 (1922): 303. “Constantinople’s Rest Days”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 12 (1923): 641.

⁵⁴ “Constantinople as a Free City”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 10 (1921): 808. “The Lausanne Treaty”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 5, (1926): 187.

Turkish Independence War did not appear in the magazine except for their impacts on the general condition of economic activities.

However, the apolitical approach of the magazine sometimes diverged to promote American interests even in the situations which were detriment to the sovereignty of the countries in the region. Even, some articles, appearing in the magazine after the Mudros Armistice, openly contradicted with the objectiveness and non-political stance of ACCL and *Levant Trade Review*. Even if this can be exemplified through some articles, mostly reprinted from other sources (*The Times, The Americas* etc.), the inclusion of these opinions still reflected a positive approach to these plans. For instance, an article which was borrowed from *The Americas* published by the National City Bank of New York included harsh criticisms to Turks who conquered Istanbul in 1453. In this article, while the Roman rulers were praised and appreciated for their wise rule, the Turks were accused of religious fanaticism, misrule and being “*a pawn*” among the European nations. Furthermore, the expectations with regard to the occupied Turkish Empire territories tended to have positive expectations which praised business freedom contrary to accusations to the pre-war regime of prevailing pressure.⁵⁵

Besides, the magazine reported the support of the United States’ Government to the maintenance of the capitulations regime which they enjoyed since the 1830 Treaty. *Levant Trade Review* strictly defended the American interests on the capitulations especially after the World War I. The United States of America was one of the states, posing the greatest resistance to the abrogation of the capitulations and insisted especially on the American citizens’ right to be tried by American consular courts and independence of the American missionary institutions in their services.⁵⁶

Furthermore, the Armenian Issue posed a greater diversion from the magazine’s apolitical publication policy which embraced the Armenian claims in favor of the establishment of an Armenian State on the Anatolian lands of Turkish Empire.⁵⁷ The existence of tight relations between the United States and the Armenian community in the region resulted

⁵⁵ “Near Eastern Trade Field One of Great Future Possibilities”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 1 (1921): 3-12.

⁵⁶ Arslan, *ibid*, 265.

⁵⁷ “The Eastern Provinces of Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 1 (1920): 66.

in a relatively higher number of Armenian members in the Chamber and this was also a decisive factor in the tendency of the magazine to the Armenian claims along with the President Wilson's support to the establishment of an Armenian State.

3.2.5. Main Themes in the Magazine

Levant Trade Review exerted to strengthen the business of the members and fortify the American interests in the region. To contribute this, various topics ranging from the financial conditions of the countries in the region to minor developments in the region such as the notorious businessmen in the Levant were included in the magazine. The articles in *Levant Trade Review* can be classified under the following primary groups:

- American capital in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey
- Market conditions and the economic details of the region
- Trade habits of the Levant States
- American charity organizations
- Technological developments
- Advertisements

Each principal theme will be studied separately in the following section with the suitable examples from the magazine.

3.2.5.1. Market Conditions and the Economic Details of the Region

First of all, beginning from July 1922, *Levant Trade Review* started to publish “The Business Weather Map of the World” which describes the countries’ specific situation of trade conditions. The information that was provided on the map basically classified the situation as “Conditions Unknown, Conditions Declining, Conditions Static and Conditions Improving”. For example, in this map, the situation in Istanbul and the regions under Greek occupation were evaluated as “Conditions Declining” while the rest of Asia Minor was judged as “Conditions Unknown.”⁵⁸

⁵⁸ “Business Weather Map”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 7 (1922): 490-491.

In addition, some sectors which would be profitable for the American companies were studied in detail. For instance, the mining industry was on focus by the magazine and the remarkable mineral deposits were provided in a list while the investors were invited to the region to acquire a place in the opportunities which promised a bright economic future.⁵⁹ Another issue in connection with the market conditions was the specifications that were demanded by the local markets in the region. *Levant Trade Review* not only provided the reviews for the competition and taxes, but also gave details about the features that were popular in the market. For example, about the motor vehicles in the region where the American makes led the market, *Levant Trade Review* reported that five-seat cars were on demand and there were various tax on automobiles.⁶⁰ Moreover, an American investigator shared its experiences in Konya and Adana where he asserted that there was a suitable market for the agricultural equipment but the payments needed to be demanded after the harvest to increase the sales.⁶¹

In addition, as transportation is very important, the data for the best ways of transportation were also presented. For instance, company names and service hours of the marine lines were included with the ports that the relevant ship stopped by.⁶² The schedule of the Orient Express which was the primary way of access to Istanbul from Europe was likewise available in the articles.⁶³ Other details like domestic transportation and transnational access, hotels, passport-visa related cases, new customs tariff, fees to be charged at the ports for loading and unloading were all covered to notify the members.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ “Mineral Resources in the Trebizond Region”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 2 (1911): 132.

⁶⁰ “American Automobiles in Egypt”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 3 (1924): 124-126.

⁶¹ “Anatolia as American Market”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 4 (1924): 152-154.

⁶² “Tourist Steamers for Constantinople”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 2 (1924): 54.

⁶³ “The Orient Express”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 7 (1920): 554.

⁶⁴ “Notes For Travelers in the Near East”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 7 (1921): 579-581.

The Orient Express

The Paris-Constantinople service of the Orient Express, interrupted since the summer of 1914, again became a reality on July 7th. The trains are tri-weekly, and run via the Simplon tunnel.

Schedule :

To the West, Monday, Wednesday, Saturday.

Constantinople, 8 p. m., 1st day

Sofia, 10 p. m., 2d »

Belgrade, 10.10 p. m., 3d »

Trieste, midnight, 3d »

Venice, 6.45 a. m., 4th »

Milan, 12.40 p. m., 4th »

Lausanne, 7.20 p. m., 4th »

Paris, ar., 7.35 a. m., 5th »

To the East, Tuesday, Thursday, Sunday.

Paris, dep., 7.30 p. m. 1st day

Lausanne, 7.35 a. m., 2d »

Milan, 2.55 p. m., 2d »

Venice, 7.55 p. m., 2d »

Trieste, .15 a. m., 3d »

Belgrade, 10.00 p. m., 3d »

Sofia, 7.25 p. m., 4th »

Constantinople, ar., 7.30 p. m., 5th day

The trip from Paris to Constantinople takes 96 hours, and the return 107 hours.

The cutting of the line on the retreat of the Turks before the Greeks in Thrace again interrupted communications, but the damage to the line is slight and we are promised through service very soon.

Figure 2: The Schedule of Orient Express

“The Orient Express”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 7 (1920): 554.

Furthermore, *Levant Trade Review* provided information to the readers and members about the legal conditions and regulations of the country which were crucial for conducting business. The changing tariffs, the prohibition and limitation to trade of some products, even the different challenges posed by the privileges enjoyed by the foreign countries in terms of jurisdiction were reported for the information of the business

people.⁶⁵ For instance, Ottoman Government's announcement for the mandatory acceptance of banknotes in payments were notified to the members.⁶⁶

Lastly, the disturbing conditions which would harm the businesses were also provided for the attention of the members. For instance, due to the profound crisis in exchange rates of drachmae, Greek businessmen had difficulty in making payments to the suppliers and thus, American businessmen were advised not to make transactions unless the Greek buyers had the necessary amount of dollar deposited in the bank.⁶⁷ Furthermore, cheater businessmen were reported with their names in the magazine and members were advised to make business with the advertisers in *Levant Trade Review* or contact with ACCL to inquire the credibility of the firms.⁶⁸

3.2.5.2. Trade Habits of the Levant States

The merchants and companies of two countries were engaged with bilateral trade for a long time. However, the trading habits of the people in these countries were quite different. The companies had significant difficulties when selling their products in the Levant due to these differences. The United States of America was mainly a buyer for Turkish products as from 18th Century and therefore, there did not arise significant problems until the rise of the Ottoman purchases.

To begin with, local merchants in Anatolia were accustomed to making purchases on credit and complete the payments in time. German, Austrian and Italian companies enabled three to nine months' credit for the local dealers to pay the full amount.⁶⁹ Even though Singer was one of the pioneers of selling on installments, the American businessmen required the local dealers to send the payment before the shipment or required the submission of bank guarantees for the completion of the transaction while the local merchants in the Near East could only get the necessary money after selling the products. These differences and obstacles already created hindrance for the development

⁶⁵ "International Law in its Relation to Interstate Commerce", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 1 (1912): 14.

⁶⁶ "Turkish Currency Notes", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 6 (1922): 410.

⁶⁷ "Economic Survey of Greece", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 5 (1922): 366.

⁶⁸ "The Black Band", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 2 (1911): 230.

⁶⁹ Murat Baskıcı, "Osmanlı Piyasasında Ticaret: Yabancı Tüccarların Dikkat Etmesi Gereken Hususlar (1870-1920)", *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, v. 1, i. 64 (2009): 45-46.

of bilateral trade even since the problematic transactions of the Ottoman Government with the Providence Tool Company during the firearms imports in 1870s. The payment problems took a remarkable time and the company with an excessive burden of debt went bankruptcy.

However, the Italians, the French, the English and especially the Germans provided long payment options and thus local merchants preferred the European commodities. *Levant Trade Review* advised the American companies to provide sales on credit especially by making inquiries of the firms in terms of credibility and using agents in the region.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the European companies proffered funds and loans through their financial institutions in the Middle East contrary to the Americans' lack of a bank in the region.⁷¹ This competition was usually in favor of the Europeans and *Levant Trade Review* struggled to compensate this drawback by informing the American business community about the trade traditions of the East, encouraging the establishment of an American bank in İstanbul and also providing reliable partners for the Americans.⁷² Even during the banquet in New York in 1925, which was held for the arrival of Admiral Bristol from his duty in Istanbul, Ernest B. Filsinger who recently visited Turkey advised the American businessmen to consider extension of credits to the local buyers while doing business in the Levant.⁷³

In addition, reasonable price was the key to the success of the products in the Ottoman market. Hence, the companies employed agents in the region to eliminate the local dealers/intermediaries to keep the prices lower.⁷⁴ In this context, *Levant Trade Review* advised the American companies to establish direct links with merchants in the region. Thus, American companies were encouraged to establish branches or hire agents in the region to sell products and fulfil the orders. Lastly, the magazine recommended the American businessmen to visit and inspect the market in person. Because this was

⁷⁰ "Levantine Trade Notes", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 4 (1913): 398.

⁷¹ Baskıcı, "Yabancı Tüccarlar", 40-41.

⁷² "The Perpetual Subject of Credit", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 5 (1925): 204.

⁷³ "New York Banquet to Admiral Bristol", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 11 (1925): 458.

⁷⁴ Baskıcı, "Yabancı Tüccarlar", 42-44.

perceived as the best way to get to know the region, local market conditions, local merchants and the features of the products that were demanded.⁷⁵

3.2.5.3. American Charity Organizations

American existence in the Near East was known to have expanded with the active works of the American charity and educational institutions and therefore, *Levant Trade Review* provided a wide coverage for the American relief work through the region. This news was published in detail including information of opening of the schools, hospitals, educational activities and charity donations.⁷⁶

In this context, it should be noted that there was a close cooperation between the charity organizations and American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant. The officials of these institutions actively took part in the Chamber's events and administration. *Levant Trade Review* enjoyed a steady support from these institutions through the reports that the missionaries prepared about their regions. In fact, while the charities supported the Chamber and the magazine through articles, information and regional know-how, ACCL advocated these institutions via promoting their works, advertising their success as well as defending these institutions activities through *Levant Trade Review*. For instance, one of the remarkable works of the American charity institutions was the assistance to Russian refugees after the Bolshevik capture of the Southern Russia and Crimea. High number of refugees was at first hosted in Istanbul with the aid of American charity organizations under a common committee which included leading American commanders, health and educational institutions' representatives.⁷⁷ As another notable work of the American charity institutions, they were reported to take an active role in the Population Exchange of 1923 (Mübadele) between Greece and Turkey by supervising and accommodating the arising problems during the evacuation. These efforts was reported to have gained the appreciation of Fethi Bey, Prime Minister of Turkey.⁷⁸ Moreover, one of the leading American schools in Turkey was the Constantinople Women's College and this college

⁷⁵ "III. Trade in the Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 2 (1911): 160-161.

⁷⁶ "The American Hospital of Constantinople", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 1 (1922): 15. "Attendance at American Colleges in Constantinople", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 1 (1922): 74.

⁷⁷ "American Relief Work for Russian Refugees", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 11 (1920): 910-916.

⁷⁸ "Human Exchange", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 11 (1923): 626.

was announced to start to offer education in medicine after the completion of the new building donated by an American business person.⁷⁹

These were clear and concrete indication of these charity works' contribution to the American trade and policy. These institutions were also perceived as a promoter of American products and companies, which dominated the automobile, rice and flour markets as well expanding Americans' share in Anatolia's natural resources and infrastructure concessions. *Levant Trade Review* started to defend missionaries' friendly approach and amiable works of these institutions. An article titled "Those American Ogres" was also a clear indication of how serious and hard the competition between the Americans and the Europeans was. The gist of the defense of *Levant Trade Review* against these accusations was refusing the economic gain through the schools and stressing the schools' independence of governmental funding.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, it should be noted that *Levant Trade Review* also took advantage of the missionary institutions at least to provide data and information about the local conditions. Besides, Armenians constituted a significant part of ACCL and sponsor of the magazine, which was mainly caused by the contributions of these institutions to the expansion of American influence and trade.

3.2.5.4. Technological Developments

As could be imagined, the conveyance of news at that time was much slower than as it is now and *Levant Trade Review* enabled the members to access the news about the technological inventions and new discoveries around the world. This was not a permanent section and the news was printed as a separate article when there were remarkable developments especially in the United States. Oil-burning ships, wireless phones in addition to many other developments ranging from the telephone to the new types of engines and some kinds of lamps etc. were all heralded to the readers.⁸¹

⁷⁹ "Medical Building at Constantinople Women's College", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 3 (1924): 95-98.

⁸⁰ "Those American Ogres", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 2 (1922): 95-96.

⁸¹ "Oil Burning Ships", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 8 (1922): 538. "The Diesel Engine", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 9 (1923): 504-508. "Progress", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 2 (1924): 49-52. "The New Mackay Cable", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 3 (1924): 143. "Smallest and Largest Electric Lamps", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 7 (1924): 300. "Future World Flying", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 7, (1924): 346-348.

3.2.5.5. Advertisements

The advertisements in *Levant Trade Review* used to cover almost half of the total volume and there was at least one page of advertisements in every two-three pages. The income through the advertisements met almost all *Levant Trade Review*'s publication costs which formed almost half of the total expenditures of ACCL.⁸² The members of the Chamber and the readers were invited and encouraged to advertise in the magazine and the rates of the ads were \$3.5 for a quarter page per issue, \$6 for half of the page and \$10 for 1 page per issue.⁸³

There were considerable number of advertisements in the *Levant Trade Review* and most of the companies were engaged in trade between the Europe-United States and Turkey. The content of the ads included the name of the company, the products of their interest (whether to import or to export), contact information of their local agents and the address of their office. Examples of regular advertisements are provided below.



Figure 3: A Quarter Page Advertisement

Levant Trade Review, v. 12, i. 3 (1924): 141.

⁸² "The Chamber's 2nd Annual Meeting", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 4 (1911): 388.

⁸³ "Advertising Rates", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 2, i. 1 (1912): 64.

Telegraphic Address: "ASLANFRESCO Constantinople"

Fils d'ASLAN FRESCO

İhtissad Hanı 1-2, Galata, Rue des Quais, 141

==== CONSTANTINOPLE ====

==== THE OLDEST ====

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS IN TURKEY

==== ESTABLISHED IN 1866 ====

Furnishers to the Imperial Ottoman Government
of
Cotton Goods, Army Cloth, Woolen Goods,
Hides, Cereals, Military equipment, &c. &c

—


FIRST CLASS BANKS AS REFERENCES

Figure 4: A Half Page Advertisement

Levant Trade Review, v. 12, i. 3 (1924): 119.

**Standard Oil Company
of New York**

Department of the Levant Constantinople
WITH OFFICES AT

Port Said		Salonica
Smyrna		Bourgas
Sofia		Beirut
Athens		Cyprus
Plovdiv		Angora
Mersina		Piraeus

Agencies at all the principal towns of the Levant
and throughout Anatolia.

Socony Products

Illuminating Oils Lubricating Oils
Benzine and Motor Spirits
Gas and Diesel Oils
Fuel Oil
Road Oils and Material for Road Building
Paraffine Wax and Candles
Lamps, Stoves and Heaters

Figure 5: A Full Page Advertisement

Levant Trade Review, v. 12, i. 3 (1924): 99.

The advertisements were mostly given by the local merchants who traded products between the US and Turkey but there were also advertisements by the settled American companies in the Levant, corporations aiming to export to the region, banks, transportation and shipping companies. Furthermore, the advertisements were placed in accordance with the main theme of the relevant pages, which can be agriculture, mining, flour, wheat or forestry.

3.2.6. Levant Trade Review's Perception of the Ottoman Empire

Levant was a new and broad region which proffered suitable opportunities to the American capital. Countries in the region had almost no industrial production and stood out as large market for the American manufacturing sector. Furthermore, the region's deficiency of necessary infrastructure presented a promising future for the contracting companies while unexploited natural resources offered profits for the mining companies. Additionally, the Empire's vast and unique agricultural products for the use and consumption of American domestic market created a big lucrative business for the American merchants.

After the revival of the Constitution in 1908, Americans just like other foreigners had an optimistic opinion of the New Regime as there was a remarkable economic acceleration. *Levant Trade Review* reflected the economic expansion of the Empire to attract the American businessmen to make use of the opportunities presented by the region.⁸⁴ This economic revival enabled some American companies to enter into the Ottoman market. For instance, Standard Oil Company started its operations in oil sector and in 1911 and the company completed its first depot in Izmir.⁸⁵ Furthermore, an American firm, the

⁸⁴ "Remarkable Development in the Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 41. After the 33-year reign of Abdulhamid II with quite a suppressive regime, the Committee of Union and Progress(CUP) forced the Sultan to reconvene the Ottoman Parliament in 1908 through military revolts in the Balkan cities of the Empire. Even though Abdulhamid II could maintain his reign for another year, a counter revolution attempt in Istanbul resulted in the deposing and exile of him to Selanik. Mehmed V ascended to the throne but the the real power remained in the government and the Parliament until 1913. CUP gradually consolidated the power and ruled the Empire without a notable opposition as of 1913. Eric Jan Zürcher, **Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi**, 17th Ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004).

⁸⁵ "Standard Oil Comapny [Company]", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 30.

Western Electric Company of New York, was granted the telephone concession of Istanbul with three other European companies from France and England.⁸⁶

This positive approach to the region can also be exemplified by the hopeful report by an American Consul Edward Nathan of Mersin. Consul Nathan was very optimistic about the economic future of the Empire. He even held conferences for the Empire's promotion in the United States in 1914.⁸⁷ In addition, Gabriel Bie Ravndal and Julian E. Gillespie, long-term diplomats in the Empire, promoted the developing Ottomans and claimed that the Empire would create a sound economic system in the future.⁸⁸ American Ambassador, Abram Elkus, clearly stated his view that he expected a bright future for on the Ottoman Empire in the Chamber's 7th Annual Meeting on January 26, 1917 and said that the American capital would not find a more profitable place to invest than the Levant and the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁹

Although these expectations were evaluated as "rather inflated and over optimistic" by Feroz Ahmad, their statements and extensive struggle to attract the businessmen were also a solid indication of their optimistic expectations.⁹⁰ However, the years coinciding with the Young Turk Era were also the time of American economic expansion through Open Door Policy. Thus, these statements can also be evaluated as the expressions of the main American economic policy to expand their market in the new markets and channel the American capital to these countries for higher returns even by attracting the American companies with relatively over optimistic statements.

These positive expectations for the future of the Empire and the region prompted the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant to encourage the American business community to intensify their efforts to claim a larger share in the country's market and increase their investments in profitable sectors. During the first years of *Levant Trade Review* when there were wars and political disturbances in the country, the magazine continued to advertise and introduce the country's main and major trade commodities by

⁸⁶ "Telephones at the Capital", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 26.

⁸⁷ "Trade Prospects in Cilicia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 252.

⁸⁸ Ravndal, **ibid**, 5.

⁸⁹ "Seventh Annual Meeting of the Chamber", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 6, i. 3 (1917): 270.

⁹⁰ Feroz Ahmad, "Vanguard of a Nascent Bourgeoisie: The Social and Economic Policy of the Young Turks 1908-1918", **From Empire to Republic** (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2014), 38.

presenting their further advantage resulting from different features. For example, while walnuts which were grown in Macedonia were promoted as an alternative to the Italian products, mineral resources of Turkey were advised to be preferred due to their ample supplies.⁹¹ Furthermore, olive oil and nuts were promoted owing to their higher quality while growing production of Turkish silk was suggested as a good alternative for the American suppliers instead of Japan and China.⁹²

Additionally, Istanbul was just not a city with a remarkable population and a capital of a worn-out Empire for the American business community. As can be inferred by the offer to make Istanbul a “free port”, which was expressed several times in the magazine, the city was regarded a regional hub for the distribution of commodities to Russia, Caucasia, Iran and the Balkans, the center of the Near East for the managing of the business and the fastest way to reach the Turkish export commodities for the American importers with its facilities of both marine and railway transportation.⁹³ Hence, Istanbul was crucial for the American commercial interests which required less expensive ways to send the goods that they exported to the Black Sea countries and the easiest and safest way to ship imported commodities back to the homeland.⁹⁴ The clear indications of the importance attached to Istanbul by the American business community can be discerned the best just by considering the branch offices for the Near East of the two leading American companies: Ford and the American Guaranty Trust Company established its headquarters in the Turkish capital even in this politically disturbed times of the city. Moreover, Standard Oil Company of New York, American Express Company and most of the other American enterprises in the region settled in Istanbul and managed their businesses in their Istanbul headquarters.⁹⁵

⁹¹ “Walnuts in Macedonia”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 56. “Turkey’s Mineral Wealth”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 2 (1911): 131. “Mineral Wealth of Asia Minor”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 58-64.

⁹² “Smyrna’s Nuts, Figs and Olive Oil”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 2 (1911): 201-204. “Silk in Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 3 (1911): 288.

⁹³ “Tragacanth”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 318. “New Avenues of Trade in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 7 (1920): 510. “Constantinople”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 634. “Constantinople Compared with Copenhagen as a Free Port”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 11 (1921): 986-988.

⁹⁴ “Raw Materials Go to Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 3 (1920): 186-188.

⁹⁵ “American Automotive Industry”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 488-492.

4. LEVANT TRADE REVIEW DURING THE OTTOMAN ERA: 1911-1917

Levant Trade Review's publication coincided with the radical changes in the region through revolutions and wars that lasted about ten years with short intervals. Thus, *Levant Trade Review* will be studied in three different chapters by classifying the publication with the milestones of the Ottoman Empire. In this chapter, the shift of regime and the overtake of the administration by the Unionists as well as the wars which had profound effects on the world will be studied in addition to the economic repercussions of these wars in the magazine and the American opinion about these events.

4.1. The Reflections of the Constitutional Government in Levant Trade Review

Even though the CUP was in favour of a nationalist economy and aimed to gain the financial and economic independence of the country, the leaders of the CUP were aware of the need of the Empire for foreign capital to develop the country as well. Thus, following the 1908 Revolution, the Ottoman Government rapidly began to work on the Turkish budget, invite foreign capital and prepare plans for the development of Ottoman agriculture, infrastructure.¹ Furthermore, the liberal policies of the Constitutional Governments reinforced the liberal atmosphere of the era.² Therefore, the Second Constitutional Monarchy was marked as a boom of foreign trade and rapid expansion of local businesses in the Ottoman Empire.³ Despite their primitive features, 72 of the 255 industrial facilities which were present in the Empire in 1915 were established after 1908.⁴ This shift of the regime from the monarchy to the Constitutional Government and the beginning of relatively a free business atmosphere was welcomed by the foreigners and evaluated as an opportunity to develop their businesses. The economic difficulties and

¹ Feroz Ahmad, *İttihatçılıktan Kemalizme*, 3rd Ed. (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1996), 25-36.

² Zafer Toprak, *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 3-5.

³ Toprak, *ibid*, 175.

⁴ Boratav, *ibid*, 33.

political disturbances were still the most important problems of the Empire to be solved but there were optimistic views about the future of the country. *Levant Trade Review* was in the same opinion with the other foreigners and published positive views on the future of the New Regime. The magazine welcomed the reforms of the New Regime in the economy to boost the trade and business.

Especially an article which was written by the Major John M. Carson who was the Chief of the Bureau of Manufacturers, Department of Commerce and Labor in Washington gave a detailed description of the country and presented the expectations of the businessmen for the future. According to the article, “abuses and corruptions have been abolished” after the New Regime came into power. Furthermore, the new administration gained praising for efforts to improve the infrastructure, to develop the natural resources and to increase the industrialization. Moreover, American businessmen were invited and encouraged to take their part in this economic “awakening”.⁵

Additionally, while the Old Regime (Abdulhamid Era) was depicted as a period of prohibitions and preventions for infrastructure investments like electricity and telephone, the New Regime was asserted to provide a rapid improvement in the economy. Especially the railway projects were acknowledged in addition to the fiscal and commercial development in the Empire. Furthermore, irrigation projects which were conducted by German Deutsche Bank in Konya and Adana were counted as the successes of the New Regime.⁶ In the second part of the article, the obstacles to the development of trade were reported to be abolished, travelling was facilitated and the foreign trade reached over 250 Million USD in total.⁷ These positive comments continued to be expressed in different articles through time in the same style which praised the New Regime and condemned the Abdulhamid Era.⁸ These views in the magazine reflect a positive approach to the economic policies of the New Regime. However, these statements aimed to attract the American businessmen into the Levant and the officials of the Chamber and the American Consulates can be said to be overoptimistic/exaggerate the conditions and future

⁵ “Trade in the Near East”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 16-26.

⁶ “Irrigation in Anatolia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 59-61.

⁷ “II. Trade in the Near East”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 62-63.

⁸ “America’s Ambassador”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 76-78.

expectations. Furthermore, it should be realized that the businessmen tend to get along with the administration in the office to conduct their businesses safe and sound and these statements can also be interpreted as a part of these efforts. More importantly, the Ottoman Parliament and the Government were discussing the Chester Project at that time, which was also a decisive case for the attitude of the magazine.

4.2. The Reflections of the Italo-Turkish War in Levant Trade Review

Tripoli (Trablusgarp in Turkish) was conquered by the Ottomans in 1551 and played an important role in the Turkish-American relations in the first years of the encounter. This state was the last Ottoman land in Africa at the onset of the 20th Century and Tripoli was governed by the Ottoman governors officially but the local dynasties had the rule in practice at that time.⁹

Italy completed its unity in 1870 and started an ambitious struggle to expand its territory with new colonies. After losing its contest on Tunisia against France, Italy directed its ambition towards Tripoli which is not far from the Italian mainland. Having a small number of Ottoman soldiers, Tripoli was far from Istanbul to conduct the deployment and logistics, which boosted the ambitions of Italy. As a result, Italy increased its discussions with the leading powers of Europe to get the approval for a probable annexation and started to invest in Tripoli to enhance its influence in this remote part of the Ottoman Empire. Starting with establishing a steamship line with Tripoli, Italy expanded its existence with branches of Banco Di Roma, factories and public buildings like schools, hospitals.¹⁰

Just before the beginning of the Italian Invasion in Tripoli, *Levant Trade Review* published an article on the trade relations with the Barbary States and the general economic condition of the region. The article by Alfredo Nunes Vais and V. H. Hassan presents a general frame for the region and pre-war situation of Tripoli and Benghazi. Depicting the country as a complete agricultural society, the article also showed the basis on which Italy

⁹ Ahmet Kavas, "Trablusgarp", **TDVİA**, v. 41 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1996), 288.

¹⁰ Timothy W. Childs, **Trablusgarp Savaşı ve Türk İtalyan Diplomatik İlişkileri** (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008). Mehmet Yüksel, "Osmanlı Son Döneminde Trablusgarp Vilayetinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısı (1872-1911)" (Master Thesis, University of Hitite, 2016), 14-15.

constructed its invasion policy. According to the article, there was a flour mill which was established with the Italian capital and the factory was reported to expand the production soon. Moreover, Italy and Tripoli were connected via steamship service; Banco di Roma established an olive oil press and produced soaps to export to Turkish cities. As for Bingazi, this city where the Ottoman Bank planned to open a branch was hosting a substantial amount of Italian investment on artesian wells and there was already a branch of Banco di Roma.¹¹

As can be deduced from the previous paragraphs, Italians had a significant existence in Tripoli before 1911 and their plans to annex the region was approved by the Great Powers of Europe in 1911.¹² Having guaranteed the support of the Europeans, Italy decided to occupy Tripoli and sent an ultimatum to the Ottoman Government because of the misconducts against the Italians and Ottoman arm shipment to the region on September 23, 1911. After the Ottomans rejection of the ultimatum, Italians revealed their actual intention and sent a one-day ultimatum to notify the Ottomans about the occupation of the Tripoli and Benghazi. The Italian ultimatum also included a strange warning for the Ottoman Government not to resist against the Italian forces on September 28, 1911. On September 29, 1911, the Tripolitania War started upon the attack of the Italian forces and during this invasion, there were only a small group Ottoman soldiers in the state.¹³ Hence, the Ottoman Government started to take distinctive precautions against Italy by considering insufficiency of the logistics and financial situation of the Empire as well as the European Powers stance against the Ottomans. Organizing a guerilla warfare rather than using regular military troops, the Ottoman Government used the economic measures and raised the customs tariffs for Italian products in the first phase.¹⁴

Levant Trade Review continued its publication by concentrating on trade and business while ignoring the political issues. For instance, the advertisements of Banco Di Roma

¹¹ "Trade and Industries in Tripoli-in-Barbary", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 125.

¹² The Great Powers were the British Empire, German Empire, Russia, France and Austria-Hungary.

¹³ This war is also called as Italo-Turkish War, Turco-Italian War, Tripolitanian War and the Libyan War. Enver Ziya Karal, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 268-272. Nurdan İpek Şeber, "Arşiv Bölgelerine Göre Trablusgarp Savaşı'nın Osmanlı Topraklarındaki İtalyan Tebaaya Yansımaları", **The Journal of Ottoman Studies**, v. 38 (2011): 238.

¹⁴ Benjamin C. Fortna, **ibid**, 56-57.

97. "Italian Trade in Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 3 (1911): 262.

still appeared in *Levant Trade Review*, as including the Tripoli and Benghazi Branches even during the war.¹⁵ But in June 1912, distinctly from the first four issues, there were no members from Tripoli in the list of the Chamber which were 6 in the previous issues.¹⁶ Furthermore, *Levant Trade Review* focused on the negative effects of the war on Ottoman-Italian trade to report the new chances for the American businessmen. For instance, the trade relations of Ottomans with Italy, especially in cotton goods, were expected to decrease and this situation was assessed as an important opportunity for American exporters to sell their products even though the European countries would also be active to fill the expected product deficiency.¹⁷

In another case, the Selanik Branch of the Chamber complained of the negative effects of the war on the economy but expected an increase in the American exports as well.¹⁸ Since the war took place away from the mainland of the Ottoman Empire, it was evaluated as almost ineffective on country's general economy and finance.¹⁹ As the war continued, the economic and financial effects started to be visible especially in the cities surrounding the Turkish Straits because of the Italian shelling on these areas. Particularly the lack of enough labor force which continued to be a problem for a long time from that time on was reckoned as one of the primary reasons of the losses in the agricultural crop.²⁰ Furthermore, in Dardanelles, because of the existence of the army, the agricultural products were said to be damaged.²¹ Albania was another part of the Empire affected by the war. While the correspondent of the magazine in Albania promoted the country for its opportunities for American businessmen, he also added that the deal for a big sale was out of possibility until the end of the war.²² Nevertheless, the probability of prolonging or expansion of the Tripolitania War was evaluated as a possible cause for a greater depression. As Italy could not reach a decisive victory against the Ottoman resistance in

¹⁵ "Italian Trade in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 3 (1911): 311.

¹⁶ "Summary of Members by Districts", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 1 (1912): XXVII.

¹⁷ "It's an Ill Wind", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 2 (1911): 198.

¹⁸ "Salonica Branch, American Chamber of Commerce for Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 3 (1911): 328.

¹⁹ "Notwithstanding the War", *Levant Trade Review*, v.1, i. 4 (1912): 464.

²⁰ "Farming in the Dardanelles District", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 1 (1912): 28.

²¹ "Farming in the Dardanelles District", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 2 (1912): 127.

²² "Notes from Albania", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 1 (1912): 94.

Tripoli and afterwards, occupied the Dodecanese Islands, bombarded Beirut, sent its fleet to Dardanelles and shelled the shores.²³

However, an unexpected and more serious threat arose in the Balkans. The attack of the Balkan League on the Ottoman Empire on October 8, 1912 forced the Ottoman Government to avoid a war on two fronts and a peace agreement called Treaty of Ouchy was signed in the city of Lausanne on October 15, 1912 and accordingly Tripoli was left to Italy.²⁴

4.3. The Reflections of the Balkan Wars in Levant Trade Review

Balkan Wars were a great breaking point for the Ottoman History with its deep and long-lasting effects. Although the Balkan Wars lasted about a year with interval between the two phases, the boundaries in the Balkans were radically reshaped and the demographical structure of the region changed extraordinarily. The Ottoman Empire lost most of its lands in Europe except for Thrace and millions of Muslims migrated to Anatolia from their lands in the Balkans. Given that these regions were the most developed parts of the country and used to contribute most of the agricultural production and tax revenues of the Empire, the profound destructive effects of the wars can be understood better.

