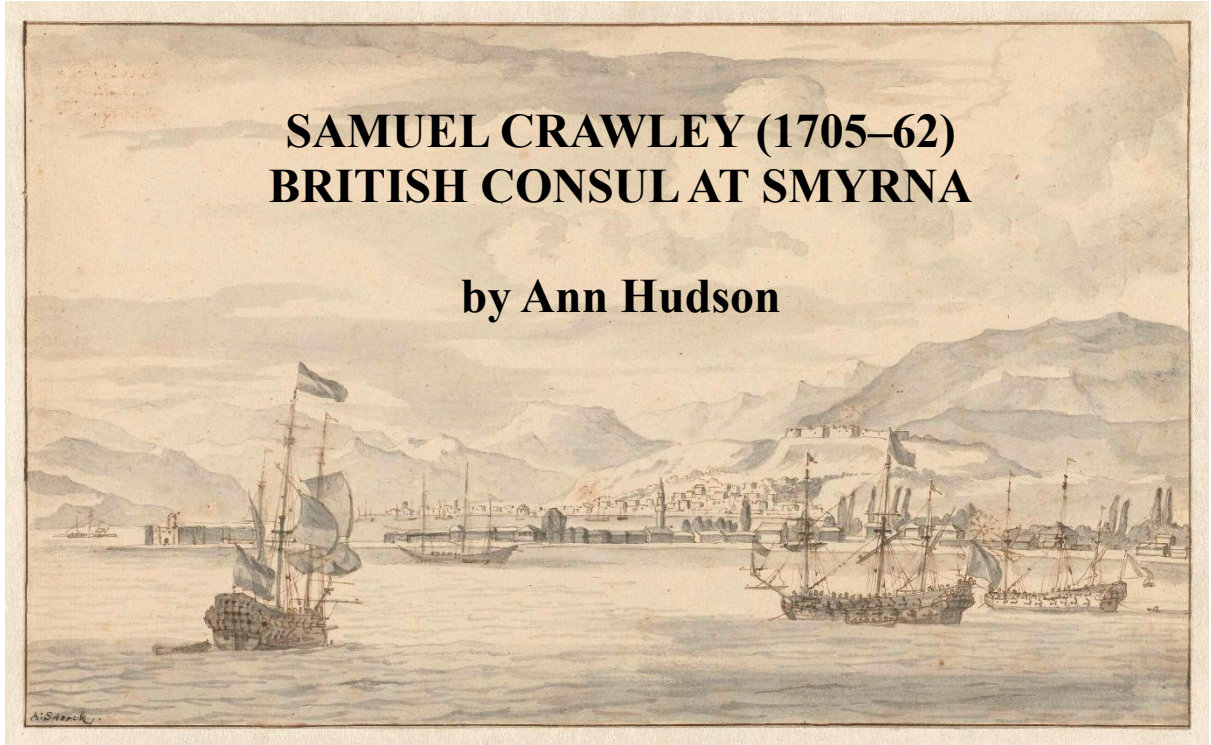


SAMUEL CRAWLEY (1705–62) BRITISH CONSUL AT SMYRNA

by Ann Hudson



Abraham Storck, View of Smyrna. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Public Domain Dedication (CC0 1.0)

INTRODUCTION

The Levant Company's role in promoting British trade with Turkey and beyond is well known, but the individuals involved, unless they wrote their memoirs, tend to be shadowy figures. By focussing on the life and career of Samuel Crawley, British Consul at Smyrna (now Izmir) in the mid 18th century, I hope to give a snapshot of what life was like for the English community there at this date. I will also explore Samuel Crawley's rather atypical career path to his Smyrna post and his role in the early development of interest in Classical antiquity in the region.

As British Consul at Smyrna, Samuel Crawley stands out in his family tree, which mainly contains lawyers and clergymen firmly based in England. The Crawleys, my grandmother's family, were big landowners in Bedfordshire and the subject of a family history published in 1911 with family trees of all the branches.¹ From childhood I had been fascinated by the description of my great-great-great-great-grandfather as 'Consul at Smyrna'. Where was Smyrna? What was he doing there? What did a British Consul do? What was his life there like? How did his descendants end up back in England and Wales, where his son, grandson and great-grandson – my great-grandfather – were all country clergymen?

These questions remained mostly unanswered until my husband, after early retirement, had time to look into the Levant Company's records in the National Archives in London, where he found many tantalising references to Samuel Crawley. In the twenty years since then I have been researching his life on and off, in between work commitments, and we visited Izmir in 2006 and 2007. In 2016 I

¹ Austin, William. *The history of a Bedfordshire family*. London: Alston Rivers Ltd, 1911.

wrote a short biography of him for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, concentrating on his significance as an early collector of classical antiquities, the justification for his inclusion. Since then I have been found more information, particularly about his time in Smyrna, his marriage to a young Swiss woman from Constantinople, his family, and his widow's subsequent marriage to the Dutch Consul, the Comte de Hochepped.

Records of the British Factory, or group of Levant merchants, in Smyrna in Samuel Crawley's time are quite limited; more is known about earlier and later periods, and about the Levant Company's other British factory at Aleppo. I have therefore had to piece together information from many different sources, both printed and manuscript.



Figure 1: Frontispiece of Book of Common Prayer from British Consulate at Smyrna (<https://www.levantineheritage.com/reg2.htm>)

Samuel Crawley has many descendants, and various cousins, near and distant, have shared their own research with me and shown me their family archives and art works. One cousin alerted me to the existence of a prayer book from the chapel of the British Consulate at Smyrna which contains several pages of information about Samuel Crawley's marriage and children, largely in his own hand. The book was brought back from Izmir by the last British Vice-Consul, George Galdies, who presented it to Lambeth Palace Library. A link to a pdf copy of these pages led me to the Levantine Heritage Foundation website, and its growing collection of documents and links has been invaluable. In November 2025 I gave a talk on Samuel

Crawley to the Foundation which can be seen online.² The following account is a more detailed version of that talk, with full information on sources.

Sadly no portrait of Samuel Crawley has yet come to light.

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE

While many Levant Company Consuls had previously been merchants in the Levant this did not apply to Samuel, who seems to have had no previous connection with the Levant Company before he was appointed Consul in Smyrna in 1742, when he was a merchant in Messina in Sicily. The explanation of his appointment must therefore lie in his family background.

The Crawleys originated as minor landed gentry in Bedfordshire and, like many other families in the 16th and 17th centuries, had risen up the social scale through the legal profession (see Figure 2). Samuel's great-grandfather Sir Francis Crawley (1574/5–1650),³ was a Justice of Common Pleas and was knighted by Charles I. Through his marriage to Elizabeth Rotherham Sir Francis Crawley acquired a large early brick-built house, Someries Castle, now a ruin near the site of Luton Airport; but it seems to have been the marriage of his son Francis (1611–83),⁴ also a lawyer, that began the Levant Company connection. Francis's wife was Mary Clutterbuck (or Clotterbooke). The Clutterbucks⁵ were originally Gloucestershire clothiers but this branch was now prominent in the Mercers' Company in the City of London, which had many Levant merchants among its members.⁶ Mary's father was a mercer and involved with both the Levant Company and the East India Company. Two Clutterbucks were merchants in Smyrna in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, and one of Francis and Mary's sons died in Aleppo in 1680.⁷

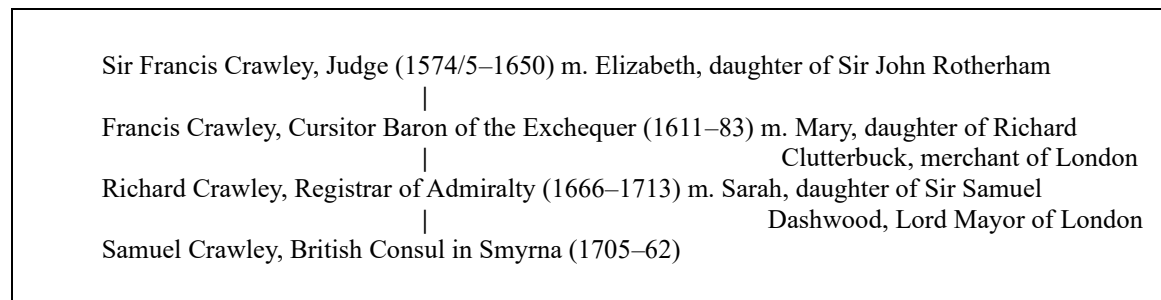


Figure 2: Family tree of Samuel Crawley

The marriage would have been advantageous to both sides: the Clutterbucks were rich, but the Crawleys were landed gentry and therefore of a higher social class. Merchants – generally defined in the 18th century as those involved in foreign trade – were a close-knit community linked by many ties of business, friendship and inter-

² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RmoalP-wEJc> (accessed 3.12.25).

³ Oxford dictionary of national biography.

⁴ Oxford dictionary of national biography, s.v. Sir Francis Crawley.

⁵ The Clutterbuck Book. <https://clutterbuckorg.blogspot.com> (accessed 30.10.25).

⁶ Anderson, Sonia P. *An English Consul in Turkey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 91.

⁷ Will, National Archives (hereafter TNA), Prob 11/364/351.

marriage. Though not quite ‘gentry’ in the sense of the landed, leisured classes, the upper ranks of merchant society were prosperous and well-educated, and those who made fortunes in trade often bought country estates and enjoyed a leisured old age. Successful entry into the merchant trade, and particularly the Levant trade, depended on substantial financial backing;⁸ money had to be found to purchase expensive consignments of goods for export, with a possibility of no return for several years.

Samuel’s father, Francis’s son Richard Crawley (1666–1713), became a registrar in the High Court of Admiralty, which dealt with maritime affairs including maritime disputes in the Levant.⁹ This post brought with it a London residence in Doctors’ Commons,¹⁰ a college of civil lawyers which stood in Knightrider Street south of St Paul’s Cathedral; Doctors’ Commons no longer survives but was immortalised by Charles Dickens in *David Copperfield*.

Richard also married into the London merchant community, at the highest level, in 1699;¹¹ his wife Sarah was the daughter of Sir Samuel Dashwood (c. 1643–1705), Master of the Vintners’ Company, MP for the City in the 1680s and 1690s, and Lord Mayor of London in 1702–3.¹² The Dashwoods originated as sheep farmers and wool merchants in north Somerset, but were now London merchants involved in the Turkey trade.¹³ Sir Samuel Dashwood and his brother Sir Francis (d. 1724) had made fortunes out of the Levant trade. Sir Samuel was Deputy Governor of the East India Company in 1700 and, like many prominent London merchants of the time, was also involved in the slave trade through the Royal Africa Company. He was favoured by Queen Anne, who attended his mayoral feast in 1702; his mayoral pageant was one of the most splendid ever seen, featuring St Martin on a white horse wearing a large scarlet cloak and followed by cripples and beggars asking for charity, twenty satyrs dancing with tambours, and ‘an Indian Galleon with Bacchus and the Chariot of Ariadne’. The pageant cost the Vintners Company about £450, and when another Lord Mayor was elected from the company three years later they declined to produce another pageant on the same scale because of the expense.¹⁴ Samuel Crawley, born in the year of his grandfather’s death, was presumably named after him.

