

## CREATING GLOBAL SHIPPING

Shipping has been the international business par excellence in many national economies, one that preceded trends in other, more highly visible sectors of international economic activity. Nevertheless, in both business and economic history, shipping has remained relatively overlooked. That gap is filled by this exploration of the evolution of European shipping through the study of two Greek shipping firms. They provide a prime example of the regional European maritime businesses that evolved to serve Europe's international trade and, eventually, the global economy. By the end of the twentieth century, Greeks owned more ships than any other nationality. The story of the Vagliano brothers traces the transformation of Greek shipping from local shipping and trading to international shipping and ship management, while the case of Aristotle Onassis reveals how international shipping was transformed into a global business.

GELINA HARLAFTIS is the director of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology–Hellas (FORTH) in Crete, and is a professor of maritime history at the University of Crete. She was president of the International Maritime Economic History Association, visiting fellow at All Souls College, Oxford University, and an Alfred D. Chandler Jr. International Visiting Scholar at the Harvard Business School. She has published many books, including *The World's Key Industry: History and Economics of International Shipping*, a collection coedited with Stig Tenold and Jesús M. Valdaliso.

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN THE EMERGENCE  
 OF GLOBAL ENTERPRISE

The world economy has experienced a series of globalizations in the past two centuries, and each has been accompanied and shaped by business enterprises, their national political contexts, and new sets of international institutions. Cambridge Studies in the Emergence of Global Enterprise focuses on those business firms that have given the global economy many of its most salient characteristics, particularly regarding how they have fostered new technology, new corporate cultures, new networks of communication, and new strategies and structures designed to meet global competition. All the while, they have accommodated changes in national and international regulations, environmental standards, and cultural norms. This is a history that needs to be understood because we all have a stake in the performance and problems of global enterprise.

*Editors*

Louis Galambos, The Johns Hopkins University  
 Geoffrey Jones, Harvard Business School

*Other Books in the Series*

Teresa da Silva Lopes, *Global Brands: The Evolution of Multinationals in Alcoholic Beverages*

Christof Dejung and Niels P. Petersson, *The Foundations of Worldwide Economic Integration: Power, Institutions, and Global Markets, 1850–1930*

William J. Hausman, *Global Electrification: Multinational Enterprise and International Finance in the History of Light and Power, 1878–2007*

Christopher Kobrak, *Banking on Global Markets: Deutsche Bank and the United States, 1870 to the Present*

Christopher Kobrak, *National Cultures and International Competition: The Experience of Schering AC, 1851–1950*

Christopher D. McKenna, *The World's Newest Profession: Management Consulting in the Twentieth Century*

Johann Peter Murmann, *Knowledge and Competitive Advantage: The Coevolution of Firms, Technology, and National Institutions*

Neil Rollings, *British Business in the Formative Years of European Integration, 1945–1973*

Andrew L. Russell, *Open Standards and the Digital Age: History, Ideology, and Networks*

Jonathan Silberstein-Loeb, *The International Distribution of News: The Associated Press, Press Association, and Reuters, 1848–1947*

# CREATING GLOBAL SHIPPING

Aristotle Onassis, the Vagliano Brothers, and the  
Business of Shipping, c.1820–1970

GELINA HARLAFTIS  
*IMS-FORTH and University of Crete*



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47539-6 — Creating Global Shipping  
Gelina Harlaftis  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom  
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India  
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108475396](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108475396)

DOI: 10.1017/9781108573009

© Gelina Harlaftis 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow, Cornwall

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Harlaftis, Gelina, 1958- author.

Title: Creating global shipping : Aristotle Onassis, the Vagliano Brothers, and the business of shipping, c.1820-1970 / Gelina Harlaftis, IMS-FORTH and University of Crete.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2018. |

Series: Cambridge studies in the emergence of global enterprise | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018048302 | ISBN 9781108475396 (hardback : alk. paper) |

ISBN 9781108466783 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Shipping--Europe--History. | Shipping--Greece--History. | Onassis, Aristotle Socrates, 1906-1975. | Vagliano, Marinus, 1804-

Classification: LCC HE821 .H36 2018 | DDC 387.5/4409409034--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018048302>