A preparation for a Balkan League was started early in 1912 with the encouragement of Russian Empire which always had interest in the Balkan affairs. Bulgaria and Serbia started negotiations just after the breakout of the Tripoli War and signed an alliance agreement on March 14, 1912. The alliance which was clearly against the Ottoman Empire concluded the reactions which would be taken against the affairs happening in the Empire and also for the sharing of the lands to be acquired from the Ottomans. This agreement was expanded to involve Greece on May 29, 1912 and Montenegro on October 6, 1912 through bilateral agreements of Bulgaria and Serbia.²⁵

When a historical alliance was formed by the Balkan States against the Ottoman Empire, the Empire was at war with Italy and was incurring a political instability which resulted

²³ Altay Cengizer, **Adil Hafızanın Işığında**, 2nd Edition (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2014), 159. “Commercial Review of Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 2, i. 2 (1912): 138-151.

²⁴ Childs, **ibid**, 245-251.

²⁵ Richard C. Hall, **The Balkan Wars** (New York: Routledge, 2000), 11.

from the conflict between Unionists and the opposition groups uniting under the Freedom and Accord Party (Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası). Apart from the political arena, the army officers also took a decisive role in the conflict. Union and Progress Party's opponent officers founded "Savior Officers" group and supported the political opponents of the Unionists. As a result of this, Grand Vizier Said Pasha who was supported by the Unionists resigned and a supra-parties Government headed by Ghazi Ahmet Pasha was formed with the participation of three previous Grand viziers –Kamil Pasha, Huseyin Hilmi Pasha and Avlonian Ferid Pasha- on July, 1912.²⁶ This was named as "Great Cabinet" (Büyük Kabine). However, this cabinet could not understand the urgent status in the Balkans and started a political purge against Unionist officers in the army. Furthermore, the cabinet still believed that Britain would prevent the war and decided to discharge about 67,000 experienced soldiers to show their will against the war.²⁷

The Balkan League sent an ultimatum to the Ottoman Government stating their claims on reformation in Macedonia. Yet, the Government rejected the ultimatum by declaring that they were ready to apply all the reforms previously agreed on and the new requests were rejected as they infringed Ottoman sovereignty rights. Afterwards, Montenegro waged war on the Empire on October 8, 1912 and its allies – Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece- joined about a week later. During the war, the Great Cabinet resigned and Kamil Pasha became the Grand Vizier once again on October 29, 1912. At the start of the war, the leading powers declared that any boundary change in the Balkans would be rejected and the existing status quo would be protected as a result of an expectation of a Turkish victory over allies.²⁸

Consequently, the war turned into a disaster and the Ottoman army retreated back to Yeşilköy district of Istanbul losing Selanik, Manastır and even previous capital Edirne. This retreat forced the Ottoman Government to ask for the intervention of the European

²⁶ Eric Jan Zürcher, **Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi**, 17th Ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 153-158.

²⁷ Cengizer, **ibid**, 172-173.

²⁸ Zürcher, **ibid**, 158.

Powers but the lost Ottoman territories were annexed and shared by the Balkan League with the Bucharest Peace Treaty on May 30, 1913.²⁹

During the war, American representatives and community in Istanbul followed the front closely. Especially the quick proceed of the Bulgarian Army to Istanbul aroused security concerns. These worries and precautions found its place also in the American consular correspondences. The American Ambassador reported the steps taken by the Government for the security of the foreign representatives while the Embassy had plans to protect American citizens and institutions in Istanbul with the American ship USS Scorpion. Furthermore, two armored cruisers sailed to Izmir and Beyrut in November 1912 to provide refuge and protection for the American citizens.³⁰ Even foreign consulates which had diplomatic immunity discussed the measures to be taken. The Dean of the Diplomatic Corps notified the Government for the landing of about 2500 men with 26 guns on November 18, 1912 to protect the Consulates.³¹

Simultaneously, the Union and Progress Party planned a coup against Kamil Pasha to seize the power. The 1913 coup d'etat (Raid on the Sublime Porte) took place on January 23, 1913 while the cabinet was discussing possible peace conditions with the Balkan states. Leading figures of the Unionists such as Enver Bey, Talat Bey and Yakup Cemil had Kamil Pasha sign the resignation letter and established a new Unionist cabinet which was headed by the strong figure of the Second Constitutional Period, Mahmud Sevket Pasha as Grand Vizier.³²

After the end of the First Balkan War, the sharing of the land which was grasped from the Ottoman Empire caused a great dispute amongst the Balkan League and Serbia, Montenegro and Greece together with Romania attacked on Bulgaria to increase their share from the occupied Ottoman lands. New Unionist Government started an attack on

²⁹ Hall, *ibid*, 123. Hikmet Öksüz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin I. Dünya Savaşı Öncesi Balkanlarda Yaşamış Olduğu Siyasal Süreç" **Osmanlı**, Edited by Güler Eren, Kemal Çiçek, Cem Oğuz (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999): 487.

³⁰ **PRFRUS 1912**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 1344-1348.

³¹ **PRFRUS 1912**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 1353.

³² Kemal Karpat, **Türk Dış Politikası Tarihi** (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2012), 126 and 127.

Bulgaria to save Edirne. Second Balkan War ended on September 30, 1913 for the Ottomans with Treaty of Constantinople with Bulgaria.³³

As the Balkan Wars were of great importance for the trade and business of the Empire, *Levant Trade Review* provided a lot of coverage and substantial amount of discussion and information. Nevertheless, as a business oriented magazine, *Levant Trade Review* reflected only the major events with their effects of the war on the general business environment just like they did in the previous Tripoli Conflict.

At the beginning, the war was predicted to end soon and the business environment was expected to get back to normal when the peace was concluded. Moreover, the war was evaluated as an opportunity for the American exporters with the increasing interest of the consumers in these markets.³⁴ As the Ottomans were an agrarian society, the main effects were reported to have occurred mainly in the agricultural production. Raw silk was one of the products which were affected by the war. Raw silk production was damaged in the Empire and the Balkans was stated to be suffering from labor scarcity.³⁵ As a neighboring city of the Balkan Wars and exposed to bombardment by the Italian Fleet, Dardanelles' business and agriculture were affected adversely by both of the wars.³⁶

As a widespread practice in the Near East, the importation was conducted on a credit basis which allowed the buyers to make the payment after a period of time. However, the Balkan War was reported to influence the credits in trade and therefore, the volume of orders shrank and the market was reported to have stagnated in Izmir region. All these negative developments worsened with the lack of enough labor force and the prohibition of exporting cereals by the state. Even though a good harvest was prospective for Izmir and vicinity, the cost of living increased.³⁷ Besides, the conscription of the carriers caused a sharp increase in transportation costs and higher prices for imported products although the

³³ Zürcher, *ibid*, 161. Hall, *ibid*, 124.

³⁴ "The Balkan War", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 2 (1912): 184.

³⁵ "The Balkan War and Sericulture", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 3 (1912): 291.

³⁶ "Farming in the Dardanelles District", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 3 (1912): 242. "Farming in the Dardanelles District", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 3, i. 1 (1913): 8.

³⁷ "Smyrna Trade Conditions", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 4 (1913): 372-374.

engrossing/stockpiling was struggled to be prevented through the state interference, buying the products at fixed prices.³⁸

The issue which was published in June 1913 mentioned the end of the war for the first time and an article by the Izmir Branch as one of the most affected part of the Asiatic Turkey gave a general opinion about the influences of the war beyond the war fronts. However, everything was expected to be good before the harvest if enough labor was present and on the condition that men returned from the war. In Izmir, the problem was not limited to the business life because the city hosted also an important port for import and export that provided the Government with customs duties which fell sharply due to the destructive effect of the war on trade.³⁹

Even if especially the Balkan Wars created a radical change in the Empire, *Levant Trade Review* maintained its apolitical publication and primarily gave coverage to the economic impacts that were caused by the wars. In this context, labour scarcity, crop failures and the stagnation in the market were described as the principal consequences of the wars on the economy of the Empire. Furthermore, the rise in the cost of living, decrease in the foreign trade and customs revenues were the indirect results of the war. Under these conditions, *Levant Trade Review* recommended the American businessmen to lengthen credits and provide funds to the buyers to maintain the trade with the region.

4.4. The Reflections of the World War I in *Levant Trade Review*

Having witnessed consecutive wars since its establishment in March 1911, the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant always placed itself on a position to benefit from the political changes and focused on business. The World War I (or the European War as mentioned in the magazine until 1917) appears in the second issue of the 4th Volume which was dated September, 1914 and it was the third war that the Chamber faced. But this time it lasted for a longer period of time with the participation of a lot of countries and had more profound effects on a worldwide scale. Therefore, *Levant Trade Review* placed utmost attention to the economic and financial effects of the war. As the war lasted for

³⁸ "Trade Conditions in Armenia", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 4 (1913): 383-384.

³⁹ "Smyrna Trade Conditions", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 3, i. 1 (1913): 46.

about four years, it will be beneficial to present the reflections of the war in separate sections.

4.4.1. The Ottoman Empire's Participation in the World War I

As mentioned in the previous sections, the Ottoman Empire experienced hard times since the declaration of the Constitution, when three wars along with political instability deteriorated the country's economic situation and postponed the investments. After reaching a stable Government under Unionists, the Empire accelerated the development and reform plans on the economy, industry, agriculture, administration and the army. However, an inevitable confrontation between the countries which were grouped under the leadership of the Great Britain and Germany was approaching. Following the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince by a Serbian nationalist, the Great War broke out on July 28, 1914.

During these days, the Ottoman Empire mainly dealt with two problems which were the struggle to find a financial resource and a peaceful time to build up and develop the country. Firstly, *Levant Trade Review* followed the financial situation of the Empire. In this context, the magazine published an article about the visit of Finance Minister Cavid Bey to Paris to negotiate the allocation of the Ottoman Debts to the Balkan States as well as obtaining a new loan on the Paris Bourse. Moreover, Cavid Bey's statements about his expectation for an Anglo-Turkish Treaty of Commerce also gained coverage. As a part of this interview, *Levant Trade Review* emphasized the Ottoman eagerness to avoid from the war by maintaining friendly economic relations.⁴⁰

As it can be expected, the Empire needed to form a shield for this devastating war and to gain sufficient time and opportunity to realize the reform and development plans. Hence, the Ottoman Cabinet conducted meetings with England, France and Russia to be a part of

⁴⁰ "Ante Bellum Plans", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 150. Mehmet Cavid Bey was one of the leading figures of CUP especially his influence on the Ottoman finance and economy. He was born in 1875 and graduated from the Royal School of Public Administration. After 1908 Revolution, He overtook the Ministry of Finance several times in this period. Even though he resigned upon the entrance of Ottoman Empire into the World War I, his influence on the Ottoman finance continued. In 1917, Cavid Bey assumed the Ministry of Finance until November 8, 1918. He was executed after the Izmir Conspiracy. As a proponent of the liberal economy policies, Cavid Bey authored several books on economy. Nazmi Eroğlu, **İttihatçıların Ünlü Nazırı Cavid Bey** (Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 421).

the Entente to have the maximum protection during the war thereby maintaining its economic development and infrastructure investments. Following the disappointment of the rejection by the Entente, Unionist Government had meetings with Germany for an alliance to take a precaution against the possible Russian attacks. After signing the agreement with the Germans, the Ottomans declared mobilization on August 2, 1914 and joined the war on October 29, 1914.⁴¹

4.4.2. The Effects of the War on Empire's Foreign Trade

The effects of the war were started to be felt in the Empire with the declaration of mobilization. The first serious influence in relation to business was the prohibition of grain export since the mobilization brought a greater demand for the agricultural and industrial products for the use of army.⁴² After the Empire's participation into the war, situation got worse. Trade activities almost ceased, ports were closed and merchant ships were in danger of mines. The port in Izmir which handled a remarkable amount of export and import of the Empire was also closed and small amount of tobacco could only be shipped through other ports.⁴³ Especially after the Gallipoli Campaign by the Allies, agricultural production deteriorated due to the lack of labor to harvest the products and conscription of some transportation vehicles. This resulted in the scarcity of staple foods and the prices went higher and higher as the days passed.⁴⁴

In addition to the rise in prices and fall in production, the war affected some industrial and infrastructure investments negatively and caused their postponement. For instance, Standard Oil started its operations in the Ottoman Empire in 1908 and built a plant in Izmir in 1911. However, the company had to suspend its works to develop petroleum in Marmora Sea and Palestine after the break-out of the war and postponed its plan to build a depot in Istanbul to the post-war era.⁴⁵ Similarly, a cottonseed oil factory which

⁴¹ Fahir Armaoğlu, **20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi 1914-1995**, 17th Ed. (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2010), 140-143.

⁴² "Turkish Market for Cement", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 1 (1915): 34. "Flour, Rice and Glucose for the Levant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 241. "Turkey's Trade in Foreign Rice", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 31. "Crops in Mesopotamia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 190.

⁴³ "Smyrna Branch", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 346.

⁴⁴ "Trade Prospects in Cilicia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 252.

⁴⁵ "The Standard Oil Company in the Levant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 3 (1914): 255. "Oscar Gunkel", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 76.

produced remarkable amount of oil in Izmir stopped production till the end of the war.⁴⁶ An important infrastructure investment, Bagdad Railway, was actually planned to be completed in 1916 but the war caused all the works in the project to be ceased and Consul of the US in Bagdad reported that there was not a definite time of completion.⁴⁷ Even though railway and road projects, irrigation systems and other investments which started by the New Regime were expected to continue after the termination of the war, *Levant Trade Review* reported that it was not known how much time it would take to complete these projects.⁴⁸

As for the foreign trade, the exportation and the importation of some products became almost impossible because of the embargoes, war conditions and sharp decreases in the production of these products in the belligerents. For instance, tobacco which was an important trade commodity was at first prohibited from exportation and just after ensuring the sufficient supply for the Tobacco Regie, the Government started to allow exportation.⁴⁹ Another important export material, cotton, was hit badly both for low production and lack of Italian ships which normally carried the products to Europe via Italy.⁵⁰ The Ottoman Empire, as the main supplier of opium in the world, could just provide half of the amount which was produced in the pre-war era and this caused about 20% increase on the prices in New York.⁵¹ Trabzon which depended only on sea shipments for exportation was affected by the close of the Dardanelles and local products remained at hand.⁵² Another important export material of the Empire was carpets and the prices increased because of the insufficient production as well as higher transportation costs.⁵³ In this period, the Ottomans could just send carpets that were produced in the country to Austria and Germany and therefore the Austrian and German firms benefited much from this trade.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ "Cotton Oil in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 4 (1916): 329.

⁴⁷ "The Bagdad Railway", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 383.

⁴⁸ "Public Works in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 278. "American Iron and Steel Manufacturers in the Ottoman Empire", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 282.

⁴⁹ "Tobacco in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 4 (1916): 379.

⁵⁰ "Cotton Crop and Industries of Adana, Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 2 (1915): 149.

⁵¹ "Opium in New York", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 255.

⁵² "Market of Trebizond", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 270.

⁵³ "Rugs and Carpets", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 6, i. 2 (1916): 149.

⁵⁴ "The Oriental Rug Business", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 6, i. 3 (1916): 235.

One of the utmost damage of the World War took place in the sea shipments. The shipping issue was always considered as a remarkable disadvantage or hindrance for the development of trade between the US and the Levant.⁵⁵ More importantly, the foreign trade of the Empire was carried mainly by the foreign ships. After the break out of the war, these foreign lines were also out of use except for the Greeks and American ships which carried goods from Urla Port, and Italians who carried cotton from Adana.⁵⁶ As a result, the importation of the Empire was halted. For example, sugar was an important import material for the Ottomans and the primary suppliers were Austria and Russia. However, these two countries were also fighting in the war which resulted in soaring up of the sugar prices.⁵⁷ Furthermore, cities like Samsun which depended on the Turkish Straits for their imports were prevented to purchase food from other countries, which caused the rise of cost of living.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, the local effects of the war were not confined to the Empire because of its geographical importance. As the sovereign of the Straits which connects the Balkans and the Middle East with other important centers around the world, the Ottoman Empire had a much larger influence on the regional trade regardless of its interior economic conditions. This influence was felt much deeply when the Allied attack on Dardanelles brought new burdens on the region and created a great hindrance for transit shipments of foreign trade. Even among these disturbances, trade could still maintain its flow. While Istanbul and Izmir ports were closed due to the blockades, commerce still continued through other small ports in the region such as Urla and Dedeğaç.⁵⁹

4.4.3. American Commercial Strategy During the War

After the start of the World War in Europe, the world experienced a unique situation of a conflict that spread to many parts of the world. This radically changed the international

⁵⁵ "Rice in the Levant", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 2 (1915): 144. "Flour, Rice and Glucose for The Levant", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 241.

⁵⁶ "Smyrna Branch", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 346. "Cotton Crop and Industries of Adana, Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 2 (1915): 149.

⁵⁷ "The World's Sugar Supply", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 202.

⁵⁸ "Situation at Samsoun", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 349. "Turkey's Trade in Foreign Rice", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 35.

⁵⁹ "Shipping Activity at Bulgarian Port", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 355. "Manganese", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 3 (1914): 246. "Smyrna Branch", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 346.

trade and shipments which were very important for the American economy. Therefore, the American business community put a remarkable effort along with the Government officials to acquire the maximum permanent benefit from the new situation.

Prior to 1914, United States foreign trade regime was more protective when compared to the leading European countries and the American foreign trade benefitted from these protectionist policies thereby experiencing a faster growth in exports than the countries with free trade regime.⁶⁰ But President Wilson lowered the customs duties in 1913 to reduce the cost of living for farmers and laborers, which weakened the negotiation power against the other industrial nations and did not provide notable advantages for the American exports.⁶¹

However, the breakout of the World War I proffered suitable conditions for the USA, even in the liberal trade regime which was adopted in 1913 since the European industrialist nations were at war. The United States created new ways to turn this new conjuncture into an advantage. As a part of this, the American Government informed and encouraged the American companies for foreign trade in addition to opening up to the new markets.⁶² As of the start of the war in 1914, export of food and ammunitions to the belligerents was encouraged by the US Government. American foreign trade volume reached almost 8 Billion USD in 1917 and the grain production rose sharply.⁶³ American exports rose up to 4 Billion USD in 1917 in spite of the British and German blockade in the international waters.⁶⁴ This increase of the exports during the World War I considerably compensated loss in the Governmental revenues, which resulted from the tariff cuts in 1913. Furthermore, the maintaining of these markets were also significant concern for the United States. Therefore, the Government officials contemplated to raise the tariffs whereby the US foreign trade officials could persuade the other countries to apply favorable regulations on the American products.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Alfred E. Eckes, **Opening America's Market: U.S. Foreign Trade Policy Since 1776** (USA: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 50-52.

⁶¹ Eckes, **ibid**, 85-86.

⁶² "Neutrality-Humanity", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 3 (1914): 228.

⁶³ Timothy J. Botti, **Envy of the World: A History of the U.S. Economy and Big Business** (New York: Algora Press, 2006), 187.

⁶⁴ Huge Rackoff, **America's Economic Way of War** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 110.

⁶⁵ Eckes, **ibid**, 87 and 112.

Apart from these, marine transportation has been the most significant and widespread way of carrying goods among countries since the ancient times and even today it still carries the largest portion of the world trade.⁶⁶ Therefore, at that time also, leading industrial nations fortified their trade by forming a sufficient merchant fleet to transport their raw materials and manufactured goods. Even though the United States had a very powerful manufacturing industry and a considerable amount of export around the world, the required carrying capacity was not available under the American flag while England and Germany carried 75% of the US trade before the war. Hence, the magazine clearly and very often reflected the necessity of increasing the capacity of merchant fleet by constructing, buying or hiring ships to meet the needs of the American businesses to increase the foreign trade and secure the flow of commodities from and to the United States.⁶⁷ Thus, American Government founded the United States Shipping Board which boosted the ship building (700 new ships were constructed from 1916 to 1918).⁶⁸

When the expected war broke out, the Chamber struggled to utilize the neutrality of the United States of America which was the leading neutral industrial nation on the world. Thus, *Levant Trade Review* started publishing advices to American business community and government authorities to improve American trade in the world and to constitute a vast and sustainable market for the American industry. The main strategy was taking advantage of the destructive effects of the war on the leading industrial nations which used to exploit the raw materials at an extensive level and export almost all the countries in the world. American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant intensified its efforts to attract the American entrepreneurs' attention to the Levant and sent its Executive Secretary for trade presentations in different cities across the States with an approval letter by the Ambassador in Istanbul.⁶⁹

In conformity with the main strategy of the American business community for the opening up to the new markets, *Levant Trade Review* expressed repeatedly that the war brought an

⁶⁶ "Türk ve Dünya Deniz Taşımacılığı", **Deniz Ticareti**, v. 1 (2017): 3.

⁶⁷ "American Export Manufacturers' Association", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 2, i. 4 (1913): 326. "Scarcity of Tonnage to Foreign Ports", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 2, i. 1 (1912): 32. "The American Flag will Return", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 3, i. 3 (1913): 272.

⁶⁸ Botti, **ibid**, 187.

⁶⁹ "Our 5th Annual Meeting", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 320.

opportunity for the American businessmen to increase their share in the new markets like Asia, Africa and the Levant.⁷⁰ Therefore, it not only conveyed the news about the activities to support the foreign trade in the mainland but also conducted an intensive briefing and encouragement process by publishing the experts' opinions, advices and trade information which was collected by the Chamber's correspondents.

In this context, *Levant Trade Review* proposed five measures to expand the trade during the war and to maintain it in the postwar era:

- Internationalization of the banking facilities,
- Focusing on foreign markets and transforming the missions abroad for trade support,
- Transforming the manufacturers to conform the foreign countries' demands,
- Reduction of the transportation rates,
- Change of the marine regulations.⁷¹

Even though these measures were addressed to the needs for the war-time American export, all of these completely match up with the suggestions which were stated by *Levant Trade Review* for the expansion of the American business in the Levant. All the parties in the American business community expected a boom in the foreign trade and manufacturing industry during the war but they focused on preparing for the postwar period conditions at the same time.⁷² In this context, "Commercial Preparedness" covered an important place in the magazine and trade tips were presented for the members to maintain the trade margin that the American business community acquired.

Edwin R. A. Seligman, Professor at the Columbia University, clearly stated the effects of the war and the steps which should be taken by the American business community and the Government officials. Accordingly, he asserted that there were problems which the American economy had to resolve, upon the break out of the World War. As a result of

⁷⁰ "Shipments to the Levant", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 152.

⁷¹ "Economic Effects of the War in Europe upon the United States", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 122.

⁷² "The Outlook", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 219.

the new conditions created by the war, American raw material exports were expected to suffer from the industrial slowdown of the European industry. Furthermore, merchant ships were then in use of the armies and the capacity which was needed for the transportation of the rising American trade decreased sharply, which increased the freight costs.⁷³ The USA was explained to have a very developed manufacturing industry but it was still based mainly on supplying the domestic market. Moreover, a quarter of American export was comprised of cotton and this cotton was transported mainly by the European merchant fleet.⁷⁴ In addition, cotton trade were greatly hindered by the blockade by the British and Germans. Even though the British accepted to buy entire cotton that was destined to Austria and Germany, Germany started submarine attacks on all the ships in the Atlantic that aroused strong opposition and discontent in the USA.⁷⁵

Despite these problems, the article suggested that there was also a way out for obtaining advantages even in these conditions. For example, the domestic industry was predicted to utilize the negative effects of the war by increasing production to supply the neutral states which formerly imported manufactured products from the European industrial states. This shift in marketing would absorb the raw material surplus of the country thereby increasing the industrial capacity and development. This presented a great opportunity to the manufacturers of the United States to increase the production using cheaper raw materials which could not be exported and to reach new countries which were previously dominated by the Europeans. However, it was predicted that the economic growth of the US subsequent to the war was presumed to be slow if the domestic manufacturing industry was not supported by a permanent rise in the exports in the postwar era.⁷⁶ To overcome this danger, it was assumed as a necessity to secure these markets in the postwar era when the European rivals resumed their production.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the magazine reflected this possibility continuously either as an article or through an interview of a leading official or businessman. Especially, the use of American capital to reconstruct the war-damaged

⁷³ “Economic Effects of the War in Europe upon the United States”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 118.

⁷⁴ “New Era in American Export Trade”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 180.

⁷⁵ Rackoff, **ibid.**, 110.

⁷⁶ “Economic Effects of the War in Europe upon the United States”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 116-120.

⁷⁷ “To Hold the Trade”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 191.

Europe was seen as a big threat for the American foreign trade and American business men were asked and advised to direct their capital into the financing of the investments in the new markets and starting export credits to secure these markets permanently as a part of commercial preparedness for the postwar era.⁷⁸

Furthermore, even if the end of the war was yet to come according to the American Ambassador and the magazine publishers, Marcellus Bowen, the President of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, said "... Militarism, in peace, prepares for the war. Commercialism, in war, may prepare for peace, while yielding to the inevitable so long as war is on."⁷⁹ Just as described in this statement, the business community was advised to define the necessities of the postwar era, to have enough stocks for the immediate orders for the reconstruction of Europe, to provide credits to the local buyers and to fortify for the sharp fall in the volume of the orders and market demands.⁸⁰ Additionally, the American businessmen were recommended to find trustworthy local agencies to sell while the local buyers were encouraged to establish good commercial relations and guarantee stocks for the postwar boom.⁸¹ *Levant Trade Review* maintained its policy of non-intervention in the politics during the World War I as well. However, the editorial policy of the magazine during the war demonstrated another function of ACCL. The Chamber again worked to raise the awareness of American business community about the advantages during the war as it did in the previous conflicts. Nevertheless, this time the Chamber provided notable support through *Levant Trade Review* to American companies with the commercial preparedness for the postwar era to avoid from a crash in the American economy.⁸² Additionally, it should be underlined that *Levant Trade Review* and American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant could keep up with the policy

⁷⁸ "Our Foreign Trade Opportunity", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 3 (1914): 270. "American Finance in Foreign Trade", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 4, i. 4 (1915): 328. "After the War is over", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 1 (1915): 101.

⁷⁹ "The Ambassador's Address", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 223. "The Outlook", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 219.

⁸⁰ "Shipping and Banking Relations", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 244. "Commercial Preparedness", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 254. "After-the-War Opportunities", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 4 (1916): 390-392.

⁸¹ "While We are Waiting", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 4 (1916): 393.

⁸² "The United States Steel Corporation", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 87. "American Influence in the Levant", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 6, i. 2 (1916): 110-112.

changes by the American economic organizations and could act in accordance with them even during the World War I.

4.4.3.1. Results of the War on American Trade

As expected by the American business community before the war, the foreign trade of the country experienced a great expansion thanks to the war which ravaged the European industrial nations. Despite the effect of the war-time inflation in the expansion of American foreign trade, the volume of the commodities also increased sharply. The magazine reflected these developments in detail and especially by comparing other countries and pre-war situations. While England ranked 1st in the export and Germany 2nd and the US 3rd in 1913 in the world, this remarkably changed as a dramatic sign of the effects of the war on belligerents and a neutral state. The United States surpassed England and became the leading exporter of the world in 1915.⁸³ Moreover, war-time expansion in industry had naturally created a lot of jobs and successful companies. For instance, American textile sector was reported to enjoy a bright era of foreign trade due to the withdrawal of European manufacturers from the world markets.⁸⁴

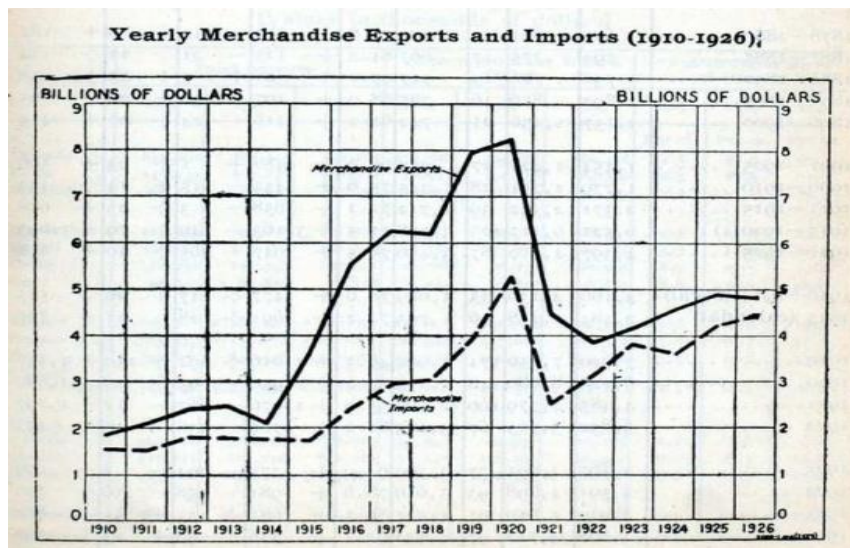


Figure 6: American Foreign Trade from 1910 to 1926

“Foreign Trade of the United States in 1926”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 5 (1927): 191.

⁸³ “L’exportation Américaine Supérieure A Celle De L’Angleterre En 1915”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 28.

⁸⁴ “American Trade in Textiles”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 6, i. 2 (1916): 173.

5. LEVANT TRADE REVIEW DURING THE ARMISTICE ERA: 1919-1923

5.1. The Postwar Reflections in Levant Trade Review

The war ended in October 30, 1918 with the Armistice of Mudros for the Ottoman Empire. Lewis Heck was ordered to go to Istanbul as American Commissioner to inform the American Delegation in Paris about the developments in the Empire on November 30, 1918. However, the Swedish Embassy was still responsible for the diplomatic affairs of the United States, which it conducted since 1917.¹ Gabriel Bie Ravndal was ordered to set off for Istanbul from Nantes to reestablish the American Consulate and was instructed only to carry out consular duties and deal with the American commercial interests. Both Lewis Heck and Gabriel Bie Ravndal was clearly warned to avoid from any act which would imply the resumption of diplomatic relations between two countries.² Afterwards, Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol was appointed to Istanbul as the American High Commissioner.³ While American representatives came back to Istanbul in the first months of 1919, American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant resumed its activities and started to publish *Levant Trade Review* as well.

Even after Admiral Bristol came to Istanbul as the American High Commissioner in Istanbul, all correspondence between the American mission and Ottoman Government was conducted through Swedish Legation in Istanbul.⁴ As ordered, American representatives mainly dealt with the commercial issues and abstain from the diplomatic affairs which would the recognition of the Ottoman Empire.⁵

Levant Trade Review was also a part of these economic relations and therefore, the magazine continued its publication during this turbulent period of the Ottoman Empire

¹ PRFRUS 1919, Volume II, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934, 810.

² PRFRUS 1919, Volume II, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934, 811-812.

³ "Admiral Mark L. Bristol", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 597.

⁴ PRFRUS 1920, Volume III, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935, 758.

⁵ PRFRUS 1920, Volume III, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935, 764-765.

still by concentrating on the commercial issues. This period of publication will be studied by taking the effects of the World War as well as the reflections of the Turkish Independence War.

5.1.1. The Postwar Order in the Region

Subsequent to the World War I, the region where the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant conducted its activities incurred many changes. For example, Yugoslavia, emerged on Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Croatia and Macedonia, mostly parted from the former Empire of Austria-Hungary.⁶ Romania became a larger country as Russia underwent a historical change in its regime and this period witnessed a rough transition. Furthermore, there were new countries in Caucasia; Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.⁷ The former Ottoman lands -Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Arabian Peninsula- were then under the French and British rule.⁸ These changes were not evaluated from a political point of view and *Levant Trade Review* focused on the economic aspects of the new conditions in the region to inform the American business community about the possible business and trade opportunities in the Levant.

Furthermore, despite the end of the war, regional conflicts and wars were still on the scene in the Levant, which were often referred as a great hindrance for the regional trade by the magazine.⁹ Firstly, Bolshevik Administration in Moscow faced a harsh opposition from the Southern people of Russia, where they established Don Republic in 1918.¹⁰ Soviet Russia was isolated by the Western Countries while the Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the USA supported the Southern Russian Government.¹¹ France even officially recognized the Government of Southern Russia in August, 1920.¹² This civil war created

⁶ “New Banknotes in Yugoslavia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 3 (1920): 208. “Trade of Yugo-Slavia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 618.

⁷ “American-Roumanian Chamber of Commerce”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 3 (1919): 122. “South Russian Commerce”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 360. “Trade Notes from Georgia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 5 (1919): 258.

⁸ “Present Conditions in Mesopotamia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 4 (1919): 204-2012.

⁹ “Trade with Russia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v.7, i. 6 (1919): 352-354. “South Russian Commerce”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 360.

¹⁰ Georg von Rauch, *A History of Soviet Russia*, Translated by Peter and Annette Jacobsohn, 4th Ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1972), 88

¹¹ Edward Hallett Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923*, v. 3 (New York: W. W. Norton&Company, 1981), 109.