As Samuel’s father Richard died in 1713 when Samuel was only eight, his mother and her City merchant relations are likely to have figured prominently in his upbringing and career. In his father’s will Samuel was to inherit £4,000 when he reached 21, and meanwhile he was to have £15 a quarter for his maintenance and education until he was 16, and thereafter £20 a quarter until he was 21. Samuel and

⁸ Gauci, Perry. *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720*. Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 8, 9; Glaisyer, Natasha, *The culture of commerce in England 1660–1720*. Royal Historical Society, 2006, pp. 13–16.

⁹ *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1690–1715*, s.v. Richard Crawley.

¹⁰ Will of Richard Crawley, Bedfordshire Archives Service, C2726.

¹¹ Marriage settlement, Bedfordshire Archives Service, C1484.

¹² *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1690–1715*, s.v. Sir Samuel Dashwood; Oxford dictionary of national biography.

¹³ Dashwood, Sir Francis. *The Dashwoods of West Wycombe*. London: Aurum Press, 1987 (pbk 1990); Kelly, Jason M. Sir Francis Dashwood: Connoisseur, Collector and Traveller. www.artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays-index/sir-francis-dashwood-connoisseur-collector-and-traveller (accessed 13.10.25).

¹⁴ Crawford, Anne. *A History of the Vintners’ Company*. London: Constable, 1977, pp. 179–80.

his elder brother John were to be ‘continued at school for sometime and afterwards put forth and bred up in some profession, trade or other employment such as my said wife shall think fit, and not to an idle life’,¹⁵ with further money set aside for this; wills of London merchants often included such clauses.¹⁶ But his brother John (1703–67), somewhat contrary to the provisions of the will, was bred up to be a country gentleman: he attended Eton and Oxford, went on the ‘Grand Tour’, and later went into Parliament as one of the members for Marlborough.¹⁷ His father had amassed enough money by 1708, probably as a result of his and his father’s marriages into the London merchant elite, to buy a country estate at Stockwood, near Luton in Bedfordshire where the Crawleys already owned property,¹⁸ and John Crawley built himself a country house there, sadly demolished in 1964.



Figure 3: Stockwood House

Nothing is known about Samuel’s education; he did not go to Eton and then Oxford like his brother. Nor is there any evidence that he was formally apprenticed in the City of London; searches of apprenticeship and livery company records have drawn a blank. However, formal apprenticeship was becoming less common except for people without family connections, especially after a tax on apprenticeship premiums was introduced in 1710.¹⁹ As his father’s will required him to ‘continue at school’, Samuel perhaps attended one of the private academies offering a commercial education which were beginning to appear in London in the early 18th century, to prepare young men for a business career.²⁰ There was no formal training for merchants, but it was increasingly recognised that they needed to learn particular skills, and they were becoming more respected for their professionalism. Merchants needed skills in mathematics, accounting, double-entry book-keeping, letter-writing and foreign languages, and knowledge of customs duties, weights and measures, insurance and navigation. Influenced by business practice in Italy and the

¹⁵ Will of Richard Crawley, Bedfordshire Archives Service, C2726.

¹⁶ Gauci, Perry. *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800*. Hambledon Continuum, 2007, p. 106.

¹⁷ *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1715–54*, s.v. John Crawley.

¹⁸ Austin, William. *The history of Luton*. Isle of Wight Press, 1928, pp. 59–60, 67–8.

¹⁹ Gauci, Perry. *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800*. Hambledon Continuum, 2007, p. 114.

²⁰ Glaisyer, Natasha, *The culture of commerce in England 1660–1720*. Royal Historical Society, 2006, p. 110.

Netherlands, there was a proliferation of books giving commercial instruction, such as Edward Hatton's *The Merchant's Magazine or Trades-Man's Treasury*.²¹ Its contents include arithmetic and book-keeping, information about commodities produced by different countries, and sample business letters. At some point Samuel learned French, and by the time he reached Smyrna he was fluent in Italian. He also seems to have had some education in the Classics, as would have been usual at this period for boys of Samuel's background and social class; he knew some ancient Greek, though by his own admission not enough to read with pleasure.²² As Greek was taught in Latin,²³ Samuel must have known Latin too. Perhaps he and his brother had had a private tutor in Latin and Greek before they were sent to their respective schools.

A MERCHANT IN MESSINA

After such an education, the next stage would be for a young man to join a merchant house in London. If he had the right family connections, he would probably have been accepted without payment, and as a member of a prominent merchant family he would have been trusted with business secrets and received a better training than a formal apprentice.²⁴ One can imagine Samuel Crawley's widowed mother Sarah approaching the Dashwoods or Clutterbucks for help with finding an opening for young Samuel, perhaps with one of the City firms trading in the Levant. Merchants would generally 'come of age' as independent traders in their early twenties,²⁵ and it was common practice for a young man to be sent abroad to become the junior partner in a trading firm, to take over later when the senior partner came back to England. The aim was to make enough money to live a comfortable life in England, running the business from London. But living was precarious and many died in the Levant, including two grandsons of the Levant Company merchant Richard Clutterbuck (1599–1670): his apprentice Francis Crawley, Samuel's uncle, died as a young man in Aleppo in 1680, and Samuel's cousin Thomas Clutterbuck died in Smyrna in 1709 aged about 30.²⁶

²¹ Gauci, Perry. *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800*. Hambledon Continuum, 2007, pp. 110-11; Gauci, Perry. *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720*. Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 166–75; Glaisyer, Natasha, *The culture of commerce in England 1660–1720*. Royal Historical Society, 2006, pp. 117ff.

²² Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 487, ff. 237–8.

²³ Pollard, Lucy. *The quest for Classical Greece: early modern travel to the Greek world*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015, p. 36.

²⁴ Davis, Ralph. *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*. London: Macmillan, 1967, p. 66; Gauci, Perry. *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800*. Hambledon Continuum, 2007, pp. 114-15; Gauci, Perry. *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720*. Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 72, 120–1.

²⁵ Gauci, Perry. *Emporium of the World: The Merchants of London 1660–1800*. Hambledon Continuum, 2007, p. 117.

²⁶ Will of Francis Crawley, TNA, Prob 11/364/351; will of Francis Clutterbuck, TNA, Prob 11/509/308; *The Clutterbuck Book*. <https://clutterbuckorg.blogspot.com> (accessed 30.10.25).

However, Samuel began his career not in the Levant but in Italy. In May 1727, aged 22, he is recorded in Messina in Sicily as a junior partner in the merchant firm of a certain William Allen, who had been in Messina since at least 1718.²⁷

Perhaps the £4,000 which Samuel inherited when he reached 21 in 1726 had been drawn on to buy him this partnership. A possible link is that Sir Samuel Dashwood was succeeded as Alderman for Aldgate by another prominent London merchant and close contemporary, Sir Samuel Stanier (1649–1724), who, like Dashwood, was involved in the Royal Africa Company and was to be Lord Mayor in 1714. In the 1670s he had been British Consul in Messina, where his family had trading interests. The Staniers were related by marriage with the Porten and Allen families who ran the merchant house in Messina which Samuel joined.



Figure 4: View of Messina in 1735. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Public Domain Dedication (CC0 1.0)

It was a good introduction to the overseas merchant trade. The ‘English nation’ – the group of English merchants in Messina – was small, though increasing in the 1720s and 1730s,²⁸ but as they were not part of a formal Company like the Levant Company there is much less documentation about them. Messina was an important staging post for English ships en route to Venice and the Levant, and silk produced in Sicily itself was increasingly being exported to England.²⁹ A document of 1734 shows that Samuel Crawley and William Allen were involved in exporting orsoy, a high-quality silk fabric from Messina, though this may not have been their only interest.³⁰

²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D’Orville 487, f. 55; Luce, A.A. and Jessop, T.E. (eds.). *The Works of George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne*, vol. 8. London: Nelson, 1956, p. 109; d’Angelo, Michela. *Comunità straniere a Messina tra XVIII e XIX secolo*. Messina, 1995, p. 22.

²⁸ d’Angelo, Michela. *Comunità straniere a Messina tra XVIII e XIX secolo*. Messina, 1995, p. 22.

²⁹ Bottari, Salvatore. Relations between Sicily and Great Britain in 1750–1800, in Vassallo, Carmel and d’Angelo, Michela (eds.). *Anglo-Saxons in the Mediterranean: Commerce, Politics and Ideas, XVII–XX Centuries*. Malta University Press, 2007, p. 81; Bottari, Salvatore. The Port of Messina, 1591–1783, in *Making Waves in the Mediterranean*, Proceedings of the second Mediterranean Maritime History Network conference, 2006, pp. 632–4, 640, 643, 644; Davis, Ralph. *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*. London: Macmillan, 1967, pp. 136–7, 139.

³⁰ TNA, C 113/12, Bundle no. 17.

The city of Messina in the early 18th century was a ramshackle place, with dirty streets and dilapidated buildings, encouraging unpleasant infestations of fleas which were said to have a particular penchant for fair northern flesh.³¹ All this was to be swept away by an earthquake in 1783 (and again in 1908). Outside the city things were little better. The countryside was infested by brigands, and as there were no proper roads, only mule tracks, the only way of travelling was on horseback. Torrential rain regularly caused landslides, floods and swollen rivers, so that only the most intrepid traveller would explore further by land.³² Essential business trips to other parts of Sicily, such as Syracuse, must have been difficult and dangerous, but Samuel probably went by sea for preference.

DISCOVERING THE ANCIENT WORLD

For anyone interested in the ancient world, the Greek temples of Sicily were the best to be seen without venturing into the Ottoman empire, and most were fairly close to the coast. By 1720 English travellers were already coming to Messina by sea from Naples. They included John Dryden junior, son of the poet;³³ Thomas Coke the future 1st Earl of Leicester and builder of Holkham Hall;³⁴ and the philosopher George Berkeley, later Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland.³⁵ Samuel's own brother, John Crawley, visited Sicily in 1725 as part of his Grand Tour, escorted by the writer John Breval who was among the first European travellers to appreciate Greek classical architecture as opposed to Roman.³⁶ Samuel may already have been in Messina, or possibly travelled there with them. Perhaps it was through Breval that Samuel became interested in Greek antiquities, an enthusiasm which was to last all his life.

Greek coins from Sicily from the 6th to 2nd centuries BC are particularly fine and were highly sought after by 18th-century collectors as both attractive and easily portable. Samuel refers to them as 'médailles' (medals), as was common at the time; but they are now known to have been used as currency; the Greeks did not indicate the value on their coins, as this was determined by material and weight. Samuel encouraged the locals to bring him anything they found and amassed a large collection; he had more than two thousand by 1732. He began to act as an agent for foreign coin collectors, sending consignments to London, where he had good contacts. For example, his mother's first cousin Sir Francis Dashwood (1708–81) was one of the founders in 1732 of the Society of Dilettanti, a club for young men who had been on the Grand Tour. Sir Francis has a reputation as a drunk, a libertine,

³¹ Tuzet, Hélène. *La Sicile au XVIII siècle vue par les voyageurs étrangers*. Strasbourg, 1955, p. 23; Dryden, John, Junior. *A Voyage to Sicily and Malta*. London, 1776, p. 12.

³² Tuzet, Hélène. *La Sicile au XVIII siècle vue par les voyageurs étrangers*. Strasbourg, 1955, pp. 206–7, 216–17; Astarita, Tommaso. *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2005, p. 245.

³³ Tuzet, Hélène. *La Sicile au XVIII siècle vue par les voyageurs étrangers*. Strasbourg, 1955, p. 9; Dryden, John, Junior. *A Voyage to Sicily and Malta*. London, 1776.