ISBN 978-1-108-47539-6 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47539-6 — Creating Global Shipping  
Gelina Harlaftis  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

*For Chrysiida and Niko*

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47539-6 — Creating Global Shipping  
Gelina Harlaftis  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

## CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	viii
<i>List of Maps</i>	xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xviii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxiv
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1 The European and Greek Shipping Firm</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>2 The Vagliano Shipmasters: Creating a Business Empire, 1820s–1850s</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>3 An International Trading House from Russia to the United Kingdom, 1850s–1880s</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>4 The Russian Government v. Mari Vagliano, 1881–1887</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>5 The Vagliano Fleet and Innovation in Ship Management</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>6 Merchant to Shipowner: Aristotle Onassis from Buenos Aires to London and New York, 1923–1946</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>7 The Onassis Fleet, 1946–1975</b>	<b>172</b>
<b>8 The United States Government v. Aristotle Onassis, 1951–1958</b>	<b>205</b>
<b>9 Innovation in Global Shipping: The Onassis Business, 1946–1975</b>	<b>231</b>
<b>10 Diachronic Presence: An Epilogue</b>	<b>263</b>
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	294
<i>Appendices</i>	317
<i>Index of Names</i>	359
<i>Index of Places</i>	364
<i>Index of Terms</i>	368

## FIGURES

- 1.1 The evolution of the European shipping firm 23
- 2.1 Russian Black Sea grain exports (in thousands of French francs) and ship departures (in tons) from Russian Black Sea ports, 1831–1914 49
- 2.2 Freight rates (in shillings per ton) from Odessa to London, 1835–1860 55
- 3.1 Mari (Marino) Vagliano (1804–1896) 69
- 3.2 Panagi Vagliano (1814–1902) 71
- 3.3 Andrea Vagliano (1827–1887) 72
- 3.4 Euphrosyne Vagliano (1837–1908), daughter of George Mela, wife of Andrea Vagliano 73
- 3.5 Vagliano Bros. transactions at the Bank of England, 1858–1887 (aggregate value in pounds sterling) 91
- 3.6 Comparison of Vagliano Bros., Schröder, and Rothschild transactions, 1858–1887 (in pounds sterling) 92
- 3.7 Organization of the Vagliano Bros. office, London 94
- 4.1 The impact of the Taganrog Customs trial on Taganrog's exports (in thousands of French francs) 119
- 5.1 The fleet of the Vagliano Bros., 1830–1900 (net registered tons) 124
- 5.2 Timely purchases of sailing ships (freight rates from Odessa to England/northern Europe, shillings per ton) 127
- 5.3 The brig *Keramies*, 206 nrt, built in 1869 on Syros, owned by Andrea Vagliano, registered in Cephalonia 128
- 5.4 Steamship *Spyridon Vagliano*, 1,111 nrt, 1,708 dwt, built at Bartram shipyards for the Vaglianos in 1883, registered in Cephalonia 129
- 5.5 Freight rate index and timely purchases and sales of steamships by Panagi Vagliano 130
- 5.6 Registration of the Vagliano steamships 130
- 5.7 Basil Vagliano (son of Metaxas) worked in the Constantinople office until the mid-1890s. He then moved to London, where he worked with Panagi Vagliano, eventually becoming his right-hand man 141
- 5.8 Athanasse S. Vagliano worked in Novorossiysk. After the death of Panagi he continued his activities in shipowning until he settled with his young wife in Cote d'Azur, around 1920 141
- 6.1 The Onassis-Konialidis family business, Buenos Aires, 1929 152