¹² Rauch, *ibid*, 118.

turmoil, famine and an economic crisis in the country.¹³ While Bolshevik Government was segregated by the Allied States and the western countries minimized the economic ties with Bolshevik Russia, the Southern Russia which was governed by a regional republic was assumed as a prospective economic partner and a region to be followed closely for the trade and business opportunities.¹⁴ Moreover, it was stated that as the Allied States' policy towards Russia was not determined yet. The Bolshevik controlled Russia was embargoed and trade between Bolsheviks and the western countries was very limited.¹⁵ Nonetheless, both the Don Republic and the newly-established Caucasian states could still maintain its economic relations with the Western countries through Istanbul and reach the products which they needed domestically and export what they produced.¹⁶ Even though, *Levant Trade Review* mostly favored the South Russian Government and accused Bolshevik administration of suppressing people and misrule in its territories, the magazine still promoted the Russian market for its huge population and great needs of machinery. The businessmen were urged to be quick to start their business in Russia which promised a bright future and the increasing bilateral ties with Russia was seen as way to gain Russia as an ally for the USA.¹⁷ Nevertheless, trade and business were the key factors in the bilateral relations between the Governments and even if South Russia were appraised by the Allied, the Bolshevik Government increased its control on the country steadily and the articles in the magazine diverted their focus to whole Russia to share its trade and business opportunities and published suggestions not to lose a great market as Russia to its rivals.¹⁸

The Civil War in Russia ceased only when the Red Army defeated the White Army of the Southern Russia in Crimea and forced them to evacuate the region for Istanbul in 1920,

¹³ F. Keskin, "Sovyetlerde İç Savaş", **Türk Dış Politikası-Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar**, Edited by Baskın Oran, v. 3 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2013), 157.

¹⁴ "Russian Mission in the U.S.", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 4 (1919): 224.

¹⁵ "What Russia Has to Sell", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 266-268.

¹⁶ "Trade with Russia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 4 (1919): 214. "South Russian Commerce", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 360-362.

¹⁷ "The Russia of the Future", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 312, "Back from Odessa", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 616.

¹⁸ "Trade with Russia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 352-354. "The Russia of the Future", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 312. "Future of Russia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 9, (1921): 748-754.

which worsened the food scarcity in Istanbul.¹⁹ This victory of Bolsheviks against the White Army also changed the attitude of the Western States towards the Soviets and the USA allowed the American merchants to trade with the Bolshevik Government. Therefore, *Levant Trade Review* restarted to include reports and articles about the Soviets.²⁰

5.1.2. The Effects of the War on World Economy

As can be expected, *Levant Trade Review* was a close follower of the World War I and therefore, the magazine provided detailed information of the war's economic influence on the Near East and the Balkans, which was presented in the former section. Even before the end of the war, the magazine started to publish its postwar expectations for the war-devastated countries of the region and put forward some precautions for the American economy to avoid from a possible economic crash which could arise from the sharp decrease in the foreign demand and revival of the European competition. Furthermore, the needs of the Levant markets, especially foodstuff and agricultural machinery, were explained in detail and transportation problems, currency and payment issues were also covered to enlighten the American business people who were willing to make business with the Levant.²¹

5.1.2.1. Replacement of Central Powers in the Trade by the Allied States

The new order which appeared in Europe after the Treaty of Versailles also influenced economic relations. Germany lost most of its merchant fleet as well as territories which created difficulties for the raw material supply for the German industry. Furthermore, German investments in foreign countries were confiscated.²² Austria-Hungary Empire collapsed and new countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria and Yugoslavia emerged in her territories. The collapse of these two countries which were the

¹⁹ Rauch, *ibid*, 119.

²⁰ "Russian Petroleum", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 6 (1925): 240-242.

²¹ "Roumania Seeking American Credits", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 4 (1919): 204. "Serbian Developments", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 3 (1919): 152. "American Commerce in Salonika", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 1 (1919): 22. "American Trade Drive in the Near East", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 1 (1919): 5.

²² Hans-Joachim Braun, *The German Economy in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 33-34.

main supplier of manufactured goods for the Balkans and the Levant created new trade opportunities for the Allies.

In this context, although Germany and Austria maintained its capacity to re-develop and re-claim their pre-war trade, they initially lost their best customers to the Allies. In this context, the Balkans which was supplied mostly by Germany and Austria-Hungary became a ready market for the Allies without a serious competition.²³ Furthermore, Germany was the forerunner in the Balkan states' importation with its industrial and financial credit capacity before the World War I but the as the natural result of the war's heavy damage on Germany's manufacturing sector, these markets were then assumed as a great chance for the American businessmen and promoted to the Chamber's members.²⁴

The Ottoman Empire was another country in the region where the clashes did not end with the termination of the war. Even though the Government in Istanbul accepted the defeat and signed the Sevres Agreement, forces under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal started a struggle to repel the Allied Invasion in the Empire. The rise of the Nationalists in Anatolia opened a new phase in the Turkish history. This new conflict deteriorated the problems of the country at the initial stage. The Empire's main crisis was the lack of production and interrupted connection with the Anatolia which was the hinterland for the important ports of the country.

In addition, Iran which was not actually a belligerent state became the new target of the oil companies around world as the influence agreements between Russia and Britain on Iran were cancelled when the Bolsheviks rose to power. Then, the economic and financial rights and concessions of Russia in the northern part of Iran were abolished thereby raising a new market for the industrial nations.²⁵ Furthermore, German interests in Mesopotamian

²³ Zara Steiner, "Savaş, Barış ve Uluslararası Devlet Sistemi", **I. Dünya Savaşı ve 20. Yüzyıl**, Translated by Tansel Demirci, 2nd Ed. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2018), 234-237. "Future of Roumania", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 1 (1919): 18. "The Wealth of Greece", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 2 (1919): 66-68. "Bulgarian Dealings", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 326. "Bulgaria's Economic Needs", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 6, i. 6 (1920): 468. "Leather Situation in Bulgaria", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 3 (1921): 204.

²⁴ "Near Eastern Trade Field One of Great Future Possibilities", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 1 (1921): 3-12. "American Steamship Connections with Bulgaria", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 3 (1921): 244. "Turkish Market for Rubber Goods", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 7 (1921): 562-564, "Trade with Greece", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 624.

²⁵ "Persian Tea and Tobacco", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 2 (1919): 82. "Trade with Persia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 298.

oil was transferred to the Allies. The French and the United States gained gain shared in oil production in the region.²⁶ As a result of these changes, the trade volume between the Near East and the United States reached almost tenfold during and after the Great War and this contributed to the expansion of American trade gains in the world.²⁷

5.1.2.2. Economic Crisis in the Levant States

After the war was over, the Balkan states started to return to their domestic affairs and launched new investments to improve their manufacturing industry, agriculture, infrastructure and transportation. Yet, the devastation of war, lack of labor and machinery decreased their agricultural production which were the main exporting material and increased the need for importation of all food stuff, machinery and even banknotes.²⁸ The restoration of the war damages increased the need for foreign currency. Furthermore, the Balkan States did not have enough financial capacity to overcome the financial difficulties which were posed by the war and needed new debts and funding. Thus, these countries needed to grow more agricultural products for export to fund their investments and buy manufactured products from Western industrialist nations. However, Balkan states incurred considerable decreases in their agricultural production during World War I and could recover the reach the pre-war levels in the production only in the last years of 1920s.²⁹

This situation caused a serious devaluation in the local currencies. Rumania, Bulgaria, Persia, Syria, Greece and the Ottoman Empire in particular suffered from serious crisis of devaluation. As a result, the economic situation in these countries were severely damaged and the market came to halt due to the economic crisis, political instabilities, clashes, war damage on the agricultural areas, devastation of transportation systems and lack of labor.³⁰

²⁶ "U.S. Interests in Mesopotamia Oil", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 11 (1922): 752.

²⁷ "Address of Consul General Ravndal", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 3 (1922): 166.

²⁸ "The Plight of Romania", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 3 (1919): 124. "Jugo-Slavia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 7 (1919): 352. "Immidiata Needs of Bulgaria", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 1 (1920): 40-42. "Implements Enter Greece Free", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 3 (1920): 234. "Notes from Bulgaria", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 7 (1920): 564.

²⁹ John R. Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson, **Balkan Economic History, 1500-1950** (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 329-341 and 402.

³⁰ "Economic Notes on Turkey and Adjacent Territories", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 648-652.

The measures of these countries to overcome the currency crisis were also reflected by the magazine to inform the American business people about the economic conditions in the region. Romania started its efforts to overcome the crisis through more investment in infrastructure and agriculture to increase the export and imposing taxes on war gains.³¹ As for Greece, the government levied the taxes on the importation of agricultural equipment to meet the immediate need of food and the foreign currency requirement for imports was mainly met by the remittances which were sent by the Greek immigrants abroad.³² Bulgarian government reached an agreement with the United States Food Administration to exchange of food and Bulgarian otto of rose (rose oil), which was a kind of barter.³³ Moreover, the importation of materials other than food and fuel was forbidden by the Bulgarian government.³⁴ Besides, Yugoslavia adopted new currency at home and the government established regional and sectorial associations to obtain necessary foreign currency from the Serbian immigrants in the USA and authorized these associations to conduct the importation by using these funds.³⁵

5.1.2.3. Restoration of a Trade-friendly Atmosphere

As the war destructed the infrastructure, housing, transportation systems and manufacturing facilities, post-war period naturally started with a reconstruction period and all the countries, whether the Allied or the Central States, began to repair the war damages and accelerated the construction of new roads, railways and ports to boost their trade. Reconstruction of Selanik Port, repairing the oil wells in Romania, providing agricultural equipment loans to the farmers in Bulgaria, construction of new factories in Yugoslavia, repair of railways and establishment of new postal service were the some examples of the developments in the Levant countries after the war.³⁶

³¹ "The Economic Situation in Rumania", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 294-298.

³² "Implements Enter Greece Free", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 3 (1920): 234. "Trade with Greece", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 9 (1921): 624-626.

³³ "Bulgarian Otto of Rose", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 3 (1919): 118.

³⁴ "Bulgarian Dealings", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 326.

³⁵ "New Banknotes in Yugoslavia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 3 (1920): 208-210. "Serbian Developments", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 3 (1929): 152-154.

³⁶ "Reconstruction in Greece", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 1 (1919): 30-32. "American-Roumanian Chamber of Commerce", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 3 (1919): 120-124. "Immidiata Needs of Bulgaria", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 1 (1920): 40-42. "Notes from Yugo-Slavia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 3 (1921): 218. "Belgrade to Adriatic", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 614.

However, the greater struggle was conducted at the international platform to recreate a trade-friendly atmosphere by facilitating the conditions of trade and business in the world through international bodies and agreements. Firstly, as the triumphant side of the war, the Allied countries were the chief designers of the new world order and this started an initiative to establish an International Chamber of Commerce in Paris by the attempts of the Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and the USA. The first meeting of the Chamber was planned to be hold in June 1920 in Paris and the administration of the Chamber would be conducted by these founders.³⁷ The International Chamber of Commerce was established in this meeting as reported by *Levant Trade Review* and helped the thrive of the international trade particularly through its works and activities in the Interwar Period.³⁸

Furthermore, in the United States, American Engineering Standardization Committee started a project to simplify the product variety and to determine standard size and features to cut the production costs and increase the conformity with the foreign markets. Secretary of Trade Herbert Hoover was reported to have prepared a plan to increase the standardization in the American manufacturing industry.³⁹ Likewise, the National Foreign Trade Council of the United States organized a conference on Foreign Trade and a report was published to standardize the export quotations to make the trade easier.⁴⁰

The economic boom which prevailed the postwar period raised the investments all over the world for a better transportation network. As mentioned above, the belligerent countries started to repair the war ruins. Apart from these contributions to the world trade, construction of new roads, railways and water ways was also planned and started to improve the transportation of trade commodities. The first example of these projects in

³⁷ “International Chamber of Commerce”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 2 (1920): 110-112.

³⁸ Dominic Kelly, “The International Chamber of Commerce”, *New Political Economy*, v. 10, i. 2 (2006): 260-261.

³⁹ “Secretary Hoover’s Standardization Plan”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 6 (1922): 410. “Standardization for All Manufactured Products”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 7 (1923): 382-386. Herbert Hoover was born in 1874 and graduated from the Stanford University as a mining engineer. During the World War I, Hoover was assigned as the Director of Food Administration which was responsible for the regular food supply both for the USA and the Allies. Afterwards, Hoover led the Department of Commerce during the Presidency of Harding and Coolidge with a high success. Elected as the USA President in 1928, Herbert Hoover promised to erase poverty from the US. However, the Great Depression broke out in 1929 Autumn and he failed to apply efficient policies against the crisis and was defeated by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. Freidel, *ibid*, 67.

⁴⁰ “Decision on Export Quotations”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 2 (1920): 114.

the magazine was the plan for a line from Britain to Asia Minor by construction new and short links between the main railway lines.⁴¹ Besides, as a new country after the war, Yugoslavia started to construct new railway lines within the country and also planned to build a canal from Danube to Salonika to reach the port easier.⁴² Moreover, a canal which was planned to connect North Sea of Germany to Black Sea through Danube was reported to be in consideration by a German firm.⁴³

5.1.3. Postwar Period in the Former Ottoman Territories

The war severely shattered the three defeated empires of Europe into many smaller states and their territories were occupied by the Allies. While Austria-Hungary left its lands to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Germany lost Alsace-Lorraine. However, the Ottoman Empire faced a harsher deal and was compelled to abandon its territories in Iraq, Syria, Arabia, Palestine and even in Asia Minor with the ensuing occupations. As the circumstances in Anatolia will be covered later, *Levant Trade Review*'s reflection on the postwar situation in the other Ottoman territories will be studied in this section.

The magazine, after resuming publication in June, 1919, borrowed some articles from British "*The Times*" which justified the British invasion in the former Ottoman lands through criticizing and accusing the Ottoman Governments of misgovernment. These articles defended that the people of the region were pleased with the British rule and these regions were on the way to development thanks to the projects and works of the Allied countries in the region. For instance, while describing the regions around Baghdad, the British works to cultivate the lands and to complete the irrigation scheme of Sir William Willcocks were appraised. Moreover, cotton cultivation which was a crucial raw material for the textile industry of the Great Britain was initiated and the Mesopotamian oil was appropriated by the British with new researches for oil.⁴⁴

⁴¹ "L'Orient-Express Interralie", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 4 (1919): 186-188.

⁴² "Danube Salonica Canal", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 312.

⁴³ "A Central European Waterway", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 671.

⁴⁴ "Opportunities for American Trade in the Near East", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 7 (1919): 398. "News from Bagdad", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 2 (1920): 168. "New Cotton Fields in Mesopotamia", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 472. Sir William Wilcocks was born in 1852 and worked for the British Empire to construct irrigation projects. He also worked for the Ottoman Empire after his retirement from the his duties in the Great Britain and prepared plans and maps to irrigate the Ottoman Mesopotamia. His maps helped the British Expeditionary Forces during the World War I, which ended up with the partition

Another manifestation of this negative attitude is visible in an article titled “Present Conditions in Mesopotamia”. This article was quoted from the English *the Times* and published in *Levant Trade Review* in September, 1919. The Ottoman Rule in the region was described as “the lack of a proper rule” and this rule was interpreted as the reason of underdevelopment of the region. In the same article, it was asserted that the region began to develop with the newly-established British rule.⁴⁵ Another article by Leonard Stein, Lecturer in London Schools of Economics and Political Secretary of the Zionist Organization, asserted the mismanagement of Ottoman Government and start of a rapid development in Palestine under the British Rule.⁴⁶

5.2. The Reflections of the Turkish Independence War in Levant Trade Review

American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant resumed its operations in 1919 and restarted the publication of *Levant Trade Review*. All through four years of the Independence War, the chamber continued to be centered in Istanbul. But Ankara Government and the Nationalist forces were mentioned mostly as a factor which affected the trade conditions in Anatolia for a long time. However, as a publication of a business organization, the magazine did not publish any article which directly accused or discredited the Ankara Government.

Levant Trade Review provided an objective depiction of the Ottoman Empire, having recently got out of battle, and explained the damages of war, necessities to repair the remnants of clashes, political instability and problems pending to be resolved after the signing of the peace treaty.

5.2.1. Levant Trade Review’s Perspective towards the Allied Occupations

While the apolitical publication style of the magazine limited the news about the Nationalistic movement in Anatolia just to effects of the war on market and trade, *Levant Trade Review*’s attitude to the Greek occupation, Armenian claims, American mandate on

of these territories from the Ottoman Empire. Canay Özden, “The Pontifex Minimus: William Willcocks and Engineering British Colonialism”, *Annals of Science*, v. 71, i. 2 (2013): 183-186.

⁴⁵ “Present Situation in Mesopotamia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 4 (1919): 204-212.

⁴⁶ “The Economic Resources of Palestine”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 1 (1922): 64. “Le Commerce En Mesopotamie”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 9 (1922): 596.

the Ottoman Empire and Izmir Recapture can be interpreted as mostly political and against the Turkish struggle. The first article in the magazine about the occupations in the region was about Antalya. While informing the readers about the new Italian rule in the region, the Ottoman Empire was asserted “to have left Antalya and its vicinity to the hands of the feudal lords for a long time” and the Italian interest in the area was said to have started before the war through efforts to gain concessions.⁴⁷

Besides, since the beginning of the publication of the magazine, Armenians were among the main sponsors of *Levant Trade Review* through high numbers of advertisements in each issue and many members of the Chamber were of Armenian origin. Moreover, existent close ties between the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and the Armenian community in Anatolia were very visible just by counting the advertisements by the Armenian businessmen that directly sponsored the magazine and the Chamber. As a result, the Armenian claims for the establishment of an Armenia in Anatolia were adopted by American Government and *Levant Trade Review* supported this through articles.

After the armistice, Eastern part of Anatolia was considered to be future Armenia and this expectation was also present in the articles in the magazine. The region from the Black Sea to the Cilicia and to the east towards southeastern Anatolia was called as “Armenian Plateau” in an article borrowed from an Armenian publication in Istanbul and the agricultural conditions of the mentioned region which was “designated” to be Armenia were discussed in detail.⁴⁸ An official report by Elliott Mears who was the U.S. Trade Commissioner to the Levant also counted Kars, Kagizman as the parts of de facto Caucasian Armenia and depicts a bright future for the state in addition to giving information about the business opportunities of the region.⁴⁹ Another article conveys the presentation of British Armenian Chamber of Commerce at the inauguration of this chamber on April 27, 1920, which was about the mineral resources of Erzurum, Muş, Hasankale, Kars, Van and Kemah.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ “Adalia&Smyrna”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 1 (1919): 12.

⁴⁸ “The Eastern Provinces of Turkey”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 1 (1920): 66.

⁴⁹ “Caucasian Armenia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 3 (1920): 178.

⁵⁰ “Resources of Armenia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 440.

All these articles were of the similar manner which describes an independent “Armenia” whose boundaries ranges from Erivan to Cilicia and Erzurum to Kemah while ignoring the existence of a sovereign Ottoman Government. Moreover, the authors of these articles acted as if there was another established state on these provinces and invited businessmen for the business opportunities to take part in the bright future of Armenia. These articles can be interpreted as an Armenian propaganda towards the American business community to win the American support for their aim to obtain the eastern Anatolia in the Peace Conference in Paris.⁵¹ This attitude was also visible in another article by H. W. Carlisle from Guaranty Trust Company of New York, and he said that there were states to be established in Cilicia, Armenia, Thrace and Kurdistan, which can be evaluated as the consequential assumptions of the newly signed Treaty of Sevres.⁵²

5.2.2. Views of Levant Trade Review towards the Situation in Anatolia and Istanbul

Levant Trade Review described the conditions in the region through news and articles by supporting them with monthly statistics of the trade between the US and the country. Furthermore, the magazine continued to give coverage to the market conditions in the city and illustrated the developments in the region by presenting the new infrastructure investments, improvements in the market conditions and showing the growth in the American trade volume in the region to increase the American business people’s awareness and eagerness to take part in the Near East trade. *Levant Trade Review* can be said to depict an atmosphere in which “uncertainty” and “optimism” co-existed.

Levant Trade Review’s “uncertainty” resulted mostly from the lack of a peace agreement between the Turkish Government and the Allied countries which caused vagueness in the political status of the Straits, probabilities for the establishment of the new states in Anatolia and changes in the boundaries as well as the severe economic crisis in the region. The magazine mentioned the Ottoman lands as “*former Turkish Empire*”, which suggests the end of the Ottoman Empire in a sense. Another important point which caused the uncertainty in the region was the reality of two-headed administration in the Empire. The Nationalist Movement was gaining power in Anatolia while the weakened Ottoman

⁵¹ “Caucasian Armenia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 280-286.

⁵² “Trading with the Near East”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 11 (1920): 890.

Government still struggled to maintain its existence. Thirdly, the economic conditions in Istanbul and the other parts of Anatolia was still poor and the situation stood as an obstacle for the new investments and doing trade.

First of all, the financial problems of the Empire were relatively hard to overcome. The Ottoman Government's problematical finance instruments during the war and the fluctuations in the currency were reported to put the Ottoman Empire "*in the worst financial situation in the world*". In addition to this, a great sum of foreign debt still remained to be paid.⁵³ Moreover, the country encountered a shipment problem both in domestic transportation and the cargo shipments in and out of the country due to the great loss of marine vessels.⁵⁴ Apart from this, the Empire incurred a severe interior transportation hindrance because of the undetermined future of the railways in Anatolia and this caused a very striking situation which made bringing flour from Konia more expensive than importing it from Seattle, US.⁵⁵ Furthermore, contrary to the many prominent foreign cities, Istanbul was deficient in electricity lines, trams and short of telephone systems and manufacturing industries were very few.⁵⁶

In addition to these government-funding problems, Istanbul was experiencing inflation which was arisen from the food scarcity in the city. *Levant Trade Review* notified the readers about this situation through a new section titled "High Cost of Living at Constantinople" which provided a monthly cost of living for one person. This chart also showed a comparison of 1914, 1919 and 1920 prices and indicated a massive increase in prices.

⁵³ "American Investments for Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 340. "Foreign Investments in Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 436-438. "War Finance in Banking", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 7 (1920): 536-538. "Turkey's Budgets", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 624. "Turkish Finances: The Position of the Bondholders", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 11 (1920): 898-904.

⁵⁴ "The Merchant Marine of Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 1 (1920): 24, "Means of Communication and Transportation, Constantinople", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 1 (1920): 76.

⁵⁵ "New Avenues of Trade in the Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 7 (1920): 512.

⁵⁶ "New Avenues of Trade in the Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 606. "Trading with the Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 11 (1920): 890.

High Cost of Living at Constantinople
Monthly expenses for one person
(From the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt)

Item	Price in piasters (mean)						Percent increase over July 1914.
	July 1914		December 1919		January 1920		
	per oke	Total	per oke	Total	per oke	Total	
16 okes of bread.....	1.875	30	21	336	21	336	1,020
1 oke of sugar.....	3.0	57	57	57	72	72	2,300
100 drams coffee.....	12.0	3	100	25	107	26.75	790
2 okes of rice.....	3.0	6	55	110	58	116	1,835
2 okes of macaroni & c..	3.0	6	44	88	45	90	1,400
6 okes of potatoes.....	1.0	6	17	102	18.5	111	1,750
4 okes of beans, peas, & c	4.0	16	34	136	35	140	775
2 okes of onions.....	.5	1	7	14	8	16	1,500
½ oke of oil.....	8.0	4	130	65	130	65	1,525
½ oke of salt.....	1.5	— .75	10	5	12	6	700
8 okes of milk.....	2.0	16	40	320	45	360	2,150
1 oke of oheese (native)..	12.0	12	230	230	290	290	2,315
4 okes of mutton.....	7.0	28	87	348	130	520	1,755
½ oke of butter.....	20.0	10	330	165	360	180	1,700
16 eggs (each).....	.5	8	6	96	6	96	1,100
TOTAL.....		149.75		2,097		2,424.75	1,520

Note: 1 oke, 2.8lbs.; before the war, 1 Turkish pound (Lt.), gold, \$ 4.40; Jan. 31, 1920, 1 Lt., paper, 90 cents; 1 Lt., 100 piasters.

Figure 7: Rise in the Cost of Living in Istanbul

“High Cost of Living at Constantinople”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 1 (1920): 78.

These economic problems not only deteriorated the financial balance of the Ottoman Government but also weakened the capacity of the Government to maintain the services and investments around the country. In addition, the failure of the Ottoman economy created uncertainty in the country which prevented the investments and orders of the companies at least until the determination of the fate of the Empire.

Apart from the uncertainty, “optimism” seemed to be prevalent in the views and expectations of *Levant Trade Review* towards the region. Hence, all the negative circumstances above were presented with a suggestion of ways to turn the difficulties into an advantage to obtain profit. Even though instability and political disturbances were the two primary dangers for the business environment, *Levant Trade Review* presented the situation as a kind of incubation period for a lucrative future and encouraged the American businesses to take immediate action to have their place in the market. The magazine mentioned two groups of states in the Near East. Nationalistic Governments such as Greece, Bulgaria and Rumania were described to be inclined to base their industries on

their native companies while the other group including the Ottoman Empire, Persia and the Southern Russia was assumed as a virgin soil for the modern industry and a great market for the American businessmen to achieve a successful trade.⁵⁷

Another advantage of the Ottoman Empire on which the magazine focused was the location which constitutes a great center for commodity distribution to the nearby regions of Balkans, Russia, the Caucasia, Turkestan and Persia.⁵⁸ Besides, Anatolia and the adjacent territories were supposed and reported to be very appropriate markets for the agricultural equipment, mining machinery and textile sector due to its lack of developed domestic manufacturing.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the interior part of Asia Minor was supposed to have great potential to grow and produce raw materials at high quantities if necessary transportation and irrigation facilities were constructed.⁶⁰

Levant Trade Review also mentioned the economic developments that took place even under the war-time conditions. For instance, the Ankara Government was reported to plan the repair the roads. Therefore, *the magazine* continued to invite American businessmen to the region as a good opportunity by asserting that even though the Ottoman Empire went through a severe financial bottleneck, she was described as chance for the American capital with its abundant and unexploited resources. Thus the American businessmen were advised to spend their capital in the Empire rather than spending or lending it to the European countries which were the primary trade rivals of American industry.⁶¹ Furthermore, at the reception for the foundation of American Hospital in Istanbul on August 20, 1920, High Commissioner Mark Bristol gave an address to the attendants and said that there were more Americans coming to the Ottoman Empire and more American institutions and new companies to establish branches-more than twenty- after the armistice.⁶² The magazine published a letter from a non-member business person from Istanbul which described America as a great potential trade partner.⁶³ The statement of the

⁵⁷ “New Avenues of Trade in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 7 (1920): 510.

⁵⁸ “Opening for U.S. Capital in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 10 (1920): 774.

⁵⁹ “Trading with the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 11 (1920): 890-898.

⁶⁰ “Near Eastern Trade Field: One of Great Future Possibilities”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 1 (1921): 6.

⁶¹ “American Investments for Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 6 (1919): 340-342.

⁶² “American Hospital in Constantinople”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 654-666.

⁶³ “The Opening in Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 2 (1920): 94. “American Trade in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 425.

Minister of Agriculture in Turkish Cabinet was quoted in the magazine, which suggested a recovery from the war effects in agriculture and preparation of projects for the period following the peace treaty.⁶⁴ The magazine repeated its news and articles to attract the American businessmen to the region by emphasizing the advantages of the Empire.

5.2.3. The Attitude of Levant Trade Review to the Nationalist Movement

Levant Trade Review did not cover the political developments if they were not directly relevant to the business interests of the Americans. When the occupations started in Anatolia, the manner in the magazine did not differ and little news was reflected about the political situation in the regions if the trade and business were not directly affected by the disturbances.

Therefore, it was very reasonable to see the first media exposure of Nationalist Movement in the magazine in the section of “Constantinople Market”, which informed the halt of commodity flow from the Anatolian cities because of “the political disturbances in the interior.”⁶⁵ The Greek occupation was also mentioned in relation to the economy. In this context, the Greeks only given coverage as a part of the tobacco crop news in Izmir. This situation was also reported to have affected the steady supply of staple food products like flour, sugar, olive oil which required the importation from the USA, Romania, Russia and Egypt.⁶⁶ Furthermore, while tobacco, which was the leading export commodity of the Ottoman Empire to the US, was mainly produced in Izmir and vicinities, the Greek occupation was mentioned only in relation to tobacco crop and prices.⁶⁷

5.2.4. The Reflections of Treaty of Sevres in Levant Trade Review

The signing of the peace treaty was highly anticipated by the business community to strengthen/boost their businesses in a predictable atmosphere under permanent conditions. Moreover, the peace agreement was the key to the American trade interests in the region and *Levant Trade Review* showed its support for the peace through the articles defending

⁶⁴ “The Agricultural Situation in the Provinces”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 2 (1920): 116.

⁶⁵ “Angora and Asia Minor”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 5 (1920): 408. “Constantinople Market”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 5 (1920):412.

⁶⁶ “Constantinople Market”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 330.

⁶⁷ “Tobacco at Smyrna”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 4 (1920): 314-316.

the urgent need for tranquility for the development of business and trade. For example, the founding manager of the Guaranty Trust Company Istanbul Branch, Sigmund Metz stated his concerns for the Empire such as Istanbul's being cut from its product resources and country's severe economic losses by adding his expectation that Istanbul would resume its position of banking and distribution center with the medium of peace.⁶⁸

Long-awaited peace was declared to be coming when the draft of the treaty was published in the magazine.⁶⁹ Eventually, after the treaty was signed in Sevres, France on August 10th, 1920, the commercially and financially relevant articles of the agreement were published and the new map of the Ottoman Empire was provided to inform the businessmen with the latest situation without stating any comment in the article. However, the title of the article "*The French, British and Italian Zones in Asia Minor*" seemed to be implying that the trade competition would be harder with the Europeans after their war gains in Asia Minor where the Chamber tried to yield utmost benefit for the American business community.⁷⁰

An important article under the title of "The Economic Future of Turkey" by Dr. Hubert Banning, who was previously the Secretary of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant, stated the expectations and concerns about the country remaining at hand after the Sevres. The main concerns were;

- The Loss of Adana and Izmir would cause these coastal cities to be devoid of their Anatolian hinterland and emigration of Turkish population to interior parts thereby decreasing the importance of these ports,
- The Loss of Aydin, Adana and Izmir would cause the loss of the leading agricultural lands of the nation,
- The "faulty" school system which mostly directed the students to work in the Government and existence of capitulations which posed a great hindrance for the Turkish entrepreneurs.

⁶⁸ "Turkey's Crisis", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 4 (1921): 270.

⁶⁹ "The Turkish Treaty", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 454-458.

⁷⁰ "The French, British and Italian Zones in Asia Minor", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 10 (1920): 784-794,

While the Sevres Treaty imposed great disadvantages for the Empire, the article also stated its expectations:

- Istanbul was still within the country and would probably maintain its position as a regional hub for Western products,
- As an advantage of being an agricultural state, it could be quicker to recover from the war damages.
- After the encouragement of nationalist economy in the past, Turks were more willing to take action in trade and business.

Considering these circumstances, the writer invited the American businessmen to utilize the less competitive trade atmosphere of the country and started introducing their products in the market. The American businessmen were advised to conduct their business on barter basis which would include Turkish raw materials such as tobacco, opium, licorice root, silk etc. in return for textile products, agricultural equipment and machinery, foods, cotton oil etc.⁷¹

Furthermore, after the change of the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, *Levant Trade Review* tried to enlighten the members of the Chamber about the new regimes, their applications and intentions for these new lands and the magazine advised the businessmen to conform to the new conditions.⁷² The following issue of the magazine in September, 1920, published an excerpt from the interview of Elliott Mears, US Trade Commissioner in the Levant, about the new Greek gains after the Sevres Peace Treaty. It was stated in this article that reputable Turkish tobacco growing lands were annexed to Greece and the business opportunities in Greece were expressed with additional information about how to conduct business in this country.⁷³

These implications of the Sevres Agreement in the magazine can be viewed as the indications of “Open Door Policy” and “Monroe Doctrine” of the United States. While the boundaries were reshaped by the peace agreement in the region, American institutions

⁷¹ “The Economic Future of Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 9 (1920): 726-728.

⁷² “Rhodes as Transit Port for Anatolia”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 10 (1920): 810. “Trade Centres in the Black Sea”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 10 (1920): 832-834.

⁷³ “Trade Openings in Greece”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 9 (1920): 685.

ignored these changes and focused mainly on the commercial importance of the new organization. However, the partition of the country into the influence zone by the Allies was in contradiction with the Open Door Policy principles but Levant Trade Review did not refer this point even if it was directly related to the American commercial interest and this can be interpreted as the implication of the new isolationist policy of the USA which started to rise again in the last years of the Wilson Administration.

5.2.5. The American Mandate Issue in Levant Trade Review

After the defeat of the Empire in the World War I, the main concern of the Ottoman Government and intellectuals was at least to keep the Turkish majority areas at hand. Therefore, the USA was the first address of the Ottoman Empire to resort for the signing of the ceasefire. Then, the United States emerged as a solution to maintain independence for some of the Turkish intellectuals through constituting an American mandate on the Empire after the peace treaty and this was much discussed in Turkish community.

In this context, there were supporters of such a mandate from both sides. In Istanbul, Halide Edip, who was a renowned writer and a graduate of Scutari American Girls' College, Ali Suavi, Celaledin Muhtar established an association whose title was "Association of Wilsonian Principles" in November 1918. The main aim of the Association was to attain the formation of an American mandate on Turkish lands to protect the unity of the Ottoman Empire and obtain the support and guidance of the USA to develop the country.⁷⁴

As for the American side, President Woodrow Wilson was in favour of the partition of the Ottoman Empire and approved the occupation of Izmir by Greece and worked on an American mandate which was stipulated to be established for the Armenia.⁷⁵ American diplomats in the region had different views on the fate of the Empire and defended different views on the issue. For instance, Gabriel Bie Ravndal, a long-time American diplomat in Beyrut and Istanbul, advocated the partition of Empire by creating an Armenia in the East, a Kurdish State in the Southeast, occupation of Thrace by Bulgaria, and the

⁷⁴ Erol, **Türkiye'de Amerikan Mandası Meselesi (1919-1920)**, 35-41.