³⁴ TNA, SP 93/7, f. 52; Oxford dictionary of national biography.

³⁵ Luce, A.A. and Jessop, T.E. (eds.). *The Works of George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne*, vol. 8. London: Nelson, 1956, p. 109; Chaney, Edward. *The Evolution of the Grand Tour* London and Portland: Frank Cass, 1998, pp. 22–6.

³⁶ Ingamells, John. *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800 compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive*. London and New York: Yale University Press, 1997, s.v. John Crawley; Chaney, Edward. *The Evolution of the Grand Tour*. London and Portland: Frank Cass, 1998, pp. 26–32.

and a convenor of orgies or even Satanic rites, but much of this reputation seems to be the result of a smear campaign by political enemies in the 1760s.³⁷



Figure 5: Tetradrachm of Syracuse, 5th century BC

Samuel was clearly in a good position to make some money out of rich foreign visitors in search of antiquities; though there were still only a few, he took full advantage of those who came. In 1728 he fulfilled an ambition of going to Malta by joining forces with a group of young English gentlemen: Lord Lovelace, John King and Lewis and Hugh Barlow.³⁸

One foreign visitor, however, became a lifelong friend. This was the Dutch classical scholar, Jacques Philippe d'Orville (1696–1751), who visited Sicily between May and July 1727 and made an extensive tour of the island, braving the bad roads and the brigands which he feared less than sea-sickness.³⁹ D'Orville was ten years older than Samuel but the two became friends, and after d'Orville left Sicily they wrote to each other until d'Orville's death in September 1751. Much of his large and notable collection of books and manuscripts ended up in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, including Samuel Crawley's letters, which are a major source for his life in Messina and later in Smyrna.⁴⁰ Written in simple French, they give much information about Samuel's collecting activities and his life as a young man in a foreign city, socialising with the other English merchants, the soldiers of the garrison, and the nuns at a local convent. Soon after d'Orville left, Samuel told him that he had been to visit 'La Belle dans le Couvent de St Gregoire'; she had asked for news of d'Orville, and was put out to hear that he had left without coming to saying goodbye to her. Samuel wrote: 'I offered her my undying service. I flatter myself that I am in her good graces.'⁴¹ Samuel also passed on gossip to his friend: a fellow merchant's daughter had run away from home and taken refuge in a convent, apparently because she wanted to marry a Sicilian prince against her father's wishes;

³⁷ Oxford dictionary of national biography, s.v. Francis Dashwood; Kelly, Jason M. Sir Francis Dashwood: Connoisseur, Collector and Traveller. www.artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays-index/sir-francis-dashwood-connoisseur-collector-and-traveller (accessed 13.10.25); Richardson, Tim. West Wycombe Park. *Country Life*, 1 October 2025.

³⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 487, ff. 72–3, 94–95; Ingamells, John. *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800 compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive*. London and New York: Yale University Press, 1997, s.v. Lovelace, King, Barlow; Black, Jeremy. *Italy and the Grand Tour*. London and New York: Yale University Press, 2003, p. 61.

³⁹ Tuzet, H el ene. *La Sicile au XVIII si cle vue par les voyageurs  trangers*. Strasbourg, 1955, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Vioque, Guillermo Gal an. The lost library of Jacques Philippe d'Orville. *Quarendo* 47 (2017), pp. 132–70.

⁴¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 487, f. 62 (author's translation from French).

and John Breval's reputed affair with a nun of Milan was a major topic of speculation.

More seriously, Samuel and d'Orville shared an interest in collecting antique coins. Samuel sent a batch of coins to d'Orville for him to select any he wanted, and repeatedly assured him that he would be happy to collect coins, manuscripts and copies of inscriptions for him and to share any duplicate coins. A good businessman, his letters include suggestions about how d'Orville might reimburse him; on one occasion he jokingly suggested payment in the form of some piece of frippery for his mistress.⁴² Samuel also encouraged d'Orville in his plan to publish a book about ancient Sicily, which Samuel hoped would encourage more foreigners to visit. In 1732 he acquired a plan of the Roman amphitheatre at Syracuse to go into d'Orville's book.⁴³

They never met again after 1727 but they continued to correspond. In a letter of 1747 Samuel wrote that, although it was many years since they had been in touch, 'the friendship with which you honoured me during your stay in Messina in 1727 made an impression on my spirit [esprit] which time has not been able to efface.' He was still reminding d'Orville to send him a copy of his book on Sicily when it was published; he was eager to read about places which he had not managed to visit because his business activities took up too much time.⁴⁴ Sadly the book (entitled *Sicula*) did not appear until 1762–4, well after d'Orville's death on 14 September 1751, and as Samuel himself died early in 1762 he would never have seen it. It included a mention of Samuel and William Allen, 'very excellent men energetically performing the merchant trade at Messina',⁴⁵ and contributed to the growing popularity of Sicily among antiquarian travellers. In the later 18th century overland communications improved and Sicily became a popular destination for visitors from northern Europe.⁴⁶

During his time in Messina Samuel Crawley would have had occasion to visit Naples. Although not formally merged until 1816, Naples and Sicily were ruled jointly, by the Austrians since 1720 as a result of the War of the Spanish Succession. Spain was to take over in 1734. William Allen's brother was the British Consul in Naples, and William later succeeded him in that post.⁴⁷ Naples was becoming a great centre for anyone interested in antique art, and British antiquarians travelling to Greece and the Levant usually started their journey there. Charles, King of Naples and Sicily from 1734 and later Charles III of Spain, took control of the excavations at Herculaneum in 1738 and made sure that the finds stayed in Naples.⁴⁸ Samuel's cousin Sir Francis Dashwood was in Italy in 1739–40, when he visited the

⁴² Ibid, ff. 94–5, 98–9, 122, 139–40.

⁴³ Ibid, ff. 144–5.

⁴⁴ Ibid, ff. 226–7 (author's translation from French).

⁴⁵ Translation from Latin.

⁴⁶ Tuzet, Hélène. *La Sicile au XVIII siècle vue par les voyageurs étrangers*. Strasbourg, 1955, pp. 5, 6–7; Astarita, Tommaso. *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2005, pp. 226–7.

⁴⁷ Ingamells, John. *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800 compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive*. London and New York: Yale University Press, 1997, s.v. Allen; TNA, SP 93/11–12.

⁴⁸ Haskell, F. and Penny, N. *Taste and the Antique*. London and New York: Yale University Press, 1981, corrected reprint 1982, pp. 74–5.

excavations at Herculaneum; it is tempting to wonder whether he and Samuel saw each other then.⁴⁹

At some point Samuel got to know the rich art collector the Marchese Alessandro Rinuccini (1686–1758), a banker from a wealthy Florentine family. He was at the centre of an intellectual circle in Naples, and the family collections of classical coins would have particularly interested Samuel.⁵⁰ Their friendship endured; although presumably a Roman Catholic, he was to be a godfather to one of Samuel's children in 1751, and in 1754 Samuel arranged for him to be sent a present of a box of dried plums and apricots from Damascus and one of water melon seeds, clearly a great delicacy.⁵¹

Naples was the obvious port of call for travellers coming to and from Messina, and Samuel stopped there en route when he went back to England for a visit in 1732–3.⁵²

BRITISH CONSUL AT SMYRNA

Samuel was in Messina until 1742; then his life changed when he was invited to take up the post of British Consul in Smyrna. His letter of appointment from the Levant Company, dated 26 March, reads: 'It having been represented to us, that you desired to enter into our Service and would undertake to act as one of our Consuls, upon the Recommendation of your Friends and assurances from them of your good Character, on the 19th inst. we unanimously made choice of you to be our Consul at Smyrna.'⁵³ He was 36 years old.

Presumably his family connections with the Levant Company had helped towards his appointment. This was the usual way of obtaining such posts; the Scottish traveller Alexander Drummond (d. 1769) obtained the posts of British Vice-Consul in Alexandretta (now Iskenderun) in 1747 and British Consul in Aleppo in 1751 by writing letters to influential contacts back in England and encouraging acquaintances in Aleppo to urge their English friends to support his election.⁵⁴ Samuel's cousin Sir Francis Dashwood seems to have visited Constantinople and Smyrna about ten years earlier,⁵⁵ and had perhaps made useful connections there. Messina and Smyrna had strong trading links, and Samuel's experience of the silk trade in Messina would have been valuable for a role in Smyrna, where silk was a major export.⁵⁶ As well as the prestige and security of a salaried post, Samuel must

⁴⁹ Oxford dictionary of national biography; Goodall, John. Roman Holiday: West Wycombe Park. Buckinghamshire, Part II. *Country Life*, 8 October 2025.

⁵⁰ *Paragone*, Anno LXVIII, Numero 132 (805), March 2017, pp. 41–55; www.torrossa.com/de/resources/an/5365204 (accessed 28.02.2025).

⁵¹ British Library, Add MS 45933, p. 424.

⁵² Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 487, ff. 149, 158.

⁵³ TNA, SP 105/117.

⁵⁴ Van den Boogert, Maurits H. Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Izmir? A critical analysis of Alexander Drummond's travels (1754). In *Ottoman Izmir: studies in honour of Alexander H. de Groot*. Leiden, 2007, pp. 114, 116.

⁵⁵ Kelly, Jason M. Sir Francis Dashwood: Connoisseur, Collector and Traveller. www.artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays-index/sir-francis-dashwood-connoisseur-collector-and-traveller, p. 15 (accessed 13.10.25).

⁵⁶ Frangakis-Syrett, Elena. *The Commerce of Smyrna in the 18th Century*. Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992, p. 172.

have been attracted by the possibility of exploring the ancient sites of Smyrna and its neighbourhood.

Samuel was instructed to leave Messina for Smyrna immediately, but it took him considerably more than a year to get there. He was planning to leave in October 1742, but was still there in December, when he told the Company that he had sent to Livorno to engage a ship to call at Messina and take him to Smyrna.⁵⁷ But there were further delays; in February 1743 the merchants in Smyrna heard that Samuel had instead seized the opportunity of a ship leaving for Marseille to go back to England to sort out his affairs. He finally arrived in Smyrna in September 1743; meanwhile one of the merchants had been acting as a temporary Consul.⁵⁸

Samuel was to spend the rest of his life, just over 18 years, in Smyrna and there is no evidence that he ever again returned to England. The voyage home took about three months, and being cooped up in a sailing ship in adverse weather was hardly pleasant, so it was not a journey to be undertaken lightly.



Figure 6: N. Knop, *View of Smyrna*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Public Domain Dedication (CC0.1.0)

The Consuls in the Levant are described by Philip Mansel as ‘the key power-brokers in the Levant’,⁵⁹ and by A. C. Wood as ‘the leaders and representatives of the factories in every aspect of their life’.⁶⁰ A major role was to uphold the privileges granted by the Ottomans, called capitulations (*ahdnames*), by which permission to trade was granted in return for the proper behaviour of the English merchants. Relations with the Ottomans required careful diplomacy, and the men of the English factory, mostly young bachelors enjoying the freedom of being far from home, needed firm management, so the Consul’s job was demanding. As an employee of the Levant Company, he was in constant contact with the Company officials back in London, and was responsible for carrying out their requests. In particular, he had to see that the required dues were paid on traded goods; these provided the income for

⁵⁷ TNA, SP 105/117, 2 April 1742, 7 June 1743.

⁵⁸ TNA, SP 105/336, ff. 76, 78v, 79, 84v, 85.