⁷⁵ Muammer Özçelik, "Milli Mücadele'de Amerikan Mandası Meselesi ve General Harbord Heyeti" (Master Thesis, Institute of Social Sciences, Erciyes University, 2011), 71.

establishment of a free city in Istanbul. Furthermore, Ravndal opposed the occupation of Izmir by the Greeks and Italian invasion of South Anatolia.⁷⁶ American main concern rested in the business and trade. Therefore, Ravndal formulated the partition by considering the American interests. Izmir was the leading import port for the American merchants and Ravndal was proponent of maintaining the *status quo* in Izmir. Moreover, missionary institutions were influential in the Bulgarian independence through the graduates from missionary schools and thus, Bulgarian occupation in Thrace could be evaluated as a better alternative for the American interests. However, the views of Ravndal seemed to change through time and Gabriel Bie Ravndal along with Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol defended the formation of an American mandate on all the lands of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁷ Admiral Bristol thought that the Armenian mandate would have damaging effects on the American national interests and reported his concerns to the American Peace Mission in Paris. His concerns gained recognition also in the State Department and this policy shift constructed a good will among Turks for the American goals in the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁸

This case was also debated in the magazine and in one of the articles titled “New Avenues of Trade in the Near East” which was written by Lewis Heck, former American commissioner of the USA and the general manager of General Motors in the Levant. In this article, the possible American mandate was interpreted as a way out for Turkish economic bottleneck with the American advice and finance. Additionally, the possible cost of the mandate was calculated; the requirements for a successful mandate were drafted and the financial burden of such a mandate was assessed to be redeemed in twenty-five years.

Accordingly, these requirements were;

- “It would, of course, have been essential to have full control of Turkish finances.
- The detached portions of the former Empire would also have had to bear their fair quotas of the pre-war debt.”

⁷⁶ Ravndal to Secretary of State, American Tasks in Turkey, October 1, 1918, **USNA RG 256**: Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, 1914 – 1931, General Records , 1918 – 1931, File Unit: 867.00B-867.4016 <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/26839971> [November 22, 2018].

⁷⁷ Ar, **ibid**, 278-280.

⁷⁸ Thomas A. Bryson, *ibid*, 454-455.

As for the possible budget for the mandate:

Table 5: Probable Expenses for a Turkish Mandate

- “Railways that would not be sufficiently attractive to private investors at the outset.....	\$120.000.000
- Highways.....	\$25.000.000
- Irrigation.....	\$20.000.000
- Harbors and Ports.....	\$20.000.000
Total	\$185.000.000

Lewis Heck, “New Avenues of Trade in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 612-614.

Moreover, the American people were reported to be willing for such a mandate if the circumstances were clearly explained. The article exemplified the American corporations operating in the region to express the American business people’s eagerness and reliance on the future of the country. This article reported the opinions of a former American commissioner and important American businessman in the Near East about the mandate issue and showed how positive the American officials’ perception to the American mandate on the Empire was.⁷⁹

5.2.6. The USA-Ankara Government Relations and Levant Trade Review

Levant Trade Review’s attitude towards Ankara Government showed a remarkable change through the war. First of all, in December 1920, *Levant Trade Review* reported the negotiations between “the Central Government and Nationalists under Kemal”.⁸⁰ When this article published in December 1920, Grand National Assembly was opened just a few months ago and therefore Ankara Government did not have an international recognition yet. Hence, Ankara Government was seen as a group of people, revolting against the Allies and the Istanbul Government was assumed as the authority in the country by *Levant Trade Review*.

⁷⁹ “New Avenues of Trade in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 612- 614.

⁸⁰ “Constantinople Market”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 12 (1920): 1030.

In another article in March 1921, the statement of “Nationalist Forces” was converted to the “Kemalist Government” which was acknowledged as an official administration for the first time.⁸¹ This change of naming can be assumed as the result of the military successes of the Ankara Government against Greece in January and the implication of vibrant works of the new administration. For example, the reporter from Merzifon reported rumors about the reopening of coal and silver mine by the Nationalist forces.⁸² Furthermore, the Nationalist government started electrifying Ankara and more plans for the improvement of transportation and agricultural and industrial production were told to be prepared by the *Akşam* newspaper in Istanbul.⁸³ These works of infrastructure by the Ankara government to develop the economy must have attracted the attention of the magazine mostly because of their business interest in Asia Minor. The development under a stable government would also present new opportunities for the American businessmen. Furthermore, Turkish efforts to improve the situation in Anatolia can be said to have contributed much to the efforts of Ankara government to construct credibility and recognition among the foreign pressure groups.

There was not official contact between two Governments until late 1921. However, there were previous attempts to get into contact from both of the countries. In 1920 American Government sent a representative to Samsun to contact with the Nationalist forces but Ankara Government rejected the American representative’s mission in Samsun and requested the local authorities not to contact with the Allied Powers and the US.⁸⁴ Again in 1921, Ankara Government started an initiative to restart the official diplomatic relations through American High Commissioner, Admiral Bristol, on condition that recognition of the independence of Turkey and abrogation of the capitulations which was not accepted by the US Government.⁸⁵

The first relations of the US with the Ankara Government took place upon the insistence of Admiral Mark Bristol, American High Commissioner in Turkey, and American

⁸¹ “Constantinople Market”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 3 (1921): 253.

⁸² “Outlook in Marsovan District, Anatolia”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 5 (1921): 354.

⁸³ “Asia Minor Trade”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 5 (1921): 400.

⁸⁴ Bilal N. Şimşir, “Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Yeniden Kurulması ve Ahmet Muhtar Bey’in Vaşington Büyükelçiliği (1920-1927)”, **Bellekten**, v. 41, i. 162 (1977) 279-282.

⁸⁵ Fahir Armaoğlu, “Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”, **Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi**, v. 13, i. 38 (1997): 636.

Government consented an inspection visit of Julian Gillespie, American Trade Representative in Istanbul, to Ankara in December 1921. During this visit, Gillespie met with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, President of the National Assembly and Rauf Bey (Orbay), Prime Minister.⁸⁶ Apart from these, Robert W. Imbrie visited Ankara in June, 1922, which later made a positive influence on the Department of State's approach towards Turkey.⁸⁷

As for the views of the magazine about the Ankara Government, *Levant Trade Review* gradually developed a positive attitude towards the Ankara Government and started to give coverage to opinions in this direction. Firstly, Mr. Horace Mason Day from the American Foreign Trade Corporation which was a significant trader between Turkey and the US was reported to have addressed the audience in Manufacturers' Export Association in New York in 1921. For the first time, in this speech, the Ankara Government (described as Military Party) was reflected as being "friendly" for facilitating the trade by the Americans. He also told that a brighter future waited Turkey which presented enormous opportunities for textile and machinery products of the United States.⁸⁸ Secondly, Julian E. Gillespie, Assistant Trade Commissioner and the first American representative to the Ankara Government, expressed positive views with regard to the both Turkish Governments. He, on the one hand, depicted the troublesome financial conditions of the Central Government which was stuck in Istanbul and cut off from its hinterland in Thrace and Anatolia, and on the other hand, he asserted that the attitude of both Governments was positive towards the USA. Especially the Ankara Government was claimed to be ready to cooperate for the infrastructure development in different cities in Anatolia by the American companies with American capital.⁸⁹

5.2.7. The End of the Turkish Independence War

After the success of Ankara Government against the Greek Army in August-September 1922, *Levant Trade Review* focused its articles on the economic policies of the New Regime. Thus, the economic policies and vision of Ankara Government were followed

⁸⁶ Fahir Armaoğlu, **Türk Amerikan İlişkileri 1919-1997** (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2017), 30. "Personalialia", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 12 (1920): 1087.

⁸⁷ Fahir Armaoğlu, "Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri", 637.

⁸⁸ "Trade Conditions in Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 5 (1921): 402-404.

⁸⁹ "Commercial Situation in Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 10 (1921): 885-887.

closely as well as the result of the peace conference in Lausanne. Concurrently to the Conference, the Economic Congress of Izmir was held in February-March, 1923, as one of the crucial events in the Turkish economic history. The decisions at the Congress mainly include;

- Encouragement of the domestic industries and reduce of luxurious goods importations,
- Freedom of enterprise and working,
- Permission to the foreign capital as long as they comply with the regulations and respect to the national sovereignty.

As the economic policy of the New Regime was constituted in accordance with the rules above, Economy Congress at Izmir was of vital importance for the American business community in Turkey as well.⁹⁰ Therefore, the magazine paid utmost attention to decisions on foreign trade regime. *Levant Trade Review* acknowledged the importance of such a congress but the peace was claimed not to suffice for the flow of capital from the West as there would be doubts about the performance of the economy. The performance of Turkey in reconstructing the economy, manufacturing industry, labor and production was suggested to be important to persuade the foreign capital to invest in the new country.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Nadir Eroğlu, “Atatürk Dönemi İktisat Politikaları (1923-1938)”, **Marmara Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi**, v. 23, i. 2 (2007): 65-66.

⁹¹ “The Economic Congress at Smyrna”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 4 (1923): 210-216.

6. LEVANT TRADE REVIEW DURING THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY: 1923-1931

Lausanne Peace Treaty marked the beginning of the new era in the Turkish-American connection and brought in new regulations to the economic side of the relations. The extension of the negotiations in Lausanne influenced the market in Istanbul thereby decreasing the orders and value of Lira due to the increasing the purchase of foreign currency.¹ As there was not a war between two countries during the World War I, the United States of America did not participate in the Lausanne Conference as a signatory state but as an observer.² However, the American delegation exerted to protect the American interests in Turkey while pressing for the resolution of American concerns which mainly were;

- Maintaining of the capitulations,
- Protection of the American missionary institutions,
- Application of the Open Door Policy principles in the new order,
- Regulations for the protection of minorities,
- Free pass through the Turkish Straits.³

During the Conference, the American delegation actively participated in the negotiations to attain the goals above and despite the efforts of Ismet Pasha, Head of Turkish Delegation in Lausanne, the US acted in conformity with the Allies.⁴ During the Lausanne Conference, the American delegation worked to maintain the economic privileges of the United States in Turkey. Therefore, the free pass through the Turkish Straits and free trade in the Black Sea was sternly expressed by the American

¹ “Constantinople Market Report for November”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 12 (1922): 814-816, “Constantinople Market Report for January”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 2 (1923): 102-105,

² Fahir Armaoğlu, “Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”, 638.

³ John M. Vander Lippe, “The “Other” Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations”, **Turkish Yearbook**, i. 23 (1993): 44-45.

⁴ Fahir Armaoğlu, “Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”, 638.

representatives.⁵ Furthermore, American delegation opposed the complete abrogation of the capitulations, especially the judicial clauses. The American delegation demanded the establishment of an institution for formal objections because the Americans was of the opinion that Turkish judicial system was still incapable of presenting sufficient guarantees for the properties and foreigners.⁶ Lastly, American representatives stated the American demand for equal treatment with other countries in Turkey for the American institutions in all areas.⁷

Even though the United States was not among the signatory countries in Lausanne, the concerns of the United States were satisfied through the resolutions of the Lausanne Treaty except for the capitulations.⁸ Firstly, despite the initial objections of the Turkish delegation due to its violation to the Turkish sovereignty, the Joint Court of Arbitration was established to resolve the disputes over the real estates and their lease contract while the Straits were agreed to be open to all ships without duties.⁹ Furthermore, the customs duties were fixed at the rates of September 1, 1916 while the foreign trade regime of Turkey defined equal treatments to all countries.¹⁰

While the resolutions of the Izmir Economy Congress explain the foreign-capital friendly economic approach, the Lausanne Peace Treaty constituted a modern and stable trade and business atmosphere which conforms with the Western economic systems. Furthermore, the Treaty of Lausanne provided the necessary economic basis for the building up of national industry while giving time for the adjustment of the foreign business men to the New Regime. Thus, just after the signing of the Peace Treaty, the market was reported to have relieved and turned to normal conditions.¹¹

⁵ Seha Meray, **Lozan Barış Konferansı Tutanaklar – Belgeler**, v. 1, book 2 (1st Set) (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 46-47.

⁶ Seha Meray, **Lozan Barış Konferansı Tutanaklar – Belgeler**, v. 2, (1st Set) (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 30. In this context, previously, Gabriel Bie Ravndal, American Consul General in Istanbul, expressed his concerns about the Turkish judicial system before and proposed the establishment of joint courts for the protection of foreign people. Gabriel Bie Ravndal, **The Origin of the Capitulations and of the Consular Institution**, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921), 112.

⁷ Seha Meray, **Lozan Barış Konferansı Tutanaklar – Belgeler**, v. 2, (1st Set) (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 169.

⁸ Lippe, "The "Other" Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations", 47-48.

⁹ Joseph C. Grew, **Gazi ve İsmet Paşa Çalkantılı Dönem**, Translated by M. Aşkın, N. Uğurlu (İstanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2005), 26. Seha Meray, **Lozan Barış Konferansı Tutanaklar – Belgeler**, v. 2, (2nd Set) (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 33-34, 53.

¹⁰ Seha Meray, **ibid**, 73-74.

¹¹ "Market Report of the Ionian Bank Limited", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 9 (1923): 511-518.

The uncertainty in the regime was also settled with the declaration of the Republic in Turkey on October 29, 1923. After the declaration of the republic in Turkey, the reforms and revolutions took place one after another at a surprising speed to modernize and develop the country. As a local agent of the American business community, *Levant Trade Review* notified the members and American business about regulations and reforms to provide a close insight into the new Turkish Republic under the new leadership.

Even though second attempt of the Ottoman-American Development Company for the Chester Project failed again, the attitude of Turkish authorities was welcoming and friendly. In January 1924, Isaac F. Marcossou, an American journalist, interviewed with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the President of Turkey. The interview suggested that the enormous opportunities were proffered by Turkey for the Americans who were willing to do business in Turkey.¹² Besides, the remarks of leading officials and authorities in the Turkish government were also published to reflect the attitude of the new administration towards the foreign businessmen. The transformation of an empire to a nation state which strictly defended the national sovereignty rights from the very beginning evoked some worries among the foreign businessmen. Thus, *Levant Trade Review* gave coverage to the Turkish state's friendly manner towards foreign businesses and showed the opinions which favored foreign capital and welcomed the foreign businessmen. For instance, Ferid Bey, Minister of Interior, was quoted to have stressed the importance of foreign commerce to improve the domestic economic conditions.¹³ When the Turkish image in the United States is considered, the publications in *Levant Trade Review* can be said to be invaluable to improve the public opinion towards Turkey.

Early Modern Turkey marked a radical transformation and development in many fields. Thus, the publication of *Levant Trade Review* through the topics below.

- a. Reforms and the Application of the Lausanne Peace Treaty Resolutions
- b. Business and Industry
- c. Agriculture
- d. Another Lausanne Treaty with the United States

¹² "Pleasant Truths from Isaac F. Marcossou", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 1 (1924): 4.

¹³ "The Turkish Economic Situation", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 1 (1924): 18-20.

e. Political and Diplomatic Relations

6.1. Attitude of Levant Trade Review to the Reforms and the Resolutions of the Peace Treaty of Lausanne

Turkey, after the declaration of the republic, went through a fast transformation process. The reforms applied by the new Government in Turkey were closely followed and reported to the readers and members of *Levant Trade Review*. These reforms to comply with the Western Civilization were praised as a move to modernize the country.¹⁴

For instance, the abolishment of Caliphate by the Government was notified to the members through the excerpts from two Istanbul newspapers which were *Ileri* and *Vatan* and these excerpts were concentrated on the success of the new administration to establish such a state and the achievement of “*liberating religion from the foolishness in the minds of ignorant*”.¹⁵ In addition, the shift to the new alphabet in Turkey was reflected in a highly complimentary manner by praising the rapidity of the spreading of the new alphabet to the newspapers, schools and also the courses for the teaching of the new alphabet.¹⁶

Furthermore, the resolutions of the problems suspended since the Lausanne Treaty were interpreted as prominent achievements for the assurance for the stability. Firstly, the Mosul problem between the Great Britain and Turkey was solved with the Ankara treaty on June 5, 1926 and this solution was well received by the American business community because of the American oil companies’ participation in the oil concession of the Mosul region.¹⁷ Additionally, the public debt of the Ottomans was also a question in the postwar period, which required the allocation of the debt to the different components of the Empire and their ratification for the sharing of the liabilities. The signing of the temporary agreement on the debts with Turkey and the Allies was welcomed by *Levant Trade Review* as a factor to reinforce Turkey’s credibility among the creditors in spite of the debt payments’ extra burden on the Turkish budget.¹⁸

¹⁴ “Turkey Adopts Western Calendar”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 1 (1926): 3.

¹⁵ “The Turkish Press”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 3 (1924): 128-130.

¹⁶ “New Turkish Alphabet”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 9 (1928): 347.

¹⁷ “The Mosul Settlement”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 6 (1926): 231-232.

¹⁸ “Turkey”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 7 (1927): 296.

However, in some cases, the reforms and regulations were criticized when they conflicted with the American interests. For instance, the assignment of Friday as the weekly holiday was reported to cause some disappointment for some tourists as they allocated just one day to Istanbul and they could not find any places to shop. While the authority of the new administration in Ankara was respected, the problem of the tourist companies was expressed for a solution.¹⁹

All in all, the rapid reforms of the new Turkey was welcomed by *Levant Trade Review* and the American business community as they were interpreted as transformation of the country to modern one. As an indication of this, *Levant Trade Review* quoted an article from *the Times* which reported Admiral's following statement when he arrived in the US after 6 years of service as the American High Commissioner in Istanbul:

“The new regime in Turkey is a most remarkable evidence of a revolution in form and administration of a Government. Briefly an absolute monarchy has been replaced by a republic. Church has been separated from state and religion eliminated from all law codes. Religion of any kind may be taught in the churches and the mosques, but not in the schools. All persons born in Turkey, without regard to race, religion or nationality, have all the rights of Turkish citizenship. The Turkish leaders without previous experience must evolve the new administration. There are bound to be mistakes and the evolution will be slow, but there are many evidences of progress. The Americans in Turkey who are engaged in business, in operating schools, in rendering relief to suffering humanity, and in philanthropic and missionary work, are desirous of having the treaty between America and Turkey ratified and regular diplomatic relations re-established.”²⁰

6.2. Reflections of Business and Industry in Turkey in *Levant Trade Review*

After the victory in the Independence War, Turkey was still an underdeveloped country with its agriculture based economy, little manufacturing industry and lack of capital for the investments. For instance, Istanbul was said to be famous for its lack of industry.²¹ In addition, the number of registered motor vehicles was one of the lowest in the world.²² Even in Adana which was quite far from the clashes of the Independence War, the economy was still worse than pre-war times and cultivation was still conducted in smaller areas.²³

As reflected by *Levant Trade Review*, the manufacturing industry of Turkey was comprised mainly of small-scale ateliers and artisans. According to the Ankara

¹⁹ “The Month of Tourist Steamers”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 4 (1924): 152.

²⁰ “An Appreciation of Admiral Bristol”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 10 (1925): 416.

²¹ “Petroleum Tin Factory at Constantinople”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 7 (1924): 292.

²² “World Registration of Motor Vehicles”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 5 (1924): 208-210.

²³ “The Vilayet of Adana”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 5 (1924): 212.

Government's Industrial Census in 1921, there were about 33,000 businesses which employed about 76,000 people. The average employment per business was about 2, which indicates the prevalence of artisanship and a weak formation of real industry. The 1913 Industrial Census specified 560 enterprises having at least 10 employees and 53 businesses employing at least 100 workers.²⁴ Furthermore, the domestic production capacity was far lower than the domestic consumption even in the sectors depending on agricultural raw materials.²⁵

In spite of the weak manufacturing sector, Treaty of Lausanne concluded the maintaining of 1916 Tariffs until 1929 and limited the of the protective taxation which could help the construction of a domestic industry. This situation had an exception which could only be applied through monopoly commodities. Therefore, Turkish Government endeavored to create revenues and national capital through the grant of monopolies to local and foreign companies.²⁶

However, Turkey reached a stable atmosphere for the development of the economy, industry and agriculture in the country. Despite the troubled economic conditions, Republican administration fulfilled economic reforms as well as the revolutions to transform Turkey into a modern and contemporary country. For example, Tithe (Aşar) which was collected in kind or in cash on the crops was abolished in 1925 to relieve the farmers from the tax burden and boost the agricultural production.²⁷ Construction of railways facilitated the transportation of agricultural products to the more populous areas and contributed to the balance of payments. Establishment of banks to provide credits for investments were realized in the post-Lausanne period and these banks later financed the factories which were built to decrease the importation of cotton goods, sugar and ammunitions.²⁸ These developments and reforms were the structural reforms to be needed to transform the Turkish economy which proved to be sufficient to substitute the importation.²⁹

²⁴ Yahya S. Tezel, **Cumhuriyet Dönemi İktisadi Tarihi (1923-1950)** (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 120-123.

²⁵ Metin Kopar, **Atatürk Dönemi İktisadi Kalkınma** (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2013), 51.

²⁶ Boratav, **ibid**, 40. Mahfi Eğilmez, **Değişim Sürecinde Türkiye**, 16th Ed. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2019), 135.

²⁷ Oktay Yenal, **Cumhuriyet'in İktisadi Tarihi** (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 65.

²⁸ Kopar, **ibid**, 52-53.

²⁹ Mahfi Eğilmez, **ibid**, 136.

The self-sufficiency of the Turkish domestic production in 1938 remarkably rose when compared to the figures in 1923. The share of local manufacturing in the cotton weaving which ranked first in the Turkish imports rose from 4% in 1924 to 57% in 1938. The sugar which was completely imported was started to be produced in the public enterprises and the local-production share rose up to 94% in 1934.³⁰ Subsequent to these developments, the intense support of the Government to build a manufacturing industry bore the first results according to *Levant Trade Review*, which raised the total number of lumber factories to 16, food factories to 37 and the number of industrial workers in Istanbul to 3,900 in 1926.³¹

In this scope, *Levant Trade Review* organized the magazine for showing the dynamism and enthusiasm of the new administration to develop the country. The economic developments found its reflections in the magazine under a separate section called “Turkish Economic Notes”. In this section in each issue, the economic, financial, and commercial news were conveyed to the readers to attract the American businessmen to take advantage of the growing business and opportunities in this region. Therefore, the construction of the new roads, railways and ports; establishment of new services of transportation and communication; foundation of new monopolies were all given coverage.

For instance, the beginning of construction for the railway line to Ankara from Samsun through Sivas and another line from Çarşamba to Samsun were heralded to the readers as the indication of the development in Turkey’s transportation.³² Furthermore, the European business activities in Turkey were also reported to depict the improvement in Turkey. Additionally, while the Germans were reported to increase their existence via concessions in Ergani mines and plane manufacturing; the French and Italians were mentioned of starting aviation services to Istanbul and Ankara.³³ The rapid and vast expansion in the new republic was also recognized and praised as an impetus for the development of the economy and a booster of the formation of a national spirit instead of former “district loyalties” of the Ottoman times.³⁴ In addition to these, the Law for

³⁰ Tezel, *ibid*, 341-342.

³¹ “Government Aid Shows Results in Turkish Industry”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 2 (1927): 60.

³² “Samsoun-Sivas-Angora”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 5 (1924): 238. “Railway Concession in Anatolia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 7 (1924): 298.

³³ “Development of Civil Aviation in Turkey”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 4 (1925): 152. “German Investments in Turkey”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 4 (1925): 152.

³⁴ “Improvement in Turkish Transportation”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 2 (1927): 48-50.

Encouragement of Industry which was legislated on June 15, 1927 was interpreted as the first real and serious initiative to support the local manufacturers in their competition against the foreign companies thanks to the tax exemptions and subsidies. Moreover, *Levant Trade Review* stated its opinion that the new law did not apply a discrimination against the foreign capital in the terms.³⁵

The railway construction policy of the new administration in Turkey was greatly favored by *Levant Trade Review* and news about the new plans and new lines were conveyed to the readers. While Ismet Pasha was praised for his efforts to expand the railway network, the magazine described the railway program as an initiative to reinforce the economic development of Turkey and strengthen the union of the nation.³⁶ The mineral sources of Turkey were always within the scope of interest of the Americans and the improvement in the transportation network of Turkey during the new regime and Ismet Pasha was praised for its possible contribution to the exploitation and export of the mineral wealth of country.³⁷

Along with the development in Turkey, the interest of the American companies can be said to be rising towards the region judging by the rising number of visits from the USA to Turkey for commercial reasons. For instance, two American bankers, Otto Kahn and Samuel Lamport, visited Istanbul as it was reflected in *Levant Trade Review*.³⁸ The infrastructure projects such as railroad building and construction of sewage systems were acknowledged by *Levant Trade Review*.³⁹ Furthermore, the electrification of principal cities in Turkey was the first project that caught the attention of American companies.⁴⁰ This caused some businessmen to go to Ankara to discuss further opportunities for taking a part in these projects. One of the leading members of the Chamber, Jules Fresco of the Fil's d'Aslan Fresco was reported to move to Ankara to obtain tenders for the public improvement projects.⁴¹ The visits of the American businessmen and the officials were reported to continue and representative of the Baldwin Locomotive Co. and the members of the American High Commission were

³⁵ "Law for Encouragement of Industry", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 8 (1927): 329-330.

³⁶ "Railways in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 17, i. 10 (1929): 361.

³⁷ "The Mineral Resources of Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 10 (1927): 421.

³⁸ "American Financiers Visit Constantinople", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 5 (1927): 200.

³⁹ "Constantinople's New Sewage and Drainage System", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 7 (1925): 294. "Turkish Railway Budget", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 7 (1925): 298.

⁴⁰ "Electricity in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 11 (1923): 624.

⁴¹ "Personalialia", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 11 (1923): 614.

mentioned as the visitors to Ankara.⁴² Even a federal senator, William King of Utah, Albert R. Mackusick, a lawyer, visited Istanbul and Ankara to meet with the officials.⁴³ United States Trade Commissioner also had a tour around Ankara, Eskisehir, Afyon and Izmir to inspect the trade conditions and opportunities.⁴⁴

As the relations between the United States and Turkey developed, Turkish Government decided to increase the representation in the US as well, especially for the commercial reasons. As a Turkish step to develop the relations, the new administration's assignment of a trade delegation to New York was well-received by the Americans not only due to fact that the delegate Muzaffer Ahmed Bey was a graduate of both Robert College and Columbia University but also because of the importance attached to the commercial relations by the Turkish Government.⁴⁵

Furthermore, a delegation was reported to visit the United States to inspect and study the American aviation industry. The delegation was comprised of Ahmed Emin Bey, representative of Dodge and Goodyear Dealer in Turkey, Muhlis Bey, Major Şefik Bey, Captain Ferruh Bey and Lieutenant Kazım Bey.⁴⁶ The visit included meetings with Turkish ambassador and American Government officials for aviation, trips to aircraft factories and aviation plants, aeronautical exhibitions and air stations.⁴⁷

In addition to the developments in infrastructure development, industry and mining, the agriculture also experienced a fast improvement due to the rising labor, increasing number of machinery and better organization of transportation.⁴⁸ The reforms of the new Government in Anatolia had positive impacts on the magazine and Levant Trade Review praised the efforts of the Department of Agriculture via schools for agriculture and mechanics. Moreover, the farm near Ankara which was initiated and developed by the personal efforts of Mustafa Kemal Pasha was interpreted as a great example for the Turkish farmers.⁴⁹

⁴² "Personalialia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 5, (1924): 236.

⁴³ "Personalialia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 7, (1925): 310.

⁴⁴ "Personalialia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 8, (1925): 354.

⁴⁵ "Turkish Trade Delegation at New York", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 7 (1925): 300.

⁴⁶ "Personal Notes", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 5 (1929): 172.

⁴⁷ "Visit of Turkish Aviation Commission", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 6 (1929): 204.

⁴⁸ "Smyrna Market Report", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 7 (1924): 354-356.

⁴⁹ "An Agriculturist in Asia Minor, April 1925", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 5 (1925): 202. "Smyrna Fruit Market", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 5 (1925): 219.

In this sense, the Agricultural Exposition which was planned to be held in Adana in May 1924 sent an invitation to the American firms through the magazine.⁵⁰ This event was the first exposition on agriculture to be held in Turkey, which was published in *Levant Trade Review* except for the tractor trials during the Armistice Years. In the exposition, there were displays for the trucks, cars and also trials for the tractors from different countries. The trials hosted foreign make tractors from the United States, Italy, Czech Republic and these tractors were reported to enter trials in which the American make Fordson held the second and third places.⁵¹ The supplier of the American tractors at this exhibition was told to sell a Ford Tractor and American make plows to Mustafa Kemal Pasha.⁵²

6.3. The Great Depression and its Reflections in Levant Trade Review

The reforms and developments in the Republican Turkey were fast and intense just subsequent to the declaration of the Republic. Structural reforms in the legal, educational, financial and economic system were quite influential in changing the American perceptions of Turkey.⁵³ Infrastructure investments, constructions of industrial facilities, improvement in the ports, railways and roads gave rise to the economic development in the country thereby increasing the American interest in the country. As aforementioned, rising number of American businessmen visited Turkey to inspect the business opportunities while the USA continued to be an important commercial partner for Turkey.

However, the economic conditions gradually deteriorated both in the country and the world. Firstly, the currency depreciation during 1927 and 1928 in all the Near Eastern countries alerted the market about the currency and forced governments to find solutions for the stabilization of currencies.⁵⁴ Turkey also had serious currency problems which resulted from the booming import in 1928-29 and the start of the payments for the foreign debts. Treaty of Lausanne postponed the payment of foreign debts for five years and these payments which covered almost 20% of the Turkish

⁵⁰ “Adana’s Agricultural Exposition”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 4 (1924): 164.

⁵¹ “The Adana International Exposition”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 6 (1924): 241-244.

⁵² “Personalialia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 6 (1924): 264.

⁵³ Şuhnaz Yilmaz, “Challenging the Stereotypes: Turkish–American Relations in the Inter-war Era”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, v. 42, i. 2 (2006): 226. DOI: 10.1080/00263200500417520 [January 24, 2019].

⁵⁴ “Currency Reform in Rumania”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 7 (1928): 256.

budget caused a remarkable hindrance for the Turkish economy. Furthermore, the application of the 1916 Tariffs ended in 1929 which created a sharp increase in the imports in 1929 to benefit from the lower duties.⁵⁵ The first news about the economic and financial hardships in Turkey were expressed through the conveyance of the speech by the Minister of Economy in the April 1928 issue of the magazine.⁵⁶ This economic instability turned into a damaging blow for the Turkish economy when the Great Depression broke out in the US. Experiencing an historic boom after the World War I, the American economy entered into a turbulent era when the New York Stock Exchange crashed in October, 1929. Through the four years from the Stock Exchange crash in 1929 to 1933, American economy shrunk by 30% and the industrial production decreased by %37 thereby surging the unemployment to 25%.⁵⁷

Turkey was also affected deeply by the spreading crisis and Statism policies gained popularity in Turkey, which increased the intervention of state into the economy.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Great Depression created instability on the exchange rate of Turkish Lira. Therefore, the Government introduced new regulations such as limiting the transactions in foreign currency. In addition, while reporting the Government's need of foreign currency, the regulation for the preference of local products and goods against the imported counterparts was also presented to the members.⁵⁹ Furthermore, start of the National Products and Savings Week campaign was also reported in the magazine without comment.⁶⁰ It was actually a very critical move for the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant and its members, most of whom were engaged in trade between Turkey and the USA. When these two cases were considered, this situation could be interpreted as severe hit/blow to the struggles of the Chamber and the magazine. In accordance with the new regulations, *Levant Trade Review* notified the American traders for the new conditions in Turkey which included the getting a letter of credit without exchange permission.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Yenal, *ibid*, 66.

⁵⁶ "Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 4 (1928): 142.

⁵⁷ Peter Temin, "The Great Depression", *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, Edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, v. 3 (The USA: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 301.

⁵⁸ Mahfi Eğilmez, *ibid*, 138.

⁵⁹ "Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 18, i. 7 (1930): 271.

⁶⁰ "Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 18, i. 10 (1930): 406.

⁶¹ "Turkish Exchange Control Regulations", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 18, i. 2 (1930): 83-84.

This devastating effect was very apparent on the article by Leland J. Gordon, who was the author of an extensive thesis on Turkish-American trade relations. While mentioning the obstacles of the market, he says; “A second limiting factor to the development of a market for consumers’ goods in Turkey is the determination of Government and people to use only Turkish goods.” Moreover, as the new tariff to be applied from 1929 onwards, Gordon suggested that American products except for the automobiles and agricultural machinery would not have sufficient market and proper conditions for export in the near future of Turkey.⁶²

Along with the Great Depression which depreciated the currency balance and economic activity in the country, rising threats towards Turkey forced Turkish Government to direct their limited funds to increase the defense capacity of the country.⁶³ Italy was the leading trade partner of the Republic of Turkey with its share in Turkish exports of 28% and its share in imports of 16% before 1930. However, this trade volume started to decline in 1930s and Mussolini’s expansionist policy caused concerns among Turkey and the Balkan States.⁶⁴ Worsening international politics urged the Turkish Government to strengthen the security capacity of the country as it was evident in the records of the meetings between Mustafa Kemal Pasha and American General Douglas MacArthur in 1932.⁶⁵ In 1934, American Ambassador Robert P. Skinner reported Turkey’s exertion to strengthen the army through purchase of arms to counter-balance the Italian threat.⁶⁶

Apart from these measures, towards a protectionist policy, most of the American companies’ attempts to obtain a concession or to get a contract among the infrastructure constructions failed. Therefore, the interest of the American business community started to fade away and the American capital accelerated its leave just after the Great Depression, thereby reducing the volume of bilateral commerce as well.

⁶² Leland J. Gordon, “What Can We Sell in Turkey?”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 19, i. 1 (1931): 7-9.

⁶³ Hale, **ibid**, 53.

⁶⁴ İlhan Uzgel, “İtalya ile İlişkiler”, **Türk Dış Politikası-Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar**, Edited by Baskın Oran, v. 3 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2013), 294-295.

⁶⁵ Hale, **ibid**, 47.

⁶⁶ **PRFRUS 1934**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951, 960-962.

6.4. The Bilateral Relations in the Early Modern Turkey (1923-1931)

As the United States was not among the signatories of the Lausanne Treaty, Turkish and American delegations did not leave Lausanne and initiated the negotiations for the conclusion of a bilateral trade and navigation agreement to restart the relations.⁶⁷ The negotiations was finalized on August 6, 1923 with the signing of Turkish-American Treaty of Trade and Navigation. As per the agreement;

- The US consented the abrogation of the capitulations,
- Two countries agreed equal treatment to citizens and the grant of most favored nation status to the subjects of the parties,
- Two countries agreed on the conduct of diplomatic, politic and commercial relations in accordance with this treaty.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, Lausanne Treaty of August 6, 1923 aroused a harsh opposition in the United States especially from the Democrats and Armenian Diaspora. The main points of opposition were the consent of the abrogation, ignorance of the protection of Christian minorities by the treaty.⁶⁹ The opponents of the treaty sent letters to the government officials and distributed pamphlets to the Americans to prevent the ratification of the agreement.⁷⁰

The proponents of the ratification were the Department of State, Committee of Foreign Relations and the American Business community. Furthermore, US Chamber of Commerce, New York Chamber of Commerce and American Manufacturers' Export Association declared their favor for the ratification of the agreement by putting the American commercial interests forward. The officials from American companies in Turkey sent a letter to the American Secretary of State in 1926 for the approval of treaty in the Senate.⁷¹ Moreover, the ACCL sent a formal petition to the American

⁶⁷ Trask, "The "Terrible Turk" and the Turkish-American Relations in the Interwar Period", 40.

⁶⁸ Semih Bulut, **Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-ABD İlişkileri (1923-1938)** (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2010), 37-38. Lippe, "The "Other" Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations", 47.

⁶⁹ Fahir, "Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri", 639.

⁷⁰ İsmail Köse, "ABD'de Türk-Amerikan Lozan Antlaşması'nın (6 Ağustos 1923) Onay Tartışmaları ve Onay Taraftarlarının Yayınlamış Olduğu Kitapçık", **Erciyes Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi**, i. 44 (2014): 134-135.

⁷¹ The letter was signed by the Executive Secretary of ACCL, General Manager of Standard Oil in Istanbul, Representatives of Gary Tobacco and Alston Tobacco in Turkey, Officials of the GM and

Senate on January 9, 1925. The petition was signed by R. E. Bergeron, the president of the ACCL and asked for the early ratification of the treaty by the American Senate for the benefit of the Americans.⁷² It must be noted that the American business community provided the strongest support for the ratification of treaty because of their interests with Turkey. These American companies which were also members of ACCL and sponsor of *Levant Trade Review* and thus the magazine was also a part of the ratification campaign with its articles.

Though the official diplomatic relations remained ruptured until the ratification of this treaty by both of the countries, the relations between two Governments were still active and even exchange of delegations occurred. For instance, American official Sidney De LA Rue who was at that time assigned as advisor to the Liberian Government was mentioned to be offered to the Turkish Government for expertise in Customs.⁷³ Professor John Dewey was declared to arrive in Ankara to investigate the Turkish educational system in 1924.⁷⁴

However, the American companies needed a legal ground for American companies to benefit from the Turkish trade regulations while Turkey needed credits and capital to develop the country and finance the investments from the United States of America which was the leading fund supplier of the world at that time.⁷⁵ Therefore, during the visit of Admiral Bristol to Ankara in 1926, a provisional agreement was signed by Tevfik Rüştü Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Admiral Bristol for the application of minimum tariffs on American products for a six-month term on the condition that the Lausanne Treaty was approved by the Senate.⁷⁶

When the Lausanne Treaty could not be passed in the Congress in the determined time, *Levant Trade Review* stated their expectation for the earliest solution and the extension of the minimum tariff regulation on the American products after the end of the

American Express in Istanbul. Lippe, "The "Other" Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations", 54-57.

⁷² **Congressional Record (Bound Edition)**, 66th Congress, Second Session, Part 2, January 2, 1925-January 19, 1925 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), 2007. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1925-Pt2-V66/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1925-pt2-v66-14-1.pdf> [February 21, 2019].

⁷³ **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 10 (1924): 448.

⁷⁴ "Personalialia", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 8 (1924): 400.

⁷⁵ Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı Devleti'nden Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si'ne Mali Egemenlik Sorunu (1876-1945)", **Toplumsal Tarih**, i. 276 (2016): 65-66.

⁷⁶ "Provisional Commercial Convention Between the United States and Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 14, i. 3 (1926): 102.

provisional agreement.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, in spite of the struggle of the ACCL, American business community and American Government, the Lausanne Treaty of August 6 was rejected in the American Senate on January 18, 1927 which directed the American administration to take another way to restart the relations. Tevfik Rüştü Bey and Admiral Bristol met again in February, 1927 to discuss another agreement to facilitate the bilateral trade.⁷⁸ As a result, two Governments signed a *Modus Vivendi* (Temporary Agreement) for extension of “Most Favored Nation” treatment, the assignment of the diplomatic representatives and restart of the official diplomatic and commercial relations on February 17, 1927.⁷⁹ Subsequent to this agreement, Joseph Grew, who was also the head of the American Delegation at the second phase of Lausanne Conference was assigned as the new American Ambassador to Turkey and Ahmet Muhtar Bey was sent to Washington as the first Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in 1927.⁸⁰

When Joseph Grew arrived in Turkey, the main case in his agenda was the negotiations to constitute a permanent basis for the bilateral relations. Thus, American and Turkish officials started the negotiations in 1928. On October 1, 1929, the trade and navigation treaty was signed between the two Governments on a most favored nation treatment with selective tariff reductions.⁸¹ Even though the new treaty did not include substantial difference from the previous one, the American Senate ratified it in April, 1930.⁸²

Apart from the rapprochement problems between two countries, the missionary schools constituted the other conflict that resulted in tension. Most of the American missionary schools remained outside the Turkish borders after the Treaty of Lausanne and there were 11 schools in Turkey in 1923.⁸³ Even though, American Board demanded permission for the reopening of some schools, Ministry of National Education postponed the reply until 1927 when a missionary school played a pioneering role in a diplomatic crisis. Two students at the Bursa American Girls’

⁷⁷ “The Month in Review”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 6 (1926): 234.

⁷⁸ “Turkish-American Relations”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 15, i. 2 (1927): 47.

⁷⁹ Lippe, “The “Other” Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations”, 59.

⁸⁰ Armaoğlu, “Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”, 639.

⁸¹ “Turkish American Trade”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 17, i. 7 (1929): 239-241.

⁸² Lippe, “The “Other” Treaty of Lausanne: The American Public and Official Debate on Turkish-American Relations”, 59. Armaoğlu, “Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”, 639.

⁸³ Sait Yılmaz, *ibid*, 69.

College were reported to convert into Christianity in 1927 and the Education Ministry closed the school, justifying this decision through the new secular structure of the education system in Turkey.⁸⁴ Afterwards, the number of schools gradually decreased due to the economic hardships and in 1938, there were 6 American schools in Turkey.⁸⁵



⁸⁴ Armaođlu, “Atatürk Döneminde Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri”, 640.

⁸⁵ Sait Yılmaz, **ibid**, 69.

7. AMERICAN COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY (1911-1931)

7.1. Turkish-American Commercial Relations (1911-1931)

In the period from 1911 to 1931, commerce and business remained to be the principal part of the bilateral relations. The total volume of trade between two countries was unstable and ranged from 1 million USD to 80 Million USD in twenty years-time between in this period since the bilateral trade was affected by the wars, regional conflicts and tax regulations through this period. While the World War I caused the trade volume to decrease down to about 1 Million USD, in the Armistice Years the trade hit record high thanks to the massive demand for American food products from Istanbul which was deprived of Anatolian grain stocks. However, this volume started to decrease as the European countries revived their industries and reclaimed their previous markets which posed a harsh competition for the American companies.¹

Furthermore, the imports from the United States were generally lower than Turkish exports. Thus, this created a considerable surplus for Turkish foreign currency needs except for the Armistice years when the food stuff imports from the US hit record. Import of food stuff included mainly the oleo oil, cotton seed oil and grains/flour which culminated in the Armistice years. After the declaration of the republic, the structure of the imports remarkably changed. The volume shrunk down to about 4 Million USD as the wheat and flour import decreased to almost zero in 1926 while the American automotive sales reached over a million dollar which made up almost the quarter of the total trade. As for the exports, the general trend here was also downwards which decreased from \$21 Million USD to \$18 Million USD in 1928. Moreover, the main commodities that covered the largest share in Turkish exports were tobacco, fruits, nuts and carpets.²

¹ "Balkans and the Near East", **Commerce Yearbook 1923**, 530.

² Gordon, *ibid*, 66 and 69.

Table 6: Turkish American Bilateral Trade (1911-1930)

Years	Export	Import	Balance
1911	17,690,812	3,940,053	13,750,759
1912	19,208,926	3,798,168	15,410,758
1913	22,159,285	3,313,821	18,845,464
1914	20,843,077	3,328,519	17,514,558
1915	12,228,707	994,120	11,234,587
1916	864,485	42,169	822,316
1917	335,590	167,515	168,075
1918	222,039	305,557	-83,518
1919	37,003,002	25,231,722	11,771,280
1920	39,766,936	42,247,798	-2,480,862
1921	13,246,638	23,947,110	-10,700,472
1922	21,682,492	15,980,548	5,701,944
1923	12,888,639	3,464,034	9,424,605
1924	14,615,544	3,314,951	11,300,593
1925	14,648,177	3,351,286	11,296,891
1926	16,832,224	2,917,577	13,914,647
1927	20,069,551	3,941,084	16,128,467
1928	18,387,774	4,110,846	14,276,928
1929	12,165,664	5,741,657	6,424,007
1930	8,443,396	3,113,217	5,330,179
1931	8,085,000	1,713,000	6,372,000

Leland Gordon, *ibid*, 60. **Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States**, Department of Commerce, 1931.

As for the comparative importance of trade for these two countries, there was a great contrast in the relative size of the trade. Even though the commercial volume was relatively small for the total American foreign trade, the exports and trade surplus were quite significant in the Turkish foreign sales. 20% of Turkish export went to the United States in average from 1910 to 1930 and the US was usually the second or the third largest market for Turkish products. Thus, the United States was an essential trade partner both for the Ottoman Empire prior to the World War I and Early Modern Turkey as one of the main suppliers of rugs, wool, opium and tobacco for the United

States. In addition, the export to the US increased above 20 Million USD in 1913, which constituting almost 15% of the Ottoman Empire's export.³

Subsequently, the US maintained its critical role as one of the largest commercial partner during the post-Lausanne period. For example, the US was the second largest buyer of Turkish products in 1928.⁴ The share of the United States in Turkish imports rose from 3% to 6% and the American share in Turkish exports increased from 6% to 13% in 1929.⁵ The United States maintained its share around 9% in Turkish total foreign trade and ranked among the first four largest trade partners by increasing the bilateral trade volume the most.⁶

Bilateral Turkish-American trade relations created a favorable balance for both the Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Turkey in contrast to the commercial ties with the European countries. Only during the years coinciding with the Crimean War and the Armistice Period, American exports to Turkey surpassed the Turkish exports.⁷ From 1929 onwards, Turkish imports from the United States decreased gradually while Turkish exports still had a considerable amount thereby creating a trade surplus for Turkey. American Ambassador Robert P. Skinner reported this situation to his Government and demanded formal initiatives to enable better conditions for the American exporters.⁸ Nonetheless, The Near East Division of the State Department did not approve the obstructive measures on Turkish exports to the US as the volume was relatively small when it was compared to the general trade of the United States of America.⁹

7.2. Chester Project

As mentioned above, the establishment of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant can be interpreted as a part of support from the American Government to the famous Chester Project which came into Turkish agenda twice in fifteen years. Arthur T. Chester, son of Admiral Colby Chester and the representative of the Ottoman American Development Co., was also the vice president of the Chamber. Furthermore,

³ "American Relations with Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 2 (1914): 179.

⁴ "Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 1 (1930): 20.

⁵ Tezel, **ibid**, 119.

⁶ Kopar, **ibid**, 102-103.

⁷ Turgay, **ibid**, 219 and 225.

⁸ **PRFRUS 1934**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951, 942.

⁹ **PRFRUS 1934**, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951, 948-949.

William Rockhill, a remarkable figure in the American “Open Door Policy” towards China, was sent to Istanbul as the Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire to exert to expand the American political and trade interests.¹⁰

The Ottoman-American Development Company was established for this project to build railroads, ports, warehouses, electric plants. *Levant Trade Review* followed the meetings of the company representatives and the Government officials and reported the developments to its readers. As the volume and scope of the project were remarkably high, the details of the agreement were provided for the attention of the American and Turkish members of the Chamber. The positive meetings were proudly and happily taken by the magazine and the signing of the agreement was interpreted as the indication of materialization of the Turks’ willingness to cooperate with the Americans.¹¹

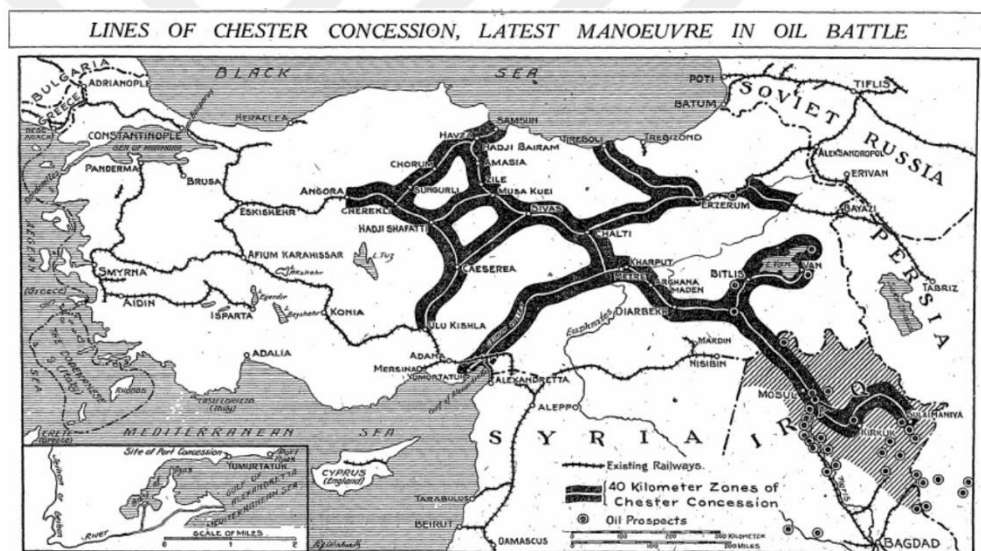


Figure 8: Proposed Chester Project in 1911

Z. Y. Hershlag, *Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), 367.

Ottoman American Development Co. of New York with the support of the American Government and Embassy proffered its project for the construction of railways, ports and mining exploitation which caused serious debates in the Ottoman Parliament.¹²

¹⁰ DeNovo, *ibid*, 79.

¹¹ “American Capital in Asia Minor: The Ottoman American Development Company”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 4 (1923): 198-202.

¹² “American Railway Enterprise”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 6.

The project aroused a great attention by the public and other countries because of its massive scale as well as the sign of an American entrance into the region. Nonetheless, the area in which the project was contemplated to be constructed overlapped the German concession which was comprised of the Baghdad Railway. German authorities perceived this project as an attempt of Standard Oil to reach the Mesopotamian oil reserves. Therefore, German Embassy posed a substantial hindrance for the ratification of the project along with other European countries.¹³ However, *Levant Trade Review* had the opinion that the German opposition was behind the Ottoman rejection of the project.¹⁴

Levant Trade Review announced that “The Chester Project” was on the agenda once more and the Grand National Assembly in Ankara favored the project because of their trust on the American capital.¹⁵ Moreover, Arthur T. Chester who was the leading figure in the “Chester Project”¹⁶ was reported to have left Istanbul for Ankara subsequent to the Turkish victory in September 1922.¹⁷ The negotiations for the new Chester project was accelerated especially during the Lausanne Conference to provide the American support in the Conference to balance the influence of Great Britain and France.¹⁸

Although, the initial project of 1911 was drastically changed, Ottoman American Development Company re-named the project as the Eastern Anatolian Railways and was reported to have signed the agreement subsequent to the ratification by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.¹⁹ The Ottoman American Development Company which signed an extensive agreement for the construction of railroads, ports, use of lands and exploitation of natural resources along the line started its work by importing agricultural machinery.²⁰ Nevertheless, the company could not collect enough funds for the start of the construction and also shareholders had conflicts which led to the

¹³ DeNovo, *ibid*, 66-71.

¹⁴ Lewis Heck, “Opportunities for American Trade in the Near East”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 7 (1919): 394.

¹⁵ “Railroad Construction in the Near East”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 3 (1922): 189.

¹⁶ Jan Onoforio, *Maryland Biographical Dictionary*, (Michigan: Sommerset Publishers Inc., 1999), 136-138.

¹⁷ “Personalalia”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 10 (1922): 694.

¹⁸ Sait Yılmaz, *Türkiye’deki Amerika*, 2nd Edition (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2017), 59-60.

¹⁹ “American Railway Concession in Turkey”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 5 (1923): 306.

²⁰ “Contract for Agricultural Machinery of the Ottoman American Development Company”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 8 (1923): 432.

delays in the start of the construction.²¹ Thus, the Chester Project was cancelled by the Grand National Assembly.²² The second failure of the Ottoman American Development Company for a wide scale concession in Turkey became the end of American attempts to gain massive scale projects in Turkey and therefore, the American investments remained very limited for more years to come.

7.3. Primary Products in the Bilateral Trade (1911-1931)

The Middle East economy depended largely on agriculture and the majority of the population were engaged with farming. The crops were the main source of food of the local settlements and the rest was sent to the towns and cities as either tax or commodity.²³ As an agrarian society, Ottoman Empire had also a foreign trade which depended principally on the export of agricultural products that had a broad market especially in Europe. With her advantage of the lower costs of production, commodities such as mohair, wool, silk, cotton and grains could still present cheaper prices for the European markets even inclusive of the freight. Especially before the 19th Century, Ottoman agricultural products had relatively an important position in the European food supply.²⁴

Therefore, Levant ports reached a remarkable volume of trade between the Ottoman Empire and Westerners started to expand their operations to the Ottoman Ports. For example, the Levant Company, which was the sole English intermediary/carrier of trade between the region and the Europe, established agents in Istanbul, Izmir and Aleppo to sell English textile goods and to import wool, cotton as well as currants, nuts, silk from 16th Century on.²⁵

Even though the Empire was self-sufficient both in terms of manufactured goods and food supply, the situation started to change sharply in the early years of the 19th Century. Rising demand for foods, cotton, tobacco, livestock and soaring prices in

²¹ Roger R. Trask, "The United States and Turkish Nationalism: Investments and Technical Aid During the Atatürk Era", **The Business History Review**, v. 38, i. 1 (1964): 61-62.

²² Jay Pierrepont Moffat, Jefferson Patterson, **Turkish History 1918-1931: As Interpreted By Two American Diplomats**, Edited by Rifat N. Bali, (Istanbul: Libra Kitap, 2015), 69-70.

²³ Charles Issawi, **An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa** (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 118. Donald Quataert, **The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922**, 2nd Ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 130-132.

²⁴ Bruce McGowan, **Economic Life in the Ottoman Europe** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 7-11.

²⁵ Christine Laidlaw, **The British in the Levant** (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 23-24.

Europe encouraged the Ottoman farmers to cultivate more for the market thereby increasing the Ottoman exports as from 18th Century.²⁶

As one of the principal trade partners for the Ottoman Empire and later for Turkey, the USA had a prominent share in the Ottoman exports from the very beginning. Another important commodity of trade between the United States and Turkey was the opium. American merchants conducted the opium trade since 1810 and sold this opium to the American and Chinese markets.²⁷ Turkey was the most important resource of opium for the USA and the prices soared in New York when Turkish opium could not be shipped during the World War I.²⁸ the USA was the largest importer of Turkish tobacco. Besides, the tobacco exports of Turkey to the United States started in the last quarter of the 19th Century. From 1903 onwards, American tobacco companies made large investments for the purchase of tobacco and licorice roots which were a vital part of the cigarette blends and the tobacco trade ranked 1st in the bilateral trade during the first decades of 20th Century.²⁹

In this context, fruits and nuts also constituted a significant share in the relations between two countries. Mainly grown in the Western Anatolia and exported through Izmir Port, these commodities also created a considerable surplus in the balance of payment. Thus, in the following section, fruits and nuts exports to the USA will be studied for the years 1911-1931, which coincided with the publication of *Levant Trade Review*.

Apart from this, there also stood out some American products that covered major part in the Turkish imports from the United States. Especially the flour and wheat trade that peaked in the Armistice Years and motor vehicles which steadily increased after the declaration of the Republic will be studied to reveal the true American influence in these two areas.

²⁶ Tosun Arıcalı, “19. Yüzyılda Anadolu’da Mülkiyet, Toprak ve Emek”, **Osmanlı Toprak Mülkiyeti ve Ticari Tarım**, Edited by Çağlar Keyder and Faruk Tabak, Translated by Zeynep Altok (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998): 132-133.

²⁷ Burak Çıtır, “Uluslararası Afyon Anlaşmalarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu”, **Sosyal ve Kültürel Araştırmalar Dergisi**, v. 1, i. 1 (2015): 25-27. Çağrı Erhan, **Beyaz Savaş** (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları, 1996).

²⁸ “Opium in New York”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 255.

²⁹ İsmail Yıldırım, “Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıl Osmanlı Ekonomisi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme (1838-1918)”, **Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi**, v. 11, i. 2 (2001): 318. Robert Carey Goodman, “The Role of the Tobacco Trade in Turkish-American Relations, 1923-29” (Master Thesis, University of Richmond, 1987), 6.

7.3.1. Fruits and Nuts Export to the United States of America

As mentioned above, the Ottoman exports showed a steady and remarkable rise in the 19th Century. The Empire increased its importance likewise as a market for the expanding European manufacturing and as a resource of the raw materials. European merchants brought textile goods to the Empire and returned with the local products which were silk, cotton, mohair, wool, fruits, nuts, carpets and spices.³⁰ Therefore, Levant ports reached a remarkable volume of trade between the Ottoman Empire and Europe which led to the competition among Venetians, the French, the Dutch and the British. In this trade, Western parts of the Ottoman Empire stood out as the hub to ship above mentioned commodities to the European ports.³¹

Among these commodities, cotton was one of the oldest and most profitable product of the region. Despite the fluctuations in the cultivation area and prices owing to the American rivalry, cotton production was about 10.000 tons a year around Izmir in 1912.³² Furthermore, the opium which was produced mainly in the inner regions of the Western Anatolia was also brought to Izmir and exported from the port here. This extensive agricultural production and gradually increasing links with the Western merchants fortified the position of Izmir as an export hub of Ottoman products.³³ Under these conditions, the export of Izmir increased faster than Empire's general trade and Izmir became the host of the largest foreign business people community in the Empire.³⁴

American companies were among the primary traders in Izmir and even before the American Revolution there was a steadily increasing trade between two countries.³⁵ From 1810 onwards, there were regular ship services from Izmir to the US.³⁶ In 1820s, more than twenty ships called at Izmir port every year to unload colonial products such as sugar, coffee, tea and these ships carried opium, wool, rose oil, figs, raisins, and

³⁰ Vlami, *ibid*, 87-91.

³¹ Elvan Anmaç, "XIX. Yüzyıl Sonu, XX. Yüzyıl Başı Batı Anadolu Ticari Halıcılığı", **Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi**, Türkiye Yayınları, v. 3 (Ankara: Türkiye Yayınları, 1999): 522.

³² Issawi, *ibid*, 121.

³³ Tuğçe Atik, "The Rise of Ottoman Izmir as a Commercial Center" (Master Thesis, The Graduate School of Social Sciences of the Middle East Technical University, 2014), 63.

³⁴ Kasaba, *ibid*, 63 and 80-81.

³⁵ S. E. Morison, *ibid*, 209.

³⁶ Gabriel Bie Ravndal, *ibid*, 229. Nurdan Şafak, *ibid*, 38.

carpets.³⁷ Almost whole trade of the United States of America was based in Izmir in 1850s and the USA ranked third in Izmir's trade in 1839.³⁸

One of the commodities of prominence in the Turkish-American commercial relations was the fruits, vegetables and nuts which were commonly exported from Izmir. This sector was one of the main business for Turkish farmers and the share of the fruits export reached almost a quarter of whole Turkish exports. Fruits and vegetable export was mostly developed in Izmir because the cultivation of these products were mostly carried out in the hinterland of the city and packing and shipment were also conducted in this region.³⁹ Following invasion of Europe and the USA in 1850s by the phylloxera which is a pest absorbing the water of the grape roots by sticking to them, the vineyards were devastated and the production fell by half. This supply deficit resulted in growing demands in American and European markets and brought an advantage for the Ottoman farmers. Thus, the farmers shifted their production from cotton growing to the fruits and the vineyards in Western Anatolia rose about tenfold.⁴⁰

Fruits of Izmir was already popular in the United States and the Izmir (Smyrna) fig were started to be grown in California with the name of "Calimyrna".⁴¹ Furthermore, many American ships came to Izmir to buy figs and raisins every year.⁴² William Steward, the first Consul of the USA in Izmir, sent a report to the Secretary of State in 1803, in which he mentioned the possible areas of trade. While Steward referred coffee and sugar as the commodities which were appropriate to sell to Turkey, fruits of Izmir were counted among the goods to be imported to the USA.⁴³ The American import of fruits and nuts formed a notable place in the bilateral trade while Izmir maintained its importance in the shipment of fruits and nuts export to the United States throughout the 19th Century while these products maintained their share around 10% of the total Turkish-American trade.⁴⁴

³⁷ Turgay, *ibid*, 199.

³⁸ Orhan Kurmuş, *ibid*, 88. Turgay, *ibid*, 200.

³⁹ "Turkish Official Commercial Statistics for 1924", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 2 (1926): 508. Kasaba, *ibid*, 79-81.

⁴⁰ Özkan Keskin, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Filoksera ile Mücadele", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, v. 30, i. 2 (2015): 480-482. Kasaba, *ibid*, 79.

⁴¹ Gordon, *ibid*, 89.

⁴² Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 261.

⁴³ Turgay, *ibid*, 193-194.

⁴⁴ Turgay, *ibid*, 227 and 245.

In the first years of the 20th Century, fruits and nuts increased their share in the commercial relations by surpassing the licorice root and hides thereby ranking 5th in the total trade between two countries.⁴⁵ In the 20th Century, the USA was the largest buyers of walnuts, pistachio, figs of Izmir.⁴⁶ American import of figs constituted about 30% of the entire fig export of Izmir in 1925-28.⁴⁷



⁴⁵ Gordon, *ibid*, 65.

⁴⁶ Lucien Memminger, "Smyrna's Nuts, Figs and Oil", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 2 (1911): 201-202.

⁴⁷ "Declared Exports from Smyrna to the United States", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 15, i. 3 (1927): 107. "Total Exports from the Port of Smyrna During the Year 1928", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 6 (1929): 209.

Table 7: The Share of Fruits and Nuts Export to the USA

Years	Turkish Exports to the USA	Fruits and Nuts Exports to the USA	Fruits and Nuts Ratio to the Total Exports (%)
1908	\$10,759,570	\$912,833	8.48
1909	\$12,429,128	\$1,119,902	9.01
1910	\$16,353,901	\$1,672,577	10.23
1911	\$17,690,812	\$1,989,539	11.25
1912	\$19,208,926	\$1,374,734	7.16
1913	\$22,159,285	\$2,205,413	9.95
1914	\$20,843,077	\$1,307,481	6.27
1915	\$12,228,707	\$131,541	1.08
1916	\$864,485	\$334,440	38.69
1917	\$408,579	\$305,829	74.85
1918	\$886,317	\$409,194	46.17
1919	\$37,003,002	\$3,258,706	8.81
1920	\$39,766,936	\$5,970,747	15.01
1921	\$13,246,638	\$2,393,547	18.07
1922	\$21,682,492	\$2,149,610	9.91
1923	\$12,888,639	\$2,319,620	18.00
1924	\$14,615,544	\$2,341,916	16.02
1925	\$14,648,177	\$3,142,607	21.45
1926	\$16,832,224	\$2,726,871	16.20
1927	\$20,069,551	\$2,524,772	12.58
1928	\$18,387,774	\$2,697,034	14.67
1929	\$12,165,664	\$1,775,664	14.60
1930	\$8,443,396	\$1,561,854	18.50
1931	\$8,085,000	\$1,112,972	13.77

Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States, 1916-17-18-19-21-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 11 (1921): 910, Leland Gordon, *ibid*, 49-50.

As can be discerned from Table 7, about 17% of the Turkish exports to the United States of America in average was comprised of the sales of fruits and nuts. When compared to the total Turkish exports (the average of exports between 1923 to 1930 was about 81 Million USD), fruits and nuts exports constituted about 3% of the entire Turkish exports. In this case, this trade can be said to contribute much to reduce the

current account deficit of Turkey (the average of deficit between 1923 to 1930 was about 25 Million USD). Even though, the volume of this trade was relatively small when compared to the total Turkish foreign trade, this helped the Turkish Government keep the value of Lira stable and finance the importation from the other countries. The importance of the export of these products can also be exemplified with the conditions during the Great Depression of 1929. In this context, exports from Izmir, mostly tobacco and agricultural products were the main source of exchange for the Turkish market needs.⁴⁸ After the plummeting of the grain prices at around 60% and fruit, tobacco and cotton prices at around 50%, the Turkish Government had great difficulty in meeting foreign currency demand in Turkey.⁴⁹ Therefore, Turkish Government had to put exchange control regulations into effect as of March 1, 1930.⁵⁰

In spite of the importance of this trade for Early Modern Turkey, there were often problems on the sanitary conditions between Turkish and American merchants. This issue was remarkably a big hindrance for the Smyrna dried fruit export and therefore the Government was reported to make regulations to improve the packing conditions in the region. Government, Municipal and Health Authorities were all involved in this process and certain conditions, controls and inspectors were assigned to the warehouses and packing houses.⁵¹ Even in 1913, *Levant Trade Review* mentioned an intervention by the American Consul General for the sustaining of hygiene during the packing of fruits to be exported to the United States.⁵² Furthermore, British Consulates also involved in the sanitation problem in the Izmir packing industry and even rejected the certification requests of the exporters by referring to the unsanitary preparation conditions.⁵³

Even though, Ali Jenani Bey, Commerce Minister, visited these places and assured the foreign businesspeople about the sanitary conditions. These statements seemed to have credibility among the American businessmen who were the leading buyers of these

⁴⁸ Albert Levy, "Exchange in Constantinople During October", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 11 (1926): 462.

⁴⁹ Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, **20. Yüzyılda Ortadoğu Ekonomileri Tarihi**, Translated by Ayşe Edirne (Istanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002), 27.

⁵⁰ "Turkish Exchange Control Regulations", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 18, i. 3 (1930): 83-84.

⁵¹ "The Dried Fruit Industry of Smyrna", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 17, i. 10 (1929): 372.

⁵² "Smyrna Trade Conditions", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 3, i. 2 (1913): 163.

⁵³ Gelina Harlaftis and Vassilis Kardasis, "International Competition and the Development of the Dried-Fruit Industry, 1880-1930", **The Mediterranean Response to the Globalization Before 1950**, Edited by Şevket Pamuk and Jeffrey G. Williamson (London: Routledge, 2000): 220-221.

products.⁵⁴ But, this case rose also in 1927, when Dr. Hayden Guest published an article on Daily Mail about the unhealthy conditions of packing in Smyrna. Djevad Sami Bey, who was an instructor at Robert College, opposed Dr. Hayden, by stating that he was misinformed and the packing conditions were conducted in sanitized warehouses and the workers wore aprons and were controlled by doctors for possible diseases. However, he advised the merchants to employ mechanical packing systems to maintain the trade.⁵⁵

7.3.2. The Flour and Wheat Imports from the USA (1918-1925)

At the beginning of the 20th Century, the export of the Ottoman Empire was almost ten times higher than in 1820 and was mainly comprised of the agricultural products such as tobacco, fruits, cotton, wool and silk. Even though the import materials were primarily manufactured goods, wheat, flour and sugar which are agricultural products were also imported for the domestic consumption. Furthermore, the trade agreements of 1838-41 restrained the Ottoman Government from levying a tax on the agricultural products to protect the domestic/local producers.⁵⁶ In this context, as wheat and flour were subject to the same tax rates, importing wheat and flour to coastal cities cost lower than bringing them from the inner parts of the Empire.⁵⁷ Even in the first decades of the 19th Century, flour import was a profitable business for the merchant ships. For example, an American ship “Calumet” passed through the Straits to the Black Sea without permission and attempted to ship flour from Odessa to Istanbul. The main reason of this was the insufficiency of the Ottoman transportation system.⁵⁸ After the second half of the 19th Century, Istanbul and other coastal cities depended mainly on the imported grains and flour which came via Mediterranean and Black Sea. Thus, the flour milling in Istanbul was also hindered by the rivalry of the cheap Russian and Rumanian flour.⁵⁹ In 1913, flour constituted 5% of all Ottoman imports while the share of wheat was 2%.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ “Turkish Economic Notes”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 8 (1925): 336.