⁵⁹ Mansel, Philip. *Levant: splendour and catastrophe in the Mediterranean*. London: John Murray, 2010, p. 27.

⁶⁰ Wood, A. C. *A history of the Levant Company*. Oxford University Press, 1935, reprinted 1964, p. 219.

the Levant Company from which the Consuls' salaries derived.⁶¹ The Consul also had limited judicial powers as the adjudicator of legal disputes among the members of the English factory. Samuel is not known to have had any legal training himself, but he came from a family of lawyers.

The largest single export from England at this time was woollen cloth for the Turkish market, but manufactured goods were also popular with the Turks and the Persians. The most important imports were silk, mohair, cotton and cotton wool, galls (for dyeing), dried fruit, carpets, spices from the Far East, and various other Turkish products. However, by Samuel Crawley's time the trade was in decline for various reasons, including competition from other nations, the opening up of new trade routes overland and via the Cape of Good Hope, and disruption to shipping in time of war. The number of trading vessels going to and from Smyrna by 1749 was much reduced compared to thirty years earlier, and the number of merchant firms had declined. There was a widespread feeling among English manufacturers that the Levant Company was stifling trade by its complicated rules and regulations and restricting any profit to a small group of London merchant families, but although an Act of 1753 did something to alleviate this the trade continued to decline.

Merchants did not generally stay long in the Levant; a young man would go out to Smyrna or Aleppo as a junior partner, expecting after a few years to become the senior partner and then return home. In contrast, the Consuls and other consular officials usually stayed for much longer and acquired detailed knowledge and understanding of the local situation. Although British Consuls in the Levant were employed and paid not by the government but by the Levant Company, they had an essential role as a line of communication between the Ottoman empire and the British government; there were no Ottoman ambassadors in western Europe before the late 18th century.⁶² Consuls corresponded regularly with the British Ambassador at Constantinople and intermittently with the Secretaries of State back in London, passing on important news, and they also liaised with the British navy which deployed ships in the Mediterranean to protect the Levant Company's vessels in time of war.

A series of letters survives in the East Riding of Yorkshire Record Office from Samuel to two successive admirals commanding the Mediterranean fleet in the mid 1740s during the War of the Austrian Succession, when Britain was at war with France. Samuel had already become expert on the local situation, picking up information from sailors coming to Smyrna and from merchants and British consuls in other ports; his earlier experience in Sicily must also have helped. In July 1745 he thanked the admiral for his 'kind acceptance of the Advices I have from time to time given Your Excellence for the honour & advancement of His Majesties service & for the Interests of the Nation establish'd in these Parts.' Two Naval ships had put into harbour at the island of Melos, north of Crete, and were stuck there because of northerly winds: 'I beg leave to hint', he wrote, 'that Milo is the most improper place

⁶¹ Davis, Ralph. *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*. London: Macmillan, 1967, p. 47; Wood, A. C. *A history of the Levant Company*. Oxford University Press, 1935, reprinted 1964, p. 219.

⁶² Horn, D.B. *The British Diplomatic Service 1689–1789*. Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 253; Van den Boogert, Maurits. *The Ottoman encounter and the law of nations in the Old Regime*. *Cambridge History of International Law*, vol. VI, 2025, chapter 22, p. 720.

His Majesties Ships can go to unless in case of extream necessity', because of the northerly winds, a French Consul there with 'great power and interest', bad air in summer, and a water shortage. He suggested other more suitable ports.⁶³

Samuel repeatedly asked for frigates to be deployed to protect the Levant Company's valuable cargoes and to 'destroy the Two Pirates who have long infested these seas'.⁶⁴ The French had eyes and ears everywhere; priests and friars on the islands gave them tip-offs, and the French Consul in Smyrna passed on news of British movements. In a later letter, on 5 September 1746, Samuel was disappointed to hear that a British warship which had recently returned to Livorno after a cruise in the Levant had had little success in protecting English trading vessels and harassing the French, 'which in great manner I attribute first to his touching at Zante [Zakynthos] and then coming here by which the whole coast was allarmed & advized of his Motions by several boats dispatched by the French Consul even to the coast of Syria'. Knowing that the British ship would be gone within four months, the French kept their trading vessels in port; now they had all emerged and were loading up their goods. '... in future my humble opinion is that whenever you send up any ships to cruize in these seas to order the Commodore not to go into any Port till he is upon his return home.'⁶⁵

The Levant Company's records in the National Archives include many letters between Samuel Crawley as Consul and the Company back in London. In general Samuel seems to have carried out his duties satisfactorily; the archives contain no hint of any serious complaints, and he was praised in a letter from the Company for his 'prudence and good temper'.⁶⁶ In contrast, the Consul at Aleppo, John Purnell, had been recalled by the Company in 1726 after many disagreements with members of his factory over several years.⁶⁷ But Samuel had frequent wrangles with the Company about expenses. Funding for extras had to be applied for; for example, on one occasion Samuel requested a replacement fire engine and fire buckets.⁶⁸ Fire was a real danger because so many buildings were built at least partly of wood. In 1745 Samuel was given permission to raise money from shipping coming to Smyrna for the maintenance of distressed sailors and the furnishing of a hospital for them.⁶⁹

ANTIQUARIAN TRAVELLERS

A major expense was entertaining. When Grand Tourists passed through Smyrna the Consul was expected to offer them hospitality at the British Consulate. In 1751 the Company refused Samuel's request for an increase in his salary because of all the entertaining he had to do, but agreed to pay any necessary expenses for entertaining 'noblemen or gentlemen travellers, for the honour of the nation'.⁷⁰ English travellers were beginning to come in increasing numbers to see the classical sites. Smyrna itself had been an important Greek city, with bits and pieces of classical sculpture

⁶³ East Riding of Yorks Record Office, DDGR 39/1/50.

⁶⁴ Ibid, DDGR 39/1/75.

⁶⁵ Ibid, DDGR 39/3.

⁶⁶ TNA, SP 105/118, p. 114.

⁶⁷ TNA, SP 105/116.

⁶⁸ TNA, SP 105/118, p. 24.

⁶⁹ TNA, SP 105/117, 19 July 1745.

⁷⁰ TNA, SP 105/118, p. 189.

turning up all the time. Nearby was the famous site of Ephesus, a focus for foreign travellers since the earlier 17th century.⁷¹ Smyrna was also one of the Seven Churches of Asia mentioned in the Book of Revelation, while the others were within a few days journey, and touring them was popular;⁷² in some schools for the middle and upper classes at this period the teaching of Greek focussed primarily on New Testament Greek.⁷³ Each of the major British factories in the Levant had a salaried chaplain, and candidates were often attracted by the chance to pursue interests in antiquities, church history or oriental languages;⁷⁴ an example is Revd Charles Burdett, a chaplain at Smyrna in Samuel's time, who enjoyed guiding visitors around the ruins of the ancient city.



Figure 7: Luigi Mayer: Fragments at Ephesus (1810). New York Public Library. Public Domain Dedication (NoC US 1.0)

In 1744 Alexander Drummond stayed at Smyrna and got to know Samuel and other members of the English community. He studied the local Greek antiquities, enjoyed taking part in an assembly, to which 'Mr Consul Crawley did me the honour to introduce me on the first night', and formed a lodge of Freemasons there. It has been suggested that the freemasons' lodge Drummond founded was actually in Aleppo, not Smyrna, but there are various other references to a lodge in Smyrna in Drummond's letters.⁷⁵ Drummond formed a lasting friendship with Samuel, and his letters to him are full of happy reminiscences of his time in Smyrna, which he saw

⁷¹Mansel, Philip. *Levant: splendour and catastrophe in the Mediterranean*. London: John Murray, 2010, p. 20.

⁷²Laidlaw, Christine. *The British in the Levant*. London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010, p. 84.

⁷³Pollard, Lucy. *The quest for Classical Greece: early modern travel to the Greek world*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015, pp. 36, 156.

⁷⁴Laidlaw, Christine. *The British in the Levant*. London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010, pp. 85, 220.

⁷⁵Drummond, Alexander. *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia ...* London, 1754, pp. 114–21; Van den Boogert, Maurits H. Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Izmir? A critical analysis of Alexander Drummond's travels (1754). In *Ottoman Izmir: studies in honour of Alexander H. de Groot*. Leiden, 2007.

as Paradise compared to the hell of Alexandretta where he was British Vice-Consul at the time.⁷⁶

In 1747 Samuel was visited by Dr Anthony Askew (1722–74), who was touring ancient sites and collecting Greek manuscripts.⁷⁷ Askew, a physician and classical scholar and a friend of Samuel's friend d'Orville, left a collection of Greek and Latin inscriptions in Samuel's care at Smyrna.⁷⁸ Individuals at this period could, it seems, freely collect and export pieces of antique sculpture, as long as they had obtained a permit and a trading licence from the Ottoman authorities; large-scale collection of antiquities on behalf of the national museums of Britain and France did not take place until the 19th century.⁷⁹ Collectors at this earlier period saw themselves as rescuers of antiquities from the depredations of the local Turks; there was no feeling that it was better to leave them in situ.⁸⁰

The antiquary and Homeric scholar Robert Wood (1717–71)⁸¹ spent a week in Smyrna with two companions in the spring of 1750, enjoying Samuel's hospitality at the Consular house, exploring the antiquities of the Smyrna area, and enjoying the 'Company of the English Factory, who form a small but very agreeable community.' They then travelled inland to Sardis, accompanied for half the way by the 'gentlemen of the factory.' They stopped after an hour's ride at 'Diana's Baths' to drink punch with their escort, who returned to Smyrna while Wood and his companions went on to Sardis, Thyatira and Pergamum.⁸² Wood was to publish his famous book *The Ruins of Palmyra*, an important influence on English Neoclassicism, in 1753.

At this period antiquarian travellers to the Levant were few in number and many of them knew each other. Wood, who knew Alexander Drummond, was in Rome in 1750 where he met James 'Athenian' Stuart (1713–88) and Nicholas Revett (1720–1804). A letter of 1753 from Stuart to Wood thanking him for sending a drawing of Palmyra demonstrates their close collaboration.⁸³ Stuart and Revett were in Smyrna from March to June 1753 and again in 1754, and Samuel subscribed to the first volume of their *Antiquities of Athens*, published in 1762. Revett was later to design garden buildings for Samuel's cousin Sir Francis Dashwood at West Wycombe Park.⁸⁴ Samuel, who was still collecting antiquities,⁸⁵ would have delighted in such visitors. Sadly he did not live to see the visit in 1764 of the much younger Richard Chandler (c. 1737–1810), sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti through the influence of Robert Wood to tour Asia Minor and Greece. He later

⁷⁶ British Library, Add MS 45932, pp. 70, 217, 292, 544; Add MS 45933, p. 117.

⁷⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 487, ff. 224–7; Oxford dictionary of national biography, s.v. Anthony Askew.

⁷⁸ British Library, MS Burn 402, last page.

⁷⁹ Gunning, Lucia Patrizio and Vlami, Despina. Continuity and change in the British diplomatic service in the Levant. *Journal of the history of collections*, August 2023, 36(1).

⁸⁰ Pollard, Lucy. *The quest for Classical Greece: early modern travel to the Greek world*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015, pp. 134–5.

⁸¹ Finnegan, Rachel and Mulvin, Lynda. *The life and works of Robert Wood, Classicist and traveller (1717–1771)*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022.

⁸² Journal of James Dawkins. <https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/9474> (accessed 30.10.25).

⁸³ Sheffield City Archives, WWM/B/1/42.

⁸⁴ Richardson, Tim. West Wycombe Park. *Country Life*, 1 October 2025.

⁸⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 487, f. 224–5, 237–8.

published two books, *Ionian antiquities* (1769) and *Travels in Asia Minor* (1775), and in the latter book he wrote: ‘Perhaps no place has contributed more than Smyrna to enrich the collections and cabinets of the curious in Europe.’⁸⁶

Samuel would also have found fellow enthusiasts for the ancient world among the European trading communities in Smyrna. Although not all merchants would have had a full classical education, at this period a certain level of knowledge would have been commonplace, and the library at the Smyrna consulate in 1702 included some classical texts.⁸⁷ Several of the English merchants in Smyrna also collected antiquities,⁸⁸ as did the Dutch Consul, Daniel Alexander de Hochepped, Comte de Hochepped (1689–1759), who became a good friend. Alexander Drummond had met him in 1744 and was impressed by his collection of coins and other antiquities.⁸⁹ Samuel wrote to d’Orville that the Comte was busily buying up antique busts and inscriptions as well as coins, of which he would be happy to send any duplicates to d’Orville.⁹⁰



Figure 8: View of Smyrna with reception given to a Comte de Hochepped as Dutch Consul. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Public Domain Dedication (CC0 1.0)

The Hochepped family were originally Amsterdam merchants; they had previously been in Antwerp and were reputedly of French, presumably Huguenot, origin. The Comte’s father, Daniel Jean de Hochepped (1657–1723) was the first of a long succession of Hocheppeds who held the post of Dutch Consul in Smyrna from 1688. He had been created Baron in 1704 by Leopold I, German Emperor and King of Hungary, for services rendered in connection with the Treaty of Karlowitz which

⁸⁶ Chandler, Richard. *Travels in Asia Minor*. Oxford, 1775, Chapter XVIII.

⁸⁷ Pollard, Lucy. *The quest for Classical Greece: early modern travel to the Greek world*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015, p. 41, citing TNA, SP 105/145.

⁸⁸ Van den Boogert, Maurits H. Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Izmir? A critical analysis of Alexander Drummond’s travels (1754). In *Ottoman Izmir: studies in honour of Alexander H. de Groot*. Leiden, 2007, p. 110.

⁸⁹ Drummond, Alexander. *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia ...* London, 1754, p. 119.

⁹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D’Orville 487, ff. 237–8.

ended the Great Turkish War in 1699, when he had been instrumental in getting Austrian prisoners released. Daniel Alexander de Hochepped had been raised to the rank of Count in 1741 by the Empress Maria Theresa.⁹¹

In the 17th century the British and the Dutch, as Protestant nations, developed strong cultural and political links with each other, culminating in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 when joint English and Dutch monarchs gained the English throne with hardly any opposition.⁹² Dutch success in foreign trade, like British, was underpinned by expertise in seafaring and shipbuilding, and Amsterdam became a great centre for commerce; British merchants in Smyrna developed commercial relations with Dutch firms in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.⁹³

It was therefore natural that the British and Dutch merchants in the Levant would get on well together, although they were also trading rivals, the Dutch being in the ascendant by Samuel's time.⁹⁴ There was no Dutch equivalent of the Levant Company; theirs was just a loose grouping of private traders, and Smyrna was their chief base. The British and Dutch were allies in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48), and the Dutch were neutral in the Seven Years' War (1756–63) in which Britain and France were major players. Samuel Crawley and the Comte de Hochepped, coming from merchant families in London and Amsterdam, would have had a lot in common, and Samuel's friend d'Orville, also from Amsterdam, may have provided a further connection. In addition, the Comte de Hochepped's first cousin Clarissa, daughter of Elbert de Hochepped, Dutch Ambassador at Constantinople, was in 1755 to marry the British Ambassador in Constantinople, James Porter (later Sir James), a good friend of Samuel's.⁹⁵

LIFE IN SMYRNA

The great trading cities in the Levant had a very international population in the 18th century. In Smyrna, as well as Turks (the term used at the time for Muslims), there were large populations of Greeks, Jews and Armenians; Jews were widely used as middlemen in trade by the foreign merchants.⁹⁶ Alexander Drummond described the streets of Smyrna in general as 'so narrow they scarce deserve the appellation of lanes, as dirty at all times as kennels, and so crowded, where the business of the Franks is carried on, that one cannot pass without great difficulty.'⁹⁷

The British, Dutch, French, Swedish and Venetian trading communities were known as Franks, and there are plenty of contemporary reports about their enjoyable social life. Richard Pococke (1704–65), later an Irish bishop, visited Smyrna just

⁹¹ MS notes on Hochepped genealogy from a Dutch source (1935) (copy in author's possession); <https://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2014/03/hochepped-family-of-smyrna.html> (accessed 3.11.25).

⁹² Jardine, Lisa. *Going Dutch: how England plundered Holland's glory*. London: Harper Press, 2008.

⁹³ Frangakis-Syrett, Elena. Izmir and the Ottoman maritime world of the eighteenth century. *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, Anno 20 (81), no. 1, pp. 118, 125.

⁹⁴ Wood, A. C. *A history of the Levant Company*. Oxford University Press, 1935, reprinted 1964, pp. 114–15.

⁹⁵ Oxford dictionary of national biography, s.v. James Porter.

⁹⁶ Mansel, Philip. *Levant: splendour and catastrophe in the Mediterranean*. London: John Murray, 2010, p. 30.

⁹⁷ Drummond, Alexander. *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia ...* London, 1754, pp. 119–20.

before Samuel arrived, and wrote in 1745: ‘The great number of Franks who are settled here, make Smyrna a very agreeable place, and there is no want of good company; they live in a very sociable manner, and are particularly civil to strangers.’⁹⁸ Charles Thompson, who visited Smyrna a little earlier, in 1733–4, described the English factory at Smyrna as ‘perhaps the noblest in the World, consisting generally of eighty or a hundred Persons, most of them young Gentlemen of the best Families, and frequently younger sons of Peers.’⁹⁹ He was there for Christmas, and wrote: ‘What made this gloomy Season pass away the more agreeably was the good Company of our Countrymen and other European Merchants, who maintain a chearful Correspondence one with another ... and in particular we spent our Christmas, the usual time of feasting and rejoicing among Christians, with the greatest Pleasure and Satisfaction, paying and receiving mutual Visits and Compliments, and indulging ourselves in innocent Mirth, with the same Freedom as if we had been in our native Country, or any other Part of Europe.’¹⁰⁰

The various Frank communities were based in Frank Street, said in the 1730s to be the handsomest street in Smyrna.¹⁰¹ It was fifteen feet wide and ran parallel to the coast north-east of the harbour. It had twists and turns because it followed the original line of the coast; over the years the shoreline had changed as new wooden piers and other structures were erected. Goods were loaded and unloaded on the piers and there were passages between the shoreline and Frank Street that travellers and others could use.¹⁰² All this was swept away when the modern quay was built in the later 19th century, and now there is a wide promenade on the sea front overlooked by a line of mostly six-storey buildings.



Figure 9: View of the Frank Scale at Smyrna, showing the wooden piers and other structures behind the houses of Frank Street (detail of Figure 6)

Contemporary sources described Frank Street as a private enclave where homesick young men could re-create as far as possible the atmosphere of home; the

⁹⁸ Pococke, Richard. *A Description of the East, and some other countries*, Vol II Part II. London, 1745, p. 38.

⁹⁹ Thompson, Charles. *Travels through Turkey in Asia*, etc. London, 1754, p. 16.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 85.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 6.

¹⁰² Gutay, Ege. *The waterfront and the cosmopolitan settlement: spatial transformations in Smyrna between the 1688 earthquake and the development of the quay*. MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2023, pp. 23, 24, 30, 56.

doors on Frank Street were locked at night for security.¹⁰³ An earlier visitor, the French traveller Joseph Pitton de Tournefort who was in Smyrna c. 1700–1702, had described life in the Street of the Franks: ‘When we are in this Street, we seem to be in *Christendom*; they speak nothing but Italian, French, English or Dutch there.’¹⁰⁴ Recent research gives a somewhat different view of Frank Street as having both local and foreign elements, ‘a hybrid environment rather than a European-dominated urban space as it was assumed in general.’¹⁰⁵ It can be dangerous to rely too much on 18th-century travellers’ memoirs; they were sometimes written many years later, or put together for publication by others. Later travellers would have used such books as guidebooks, and when writing up their own travels they might use them to fill in gaps in their own experiences; what we would now consider plagiarism was more acceptable in this period, and the books were written to entertain as well as to instruct.¹⁰⁶

The better houses in Frank Street, occupied by Consuls and other wealthy foreigners, were tall and narrow, with arched entrances on the street front and many windows for the living quarters on the upper floor. Courtyards and gardens extended back to the beach and the quay for Europeans, known as the Frank Scale (see Figure 9). Below the upstairs living quarters were warehouses and shops with substantial storage space for goods.¹⁰⁷ In the grander houses such as the British Consulate the upstairs apartments were spacious and handsome. Behind the living quarters there were long covered galleries leading to terraces open to the sea and cooled by refreshing breezes, and there were also delightful gardens with groves of orange and lemon trees.¹⁰⁸

The houses were rebuilt after a serious earthquake in 1688, now using stone only for the ground floors to make them more earthquake-proof, the first floors being of timber infilled with brick and mud, though in 1739, before Samuel’s arrival, the British Consulate had again been destroyed by an earthquake.

At this time foreigners could not legally own freehold properties, only Ottoman subjects and Levantine women (including foreigners’ wives or mothers-in-law); though it seems that this regulation was regularly flouted.¹⁰⁹ However, in Samuel

¹⁰³ Kaya, Miyase Koyuncu. An English merchant in Ottoman Izmir (Smyrna): William Barker (1731–1825). <https://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/An-English-Merchant-in-Ottoman-Smyrna-William-Barker.pdf> (accessed 9.12.25).

¹⁰⁴ Quoted by Daniel Goffman in Eldem, Edhem, Goffman, Daniel and Masters, Bruce. *The Ottoman city between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 94.

¹⁰⁵ Gutay, Ege. The waterfront and the cosmopolitan settlement: spatial transformations in Smyrna between the 1688 earthquake and the development of the quay. MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2023, p. 66.

¹⁰⁶ Pollard, Lucy. *The quest for Classical Greece: early modern travel to the Greek world*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 2015, pp. 16–17, 207.

¹⁰⁷ Gutay, Ege, The waterfront and the cosmopolitan settlement: spatial transformations in Smyrna between the 1688 earthquake and the development of the quay. MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2023, pp. 22–4, 29, 30; Pococke, Richard. *A Description of the East, and some other countries*, Vol II Part II. London, 1745, p. 37.

¹⁰⁸ Chandler, Richard. *Travels in Asia Minor*. Oxford, 1775, Chapter XVII; Pococke, Richard. *A Description of the East, and some other countries*, Vol II Part II. London, 1745, p. 37.