⁵⁵ “The Smyrna Fig and Raisin Industry”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 1 (1928): 20-21.

⁵⁶ Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, 210-211.

⁵⁷ Eldem, *ibid*, 40-41. Şevket Pamuk, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Küreselleşme, İktisat Politikaları ve Büyüme*, 4th Ed. (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2017), 20-21.

⁵⁸ S. E. Morison, *ibid*, 217-219.

⁵⁹ Eldem, *ibid*, 40-41. Elliott Grinnell Mears, *Modern Turkey* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924), 286.

⁶⁰ Şevket Pamuk, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Dış Ticareti*, v. 1 (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 1995), 52.

Besides, Istanbul had a large consumer mass and the local agricultural production was almost none. Thus, the city always dependent on domestic and foreign sources to satisfy the demand. The security of food supply in the capital was a priority for the Empire and therefore, the Ottoman Government both assigned business men to supply grain for the capital and sent officials to the Western Anatolia to buy necessary grains for the Istanbul bakers during the Classical Age.⁶¹ Upon the insufficient supply of grains by the semi-official merchants (kapan tüccarı) in the 19th Century, the Ministry of Grain (Zahire Nezareti) was established to fully meet the capital's food demands.⁶² This ministry was abolished in the Tanzimat Era and its responsibilities were taken over by the Ministry of Agriculture.⁶³

When the World War I broke out, the foreign trade of the Empire collapsed as the Allies blockaded the Ottoman ports and sea routes.⁶⁴ Just after the start of the mobilization, the amount of flour purchased from abroad declined from 25 thousand sacks to 8 thousand sacks which raised the price of a flour sack from 90 piasters to 300 piasters.⁶⁵ Even if Anatolia was perceived as an alternative to the foreign supply, the transportation system was incapable of bringing the Anatolian grains to Istanbul. However, Anatolia was losing its labor force to the Army because of the military mobilization and the Ottoman agricultural structure lacked the capacity to compensate this loss through increasing the mechanization.⁶⁶ Even though, Rumania after its defeat by the Central States and Ukraine after the withdrawal of Russia from the war started to provide grains from 1916 onwards, these shipments were short of meeting the Ottoman needs.⁶⁷

Ottoman Government took precautions to eliminate the scarcity by forming commissions and these commissions set fixed prices for the staple food at the first stage. This resulted in stock-piling and black-market which deteriorated the situation

⁶¹ Charles Issawi, **The Economic History of Turkey 1800-1914**, 30-31.

⁶² Tefik Güran, "İstanbul'un İaşesinde Devletin Rolü (1793-1839)", **İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası**, v. 44, i. 4 (2011): 247.

⁶³ Cem Doğru, "Birinci Dünya Savaşı Döneminde Ekonomide Bir Kurumsallaşma Çabası: İaşe Nezareti" **Sosyal Bilimler Metinleri**, i. 4 (2009): 8

⁶⁴ Şevket Pamuk, **Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi**, 9th Ed. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2018), 165.

⁶⁵ Ahmet Tabakoğlu, "Osmanlı Döneminde İstanbulun İaşesi", **II. Uluslararası Osmanlı İstanbulu Sempozyumu 27 Mayıs – 29 Mayıs 2014** (İstanbul: İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2014): 156.

⁶⁶ Pamuk, **Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete**, 151.

⁶⁷ Eldem, **ibid**, 61-69. Büşra Karataşer, "1914-1923 Arası İstanbul'un İaşesi ve İhtikar Sorunu", (Ph. D. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2013), 72-73.

further.⁶⁸ Afterwards, Ottoman Government introduced a new policy to encourage the producers and merchants to bring their stocks to the market in 1917. Accordingly, the producers were allowed to sell their crops in the market after submitting some portion of it to the state at the fixed price. Although this mixed policy relieved the problems in the food supply, it did not constitute a complete solution.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the direct intervention of the Unionist Government to the economy and the market provoked the rumors of corruption embezzlement in Istanbul and these accusations have a wide coverage especially in the Armistice Era newspapers.⁷⁰

After the armistice, Istanbul was occupied by the Allied Countries while the Ottoman lands were separated into three customs zones: Izmir under the Greek Occupation, Anatolia under the rule of Ankara Government and Istanbul and its vicinity controlled by the Ottoman Government.⁷¹ The economy of the Empire incurred a severe crisis and the agricultural production fell by half in four years-time until 1918.⁷² The postwar Istanbul was still suffering from the food scarcity and economic conditions were deteriorating even after the war. Moreover, Istanbul was the shelter for many refugees from different nations. Many Russian refugees escaped from the Bolshevik Revolution and were hosted in the city in addition to the Turkish, Armenian and Greek immigrants who ran away from the clashes between the Greek and Turkish Army in Anatolia. In addition to the larger population in the city, the military operations in Anatolia prevented all kinds of foreign trade in the region and the economy of Istanbul incurred severe crisis of commerce and finance.⁷³

Even though the flour prices in Istanbul started to decline in February 1919 thanks to the some arrivals from Anatolia and other sources, the flour scarcity in Istanbul continued to rise in the first months of 1920 due to the city's disconnection with Anatolia.⁷⁴ The flour in Istanbul was insufficient to supply the city and two thousand

⁶⁸ Zafer Toprak, **İttihat-Terakki ve Devletçilik** (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 89.

⁶⁹ Pamuk, **Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete**, 154-157.

⁷⁰ Mehmet Aydın, "İttihat ve Terakki'ye Yönelik İstanbul Basınında Yer Alan Bazı Yolsuzluk İddiaları", **Turkish Studies**, v. 3, i. 7 (2008): Passim.

⁷¹ Eldem, **ibid**, 138.

⁷² Kemal Berkay Baştuğu, "Near East Relief's Aid Campaign in Occupied Constantinople (1918-1923): Aid and Politics" (Master Thesis, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2018), 44.

⁷³ İlbeyi Özer, "Mütareke ve İşgal Yıllarında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Görülen Sosyal Çöküntü ve Toplumsal Yaşam, **Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM**, v. 14, i. 14 (2013): 251.

⁷⁴ Necati Çavdar, **ibid**, 306.

cars of wheat were stuck in Anatolia due to shortage of coal for the trains.⁷⁵ The sharp decline in the value of Turkish Lira against the foreign currencies hindered the decrease in the prices. Profiteering, smuggling of grains and flour to the West for higher prices, military campaigns and occupations in Anatolia resulted in historically high inflation and food shortage in Istanbul.⁷⁶

The first flour importation of the American flour dated back to start of the 20th Century through the Hamburg companies, re-exporting the Minneapolis flour.⁷⁷ As for the start of the direct import, it occurred in the first half of the 1911 and an important amount of flour was imported to Istanbul from the US at that time.⁷⁸ Because of these prior experiences, the USA stood out as the primary source for Istanbul. As mentioned previously, bringing flour from Konya was more expensive than importing it from Seattle, US and this situation opened a very profitable market for the American flour mills. The possibility of such a need for larger amounts of flour in Istanbul was first covered in the magazine in March, 1915 in a commercial report by Gabriel Bie Ravndal, the American Consul General in Istanbul since 1911. Considering the pre-war import of flour from other countries, Ravndal forecasted a relatively higher need for flour in the Istanbul and suggested that direct steamship lines be available for more flour exportation to this market.⁷⁹

In this context, the Ottoman Government's demand for the grain purchase from the United States was accepted by the American Government. This new opportunity was notified to the American companies through the Commercial Reports of Department of Commerce of the United States Government. For instance, in the Commerce Report of April, 29th, 1920, an importer of American goods in Turkey stated its intention to contact with an American flour supplier and another report on May 7, 1920 reported the urgent flour need in Turkey and the market's capability to pay for the flour.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Necati Çavdar, "Mütareke Dönemi'nin İlk Aylarında İstanbul'da Ekmek Meselesi", **Bellekten**, v. 78, i. 281 (2014): 10-11.

⁷⁶ Mehmet Aydın, "Mütareke Döneminde İstanbul'da Hayat Pahalılığı Sorunu (1918-1922)", **History Studies**, v. 4 (2010): 444-445.

⁷⁷ John Ch. Demetrus, "American Flour in the Levant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 9 (1921): 738.

⁷⁸ "Cotton Oil", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 58.

⁷⁹ Gabriel Bie Ravndal, "Flour, Rice and Glucose for the Levant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3, (1915): 241.

⁸⁰ **Commerce Reports**, Department of Commerce, April 29, 1920, **Commerce Reports**, Department of Commerce, May 7, 1919.

This business created such a wide sector that *Levant Trade Review* announced the establishment of an association in December 1921 against the negative regulations and conditions towards the flour market, which organized the flour dealers in Istanbul which was an indication of how big the flour market was.⁸¹ As this trade mattered much for the American companies, *Levant Trade Review* followed closely the fluctuations in the price and the possible rival sources. The main advantage of the American flour in the Istanbul market was Istanbul's lack of alternative sources to import. In the pre-war times, Russia, Bulgaria, Romania and the Anatolia were the chief rivals in the flour trade.⁸² While South Russia and Anatolia were all out of reach due to the internal disturbances, Bulgaria and Rumania were not able to supply sufficient amount of products to the market. Therefore, the American authorities were sure that Istanbul would continue to be the chief American flour market until the arrivals from these regions. The flour and grain trade reached remarkable levels during the Armistice Period in the Turkish-American trade relations and covered 20-30 percent of all bilateral trade volume.⁸³ Turkey, until Armistice Years, had a remarkable trade surplus in its trade with the United States of America. However, this trade surplus turned into deficit just after the World War I, because of the sharp increase in the flour import from the USA.⁸⁴

The shipments from the United States started in late February 1919 and 8 thousand tons of flour were imported from the United States. The American flour was sold by the Whittalls⁸⁵ in Istanbul and this enabled a 25% decrease in the bread prices.⁸⁶ Moreover, American Near East Relief offered to establish "Sale Booths" around Istanbul to provide reasonably priced food stuff, especially American flour to the low-income people.⁸⁷ This offer was approved by the Ottoman Government and the Near East Relief was authorized to sell staple foods and goods in the places which were

⁸¹ "Flour Association at Constantinople", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 12 (1921): 1016.

⁸² "Flour at Constantinople", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 7 (1921): 577-579.

⁸³ Julian E. Gillespie, "Flour Trade of Asiatic Turkey", *Commerce Reports*, Department of Commerce, April 17, 1922, 166.

⁸⁴ Julian E. Gillespie, "Commercial Situation in Near East", *Commerce Reports*, Department of Commerce, September 19, 1921, 166.

⁸⁵ Whittalls were an English family doing business in shipping, import of glucose, corn products, grain, flour and export of barley, opiums, mohair, skins, nuts etc. The J. W. Whittall & Co. was also member of the ACCL. Zeynep Naz Simer, "Impacts of a Levantine Bourgeois Family; The "Whittalls" in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire" (Master Thesis, Istanbul Bilgi University, 2014).

⁸⁶ Necati Çavdar, *ibid*, 308-309. Lewis Heck, "Opportunities for American Trade in the Near East", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 7 (1919): 394.

⁸⁷ Nur Bilge Criss, *İşgal Altında İstanbul* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 58-59.

allocated by the Government. In addition, these booths were exempt from the income tax and customs duties which were extended through the Armistice years.⁸⁸ These booths went into service in Çapa on November 21, 1919 and in Beyoglu in January 4, 1920.⁸⁹

In the following months, the quantity of flour and other food products which were imported from the United States to Istanbul was published in *Levant Trade Review* along with the market conditions and potential competition which could arise due to the engagement of neighboring countries.⁹⁰ From March 1919 till March 1923, the American flour dominated the Istanbul market and supplied most of the Turkish consumption at a monthly import of circa 200,000 sacks with annual value of around \$10 Million.⁹¹ While the Istanbul market was mostly supplied with the American flour and grains, the consumption of the market was reported to at about 5-6 thousand sacks a day three quarters of which were imported from the USA.⁹² The flour consisted the largest volume in the American imports in Istanbul in 1921 and the amount was enough to influence the exchange rates of USD.⁹³ Thanks to this huge amount of flour to the Turkish market, which nearly constituted the one fifth of the Istanbul's total imports, the US ranked second in the Turkish imports in 1921.⁹⁴ Consul General Ravndal asserted that the American companies which dominated the 7-million-dollar-flour import would be able to challenge the other competitors in this sector and Anatolia would still be out of reach even after the war.⁹⁵ This decline seemed to be temporary and the importation of flour from the United States reached 300,000 sacks in May, 1922. The amount of the import of flour from the United States directly influenced the prices and the price of local flour declined from 7.5 Lira in April to 5.20 Lira in May

⁸⁸ Kemal Berkay Baştuğu, *ibid*, 50.

⁸⁹ Büşra Karataşer, *ibid*, 164. Arzu Terzi, "Mütareke Dönemi İstanbul'unda Rekabet Piyasası (Amerikan-Fransız Satış Barakalarının Açılması)", *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, v. 3, i. 6 (2004): 94-101.

⁹⁰ "Constantinople Market", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 8 (1920): 678.

⁹¹ This amount seems exaggerated as the American Department of Commerce shows lower amounts. "Constantinople's Loaf of Bread", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 12 (1923): 640-642.

⁹² "Flour at Constantinople", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 7 (1921): 577-579.

⁹³ John Ch. Demetrus, "American Flour in the Levant", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 9 (1921): 738. *Commerce Reports*, Department of Commerce, February 14, 1921.

⁹⁴ "Constantinople Trade Figures", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 9, i. 12 (1921): 1088.

⁹⁵ "Trade of Turkey for 1920", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 3 (1922): 215

(Per Sack of 63,5 Kgs).⁹⁶ Even in the end of the war in 1922, the United States was still the largest supplier of flour for Istanbul.⁹⁷

Table 8: Import of Flour and Wheat from the USA to Turkey

Flour			Wheat		
	Quantity*	Value		Quantity**	Value
1919	6390	\$76,782	1919	0	\$0
1920	579215	\$6,682,886	1920	3500	\$11,730
1921	1073992	\$7,060,075	1921	195226	\$290,015
1922	1127939	\$5,439,528	1922	270207	\$324,249
1923	132923	\$655,870	1923	138482	\$155,331
1924	1939	\$9,778	1924	783737	\$1,281,133
1925	0	\$0	1925	208979	\$414,959
1926	831	\$4,909	1926	750	\$1,200

* Quantity figures are in Barrel. One Flour barrel weighs 88.90 Kilograms. ** Quantity figures are in wheat bushels. One bushel weighs 27.22 Kilograms. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, **Statistical Abstract of the United States**, 66th Ed. (1955), 974.)

James E. Robertson, "United States with European Turkey", **Commerce Reports**, Department of Commerce, July 31, 1922, 346. Gordon, "American Relations with Turkey", 66.

The flour imports from the US had decisive impacts on the prices as well. During World War I, the living costs increased sharply in all the belligerent states. However, the rise in the prices in Istanbul was among the highest in the belligerent states.⁹⁸ As shown in the Table 9, the flour prices in Istanbul reached the highest level in 1918. After the end of the war, the arrival of flour from Anatolia and the foreign markets decreased the prices about half the war levels. However, the military operations and the rupture of transportation between Istanbul and Anatolia gave rise to the prices again.

⁹⁶ "Constantinople Market Report for May", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 5 (1922): 372.

⁹⁷ "Constantinople Market Report for December", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 1 (1923): 56.

⁹⁸ Eldem, **ibid**, 48-49.

Table 9: Flour Prices in Istanbul (Oke/Piasters)

Years	Piasters per Oke
1914	1.75
1915	5.3
1916	12
1917	30
1918	45
1919	20
1920	37 (American), 30 (Native 1st Quality), 22 (Native 3rd Quality)
1921	14.4 (American), 9.4 (Native 2nd Quality)
1922	15 (American), 9.2 (Native 2nd Quality)
1923	17 (American), 15 (Locally Milled American Wheat), 14.5 (Locally Milled Bulgarian Wheat)
1924	30 (American), 21 (Locally Milled)
1925	34 (American), 22.7 (Locally Milled)
1926	18 (Locally Milled)

Eldem, *ibid*, 50-51. **Levant Trade Review**.

As a direct consequence of the flour scarcity in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, bread prices were also the highest during the World War I and in spite of the rationing of the bread and the application of fixed prices, the bread prices remained high through the entire World War. Thanks to the opening of the sea routes to Istanbul, coming of the abundant amount of flour to the market and non-profit sales of the American Near East Relief, the bread prices started to decline.

Table 10: Bread Prices in Istanbul (Oke/Piasters)

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
Bread	1.25	1.65	9.5	18	34	13	21	12.5

Eldem, *ibid*, 50-51. Tevfik Çavdar, **Milli Mücadeleye Başlarken Sayılarla Genel Görünüm**, v. 2 (Cumhuriyet, 2001), 30. **Levant Trade Review**.

The importation of flour from the US helped to relieve the food scarcity and high cost of living in Istanbul. The prices fell down from the historically top levels after the war due to the ample arrivals from the United States. This scarcity was the direct result of the underdeveloped transportation system and the capitulations that were detriment to the local millers. Therefore, American companies could export huge amount of flour to Istanbul for more than three years. This situation changed considerably after the tax raise in 1923 and the importation of flour to Turkey from the United States continued after the declaration of the Republic in October 1923, though steadily decreasing. The flour importation ended in the end of 1924 because the tax on the flour was three times as much of that on the wheat. Therefore, the American flour lost its advantage of price while the American wheat enlarged its share in Turkish imports since the local mill started to use this American wheat to produce flour. This cost lower for the local merchants and the price of the local flour was cheaper than the imported one.⁹⁹ The amount climbed to the remarkably high levels of about 6 thousand tons of wheat in December, 1924.¹⁰⁰ From July 1924 onwards, the flour and wheat prices in Istanbul started to rise rapidly due to the shortage in the world as well as the disappointing yield in Anatolia. Thus, the prices soared up and reached about 19 Lira per sack of 72 kgs for Anatolian wheat.¹⁰¹ But the importation of wheat from the USA continued at volumes even higher than 10 thousand tons a month in 1924 and 1925.¹⁰² However, the connection of Anatolia to Istanbul enabled the transfer of Anatolian wheat to the vast Istanbul market and Argentina, Bulgaria, Australia stood out as the rival suppliers

⁹⁹ “Constantinople’s Loaf of Bread”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 12 (1923): 640-642. “Market Report of the Ionian Bank Limited, Constantinople Branch”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 10 (1924): 467. “Modern Agricultural Machinery and Methods in Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 2 (1925). 48.

¹⁰⁰ “Market Report of the Ionian Bank Limited, Constantinople Branch”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 1 (1925): 37.

¹⁰¹ “Market Report of the Ionian Bank Limited, Constantinople Branch”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 10 (1924): 467.

¹⁰² “Constantinople’s Loaf of Bread”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 12 (1923): 640-642.

of wheat for the mills in Istanbul. Therefore, the importation of wheat from the USA ceased in the first half of 1926.¹⁰³

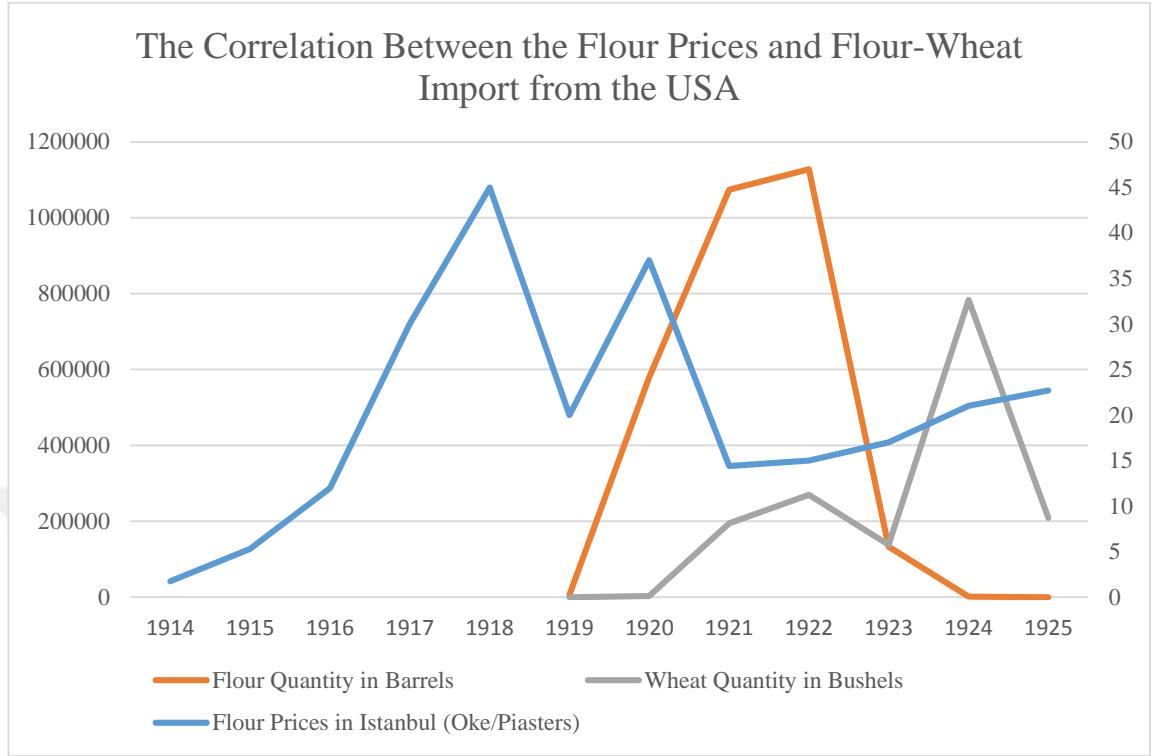


Figure 9: The American Wheat and Flour in Turkey (1919-1925)

Eldem, *ibid.*, 50-51. Tevfik Çavdar, *Milli Mücadeleye Başlarken Sayılarla Genel Görünüm*, v. 2 (Cumhuriyet, 2001), 30. *Levant Trade Review*.

In conclusion, the American flour and wheat entered the Ottoman market at immense volumes thanks to the price advantage which resulted from the tax advantages of the capitulations and lower cost of the sea shipments. The demand for American flour and wheat created an appropriate market and remarkably high demand in Istanbul thereby attracting many American companies and products. However, after the raise in the taxes on flour, the flour imports from the United States left its place to the wheat. but the influence of this remained limited due to the limited amount of arrivals.

7.3.3. The Motor Vehicles Import from the USA

Particularly in the postwar period, American auto industry witnessed a rapid increase both in the production and export of the American cars, tractors and trucks. In 1925, the number of annual sales of the American car makers was 3.735.000 and there were

¹⁰³ “Market Report of the Ionian Bank Limited, Constantinople Branch”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 4 (1925): 173. “Constantinople Market”, *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 4 (1926): 172.

4,3 Million direct and indirect employees of the entire motor industry. Furthermore, more than 70% of the world's motor trade was carried out by the American companies which had production and assembly plants in a number of countries around the world.¹⁰⁴ Export volume climbed from \$25 million in 1914 to \$182 Million in the first ten months of 1920.¹⁰⁵ To the end of the 1920s, the auto industry became the largest sector in the US and reached the first rank in the American exports surpassing the cotton.¹⁰⁶ While the share of the automobiles and parts in 1913 constituted the 2,3% of the American export, this industry, after the war, grew rapidly and its share surpassed 15% in 1929. Considering the vital contribution of the motor industry to the American economy, sustainability of its growth became vital for the US as well.¹⁰⁷

The Near East had already a growing demand for the motor vehicles and the World War I contributed much to the spreading of automobiles and trucks throughout the Near East and the armies trained many new drivers and mechanics during the long war years, which positively affected the demand for motor vehicles in the Near Eastern countries. The expansion of the American motor industry also found its way to the Levant as well. For instance, General Motors and Ford supplied the major part of the Levant motor vehicle imports. While it was calculated/estimated that 9 thousand motor trucks were present in Turkey, the annual export of American manufactures were ranging between two to three thousand.¹⁰⁸

Realizing the growing market in the Near East, *Levant Trade Review* paid attention to the auto industry and relevant sectors including road construction, tractor, tires and competitive products of the target market. *Levant Trade Review* studied the auto markets in the region to collect useful information for the car manufacturers and increased news and articles about motor vehicles, chiefly for advertising the American make cars. Thus, this section will study the American motor vehicle import to the Levant as reflected by the magazine.

¹⁰⁴ James Foreman-Peck, "The American Challenge of the Twenties: Multinationals and the European Motor Industry", **The Journal of Economic History**, v. 42, i. 4 (1982), 866-867.

¹⁰⁵ "American Automotive Industry", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 490-493.

¹⁰⁶ "The Month in Review", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 11 (1929): 425. Joyce Shaw Peterson, **American Automobile Workers, 1900-1933** (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 2.

¹⁰⁷ Gavin Wright, "The Origins of American Industrial Success, 1879-1940", **The American Economic Review**, v. 80, i. 4 (1990): 662.

¹⁰⁸ "World Motor Car Census", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 1 (1930): 11. "U.S. and Canadian Motor Vehicle Exports in 1929", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 1 (1930): 13. "1930 Motor Vehicle Exports to Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 19, i. 2 (1931): 59.

In this context, tractor purchases from the US were allocated more coverage in the magazine at the initial stage. The first tractor in Ottoman Empire was imported to Adana in 1907. Nonetheless, this tractor along with the other counterparts that were imported to Aydın in 1911 and Adana in 1912 could not be used efficiently.¹⁰⁹ However, American tractors which were thought to have a good market in an agricultural country like Turkey had been introduced and promoted since the beginning of *Levant Trade Review* through reports, news and advertisements since 1911. Moreover, the important regions of agricultural production were reported in detail even including the details of the number of tractors in use and their origin. Tractor trials and competitions in Istanbul and other regions, in which the American brands participated were reported to show the advantages of the American products.¹¹⁰ Gradually, the American tractors and other agricultural equipment were reported to start spreading and eventually dominated the Turkish market.¹¹¹

The American manufactured Fordson and Oliver tractors were reported to constitute the 80% of the 750 tractors in Turkey in 1925.¹¹² The incentives for the use of machinery in agriculture increased the number of tractors in Anatolia, which rose to 2,003 in 1929.¹¹³ From 1927 to 1929, more than 30% of all the tractors which were imported to Turkey came from the United States.¹¹⁴ In the Early Modern Turkey, Ataturk Forestry Farm in Ankara was the primary place for the agricultural improvements and application of the new technologies. Ataturk Forestry Farm also used American Fordson and this tractor can be seen in the photos while driven by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.¹¹⁵

As for the automobile sector, American foreign trade in the first half of 1929 showed a remarkable shift from the agricultural products, especially cotton, to the export of manufactured goods. In this context, the auto-manufacturing industry of the United

¹⁰⁹ H. Cevahir Kayam, *ibid*, 86.

¹¹⁰ "American Plow Wins Tunis Contest", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 3, i. 4 (1914): 400. "Demonstration of American Agricultural Machinery", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 9 (1920): 750-752. "American Tractors at French Trials; Charcoal as Fuel", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 2 (1924): 58.

¹¹¹ Gabriel Bie Ravndal, "American Tractors and Implements in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 5 (1922): 360.

¹¹² Lewis Heck, "Modern Agricultural Machinery and Methods in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 13, i. 2 (1925): 50.

¹¹³ Kayam, *ibid*, 89.

¹¹⁴ 517 tractors were imported from the United States in total in these three years. **Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States**, 1927, 1928 and 1929.

¹¹⁵ Mete Çankaya and Demir Çelik, *ibid*, 144.

States leapt forward and the American motor vehicles ranked first among the American export.¹¹⁶ The United States, as the leader manufacturer and user of motor vehicles in the world, was also the largest supplier of the cars and trucks in Turkey and neighboring countries in 1920s. However, *Levant Trade Review* started to promote the Turkish market at an earlier period and published a report by of Gabriel Bie Ravndal which presented the official requirements for the car exports and the market conditions regarding the sales, the preferences, the roads and rival companies in 1916, by adding his expectation for the flourishing of the market soon.¹¹⁷ The settlement of the conflicts in Anatolia and the victory of the Turkish in the war naturally brought a greater demand for the cars and trucks in the country thereby creating a market for the car manufacturers. The Turkish market became a steady and relatively large market for the motor vehicles and American companies started to open showrooms, garages or assembly plants to benefit from the existing high demand. Therefore, the magazine provided more coverage on the introduction and promotion of American motor vehicles. As a part of these activities, the worldwide trips of American companies were conveyed to the readers in detail to promote the American car companies in the region. For instance, the endurance tour around the world by two General Motors cars took a large place in the magazine which can be assumed as an advertisement of the American cars.¹¹⁸ As the demand in the Near East for motor vehicles climbed, the American motor companies started to increase their operations, facilities and promotions in the region. For instance, the trials at Ankara for the purchase of 200 trucks for the needs of Army attracted American companies, and American companies, GMC, Dodge-Graham Brothers, Mack and International participated in these trials.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, General Motors organized a sale contest among its dealers in the Near East, in which the Turkish Chevrolet dealers ranked in the with surpassing their sale targets.¹²⁰

Moreover, *Levant Trade Review* followed closely the sales of American vehicles to Turkey and published statistics of car exports to Near Eastern countries.¹²¹ In 1922, there were 850 cars which were owned by the civilians in Istanbul and an American

¹¹⁶ "World Trade", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 17, i. 6 (1929): 208.

¹¹⁷ Gabriel Bie Ravndal, "Automobiles in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 5, i. 3 (1916): 397.

¹¹⁸ "Two American Automobiles Make Trip from Pekin to Constantinople", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 3 (1928): 103-104. "Cape-Cairo-Constantinople-Stockholm Endurance Trip", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 4 (1928): 141.

¹¹⁹ "Truck Trials at Angora", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 9 (1928): 345.

¹²⁰ "Chevrolet Sales Contest", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 11 (1928): 423.

¹²¹ "American Motor Car Exports to Near East", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 16, i. 3 (1928): 97.

garage selling and repairing cars was also set up here.¹²² It was estimated that there were about 1,840 motor vehicles in Turkey in 1924. The number of motor vehicles in Turkey rose from 1840 in 1922 to about 8,500 in 1926, more than half of which were American and the remaining ones European.¹²³ In 1929, the annual export of American auto industry to Turkey reached around 2,500 cars and trucks which made Turkey the third largest motor vehicle market in the Near East.¹²⁴

The American make vehicles' share in the above stated markets were pretty large with the ratios of 51% in Egypt, %70 in Greece, 90% in Iraq, 87% in Palestine, 60% in Rumania, 51% in Turkey (Istanbul) and 44% in Yugoslavia.¹²⁵ In Turkey, it was estimated that there were 4,863 autos and tractors of American made contrary to 3,578 European made vehicles and tractors in 1926.¹²⁶

7.4. American Capital in the Ottoman Empire and the Early Modern Turkey

Even though the American capital did not show a remarkable existence in the Ottoman Empire when compared to the European countries, American companies played key roles especially in agriculture, motor vehicles and aviation industries of the Empire and Turkey.¹²⁷ Since the beginning of the relations between two countries, there have been many companies that dealt with trade in various sectors. Some American companies had a long history in the country and most of these businesses were the members of American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant in the first quarter of the 20th Century. Thus, American companies were also the readers and sponsors of *Levant Trade Review*. The magazine advertised and promoted these American companies by publishing reports or articles about the activities and profile of these companies. In this section, American companies which conducted trade or business with or within Turkey or Ottoman Empire will be studied through the information which has been collected from *Levant Trade Review* and other sources with regard to this topic.

¹²² Gabriel Bie Ravndal, "Trade of Turkey for 1920", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 10, i. 3 (1922): 218.

¹²³ "World Registration of Motor Vehicles", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 12, i. 5 (1924): 208-210. Alfred Abrevaya, "Market for Automobile Tires in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 8 (1926): 324.

¹²⁴ "U.S. and Canadian Motor Vehicle Exports in 1929", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 8, i. 11 (1930): 13.

¹²⁵ "United States Leads in Automobile Sales", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 8 (1926): 328.

¹²⁶ "Market for Automobile Tires in Turkey", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 14, i. 8 (1926): 324.

¹²⁷ At the beginning of the 1920s, it was estimated that the foreign investment in Turkey was valued at 62 Million Sterling, 2% of which belonged to the American citizens. Tezel, *ibid*, 126.

To begin with, in the first decade of the 19th Century, opium became one of the leading trade commodity for the American merchants. American ships received opium from the Izmir Port and unloaded their cargoes at Canton, China. Woodmas&Offley, which had the largest share in the bilateral trade, set up an office in Izmir in 1811 while the leading firm in the opium sector, J&T. H. Perkins Company was formed in 1816 and Langdon&Co. opened its branch in Izmir in 1821. Russell&Company substituted the J&T. H. Perkins Company In 1830.¹²⁸

In addition to these, there were important American companies which were active and powerful in their sectors. These companies will be studied separately in the following section.

7.4.1. American Tobacco Company and MacAndrews&Forbes

In the tobacco and licorice sector, American capital was more intense as the US was the chief buyer of these products. MacAndrews&Forbes was established in 1850s by two Scottish citizens, Edward MacAndrews and William Forbes.¹²⁹ Licorice was a crucial element of the cigarette industry and consequently, American Tobacco Company purchased the MacAndrews&Forbes in 1902.¹³⁰ The the company formed a monopoly on the licorice trade between the United States and the Ottoman Empire. The annual licorice export of the company reached 1,258,299 USD in 1912.¹³¹ The firm had investment of about 400 thousand USD in Turkey in 1938.¹³²

American Tobacco Company was the largest customer for the Turkish tobacco and in 1912, the company purchased and marketed tobacco which was valued about 10 Million USD. Furthermore, the company employed 1,750 people in Kavala, 1,000 people in Izmir, 800 people in Samsun and 250 people in Izmit.¹³³

7.4.2. Gary Tobacco Company Inc.

Gary Tobacco Company Inc. was centered in Istanbul and had branches in Samsun, Izmir as well as offices in Balkan cities. The company employed American supervisors

¹²⁸ Jacques M. Downs, “American Merchants and the China Opium Trade, 1800-1840”, **The Business History Review**, v. 42, i. 4 (1968), 422-423. Turgay, *ibid*, 199 and 203.