¹⁰⁹ Gutay, Ege, The waterfront and the cosmopolitan settlement: spatial transformations in Smyrna between the 1688 earthquake and the development of the quay. MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2023,

Crawley's time the British Consulate in Frank Street was rented from the Homero family, several members of which were dragomans, who acted as intermediaries between the Franks and the local population. There were long-standing disputes about the level of the rent; when it got too high efforts were made to find an alternative house, but none was available in Frank Street, and the Homero house was retained, the Levant Company agreeing to pay the rent asked and carry out necessary repairs;¹¹⁰ in 1745 the Company gave Samuel permission to have 'the arms over your gate ... painted on wood as you propose'.¹¹¹ It was normal at this period for Consular houses to be owned or rented by the current Consul, and not necessarily passed on to his successor;¹¹² the exact location of the Consulate in Samuel's time is not known.

As well as living accommodation for the British Consul and his family, his house contained the consular offices and the chapel where the English community worshipped. The Consul provided board and lodging for the chaplain; when a new chaplain was appointed in 1752 the Company wrote to Samuel hoping 'that he may have the same rooms in your house in town and country and partake of your plentiful table at noon and at nights as has been practised towards his predecessors'.¹¹³ Presumably this was Philip Brown, who was in post by 1753.

There was also a library at the Consulate for the use of the English community; batches of books were regularly sent out by the Company in London, sometimes in response to requests by the chaplain; these were serious 'improving' works, all non-fiction.¹¹⁴ There is no surviving list of the library contents in Samuel's time, but in 1702 there had been more than a hundred volumes covering theology, history and antiquities, classics, geography, medicine, mathematics, law, literature and language.¹¹⁵ One wonders how popular these books were among the young men of the factory.

SEDIKÖY

Although the Europeans did their best to make life in Smyrna as much as possible like home, there were serious drawbacks. It was (and still is) very hot in summer, and in the 18th century there were frequent outbreaks of plague, most virulent in late spring and early summer and a serious threat to trade as well as to life, as ships that had visited plague-infested areas had to be quarantined for long periods. Letters from Smyrna often contained assurances that Smyrna was plague-free; foreign rivals sometimes spread false rumours of plague. In times of danger the Franks often retreated to their ships, leaving the native inhabitants to their fate.

pp. 42–3; Mansel, Philip. *Levant: splendour and catastrophe in the Mediterranean*. London: John Murray, 2010, p. 29.

¹¹⁰ TNA, SP 105/117, 25 April 1744; SP 105/118, p. 22; SP 105/119, p. 2.

¹¹¹ TNA, SP 105/117, 19 July 1745.

¹¹² Van den Boogert, Maurits. The Ottoman encounter and the law of nations in the Old Regime. *Cambridge History of International Law*, vol. VI, 2025, chapter 22, p. 725.

¹¹³ Laidlaw, Christine. *The British in the Levant*. London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2010, pp. 42–3; TNA, SP 105/118, p. 220.

¹¹⁴ e.g. TNA, SP 105/116, p. 130.

¹¹⁵ Pollard, Lucy. *The quest for Classical Greece: early modern travel to the Greek world*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015, pp. 41, 97, citing TNA, SP 105/145.

As well as earthquakes, the houses, being built at least partly of wood, were vulnerable to frequent fires. In 1742, shortly before Samuel's arrival, a serious fire, probably started maliciously, destroyed much of the city. In 1763, shortly after Samuel's death, much of Frank Street was destroyed by fire, though this time the British Consulate was damaged but not destroyed.¹¹⁶

Much more pleasant was the countryside around Smyrna, where olives, vines, figs, almonds and melons grew in profusion and there were large flocks of sheep, goats and cattle. The broad flat river valleys between the mountain ranges were ideal for English country sports; on Saturdays the English merchants all took the day off and would go hunting, hawking, shooting and fishing, importing their own packs of hounds.¹¹⁷ It was the nature of the Levant trade that sometimes the merchants were very busy but at other times there was very little to do, leaving plenty of time for country sports.

The Consuls and richer merchants had country houses in villages in the plain between Smyrna and Ephesus, where they could retreat during the hot summer months and during outbreaks of plague. In September 1746 Samuel Crawley bought at auction a house in the village of Sediköy (now Gaziemir) which had belonged to an English merchant; he had to wait a while to gain possession, as the auction was, reasonably enough, claimed to be unfairly biased, having been held in the British Consulate with the Chancellor of the English factory as auctioneer, but eventually James Porter, the newly appointed British Ambassador at Constantinople, judged in Samuel's favour.¹¹⁸ It is unclear where exactly the house was or whether anything survives.

Sediköy was a pleasant village on the Ephesus road, set among cypresses with a mosque and fountain, with mountains to the west. The houses, where English and Dutch merchants had lived since the 17th century, had spacious gardens and orchards.¹¹⁹ It is now almost on the site of Smyrna airport, and was renamed Gaziemir in 1965. An earlier British Consul, William Sherrard (1703–16), had a house with a botanical garden, some of which is said to survive, and next door was the house of the Comtes de Hochepped, probably built in the mid 18th century and still in existence in 1978¹²⁰ (see Figure 10). In May 1753 some unidentified visitors to Smyrna rode to Sediköy with the English chaplain Revd Philip Brown and other friends, on horses provided by the British Consulate. Samuel Crawley, 'who has a summer house in Sediköy' took them to visit the house of a Dutch merchant, Mr van Lennep;¹²¹ this family were also later to intermarry with Samuel's descendants.

¹¹⁶ TNA, SP 105/119, p. 134; *London Gazette*, 15–18 Oct 1763.

¹¹⁷ Mansel, Philip. *Levant: splendour and catastrophe in the Mediterranean*. London: John Murray, 2010, p. 29.

¹¹⁸ TNA, SP 105/183, f. 19 ff.

¹¹⁹ For more on Sediköy see Baltazzi, Alex. *The Heritage of Sediköy*, 2009. www.levantineheritage.com/note77.htm (accessed 3.11.25).

¹²⁰ Hasselquist, Frederick. *Voyages and Travels in the Levant in the years 1749, 50, 51, 52 ...* London, 1766, p. 51; Kaças, Evelyn Lyle. Izmir 250 years ago: a famous botanical garden. *Garden History*, Vol. 6 No. 2 (summer 1978), pp. 26–8.

¹²¹ <https://tarihvearkeoloji.blogspot.com/2017/05/izmir-hochepped-levanten-komprador.html> (accessed 3.11.25), quoting İlhan Pinar, 'Travellers in the 17th and 19th centuries' (untraced).

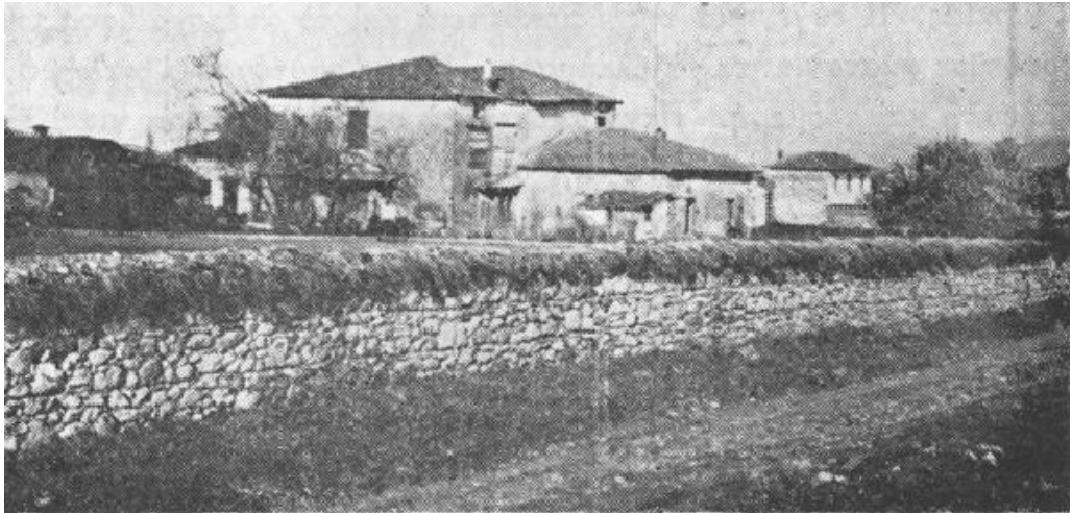


Figure 10: The de Hochepped house in Sediköy, photographed in 1962
(<https://www.levantineheritage.com/book22.htm>)

Another favourite place of retreat, much closer to Smyrna, was the village of Budgia or Boudja; it is now Buca, a suburb of Izmir. The Dutch Consuls also had a house there, with a park full of gazelles, peacocks, pheasants, partridges and nightingales.¹²² Thomas Clutterbuck, Samuel Crawley's cousin who died in 1709, owned property there¹²³ but there is no record of Samuel doing so.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

In the spring of 1749 Samuel took a trip to Constantinople at the invitation of the British Ambassador James Porter.¹²⁴ There he met an attractive young lady, Marie Dunant, and wrote to the Levant Company in London asking for permission to marry her. The Company wrote back, thanking him for informing them 'that you have a mind to change your condition, having found at Constantinople a Protestant of French extraction who you say is a woman of good character and merit. We shall not oppose you in what you think necessary and convenient for you, and the experience we have had of your prudence and good temper makes us hope that this change of life will cause no alteration in that agreement you have kept up with the Factory hitherto. So wishing you all imaginable happiness and satisfaction we remain', etc.¹²⁵

It was important that Samuel's bride should be a Protestant; it would have been inconceivable in 1749 for the British Consul to marry a Catholic. The Dunant family belonged to a Genevan Protestant congregation in Constantinople, as did the Arlauds, Marie's mother's family. Both families were Huguenots originally from France, and were watchmakers or merchants in watches and fine jewellery; there were many French watchmakers in Constantinople. Marie's brothers Jean and Jacob

¹²² Hasselquist, Frederick. *Voyages and Travels in the Levant in the years 1749, 50, 51, 52 ...* London, 1766, p. 22.

¹²³ Will, TNA, Prob 11/509.

¹²⁴ TNA, SP 105/336, f. 111.

¹²⁵ TNA, SP 105/118, p. 114.

Dunant are recorded in 1752 buying diamond rings in Constantinople,¹²⁶ and a document of 1764 lists their stock worth nearly 43,000 livres, including snuff-boxes, belt buckles, chains, spectacles, and many watches, in silver or gold, or enamelled, or with elaborate engraving, or Parisian style, or with ‘figures lubriques’, i.e. lewd images.¹²⁷ Samuel Crawley owned a watch with his initials, perhaps supplied by his brothers-in-law, which he bequeathed to his nephew and namesake.¹²⁸

Alexander Drummond wrote to one of his merchant acquaintances in Smyrna: ‘I find Mr Consul Crawley has obtained the Company’s consent for marrying, and as I hear a mighty good character of the young lady, who to be sure is your acquaintance, I hope all of you will be happy, he in her thousands of charms, you in her conversation, when I know of their being in Smirna, I’ll pay them my Respects.’¹²⁹

Marie was at least twenty years younger than Samuel, who was now 44; her birthdate is given in different sources as either 1726 or 1728, a confusion perhaps arising from the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar which occurred at different times in different countries.¹³⁰ She was a striking young lady. Her portrait by the pastelist Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–89), another Huguenot from Geneva, survives in the possession of her Crawley descendants (see Figure 10). Liotard was only in Constantinople from 1738 to 1742 so Marie cannot have been more than sixteen when the portrait was painted. She wears Turkish costume, with a fur-lined robe over a long embroidered chemise and wide trousers.¹³¹ The fashion for western women in Constantinople to be painted in Turkish costume had been encouraged by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who had been there from 1716 to 1718 when her husband was British Ambassador.¹³² Marie was also known as Mimicha, which has given rise to some speculation. Liotard continued to paint portraits of women in Turkish dress after he left Constantinople; one of a seated woman is labelled ‘Mimica’ and dated 1749, and according to his reminiscences, written down by his son, Liotard wanted to marry a young woman in Constantinople named Mimica, whose mother forbade the match. It is tantalising to speculate whether this ‘Mimica’ could have been Marie Dunant; though Mimika as a diminutive of Dimitra is a not uncommon Greek name.¹³³

Marie travelled from Constantinople to Smyrna with her mother and one of her brothers, a few days before the wedding in the Consular chapel in Smyrna on 9

¹²⁶ MS notes from Dutch State Archives made for Charles Crawley through Philip Pandely Argenti, 1930s (copy in author’s possession). Thanks to Margreet de Roo for translating passages in Dutch.

¹²⁷ Piuz, Anne-Marie and Mottu-Weber, Liliane. *L’économie genevoise de la Réforme à la fin de l’Ancien Régime, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*. Geneva: Société d’Histoire et d’Archéologie de Genève, 1990, p. 557.

¹²⁸ TNA, Prob 11/873.

¹²⁹ British Library, Add MS 45932, pp. 485–6.

¹³⁰ Thanks to Richard Crawley for this suggestion.

¹³¹ Information from Jenny Lister of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

¹³² Inal, Onur. Women’s fashions in transition: Ottoman borderlands and the Anglo-Ottoman exchange of costumes. *Journal of World History*, June 2011, Vol 22 no 2, pp. 252–3.

¹³³ Bull, Duncan. Princess, Countess, Lover or Wife? Liotard’s “Lady on a Sofa”. *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 150, no. 1266, Sept 2008, pp. 595–6. Thanks to Jane Crawley for help on this section.

December 1749.¹³⁴ In a letter of 1750 Samuel told his friend d'Orville of his recent marriage and the birth of his first son, a beautiful boy who had given Samuel great pleasure.¹³⁵ Drummond wrote a little later to pay his 'most respectfull devoirs to Mrs Crawley' and congratulate them on what he heard was 'a most glorious boy... But don't my dear Sir stop. Go on & prosper, for one ought never to be a weary of well doing.'¹³⁶ This was sound advice; sadly the child died of smallpox less than two years later, but Marie and Samuel had six more children between 1751 and 1759, five of whom survived infancy.



Figure 11. Portrait of Marie Dunant by Jean-Etienne Liotard. Private collection

The Book of Common Prayer from the Smyrna Anglican Chaplaincy, now in Lambeth Palace Library (see page 2), contains records of Samuel's family, partly in his own hand.¹³⁷ For each child the dates of birth and baptism and of childhood illnesses are recorded; they all had smallpox in 1757. Their godparents are also listed, giving interesting insights into Samuel's family relationships and friends.

¹³⁴ MS notes from Dutch State Archives made for Charles Crawley through Philip Pandely Argenti, 1930s (copy in author's possession); Book of Common Prayer from Smyrna Chaplaincy, Lambeth Palace Library. www.levantineheritage.com/reg2.htm (accessed 4.11.25).

¹³⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS D'Orville 487, ff. 237–8.

¹³⁶ British Library, Add MS 45933, p. 117.

¹³⁷ Book of Common Prayer from Smyrna Chaplaincy, Lambeth Palace Library. www.levantineheritage.com/reg2.htm (accessed 4.11.25).

Although he had probably not been to England for some years and letters took months to arrive, he clearly kept up with his family back home; his mother, his brother John and his wife, his sisters Sarah and Anne, and two aunts, an uncle, a cousin and a nephew, all acted as godparents (represented by proxies), as did Marie's mother, sister and two brothers.

Two godparents were acquaintances who must have dated to Samuel's time in Messina. The Marchese Alessandro Rinuccini of Naples has already been mentioned. The diplomat Sir Stanier Porten (c. 1716–89)¹³⁸ was British resident at the court of Naples, but was related to Samuel's Messina partner William Allen and had been in Messina as a young man;¹³⁹ presumably he met Samuel there. The close relationships between the Levant Company officials at the various Levant factories are demonstrated by the inclusion as godparents of Arthur Pollard (d. 1654), a former British Consul at Aleppo, a major collector of Greek and Roman coins;¹⁴⁰ and Revd Thomas Payne, a former chaplain at the British Embassy at Constantinople, while 'Madam Margaton Lee' was perhaps the wife of Richard Lee, Treasurer at Smyrna on several occasions and later one of Samuel Crawley's executors. Jacques Philippe d'Orville would doubtless have been asked to be a godparent had he not died in September 1751.

One wonders what language Samuel and Marie spoke together. Marie would have grown up speaking French, and Samuel was also fluent in French. The gravestones of Samuel's daughter Sarah and one of his stepdaughters, both of whom had Dutch husbands, have French inscriptions, suggesting that French was widely spoken among the Dutch community too. However, Samuel refers to Marie as Mary in the Lambeth Palace Prayer Book and in his will. European merchants in the Levant also had to be fluent in Italian, the second language of the Levant, spoken by all Franks, most Greeks and Armenians and some Turks; Samuel would have learned Italian during his time in Messina, if not before. The other common language in the Levant, used by dragomans in their role as intermediaries between Frank merchants and their Turkish suppliers, was *Lingua franca*, a bastard form of Italian with elements of other languages including Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish and Arabic.¹⁴¹

DEATH

Samuel Crawley served as Consul for nearly 20 years, longer than any of his 18th-century predecessors, and he was still in post when he died at Smyrna on the night of 11th January 1762, aged 56. The *London Chronicle*, March 16–18, 1762, records that 'They write from Leghorn [Livorno] that the plague is broke out at Smyrna, and that Samuel Crawley, Esq., the English Consul there is dead.' He did not, however, die of plague as this implies, but of hypoxia (low levels of oxygen in the blood), described in the Levant Company archives as 'a stagnation of blood in the lungs'.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Oxford dictionary of national biography, s.v. Sir Stanier Porten; Ingamells, John. *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800 compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive*. London and New York: Yale University Press, 1997, s.v. Stanier Porten.

¹³⁹ Will of James Porten, TNA, Prob 11/789/93.

¹⁴⁰ Sale catalogue, 1757: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/w2nw473p> (accessed 4.12.2025).

¹⁴¹ Wikipedia: Mediterranean Lingua Franca (accessed 9.12.2025).

¹⁴² TNA, SP 105/337, f. 14v.

He had apparently been unwell for a long time but not badly enough to be confined to bed; he was still chairing meetings of the Assembly shortly before Christmas.¹⁴³

The Smyrna merchants wrote to the British Ambassador in Constantinople, James Porter: 'The perfect knowledge which your Excellency had of his Integrity, and other valuable qualities, cannot but make you sensible how much we are affected with the loss.' The Ambassador's response was swift and heartfelt: 'I have received your letter of the 20th January, with the very to me sensible & affecting news of the death of that very worthy, that very honest, and deserving man Mr Crawley ... He was one of the best men I have known, and the more to be regretted both in private and publick life, in this degenerate age.'¹⁴⁴

Even allowing for 18th-century hyperbole, this suggests that Samuel was an exceptional man.

He was buried on 12 January, being taken to his burial place in a Dutch ship because no English ship was available.¹⁴⁵ The ringing of church bells was forbidden in Smyrna, but ships in the harbour customarily fired their guns. The English and Dutch cemeteries at the time were south of central Smyrna, near the sea, on the way to the suburb of St Veneranda, and were said to contain impressive sculptured marble tombs.¹⁴⁶ Samuel would no doubt have had one of these, but no trace survives; by the later 18th century these burial grounds had been superseded.

Years of residence in the Levant were rewarded, with luck, by the acquisition of a modest fortune. Samuel's wealth did not compare with that of his elder brother John; their sister Sarah left monetary bequests in 1773 to Samuel's children, but John's children received only small tokens as she considered that they were rich enough not to need her money.¹⁴⁷ But Samuel's will suggests that he had not done too badly in Smyrna. His wife Marie was left 4,000 dollars, plus the annual interest of 10,000 dollars which was to revert to his children after her death; these would have been imperial dollars, the Mara Theresa Thaler, which became the usual currency used by foreign merchants in the Levant from the mid 18th century, supplanting the earlier Dutch Lion Dollar. The Smyrna Consul's salary was 2,000 dollars per annum until the late 18th century, plus an annual gratuity of 1,000 dollars.¹⁴⁸ Marie also received the furniture from her bedchamber and dressing-room in the British Consulate at Smyrna, 'sufficient quantity of linen pewter china with all other necessarys for house keeping', some elaborate silverware and all the contents of the country house at Sediköy.

There were bequests to other family members, such as the watch already mentioned and other gold items, and several works of art to his brother John, including 'a battle piece of Constantine upon marble' which sounds like antique

¹⁴³ Ibid, f. 17.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, ff. 14v, 15.

¹⁴⁵ MS notes from Dutch State Archives made for Charles Crawley through Philip Pandely Argenti, 1930s (copy in author's possession).

¹⁴⁶ du Mont, Sieur. *A new voyage to the Levant*. London, 1696, p. 225; Anderson, Sonia P. *An English Consul in Turkey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ Will of Sarah Crawley, TNA, Prob 11/987/330.

¹⁴⁸ Wood, A. C. *A history of the Levant Company*. Oxford University Press, 1935, reprinted 1964, pp. 217-18.

sculpture. But none of his possessions are known to survive apart from his wife's portrait.

SAMUEL AND MARIE'S CHILDREN

The terms of the will suggest that Samuel envisaged the family being split up, and that is what happened. Marie was left money 'for the maintenance and education of those who remain with her',¹⁴⁹ Samuel's daughters Susanna, Henrietta (Harriet) and Sarah.

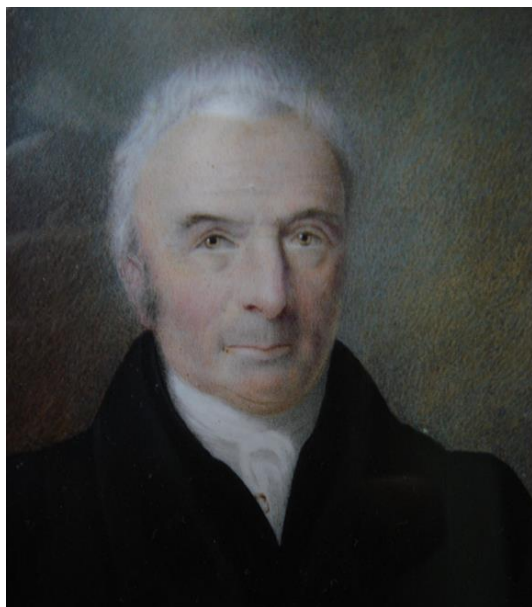


Figure 12: Revd Richard Crawley, second son of Samuel Crawley. Private collection

Meanwhile his two young sons Ambrose (aged 7 at his father's death in 1762) and Richard (aged 5) received £1,300 each to be used by the executors 'to settle them early and advantageously in the world' and were sent to England, where Richard, and presumably also his brother, were placed in the guardianship of Samuel's cousin George Medley (1720–96)¹⁵⁰ of Buxted Park in East Sussex, who had been godfather to Samuel's short-lived first child. George's mother Annabella was a Dashwood, the sister of Samuel's mother Sarah, and the Medleys were also involved in the Levant Trade; George's elder brother Samuel Medley had been a partner in the firm of Pullinger and Medley at Aleppo which went bankrupt in 1738. George, who inherited the extensive Medley estates after all three of his elder brothers died young, is not mentioned in Samuel's will so his involvement may have been a family decision after Samuel's death. We do not know when the boys left Smyrna, but as the Lambeth Palace prayer book records that the three girls but not the boys had measles in 1767, they had possibly already gone; Ambrose was certainly in England by 1771. He was apprenticed to a firm of bankers and traders in the City of London and became a wine merchant; he died in 1811, leaving just one son who died young and unmarried. By contrast Richard, my great-great-great-grandfather, became the rector of Rotherfield in East Sussex, a living presumably acquired through the influence of his guardian, and died in 1836, leaving a large

¹⁴⁹ Will of Samuel Crawley, TNA, Prob 11/873/391.