¹²⁹ Süleyman Uygun, “Batılıların Gözdesi Meyan Kökü ve Üzerine Yaşanan Emperyalist Rekabet”, **Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi**, i. 37 (2015): 343.

¹³⁰ Uygun, *ibid*, 362-363.

¹³¹ Uygun, *ibid*, 350 and 366.

¹³² DeNovo, *ibid*, 265.

¹³³ DeNovo, *ibid*, 39.

to pick and buy the best Turkish tobacco for the use of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Inc. of New York. Gary Tobacco recruited resident buyers to supervise the whole process.¹³⁴

7.4.3. Abbott's Emery Mines Ltd.

Additionally, the Ottoman Empire had vast emery deposits in the Western Anatolia and American O. A. Langdon Company took over the rights of these regions in the 19th Century. In the second half of the 1860s, Langdon Company dissolved its Anatolian operations and sold its emery rights to English Abbott family. In the first years of the 20th Century, American Emery Trust found new rich emery reserves in Aydin and began to compete against the Whittall family, who also operated mines in the region. in Aydin as well as the English Whittalls. Finally, these companies reached a settlement and established a new company which was titled as Abbott's Emery Mines Ltd. in 1911 which held the rights of the richest emery deposits in the world.¹³⁵ This company had operations in the fields in which there was the largest emery deposits in the world.¹³⁶ In 1919, the company was under the management of E. A. Magnifico, an American citizen and former Vice Consul.¹³⁷

7.4.4. Singer Sewing Machines

As one of the pioneers in the Levant, Singer Sewing Machinery was assumed as a model for the American companies thanks to its sales network and techniques of marketing.¹³⁸ In the 19th Century, Singer sewing machines were widely imported and Beyrut hosted some small ateliers which produced garments with the American sewing machines in 1883. In 1898, Singer was the only American company whose products reached Sivas.¹³⁹ In 1918, Singer Sewing Machines had about 200 stores and agents throughout the Ottoman Empire and had a turnover of 1 Million USD annually.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ "The Gary Tobacco Company and the Production of Turkish Tobacco", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3, (1923): 130-134.

¹³⁵ Kurmuş, **ibid**, 213-218.

¹³⁶ Alexander W. Weddell, "Emery Production in Greece", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 6, i. 1 (1916): 43.

¹³⁷ Frank Ballard, "The Emery Stone Mines about Smyrna", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 7, i. 3 (1919): 150.

¹³⁸ "Our Sixth Annual Meeting", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 5, i. 3 (1915): 224.

¹³⁹ Turgay, **ibid**, 230.

¹⁴⁰ Nejla Geyikdağı, **Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire: International Trade and Relations 1854-1914** (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 72.

7.4.5. Standard Oil Company of New York

Among the most important American investment was the Standard Oil Company of New York which was the leading American enterprise in the world. The company's network around the world was such a widespread that the American citizens made use of the Company's branch even as a bank during the World War I.¹⁴¹ Standard Oil had a distribution network for the region as centered in Izmir from 1880s onwards.¹⁴² The Company decided to enter the Near East market directly through its facilities in 1909 and chose Istanbul as the headquarter of its Near East operations. In 1910, the other office of the company was opened in Izmir and erected its own facilities on its own property.¹⁴³ The company created a network spreading to Egypt, Levant and Asia Minor prior to the World War I and Istanbul hosted the headquarters for these branches.¹⁴⁴ In 1931, the company had offices in Ankara, Izmir, Mersin and headquarter in Istanbul.¹⁴⁵

The Vacuum Oil Company was the Standard Oil's subsidiary and one of the leading lubricating, illuminating, motor oil producers in the world. Its operation in the Middle East started in 1906 with an office in Cairo, Egypt. The company extended its operations from Khartoum, Sudan to Mersin, Iskenderun, Piraeus and Istanbul.¹⁴⁶

Standard Oil and Vacuum Oil had a dominance in the market of Turkey and Ottoman Empire albeit the competition posed by Steau Romana and Royal Dutch Shell.¹⁴⁷ The Standard Oil Company of New York and its subsidiary Vacuum Oil had an investment of about 2.5 Million USD in 1930s.¹⁴⁸

As one of the dominant supplier of the region in oil, the Standard Oil faced the hard rivalry of Romanian and Russian oil companies. Steau Romana was the largest oil company of Romania and the majority shares of the firm were controlled by the

¹⁴¹ "Standard Oil Company in the Levant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 4, i. 3 (1914): 252.

¹⁴² Geyikdağı, **ibid**, 125.

¹⁴³ "Standard Oil Company of New York", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 126-128.

¹⁴⁴ DeNovo, **ibid**, 39-40.

¹⁴⁵ **Levant Trade Review**, v. 19, i. 5 (1931): 206.

¹⁴⁶ "A Servant to the Peoples of the Globe", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 9 (1921): 695-706.

¹⁴⁷ Hakan Güngör, "Turkish-American Relations within the Triangle of Missionary Work, Commercial Activities, and Communism in Interwar Period", **The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies**, i. 59 (2017): 539.

¹⁴⁸ DeNovo, **ibid**, 265.

German investors.¹⁴⁹ Steau Romana posed the hardest competition to Standard Oil in the Levant as well as Romania, Balkans and Mesopotamia.¹⁵⁰ In this rivalry, the first conflict between these two companies occurred in Selanik. Standard Oil had plans to expand through building storage tanks in Selanik where Steau Romana had the same intentions.¹⁵¹ After the Standard Oil was granted the necessary permissions for Selanik in 1908, the government changed due to the 1908 Revolution in the Ottoman Empire. Standard Oil had difficulty in acquiring the necessary permission for the storage tanks while the Steau Romana could continue construction through direct contract with the municipality.¹⁵² Secondly, the Chester Project perceived as covert attempt of Standard Oil to reach the Mesopotamian oil fields where Germany obtained rights owing to the Bagdad Railway Concession.¹⁵³ Upon the strong opposition of Germany, the Chester Project failed to be ratified in the Ottoman Parliament. The German concerns over the Standard Oil interest in the Mesopotamian oil fields can be said to be proved to be true after 1923. Because Standard Oil obtained the 23,75% share of the Turkish Petroleum Company (later called as Iraq Petroleum Company) which was established to exploit the oil reserves in Mesopotamia except for Basra in 1928.¹⁵⁴

As the largest and most powerful representative of the American capital in the region, Standard Oil was the leading supporter and sponsor of the Chamber and the magazine. The General Managers of the company were generally elected as the President of ACCL and Standard Oil placed ads in every issue of the magazine.¹⁵⁵ *Levant Trade Review*, on the other hand, supported this large American enterprise in Turkey through its publications and lobbied for the company. For example, the magazine reported the complaint of the petroleum companies (that is, Standard Oil) about the municipal charges on the storage facilities in Istanbul, which resulted in higher prices of oil in the city.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ David Hamlin, **Germany's Empire in the East** (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 59.

¹⁵⁰ Hamlin, **ibid**, 61.

¹⁵¹ Geyikdağı, **ibid**, 125-126.

¹⁵² Geyikdağı, **ibid**, 157-158.

¹⁵³ DeNovo, **ibid**, 71.

¹⁵⁴ Issawi, **Fertile Crescent**, 371-372.

¹⁵⁵ "The Standard Oil Company of New York", **Levant Trade Review**, v.11, i.3 (1923):126-128.

¹⁵⁶ "Proposed Tax on Petroleum", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 1, i.1 (1911): 42

7.4.6. Western Electronic Company of Chicago

Western Electronic Company of Chicago won tender for the construction of telephone infrastructure in Istanbul in cooperation with British Insulated and Helsby Cables Inc. and French Thompson-Houston Company.¹⁵⁷ By 1912, the syndicate had completed installation of connection between the Governmental buildings.¹⁵⁸

7.4.7. International Mercantile Company

International Mercantile Company, which was the leading marine shipping and transportation company was operating a steamship line plying between New York and Levant ports as from 1919.¹⁵⁹

7.4.8. Ulen&Company

Another businessman from the US, L. E. Bennet of Ulen&Company, a contracting firm, was reported to visit Ankara in 1923 for investigating the highway projects to be constructed.¹⁶⁰ After the failure in the first attempt, Ulen&Company made several visits to Ankara in 1927 to discuss the municipal contracts, possible works in Samsun and Mersin Ports as well as a possible lending by the company to the Turkish Government. However, the firm abandoned the negotiations because of the insufficient guarantees from the government.¹⁶¹

7.4.9. American Foreign Trade Corporation

This company was established in Virginia for foreign trade and entered the Levant market in July, 1919 through its first office in Istanbul under the name of American Foreign Trade Corporation. The Company was mainly a trading enterprise which used to trade the demanded materials and products between the Levant and the United States. The company was reported to increase its branches to 5 by opening new offices in Samsun, Izmir, Alexandria and Cairo. The prominent investments of the corporation were the two garages and mechanic shops in Istanbul with the capacity of about 150 cars and a driver school which served 75-80 people in each term of training.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ DeNovo, *ibid*, 40, "Telephones at the Capital", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 1, i. 1 (1911): 26.

¹⁵⁸ "Telephone System for Constantinople", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 2, i. 2 (1912): 166.

¹⁵⁹ "American-Levant Steamship Service", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 7, i. 4 (1919): 169.

¹⁶⁰ "Personalialia", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 12 (1923): 668.

¹⁶¹ Trask, "The United States and Turkish Nationalism", 65-66.

¹⁶² "American Foreign Trade Corporation", *Levant Trade Review*, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 128-130.

7.4.10. Edgar B. Howard

Edgar B. Howard started its Near East business with Istanbul Branch in 1922. The company exported wool, mohair, skins, nuts to the USA while importing foodstuffs, sheetings, agricultural and other machinery, motor cars, tires to the region.¹⁶³ The American Garage which used to sell the American made cars (Ford and later Buick), Oliver tractors and offer mechanic support for the car owners were taken over by Edgar Howard in 1924.¹⁶⁴ The company actively promoted the American cars and tractors in the country. For instance, the company participated in the Adana Exposition in May, 1924. The company displayed the Ford cars, Fordson and Oliver tractors in the fair as well as the American made threshers and reapers.¹⁶⁵

7.4.11. General Motors

One of the principal auto manufacturers of the United States, General Motors opened its office in Istanbul in 1920 to increase its sales in the region.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, the company also organized a sales contest for its subsidiary Chevrolet. In this contest, the second highest rise were made by the Istanbul dealer of the company while three more dealers from Ankara, Gaziantep and Samsun were among the top rises.¹⁶⁷

7.4.12. Ford Motor Company

After the end of the World War I, Ford Motor Company decided to extend its operations to take advantage of the postwar economic expansion in the world. Therefore, the company chose Turkey as an assembly center for the Ford cars in the Near East.¹⁶⁸ The Ford Motor Export Company, Inc. started to conduct negotiations for tariff exemptions to set up an assembly plant in Istanbul in 1928.¹⁶⁹ The agreement between Ford Company and the Turkish Government was approved on February 2, 1929. The agreement was comprised of the establishment of an assembly plant for cars, tractors and airplanes in a free zone. As per this agreement, all the machinery,

¹⁶³ “Edgar B. Howard, Registered, Land Title Building, Philadelphia”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 138.

¹⁶⁴ “Personalialia”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 2 (1924): 78. “American Firms in Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 8 (1924): 330.

¹⁶⁵ “The Adana International Exposition”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 12, i. 6 (1924): 241-244.

¹⁶⁶ “American Automotive Industry”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 6 (1920): 488-192.

¹⁶⁷ “Chevrolet Contest Sales”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 16, i. 11 (1928): 423.

¹⁶⁸ Mira Wilkins and Frank Ernest Hill, **American Business Abroad Ford on Six Continents**, 2nd Ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 136-137.

¹⁶⁹ “Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 16, i. 10 (1928): 391.

tools, parts and equipment was exempted of customs duty as well as the assembled vehicles in this plant. Moreover, the Government was to build a customs facility on the plant, to allow the company to keep books in English, to exempt the company of any memberships and taxes on the condition that the cars were exported.¹⁷⁰ After the official confirmation of the project, Ford Company leased the Tophane Warehouses for ten years to install the assembly plant on this site.¹⁷¹ Afterwards, the Ford Motor Co. moved its main office in the Near East from İskenderiye to Istanbul.¹⁷²

The assembly plant of Ford initiated its activities just when the Great Depression broke out. The plant assembled 8 cars daily and employed about 500 people.¹⁷³ The number of total assembly of the Ford plant in Turkey was about 4,500.¹⁷⁴ This facility supplied almost all the Ford motor cars for the Near East in 1930.¹⁷⁵ Even though this plant was the only production center in the Near East and American companies dominated the motor vehicle markets, it never produced profit mostly because of the difficulties, created by the Great Depression.¹⁷⁶

In addition, Fordson, Henry Ford's other company, which were specialized in manufacturing tractors, was also influential in Turkish market. Fordson was established by Henry Ford and his son in 1916 when the firm started the first mass production of tractors. The company could produce about 750 thousand tractors until 1928.¹⁷⁷ Fordson captured the Turkish tractor market and opened a branch in Tarsus at the turn of the 20th Century.¹⁷⁸

7.4.13. Guaranty Trust Company

As for the financial issues, the existence of financial institutions for money transfers and credits was invaluable for the merchants to conduct their business. Although the European countries established banking institutions in the Ottoman lands to support their companies' trade, starting from 1850s, there was no American banking branch in

¹⁷⁰ "Constantinople Ford Assembly Plant", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 2 (1929): 43-47.

¹⁷¹ "Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 1 (1929): 20-21.

¹⁷² "Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 7 (1929): 256.

¹⁷³ Sait Yılmaz, **ibid**, 97.

¹⁷⁴ DeNovo, **ibid**, 265.

¹⁷⁵ "New American Trade and Industrial Activities in the Near East", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 7 (1930): 248.

¹⁷⁶ Wilkins, **ibid**, 260.

¹⁷⁷ Robert N. Pripps and Andrew Morland, **Ford Tractors** (Osceola: MBI Publishing Company, 1990), 14-19.

¹⁷⁸ Murat Baskıcı, "Osmanlı Tarımında Makineleşme", 38.

the region in the 19th Century.¹⁷⁹ The first American involvement in a banking business took place in the first half of the 1800s. In 1842, the Banque de Smyrne in which there also had American shareholders was established in Izmir in 1842. However, the firm was closed by the Ottoman Government in 1843.¹⁸⁰ In 1909, American Consul General in Izmir reported his personal effort to persuade Bank of Athens, which had branches in every important commercial centers of the Levant, to open a branch in New York to connect Smyrna and the USA financially.¹⁸¹ Despite the positive attitude of the bank towards this idea, Bank of Athens could open a branch in New York only in 1922.¹⁸²

After these failures, Guaranty Trust Company became the first American financial institution to be opened in Turkey and commenced its service on September, 1920 which realized the most-awaited expectations of both the Chamber and the American entrepreneurs who were in need of an American financial institution for more secure trade.¹⁸³ Moreover, the hall of the Bank's building was used by the ACCL for different gatherings such as American Luncheon Club or Annual Meeting of the ACCL.¹⁸⁴ However, the first American bank did not accomplish its expectations due to the ongoing turmoil and conflicts in the region and hence, the branch had to be sold to the London-based Ionian Bank on September 15, 1922.¹⁸⁵

7.4.14. American Express Company

Furthermore, the American Express Company opened its office in March 1921 and started to serve to the people in February 1922. The Near East headquarters of the company was also settled in Istanbul.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ Turgay, *ibid*, 229-230.

¹⁸⁰ Halil Ege Özen, "German Involvement in Ottoman Economic Development: Banking, Railways and Other Investments, 1888-1914" (Master Thesis, Institute for Graduate Studies of Bogazici University, 2008), 53.

¹⁸¹ Better Banking Facilities Between Smyrna and New York, January 6th, 1909, **USNA RG59**, Numerical Files, 8/1906 – 1910, Numerical File: 22961-23045, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/20696863> [March 8, 2019].

¹⁸² Mira Wilkins, **The History of Foreign Investment in the United States, 1914–1945** (USA: Harvard University Press, 2004): 169.

¹⁸³ "The Guaranty Trust Company of New York Opens a Bank at Constantinople", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 8, i. 10 (1920): 846-852.

¹⁸⁴ "The American Luncheon Club of Constantinople", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 9, i. 8 (1921): 683.

¹⁸⁵ "Closing of Constantinople Offices of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 10, i. 10 (1920): 641-642.

¹⁸⁶ "The American Express Company", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 11, i. 3 (1923): 134-136. "American Express Co. Opens a General Agency in Constantinople", **Commerce Reports**, June 27, 1921, 1792.

7.4.15. Fidelity-Phoenix Insurance Company of New York

Fidelity-Phoenix Insurance Company of New York started operations in Turkey on June 1, 1924 and in a short time, it ranked first among the fire insurance companies in the country.¹⁸⁷ This company continued its activities until May 1928 and afterwards, the company ceased its operations.¹⁸⁸

7.4.16. Remington

Being one of the leading manufacturers of typewriters in the world, Remington was already represented in Turkey for a long time. Remington had two main salesrooms in Turkey which were Istanbul and Mersin.¹⁸⁹ Especially after the alphabet reform demand for typewriters increased which created new opportunities for the company.¹⁹⁰ For instance, the company got a contract for the sale of 3,000 typewriters to the Government in Turkey, which put efforts to extend the use of new alphabet.¹⁹¹

7.4.17. American-Turkish Investment Corporation of Delaware

After the failure of the Belgian-capitalized Turkish match Monopoly [Türkiye Kibrit İnhisarı], the American-Turkish Investment Corporation of Delaware was granted the match and lighter production monopoly for 25 years in 1930 in return for 10 Million USD credit and 1.8 Million Turkish Liras annual payment to the Turkish Government.¹⁹² Even though the company had paid the 8.5 Million USD of the credit by 1932, the rest could not be paid to the Turkish Government and the company went bankruptcy and the contract of the American-Turkish Investment Company was cancelled in 1943.¹⁹³

7.4.18. Curtiss-Wright

One of the successful American investments in Turkey was in aviation sector. Kayseri Plane Factory was first commissioned into service on October 6, 1926 by the German

¹⁸⁷ “Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 15, i. 2 (1927): 60-61.

¹⁸⁸ “Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 16, i. 5 (1928): 183.

¹⁸⁹ **Levant Trade Review**, v. 19, i. 5 (1931): 207.

¹⁹⁰ Louis E. Van Norman, “The Years of the New Turkey—An Economic Retrospect”, **The Open Court** (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1932): 328.

¹⁹¹ “Turkey”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 1 (1929): 18.

¹⁹² “New American Trade and Industrial Activities in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 7 (1930): 247.

¹⁹³ Sinan Demirbilek, “Tek Parti Döneminde İnhisarlar”, **Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi**, v. 12, i. 24 (2012): 210-211.

Junkers Company.¹⁹⁴ Upon the failure of Junkers, the factory was taken over by the Turkish Aviation Association on November 27, 1929.¹⁹⁵ Curtiss-Wright was also interested in Turkish aviation sector and Mario Calderera, the representative of the company, visited Ankara to discuss the establishment of the domestic flight services in Turkey in 1930.¹⁹⁶ A year later, a Curtiss-Wright Mission which was comprised of 4 planes, came to Istanbul for flight shows on May 19, 1930. The group made demonstrations for Ismet İnönü and military authorities in Eskişehir and Ankara with the Hawk and Fledgling planes which would be produced in Kayseri in later years.¹⁹⁷ Afterwards, Curtiss-Wright Company negotiated for the use of Kayseri facilities as an assembly plant. As a result, Curtiss-Wright signed the lease contract of the Kayseri Plane Factory on November 3, 1931 and conducted assembly of planes until 1933 when the factory was taken over by the Ministry of Defense.¹⁹⁸ The company produced 8 Consolidated Model 7 which were mainly the training planes, 24 Curtiss Hawk CW-II which were later produced in Kayseri under license and 7 Curtiss 48 Fledgling 2.C1.¹⁹⁹

7.4.19. Fox Brothers International Corporation

After the Chester Project failure, another American company, Fox Brothers International Corporation started negotiations for the government contracts in infrastructure projects. At first, the company was reported to be interested in Samsun and Mersin ports.²⁰⁰ At the first stage, the company had talks with the Turkish Government for the construction of 750 Miles (About 1207 Km) railway and two ports which was valued at about 60 Million USD.²⁰¹ Although, Fox Brother International Company were successful in getting a contract, the final agreement which was signed in 1928 included a smaller project and comprised of the construction of Kayseri Operation Directorate facilities (repair shops, store houses, engine sheds, offices and

¹⁹⁴ Deniz Akpınar, Kayseri Tayyare Fabrikası, **Tarih Okulu Dergisi**, i. 31 (2017): 215.

¹⁹⁵ Akpınar, *ibid*, 219.

¹⁹⁶ Nur Bilge Criss, "Shades of Diplomatic Recognition: American Encounters with Turkey (1923-1937)", **Studies in Atatürk's Turkey**, Edited by George S. Harris and Nur Bilge Criss (Netherlands: Brill, 2009), 121.

¹⁹⁷ "Curtiss-Wright Mission Visits Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 5 (1930): 163-164.

¹⁹⁸ Akpınar, *ibid*, 220.

¹⁹⁹ Hava Kuvvetleri Komutanlığı, **Türk Hava Kuvvetleri Uçak Albümü 1911-2009** (Ankara, 2009): 78-80.

²⁰⁰ "American Enterprises in Turkey", **Levant Trade Review**, v. 16, i. 10 (1928): 375-376.

²⁰¹ **New York Times**, March 10, 1928, 23, "Europe to Build "Lincoln Highway"", **The Sunday Star**, December 30, 1928, 15.

homes). Furthermore, the Kayseri Train Station building was also contracted to Fox Brothers and the company finished the design in cooperation with the Turkish officials. The company was reported to have completed works worthy of about 250 thousand USD in the first quarter of 1929.²⁰² Completing the Kayseri Station in 1930-31, Fox Brothers were assigned to the construction of 80 km of railway between Ulukışla and Kayseri to make up the change in the initial contract. The company finished the construction on December 26, 1932.²⁰³

7.4.20. The American Smelting and Refining Company

The American Smelting and Refining Company also was interested in Turkish natural resources and therefore, the company discussed their intentions with Joseph Grew, the American Ambassador in 1930.²⁰⁴ Upon the assurances and encouragement of Mr. Grew, the company opened an office in Istanbul and initiated research for chrome exportation opportunities.²⁰⁵

Apart from these companies, there were several other businesses engaged in different sectors in Anatolia and the Levant such as:

- Lorillard and Company
- Melachrino Tobacco Company
- Walter A. Wood Company
- American Foreign Trade Corporation
- American International Corporation
- Baldwin Locomotive Works
- American Car and Foundry Company
- Charles J. Webb and Company
- George H. Mc Fadden and Brother, Amory, Browne and Company

²⁰² “American Enterprise in Turkey The Work of Fox Brothers International Corporation”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 17, i. 2 (1929): 48.

²⁰³ Filiz Sönmez and Semra Arslan Selçuk, “Kayseri Tren İstasyonu ve Çevresinin Kentin Modernleşme Sürecine Katkısı Üzerine Bir Okuma”, **Megaron**, v. 13, i. 1 (2018): 88, Efdal As, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ulaşım Politikaları (1923 – 1960)” (Ph. D. Thesis, Institute of Atatürk’s Principles and History of Revolutions, Dokuz Eylül University, 2006), 103-104.

²⁰⁴ Waldo H. Heinrichs, Jr., **American Ambassador Joseph C. Grew and the Development of the United States Diplomatic Tradition** (Boston: Oxford University Press, 1986), 141.

²⁰⁵ “New American Trade and Industrial Activities in the Near East”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 18, i. 7 (1930): 247-248.

- G.A. Stafford and Company
- North American Wood Products Corporation
- Standard Commercial Company
- Commercial Union of America
- Willys-Overland Corporation
- Studebaker Corporation
- J. I. Case Company
- Export Steamship Corporation
- A. H. Bull Company
- The Standard Commercial Trading Corporation
(Tobacco)²⁰⁶



²⁰⁶ “Personalia”, **Levant Trade Review**, v. 13, i. 5 (1925): 210.

8. CONCLUSION

Turkish-American relations has a relatively new history when compared to the European countries and commercial ties were of key importance at the very initial stage of the interaction. The American ships conducted trade in the Levant by hoisting British flag until 1830 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which facilitated the American activities in the region. The rising trade between two countries was accompanied by the spread of the missionary institutions starting from the 1820s, which later affected the relations profoundly.

The industrial development and rapid expansion in the foreign trade of the USA in the later part of 19th Century had repercussions also in the Levant and the Balkans. Bringing the commercial development plan which was very successful in China through “Open Door Policy” to the Ottoman territories, the US increased the activities and initiative in the region. In this period, the US administration exerted to develop profitable markets and investments for the American capital in the region. Hence, William Rockhill, who contributed much to the success of the American policy in China, was assigned to Istanbul as ambassador while Gabriel Bie Ravndal, an experienced and qualified officer from Beirut, was transferred to Istanbul as Consul General to support the ambitious “Chester Project”.

These appointments were reinforced through organization of the American community in Istanbul. In this context, American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant was founded under the leadership of Consul General Gabriel Bie Ravndal. The Chamber achieved to gather local and American businessmen from the Levant and the USA whereby the USA constituted a concrete demonstration of American existence in the region to the Ottoman Government and formed a strong organization to defend the American interests in the region.

ACCL allowed the membership of the local business men as well and therefore reached more than 600 members contrary to the other foreign Chambers of Commerce in the Empire. The Chamber started to publish *Levant Trade Review* in 1911 to form

a medium of connection among members; to strengthen the ties with the members; to promote the American products and cities; to notify the commercial opportunities of the region to the American business men; to help the removal of the obstacle to the development of bilateral trade. The magazine which was distributed to the members, leading commercial institutions in the USA and Turkey free of charge gradually become a platform to exchange information on trade opportunities, to contact with the other members and to express the demands of the business community for the attention of government officials.

Levant Trade Review could constitute a remarkable influence range from the inner states of the US, even to the isolated cities of the Middle East and could raise the awareness about the Levant's conditions, opportunities and business among American public. The positive opinions of the magazine to the economic future of Turkey managed to change the approach of the American companies thereby increasing the visitors to Turkey. Furthermore, the extensive works and publications of *Levant Trade Review* could convey the demands of the businessmen for the removal of the obstacles such as the lack of an American banking institution and direct steamship lines in the Levant. Upon the continuous attempts of the Chamber and the publication of the magazine, Guaranty Trust Company of New York and American Express Company opened branches in Istanbul and new lines entered into service for the Levant ports.

Turkey (and the Ottoman Empire previously) experienced great hardships during the Armenian Events due to the biased opinions and reports of the missionaries who were the leading source of information about the events. *Levant Trade Review* as a settled media outlet in Istanbul presented personal experiences about the region and developments, which provided an invaluable service for Turkey and Ottoman Empire by conveying the facts, reports and views to contribute to the country's image and development.

Furthermore, *Levant Trade Review* constituted an appropriate platform to promote the American products such as agricultural machinery, fabrics, cement, utensils, motor vehicles and foodstuff through the reports, articles and advertisements. The magazine followed closely the market conditions in the region and reported these for the benefit of the American companies. For instance, recognizing the rising need for flour and wheat from Istanbul, *Levant Trade Review* published articles and reports on this issue as from 1915 to attract the American companies to this profitable trade. Moreover,

keeping up with the rapidly booming American manufacturing industry, *Levant Trade Review* analyzed and reported the specific needs of the automobile sector in the region, which later turned into a lucrative market for the American companies.

In addition to these, *Levant Trade Review* presented valuable information about the commercial importance of the bilateral relations and provided data about the activities of the American companies. The statistical information in *Levant Trade Review* contributed to the explanation of the flour and wheat trade between two countries, which had a great share in the bilateral trade and was influential in reducing the food scarcity in Istanbul. Furthermore, fruits, nuts, tractors and cars trade was given substantial coverage which helped the understanding of the American share in these products.

As told above, the American-Turkish relations were not limited to the direct links between two countries. Judging by the influences of the American economy and agriculture on the Ottoman agriculture, it can be concluded that there were indirect effects of the American market and production on the Ottoman economy, which resulted grave changes in the Ottoman agriculture. First of all, while cotton and grain were among the leading export commodities of the Ottoman Empire until 19th Century, the cheaper American southern cotton spread to the world, thereby decreasing the prices and weakening the competitiveness of the Ottoman cotton. In the first half of the 19th Century, Ottoman cotton growers in Western Anatolia and Syria had difficulty in competing against the American cotton. In this period, Ottoman Government adopted solutions to modernize and revitalize the cotton cultivation through hiring American experts and distributing American seeds to the farmers. In this context, American Civil War reversed the situation and Ottoman cotton restarted to expand thanks to the increasing demand of the English textile manufacturers, who previously depended on the American cotton. This new situation both created higher prices for the Ottoman cotton and also had a direct effect on the Ottoman agriculture through rising English investment in Western Anatolia for cotton growing in 1860s. Nevertheless, this cotton boom survived only until the end of the American Civil War which started the spread of American cotton once again in the world at lower prices with higher amounts.

Apart from these, *Levant Trade Review* provided a true explanation of Turkish-American commercial relations. Thanks to the specific sections in the magazine such

as “Constantinople Market” and “Smyrna Fruit Markets”, the commercial importance of the US for Turkey can be realized better. The worsening conditions in the cotton growing directed the farmers to find new products to grow and the phylloxera disease which damaged the vineyards in France and the USA following to 1850s created a new business for the Ottoman farmers in the Aegean coastal areas. Rising demand from the US and Europe raised the demand for Ottoman fruits thereby boosting the farmers’ revenues. In a short time, vineyards reached a remarkable share in the Western Anatolia lands to produce grapes, raisins as well as figs, walnuts and other nuts. In this context, the contribution of fruits and nuts export to the US for Turkey in terms of trade deficit and revenues of the Western Anatolia merchants proved to be more than it had been known owing to the data provided by the magazine.

Besides, towards the end of the 19th Century, tobacco emerged as a prominent export product thanks to the demand of the American consumers. With its superior quality and taste when blended with the American tobacco, Turkish tobacco invaded the American domestic market together with the licorice root which was also an ingredient of the cigarettes. Samsun, Izmit and Kavala developed as tobacco centers and hosted American agents, buyers and companies which employed a number of locals. Furthermore, the trade surplus which resulted from the sale of tobacco, fruits and nuts to the USA contributed to Turkey to meet the trade deficit, which resulted from the trade with the Europeans. This surplus constituted quite a considerable amount that influenced the exchange rates of Lira during the peak seasons.

Despite the relatively lower volume of American exports to Turkey when compared to her imports, some American products achieved dominance in some sectors, which can also be followed through *Levant Trade Review*. Firstly, the US was the primary oil supplier of the Ottoman Empire and Standard Oil established a large distribution network in the region. Furthermore, American motor companies gained the major share of the country’s motor vehicle market. In addition to these, American grains which pervaded the world markets in the 19th Century were also influential on the Ottoman agricultural production and provision system. Being a leading supplier of grains for European markets and a self-sufficient country, the Ottoman agriculture had to deal with the rigid competition of the American grains and flour which could provide lower prices thanks to the mechanization and developed railway system. Losing the European market to the American grains, Ottoman Empire could not

compete against the American wheat and flour even for the domestic consumption. Suffering from the deficiency of modern transportation system around the country, Ottoman Empire could not transport the Anatolian grains to the cities on the coasts, which had access to the American flour at lower prices thanks to the sea shipments. In this context, American flour constituted a remarkable trade, which culminated during the Armistice Years. Imported at a monthly volume of 200,000 sacks, American flour contributed to relieve the food scarcity in Istanbul from 1918 to 1926.

In addition to these indirect effects of the American economy on Turkish agriculture, American market was a considerable buyer for the Turkish agricultural products and produced surplus for Turkey except for several years until 1931 when the scope of this study ends. Moreover, the USA was mostly one of the most prominent trade partners of Turkey with her leading share in exports in addition to the American domination in agricultural machinery and motor vehicles in Turkish imports. Even though the Turkish economy in total did not constitute a vital part in the American foreign trade, it should be noted that Turkey/Ottoman Empire had a decisive share in some products such as tobacco, licorice root, opium, figs and raisins. For instance, the insufficient supply of Turkish opium sharply increased the prices in New York during the World War I while Turkish tobacco stood out as a unique and crucial commodity for the American cigarette industry.