¹⁵⁰ Inscription on back of portrait of George Medley (family collection).

family. The portrait of their mother by Liotard was in Richard's family by at least the 1860s, when a photograph of the drawing room of his son's Monmouthshire rectory (see Figure 13) shows it hanging on the wall. It is tempting to suppose that it travelled to England with the two young boys to be a permanent remembrance of their mother.

MARIE DUNANT'S SECOND MARRIAGE

The three daughters, Susanna, Harriet and Sarah, remained with their mother in Smyrna. As Marie was much younger than Samuel she was only in her mid-thirties when he died, and to be a young widow with three daughters in a British outpost in an alien land cannot have been a comfortable situation. But as we have seen, the British and the Dutch in Smyrna moved in the same circles, and Samuel had been a friend of the Dutch Consul, Daniel Alexander, Comte de Hochepped. Marie must have already known his son, Daniel Jean, Comte de Hochepped (1727–96), who was close to her in age. In 1759 he had succeeded his father as Dutch Consul, and in 1763, the year after Samuel's death, they married. Marie was to have five more children, making a total of eleven from her two marriages.



Figure 13: Portrait of Marie Dunant hanging in Bryngwyn Rectory, Monmouthshire, c. 1860s

Conditions in Smyrna seem to have become increasingly difficult in the latter part of the 18th century, with earthquakes, fires, riots, and outbreaks of plague; the latter is said to have claimed about 50,000 lives, 20 per cent of the population, between 1759 and 1765, and there were further outbreaks in later years.¹⁵¹ But the Hochepped family seems to have flourished; probably they spent most of their time in the more salubrious surroundings of Sediköy, where they had their country house. The Comte de Hochepped seems to have been a good stepfather, treating Samuel's three daughters as part of his family and keeping up with the two boys in England,

¹⁵¹ Mansel, Philip. *Levant: splendour and catastrophe in the Mediterranean*. London: John Murray, 2010, p. 33.

complaining in 1777 that they did not write to him often enough.¹⁵² We do not know whether they ever again saw him or their mother or the rest of the family in Smyrna, but the families seem to have remained close. When Samuel Crawley's sister Sarah died in 1773 she left to 'the Countess De Hochepped widow of my late dear brother Samuel' £20 for a ring,¹⁵³ and his daughter Harriet, who died in 1827, left a bequest to a Hochepped stepbrother and his children.¹⁵⁴ Richard was at one time chaplain to a Dutch noblewoman, a connection he may have owned to his Hochepped relations.

The youngest Crawley girl, Sarah (1753–1821), married the Chancellor of the Dutch Consulate, Conrad Godard Nicholas Schutz, nearly thirty years her senior; he had travelled overland from the Netherlands to Constantinople in 1756 and wrote a fascinating account of his journey which has been edited by Chantal Petrucci and is on the Levantine Heritage Foundation website.¹⁵⁵ Schutz was close to the Comte de Hochepped, sending a notice of his death in 1796 to a Dutch newspaper which described him as 'my dearly beloved father-in-law'. Schutz died in 1802 but Sarah lived till 1821 and there were four surviving children: the elder son became Dutch Consul in Alexandria, the younger son was a merchant, the elder daughter married Edward Hayes, son of Samuel's successor as British Consul in Smyrna, and the younger daughter married Pieter van Lennep, a member of another prominent Dutch Smyrna family. They had many descendants.

The middle daughter, Harriet (1752–1827), also found her husband in Smyrna, where in 1770 a violent Turkish uprising resulted from an Ottoman defeat by a Russian fleet with suspected British assistance. The British naval captain William Affleck (c. 1740–92) commanded the ship *Raven*, one of several British ships then sent to Smyrna to protect Levant Company interests.¹⁵⁶ Naval officers would have been a welcome addition to polite Smyrna society, and the result was that William and Harriet were married in 1773; the wedding, attended by her two young Hochepped half-brothers, apparently took place in the Netherlands.¹⁵⁷ They were subsequently based in London like Harriet's brother Ambrose. Her other brother, Richard, was often in London too, as he held a City of London parish in addition to his country parish in Sussex.

The husband of Samuel's eldest daughter Susanna is named in a not totally reliable source as Chateauneuf.¹⁵⁸ No more is known about him, though an earlier Baron de Chateauneuf had been the French Ambassador to Adrianople (now Edirne) from 1689 to 1700. Susanna died in 1778 aged only about 27.

¹⁵² MS notes from Dutch State Archives made for Charles Crawley through Philip Pandely Argenti, 1930s (copy in author's possession).

¹⁵³ Will of Sarah Crawley, TNA, Prob 11/987/330.

¹⁵⁴ Will of Harriet Affleck, TNA, Prob 11/1722/407.

¹⁵⁵ www.levantineheritage.com > pdf > sur les traces de Conrad (accessed 4.11.25).

¹⁵⁶ <https://morethannelson.com> (accessed 6.11.25); <https://threedecks.org> (accessed 6.11.25;) Rear, Marjorie. *William Barker: Member of the Right Worshipful Levant Company 1731–1825: a life in Smyrna*. www.levantineheritage.com > pdf > biography-of-William-Barker ..., p. 31 (accessed 8.12.25).

¹⁵⁷ MS notes from Dutch State Archives made for Charles Crawley through Philip Pandely Argenti, 1930s (copy in author's possession).

¹⁵⁸ *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, Vol II (1889), p. 326.

The pool of suitable marriage partners for the English and Dutch in Smyrna was limited, and cousins and brothers- and sisters-in-law often married each other, leading to genealogical complications. There is useful material on the Levantine Heritage Foundation website about the Hochepped and van Lennep families and their connections, and many of their gravestones still survive, along with those of Marie's second husband and her daughter Sarah by her marriage with Samuel Crawley. They are in the garden of the old Dutch chapel, now a Greek Orthodox church, in central Izmir, quite near the Hilton hotel¹⁵⁹ (see Figure 14). In danger of being vandalised, they were moved in about the 1950s from the old Dutch graveyard when it was closed and the site redeveloped.¹⁶⁰



Figure 14: Gravestones in garden of old Dutch chapel, Izmir

The Comte de Hochepped died in 1796 after a long and painful illness, and his gravestone records that he had carried out the duties of Consul for forty years ‘with the highest integrity, mildness and humanity’ and was mourned by everyone, especially the poor. He made Marie the executrix of his will, trusting that what he was able to leave, apparently not a large fortune, would be better administered by her than it would have been by himself. He urged his children to respect their venerable mother and to follow her counsels, which he had always found very salutary. Marie survived him by five years and was described in later life as ‘a very charming and intelligent woman’; one of her sons-in-law called her ‘my charming, adorable and lovable mother-in-law’.¹⁶¹ According to some reports, she became something of a local celebrity as the ‘Madama of Smyrna’ or the ‘Madama of Sediköy’, about whom much has been written. She is described as a beautiful woman with a strong personality and an excellent mind, who spoke eight different languages and could converse knowledgeably about politics and commerce.¹⁶² However, an earlier Countess de Hochepped probably has a better claim to be the famous ‘Madama’: Clara, wife of Daniel Jean de Hochepped (1657–1723), grandfather of Marie’s husband.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ <https://www.levantineheritage.com/dutchcem.htm> (accessed 4.12.25).

¹⁶⁰ <https://ferikoycemetery.org> (accessed 6.11.25); <https://sharedcemeteries.net/en/cemetery-information-other-countries/istanbul-dutch-monuments-at-ferikoy> (accessed 6.11.25); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feriköy_Protestant_Cemetery (accessed 6.11.25).

¹⁶¹ MS notes from Dutch State Archives made for Charles Crawley through Philip Pandely Argenti, 1930s (copy in author’s possession); author’s translation from French.

¹⁶² Kararos, Nikos. *To Sediköy*. www.levantineheritage.com/book22.htm (accessed 6.11.25).

¹⁶³ Baltazzi, Alex. *The Heritage of Sediköy*, 2009. www.levantineheritage.com/note77.htm (accessed 3.11.25); Gutay, Ege, The waterfront and the cosmopolitan settlement: spatial transformations in

But whether or not she was the ‘Madama of Smyrna’, Marie was clearly a strong character. When the Franciscan Mission in Smyrna burned down in 1797 the friars sold part of the site to raise money for rebuilding, but this was challenged by the ‘Countess Maria de Hochepped-Dunant’, widow of the late Dutch Consul, who claimed that the Hochepped family owned the site. There was a lawsuit which Marie lost, resulting in ‘a threat of an international incident when the old lady refused to accept the verdict.’¹⁶⁴

Marie died in 1801 aged about 74 and was buried in Smyrna on 1 December,¹⁶⁵ but her gravestone does not survive. As her burial is recorded in the archives of the Anglican chapel she was probably buried in the British cemetery, successor to the burial ground where Samuel Crawley was presumably buried in 1762, but later swept away in its turn.

EPILOGUE

There were Hocheppeds in Smyrna until the great catastrophe of 1922, when much of the city was destroyed by fire after the Turkish military had captured it four days earlier. The last of them buried family portraits and valuables for safe keeping in his garden at Sediköy in 1922, but when he returned later in the year the house was occupied by refugees, presumably Greeks from the ruins of Smyrna, and nothing remained.¹⁶⁶ The thought that there may have been a portrait of Samuel Crawley in the Hochepped house up until 1922 is tantalising. But a magnificent tapestry with the arms of the Hochepped family, said to have been made by Marie, survived in 1924.¹⁶⁷ Could it still exist, and if so, where it is now?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to members of the Crawley family, especially William, Tom, Richard, Jane and the late John Crawley, for showing me family archives, portraits and photographs and sharing their own family history research; to the Levantine Heritage Foundation for publicising my research and adding this account to their website; and last but not least, my husband Tim, for sharing with me his professional expertise in historical research, encouraging me to visit Turkey, and putting up with my obsession with Samuel Crawley over many years.

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Smyrna between the 1688 earthquake and the development of the quay. MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2023, p. 61.

¹⁶⁴ van Gelder, Geert Jan and de Moor, Ed (eds.). *Eastward Bound: Dutch ventures and adventures in the Middle East*. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994, pp. 111–12.

¹⁶⁵ Transcript of records of Anglican Chapel at Smyrna, Society of Genealogists’ library.

¹⁶⁶ Mansel, Philip. *Levant: splendour and catastrophe in the Mediterranean*. London: John Murray, 2010, p. 230.

¹⁶⁷ [www.levantineheritage.com › pdf › deHochepped-Ancestry](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/deHochepped-Ancestry) (accessed 6.11.25).

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