In spite of the leading share of the USA in Turkish foreign trade and the existence of profitable and successful American companies in Turkey, the American investments and business could not thrive in the region and in Turkey until 1931. In the early years of Modern Turkey, the American share in the foreign investments in Turkey could only reach the 2% of the total. American companies could not expand their existence in the infrastructure investments and manufacturing industry. This case can be explained through different reasons such as the isolation policy of the US, underdevelopment of Turkey and the regional instability. However, these explanations must be said to fall short of the American firearms sale to the Ottoman Government or attempts to gain Chester Concession, both of which contradicted the European interests in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, this study aims to open a way to further study of the German influence on the American failure in the region until the World War II. The first field that the Americans encountered the German opposition was the firearms purchases of the Ottoman Government in 1880s. Prior to this date, American

companies sold huge numbers of rifles and ammunitions to the Ottoman Empire. However, this trade was interrupted particularly after the employment of senior German Military Advisors to the Ottoman Army. Supported by these Military Advisors and funded through state banks, German firearms companies were granted profitable contracts while the American business men tried to engage their government to overcome the German rivalry. In this context, it should be noted that domestic production of Marti rifles on the American-made machineries in Tophane, Istanbul was also finalized after the introduction of German firearms in the Ottoman Army.

The other field in which the German-American disputes rose was the oil sector. While Standard Oil Company of New York, an American company, was dominating the Near East market with its widespread facilities and distribution network, Steau Romana, a German holding, exerted to increase its share in the Ottoman market. Standard Oil and Steau Romana had conflicts on Romanian oil reserves and in the Balkan markets. For instance, Steau Romana prevented the Standard Oil's plan to build storage tanks in Selanik in 1908 while it obtained this permission through direct meetings with the local officials. More importantly, the ambitious American initiative, Chester Project, encountered the harshest opposition from Germany as it was interpreted as a covert plan/a disguise to reach the Mesopotamian oils where Germany was granted concessions through the Bagdad Railway.

When these are taken into consideration, it can be said that the failure of the American business initiatives in Turkey cannot be attributed solely to the attitude of the American business community or to the underdevelopment of Turkey. Even though, German-American relations did not have serious conflicts before the World War and it can't be said that mutual enmity caused such rivalry, the German opposition and competition were also among the factors which obstructed the development of American economic existence in the Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Turkey.

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3. Periodicals

Levant Trade Review

Hopkinsville Kentuckian

New York Times

Philip Weekly Review

The Citizen

The Evening Star

The Orient

The Sunday Star

Toplumsal Tarih

C. ONLINE SOURCES

Julian Bennett, “Bayonets for The Peabody-Martini Rifle”, **Arms & Armour** (2018): 4 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17416124.2019.1581489>

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/David-Farragut>

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<https://tr.usembassy.gov/embassy-consulates/ankara/former-ambassadors/>

Appendix 3: The Cover of the First Issue

190-78
1

American Chamber of Commerce for Turkey.

Officers


Honorary President	G. BIE RAVNDAL	2nd Vice President	C. F. GATES
President		Secretary	O. S. HEIZER
1st Vice President	A. T. CHESTER	Treasurer	N. CASTELLI

Directors at Large

MILO A. JEWETT.	Trebizond	ISAAC NAHMAN	Salonica
WILLIAM H. ALSTON	Cavalla	JOHN T. PERISTIANI	Alexandretta
FRANCIS BLACKLER,	Smyrna	JOSEPH B. AUDI	Beirut
T. S. BALTAZZI.	Smyrna	JAMES S. LEVACK	Bagdad

Directors

SAMUEL ANDERSON	ROBERT LEVY
R. D. BUCKNAM	M. MEWES
C. D. CONSTANTINIDIS	LEWIS F. MIZZI
T. J. DAMON	H. NERGARARIAN
R. R. KENDALL	W. W. OSWALD



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LUDWIG WITTE.

MEMBERSHIP.
C. D. CONSTANTINIDIS, T. J. DAMON, WALTER SEAGER.

FINANCE.
SAMUEL ANDERSON, JOHN BOSCOVICH, R. D. BUCKNAM, M. DARR, THEO. REPPEN.

ROOMS, LIBRARY, ENTERTAINMENT
DOUGLAS BINNS, MARCELLUS BOWEN, HERMAN HOLSTEIN.

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORTATION.
S. AMAR, R. D. BUCKNAM, THEO. N. CURMUSI, FRED. HARTY, EMIL HECHT,
S. HIRZEL, ERNEST H. MILL, H. NERGARARIAN, THEO. REPPEN.

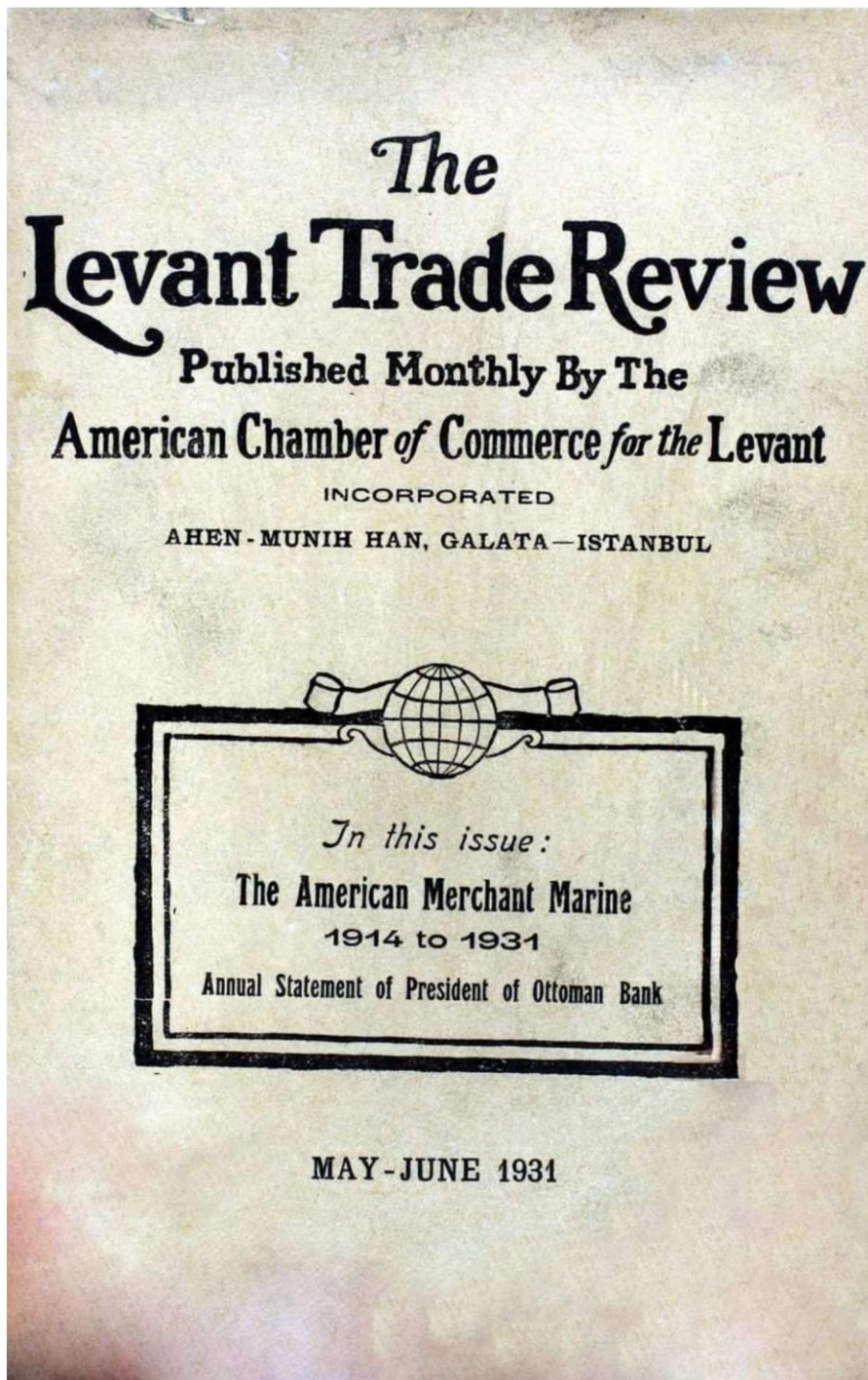
COMMERCIAL INFORMATION AND STATISTICS.
FRANK. W. CHASSEAUD, O. S. HEIZER, JEAN SARANTIS.

PRINTING, PUBLICATION AND THE PRESS.
L. F. MIZZI, W. W. OSWALD, WILLIAM H. PEET.

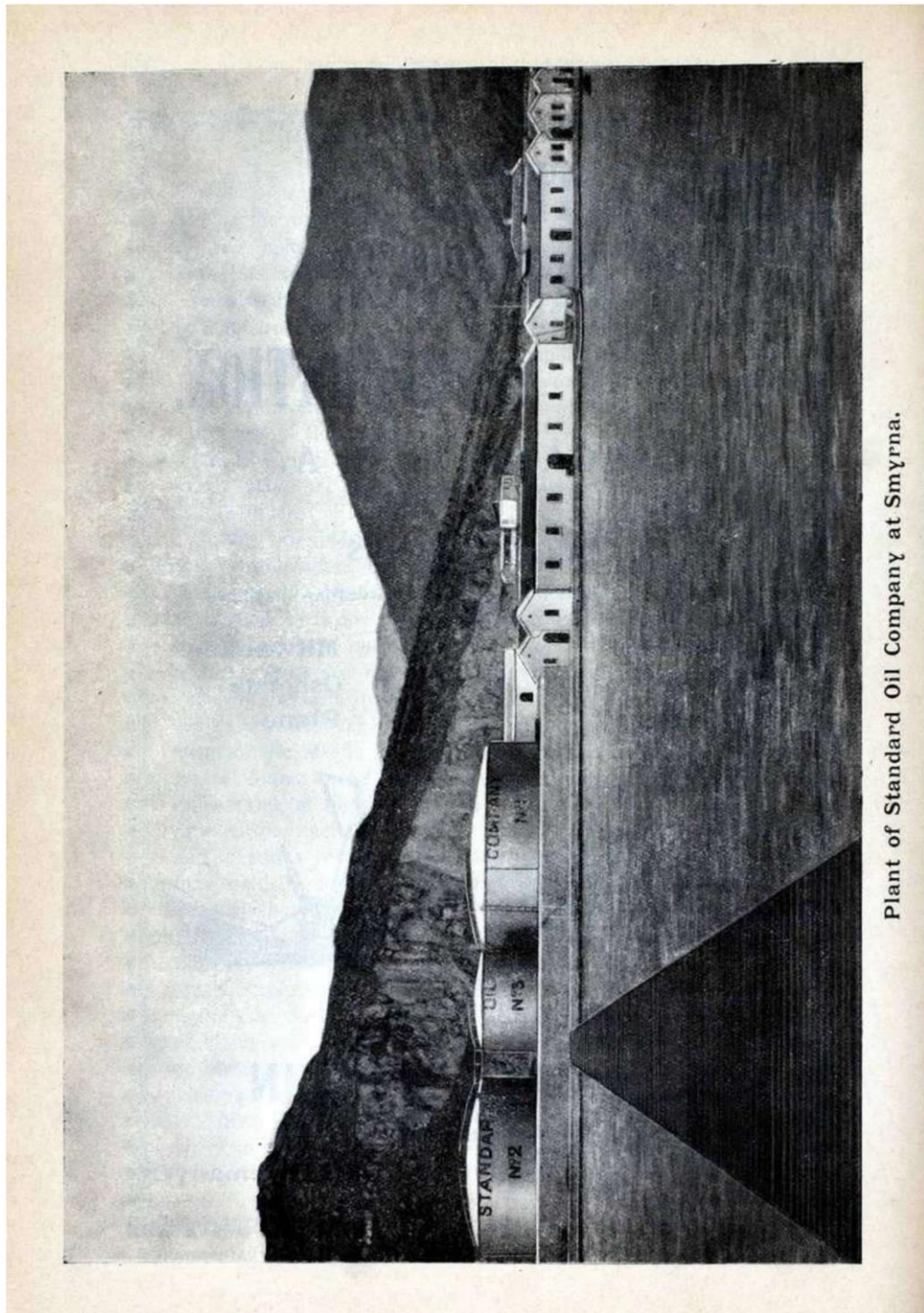
ARBITRATION, LEGAL AND GOVERNMENT RELATIONS.
A. G. ARSEN, N. CASTELLI, W. PEEMOLLER

MEMBERS UNION PERMANENTE DES DÉLÉGUÉS DU COMMERCE ÉTRANGER.
HARRY MANDIL, FREDERICK WIRTH, JR.

Appendix 4: The Cover of the Final Issue



Appendix 5: Standard Oil Plan in Izmir in 1911



Plant of Standard Oil Company at Smyrna.

Appendix 5: Advertisement for the American Flour During Armistice Years

AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FOR THE LEVANT 123

WASHBURN-CROSBY COMPANY

17 Battery Place—NEW YORK

The Largest Millers in the World

Mills at Minneapolis & Buffalo. Daily Capacity—50,000 barrels

Manufacturers of the universally known



QUALITY

ECONOMY

Grades :	Whitehall Flour
GOLD MEDAL	King Wheat Flour
Citation	Durum Straight Flour
Iron Duke	Durum Clear
Vulcan	Semolinas
Arlington	etc., etc., etc.

Uniformity in grades and service GUARANTEED

Exclusive Agents at Constantinople

J. B. LAMBRINIDES & Co.

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Appendix 6: The Planes Produced in Kayseri by Curtiss-Wright



CONSOLIDATED FLEET MODEL 7



CURTISS 48 FLEDGLING 2.C1



CURTISS HAWK CW-II

Appendix 5: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on a Fordson Tractor



Appendix 6-A: Ottoman Sultans

Name	Start	End
Mahmud II	1808	1839
Abdulmecid	1839	1861
Abdulaziz	1861	1876
Murad V	1876	1876
Abdulhamid II	1876	1909
Mehmed V	1909	1918
Mehmed VI	1918	1922

Appendix 6-B: Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Early Modern Turkey

Name	Title	Start	End
Mustafa Kemal Ataturk	President	1923	1938
Ismet Inonu	Prime Minister	1923	1924
Ali Fethi Okyar	Prime Minister	1924	1925
Ismet Inonu	Prime Minister	1925	1937
Celal Bayar	Prime Minister	1937	1939

Appendix 7: American Presidents

Name	Start of Presidency	End of Presidency
Andrew Jackson	1829	1837
Martin van Buren	1837	1841
William Henry Harrison	1841	1841
John Tyler	1841	1845
James K. Polk	1845	1849
Zachary Taylor	1849	1850
Millard Fillmore	1850	1853
Franklin Pierce	1853	1857
James Buchanan	1857	1861
Abraham Lincoln	1861	1865
Andrew Johnson	1865	1869
Ulysses S. Grant	1869	1877
Rutherford B. Hayes	1877	1881
James A. Garfield	1881	1881
Chester A. Arthur	1881	1885
Grover Cleveland	1885	1889
Benjamin Harrison	1889	1893
Grover Cleveland	1893	1897
William McKinley	1897	1901
Theodore Roosevelt	1901	1909
William Howard Taft	1909	1913
Woodrow Wilson	1913	1921
Warren G. Harding	1921	1923
Calvin Coolidge	1923	1929
Herbert Hoover	1929	1933
Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933	1945

Appendix 8: American Representatives

Representatives of the United States of America to the Ottoman Empire and Turkey		
Chargé d'Affaires		
Name	Date of Arrival	Date of Termination
David Porter	Apr 15, 1831	Promoted
Minister Resident		
Name	Date of Arrival	Date of Termination
David Porter	Mar 3, 1839	Mar 3, 1843
Dabney S. Carr	Oct 6, 1843	Oct 20, 1849
George P. Marsh	May 29, 1849	Dec 19, 1853
Carroll Spence	Aug 23, 1853	Dec 12, 1857
James Williams	Jan 14, 1858	May 25, 1861
Edward Joy Morris	Jun 8, 1861	Oct 25, 1870
Wayne MacVeagh	Jun 4, 1870	Jun 10, 1871
George H. Boker	Nov 3, 1871	May 1, 1875
Horace Maynard	Mar 9, 1875	Jul 15, 1880
James Longstreet	Jun 14, 1880	Apr 29, 1881
Lewis Wallace	May 19, 1881	Promoted
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary		
Name	Date of Arrival	Date of Termination
Lewis Wallace	Jul 13, 1882	May 15, 1885
Samuel S. Cox	Mar 25, 1885	Sep 14, 1886
Oscar S. Straus	Mar 24, 1887	Jun 16, 1889
Solomon Hirsch	May 16, 1889	Jun 16, 1892
David P. Thompson	Nov 15, 1892	May 1, 1893
Alexander W. Terrell	Apr 15, 1893	Jun 15, 1897
James B. Angell	Apr 15, 1897	Aug 13, 1898
Oscar S. Straus	Jun 3, 1898	Dec 20, 1899
John G. A. Leishman	December 20, 1900	Promoted
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary		
Name	Date of Arrival	Date of Termination
John G. A. Leishman	June 18, 1906	June 10, 1909
Oscar S. Straus	May 17, 1909	September 3, 1910
William Woodville Rockhill	April 24, 1911	November 20, 1913
Henry Morgenthau	September 4, 1913	February 1, 1916
Abram I. Elkus	July 21, 1916	May 29, 1917
Joseph C. Grew	May 19, 1927	March 13, 1932

Appendix 9: Ottoman and Turkish Representatives

Representatives of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey to the United States of America		
Name	Date of Arrival	Date of Termination
Black Bey	August 28, 1867	August 4, 1873
Aristaki Bey	October 14, 1873	March 29, 1883
Ferit Pasha	March 29, 1883	May 11, 1883
Huseyin Tevfik Pasha	May 11, 1883	October 1, 1886
Rustem Efendi	October 1, 1886	March 14, 1887
Mavrovani Bey	March 14, 1887	September 23, 1896
Mustafa Tahsin Bey	September 23, 1896	September 3, 1897
Mehmet Rifat Bey	September 3, 1897	October 3, 1897
Seyfettin Bey	October 3, 1897	November 24, 1897
Edham Bey	November 24, 1897	March 30, 1898
Ali Ferruh bey	March 30, 1898	July 15, 1901
Şekip Bey	July 15, 1901	November 9, 1907
Mehmed Ali Bey	November 9, 1907	August 12, 1908
Münci Bey	August 12, 1908	June 14, 1909
Huseyin Kazım Bey	June 14, 1909	August 25, 1909
Alfred Rustem Bey	August 25, 1909	May 16, 1909
Yusuf Ziya Pasha	June 14, 1910	June 22, 1914
Ahmet Rustem Bey	June 22, 1914	October 4, 1914
Abdulhak Huseyin Bey	October 4, 1914	April 20, 1917
Ahmet Muhtar	November 28, 1927	April 20, 1934

Appendix 10: Geographical Names

Name as in use in the Thesis	Name as in Levant Trade Review
Ankara	Angora
Antalya	Adalia
Aydın	Aidin
Bursa	Brusa
Çanakkale	Chanak-Kalesi
Edirne	Adrianople
Ereğli	Heraclea
Ergani	Argana
Giresun	Kerasund
Istanbul	Constantinople
Izmir	Smyrna
Izmit	Ismid
Kayseri	Kaisaria/Caesarea
Konya	Konieh/Konia
Manastır	Bitola
Mersin	Mersina
Trabzon	Trebizond
Urfa	Ourfa
Merzifon	Marsovan
Tekirdağ	Rodosto
Selanik	Salonica
İzmit	Nikea
İskenderiye	Alexandria
İskenderun	Alexandretta
Beyrut	Beirut
Atina	Athens
Şam	Damascus
Urla	Vourla
Dedeğaç	Dedeagatch
Halep	Aleppo
Efes	Ephesus
Yeşilköy	San Stefano

Appendix 11: Dear Friends 377

No. 377

Bible House, Stamboul, March 15, 1932

Dear friends:-

A large and representative group of the American Colony met on Friday last at the Tokatlian Hotel at a luncheon given in honor of Ambassador and Mrs. Grew and Miss Elsie Grew, who were leaving two days later. Just about one hundred fifty sat down to the tables. Consul Charles E. Allen acted as chairman; and after the coffee he called on one after another in a happy and facetious way to express their sentiments on the occasion of the departure of our beloved Ambassador. Miss Burns of Constantinople College, Dr. Gates of Robert College, Dr. Shepard of the American Hospital, Mr. Fowle of the American Mission, and Mr. Stem, representing the business fraternity, made excellent speeches, full of the deepest sentiment of affection, and sparkling with good humor and apt quotations. Following these, the Ambassador gave a response, in which he expressed the genuine sorrow of Mrs. Grew and himself at leaving the associations and friendships of the past five years, and their appreciation of the warm sentiments of the community as expressed by its representatives. When he had sat down, Dr. Huntington on behalf of the entire community, presented the Ambassador and Mrs. Grew with a beautiful silver tray, of Smyrna workmanship, on which was inscribed a suitable dedication to our departing friends. Mr. Grew could not keep his feelings concealed as, in a few deeply grateful words he accepted this as a token of the abiding love of the Americans of Constantinople. Everyone was much touched as one by one went up to bid farewell to the family before quitting the room.

On Sunday morning the Ambassador and Mrs. Grew and their daughter sailed on board the S.S. "Italia" of the Lloyd Triestino Express service, for Venice, on their way to Washington. Many officials of the Turkish Government, several ambassadors and other representatives of the foreign embassies, as well as quite a group from the American colony, went to the steamer to bid them a bon voyage. They sailed shortly after ten o'clock, and are due in Venice tomorrow. After a very brief stay in Washington, they are due to go on for Tokyo. The warmest good wishes of their many friends here go with them to their new and difficult post.

Miss Dorothy Merrill, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. John L. Merrill of Aleppo, has been elected President of the Sophomore class of Connecticut College, New London, Conn.

Miss Helen Barnum, daughter of Professor and Mrs. Barnum of Robert College, underwent a successful operation yesterday for mastoiditis at the American Hospital, the operation being by the celebrated specialist Dr. Taptas. She is making favorable progress.

The annual celebration of Founders' Day at Robert College on March 23rd will include the following events:- Founders' Day exercises in Albert Long Hall at 2 p.m., a Gymnastic exhibition in the Gymnasium at 3:15, and at 7:30 the Alumni Dinner in the Social Hall.

The Charter Day Exercises at Constantinople College will take place on Sunday afternoon, March 20th, at 3 o'clock, and will include addresses by Dr. Marion Talbot, Miss Belkis Ziyaeddin, and Miss Sophie Moissides.

The funeral of Mr. J. U. Streater of the Bible House Treasury Staff was held last Tuesday, which was a very rainy day. Father Pollard Rector of the Crimean Memorial Church, conducted the services, both at the Church, and later at the Haydar Pasha cemetery, where his body was buried by the side of that of his wife.

Rev. and Mrs. Leslie J. Adkins of the Aleppo Station have moved from there to Antioch, with the consent of their colleagues, in the belief that this will prove a fine centre for their work. Antioch is a two hours' automobile ride from Aleppo westward, and was occupied as a Station of the American Board from 1857 to 1872.

Yours very cordially,

Charles T. Riggs

Appendix 12: 1888 Poster of Orient Express

South Eastern Railway London-Chatam-Dover Railway
 CHEMINS DE FER DU NORD & DE L'EST DE FRANCE

LONDRES · PARIS · CONSTANTINOPLÉ

Départ tous les Jours
 De LONDRES & DE PARIS POUR VIENNE
 Les Mercredis
 POUR CONSTANTINOPLÉ
 Le Jeudi & le Dimanche
 POUR BUKAREST

SERVICE RAPIDE
 Sans Changement de Voitures
 SANS PASSEPORT
 ENTRE

FAST TRAVELLING
 Without any Change of Carriages
 WITHOUT PASSPORT
 BETWEEN

The Trains are Starting
 FROM LONDON & PARIS EVERY DAY FOR VIENNA
 Only on Wednesday
 FOR CONSTANTINOPLÉ
 On Thursdays & Sundays
 FOR BUKAREST

PARIS · MUNICH · VIENNE · BUDAPEST · BELGRADE & CONSTANTINOPLÉ
 & ENTRE & BETWEEN
 PARIS & BUKAREST
ORIENT EXPRESS

HIVER 1888-89 WINTER 1888-89

LONDRES-PARIS-VIENNE

LONDRES (Victoria)	dit	8 x 20 min	LONDRES (Charing-Cross)	dit	8 x 40 min
CLARET (Cave maritime)	dit	10 x 30	BUDAPEST	dit	6 x 50
PARIS (Gare du Nord)	dit	8 x 40	PARIS (Gare de l'Est)	dit	8 x 37

Tous les JOURS
 les JOURS
 les JOURS

PARIS (Gare de l'Est) Départ 7 x 30 (sauf m.) Every Day
 MUNICH Arrivée 1 x 38 (sauf m.)
 VIENNE Arrivée 10 x 15 (sauf m.)

PARIS-CONSTANTINOPLÉ

Mercredi PARIS (Gare de l'Est) Départ 7 x 30 (sauf m.) Wednesday
 Jeudi VIENNE Arrivée 10 x 15 (sauf m.) Thursday
 Vendredi BUDAPEST Arrivée 5 x 25 (sauf m.) Friday
 Vendredi BELGRADE Arrivée 3 x 42 (sauf m.) Friday
 Samedi CONSTANTINOPLÉ Arrivée 6 x 40 (sauf m.) Saturday

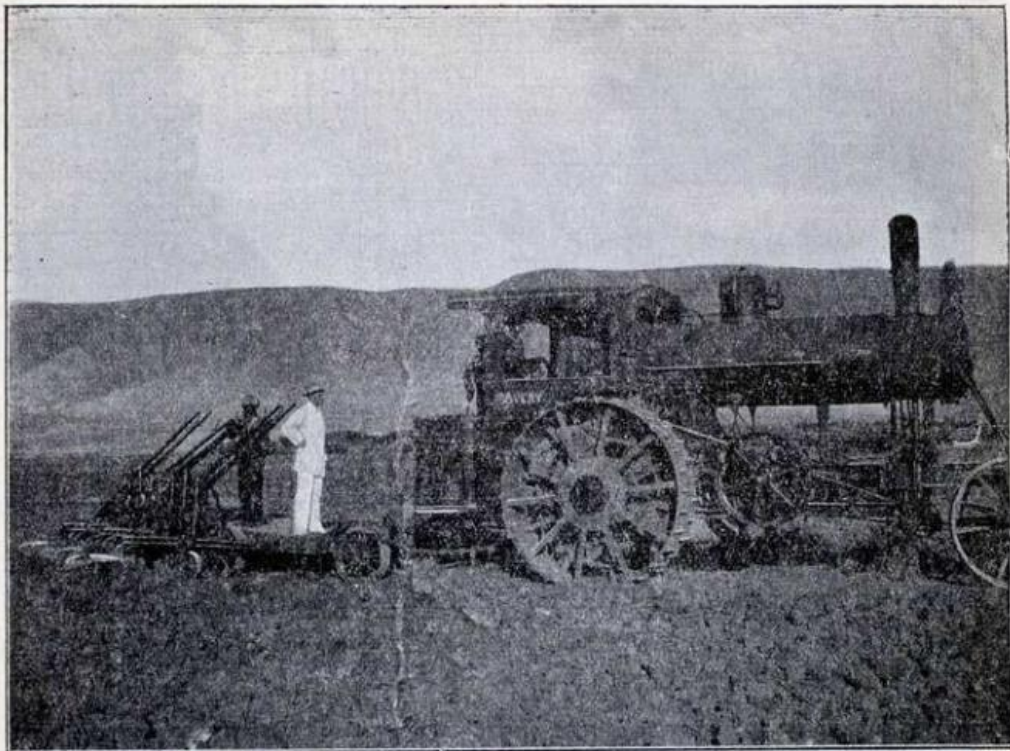
PARIS-BUKAREST

Jeudi et Dimanche PARIS (Gare de l'Est) départ 7 x 30 (sauf m.) Thursday and Sunday
 Vendredi et Lundi VIENNE Arrivée 10 x 15 (sauf m.) Friday and Monday
 Samedi et Mardi BUDAPEST Arrivée 4 x 00 (sauf m.) Saturday
 Samedi et Mardi BUKAREST Arrivée 5 x 50 (sauf m.) and Tuesday

For further particulars, consult the special Time-Tables published by the Chemins de Fer de l'Est, and also by the International Sleeping-Car Company.

20 - rue CHAIX (succ^e Chéret) 18, rue Brunel, PARIS.

Appendix 13: An American Advertisement in Levat Trade Review (1911)



30 H. P. Engine and 8 Gang Plow at work on the farm
of Derviche Pacha, Maalakat-Zahlé, Syria.

The Great Avery Steam Plowing Outfit.

Avery Double Undermounted Traction Locomotive.
Built in 5 sizes: 18, 20, 22, 30 and 40 H. P.

Cockshutt-Avery Steam Plows.
Built in 5 sizes: 5, 6, 8, 10 and 12 Gang.

Avery "Yellow Fellow" Separators.

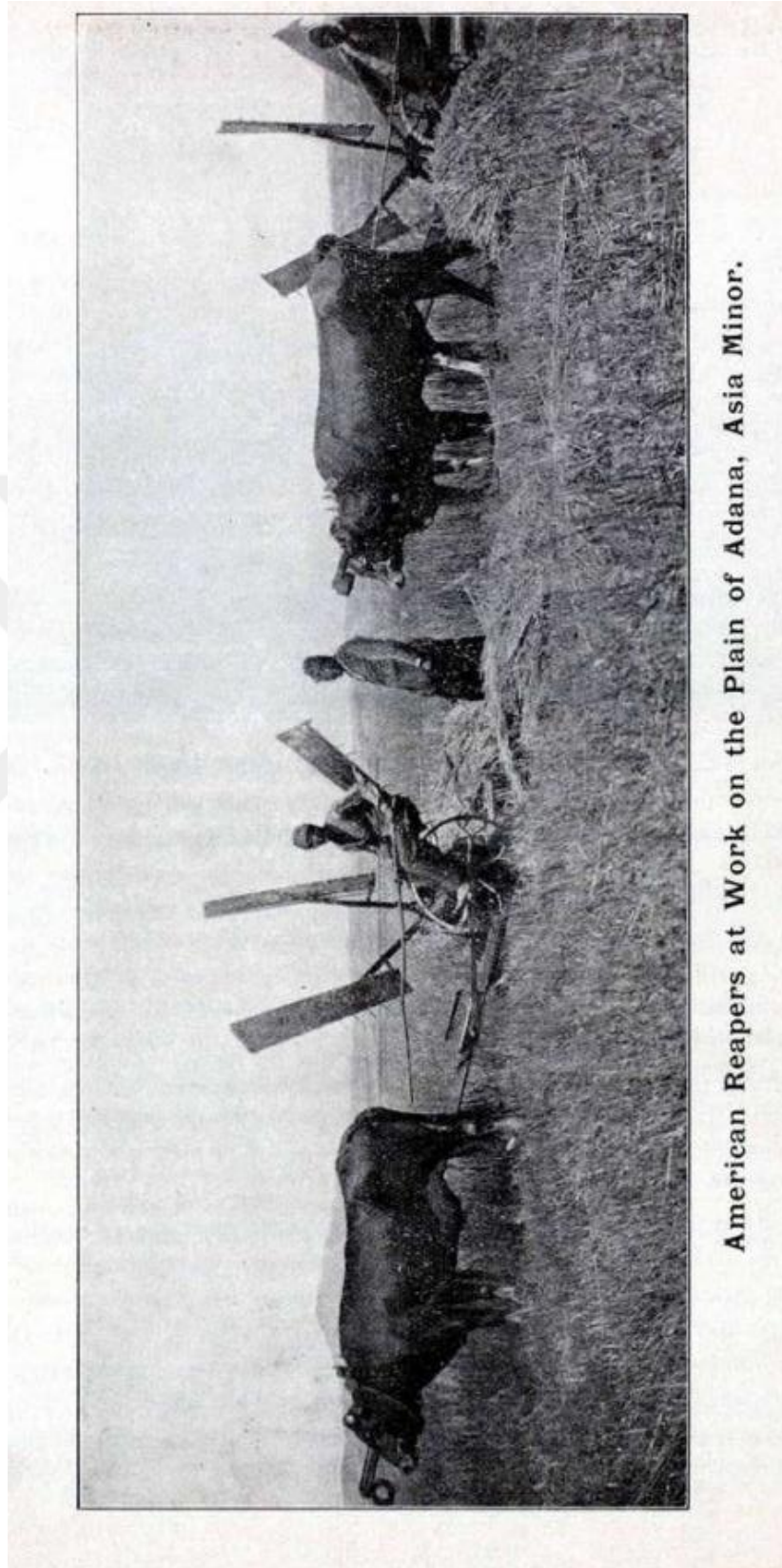
Also Manufacturers of High-class Gasoline Farm Tractors, Commercial Trucks, Heavy Hauling Cars, Dump Spreading Cars, Road Roller, Steam Shovel, and Steam Crane Attachments for the Avery Double Undermounted Traction Engine, Cotton and Corn Planters, Cultivators, Stalk Cutters, & Wagons. Detailed description and illustrations of Avery Machinery will be sent on request.

Avery Company

Factory and Main Office: Peoria, Illinois, U. S. A.
Export Office, 2 & 4 Stone St., New York City, U. S. A.

Cable Address "Avery-Peoria". Codes: "Liebers", A. B. C. 5th Edition, Western Union.

Appendix 14: An American Agricultural Equipment in Anatolia in Levat Trade Review (1914)



American Reapers at Work on the Plain of Adana, Asia Minor.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Information

Name, Surname : Hasan KÜÇÜK
Place of Birth : Emet
Date of Birth : 1988

Education

2002-2006 : Savaştepe Anatolian Teacher High School
2006-2010 : Bosphorus University, Foreign Language Education
Department
2014-2019 : Yıldız Technical University, History of Turkish
Revolution Master Program

Publications

Karakoç, Ercan, Hasan Küçük, “Gabriel Bie Ravndal”. **V. Yıldız Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi. 13-15 Aralık 2018.** İstanbul: Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2018: 16-27.