## LIST OF FIGURES

ix

- 6.2 The development of Greek tobacco exports, 1919–1939 154
- 6.3 Prices of newly built cargo steamships of 7,500 dwt, 1919–1939, indicating the entry of Onassis into shipping and shipbuilding 163
- 7.1 The Onassis fleet, 1946–1975 173
- 7.2 Tanker freight index on the spot market, 1949–1975 183
- 7.3 The launching of the tanker *Al-Malik Saud Al Awal*, 29,440 grt, 47,130 dwt, in 1954 in Howaldtswerke, Hamburg, Germany 192
- 7.4 The launching of the tanker *Al-Malik Saud Al Awal* 193
- 7.5 The launching of the VLCC *Olympic Aspiration* in 1972, 106,123 grt, 219,447 dwt, in Chantiers de l’Atlantique, St. Nazaire, France 197
- 9.1 Gross income of the three Onassis A-companies in comparison with the fluctuation of freight rates, 1946–1975 247
- 9.2 From the supertanker to the VLCCs in the Onassis fleet (deadweight tons) 248
- 9.3 Stelio Papadimitriou (1930–2005), lawyer, was one of Onassis’s youngest recruits in 1954 in the difficult missions of the Saudi Arabian deal. In 1971 he was selected as General Director of all Onassis’s businesses, and became his right-hand man. He proved fundamental for the execution of Onassis’s will and for the creation of the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation, of which he was President (1988–2005) 257
- 9.4 The mainstay of Onassis’s crews were Greek. Pictured: the Master and officers of the tanker *Olympic Ice* on the day of its launching in 1954 at Howaldtswerke, Hamburg, Germany 260
- 9.5 *Olympic Ice*, 13,655 grt, 21,337 dwt, built in 1954 at Howaldtswerke, Hamburg, Germany 260
- 10.1 The Onassis shipping logo on the funnel of *Tina Onassis*. The same logo is on the flags hoisted on all Onassis ships to the present day 264
- 10.2 Panagi Vagliano, the “Patriarch” of Greek shipping 267
- 10.3 Aristotle Onassis, March 28, 1955 268
- 10.4 Alcibiades (1850–1924), son of Mari Vagliano 274
- 10.5 Angeliki Vagliano, daughter of Xenophon Balli, wife of Alcibiades Vagliano 275
- 10.6 Athanasse Vagliano (1854–1936), son of Mari Vagliano 276
- 10.7 Katina Ralli (1861–1941), daughter of Stephen Ralli, wife of Athanasse Vagliano 277
- 10.8 The engagement of Marinos Andrea Vagliano (1851–1928) and Eleni (Liola) (1873–1967), daughter of Ioannis Dumas and Sophia Petrokokinou, in Athens, 1895 277
- 10.9 Athanasse S. Vagliano and his nephew Panagi N. Lykiardopoulo whom he financed. The Lykiardopoulos, closely related to the Vaglianos, continued their legacy. Their firm is today among the top tanker shipping firms 278
- 10.10 Aristotle Onassis sitting on the side of the pier in front of his yacht *Christina*, April 16, 1956 280

- 10.11 Aristotle and Jacqueline Onassis relax during their ten-day tour of Egypt, March 28, 1974 280
- 10.12 The final division of the Onassis estate 281
- 10.13 Structure of the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation 281
- 10.14 The offices of Olympic Shipping and Management SA in P. Phalero, Athens 282

## MAPS

- 1.1 The four districts of the “maritime city” of the northeastern Mediterranean 32
- 2.1 Maritime Cephalonia: the Levatho region 44
- 2.2 The main cities from which the Vaglianos exported 50
- 3.1 The exporting port cities and their hinterland, eastern coast of the Russian Empire (*gubernias*, waterways, and railways), 1880s 76
- 3.2 The regional and peripheral network of the Vagliano Bros. in the Black Sea 77

## TABLES

- 2.1 Mari Vagliano as a merchant of the Russian Empire, 1851–1863 57
- 2.2 The twenty biggest merchants (by value) in the Russian Empire involved in external trade, 1860 61
- 2.3 Merchants engaged in Russia’s external trade, 1824 and 1856 65
- 3.1 Main merchants (by value) of the Azov, 1860 86
- 3.2 Main grain exporters (by quantity) of the Azov, 1869 87
- 3.3 Exports of the House of Vagliano Bros. to Marseilles 87
- 4.1 The difference between the declared and actual amount of cargoes imported by Mari Vagliano, as determined by the Committee of Experts based on a sample of cases 108
- 5.1 The fleet of the Vagliano Bros., 1830–1902 125
- 5.2 A sample of sailing ships financed by the Vaglianos, 1870s–1890s 134
- 5.3 Monthly wages for the crew of the ship *Nikolaos Vagliano*, under Captain G. L. Goulandris, March 10, 1898 137
- 6.1 Arrivals of ships at the port of La Plata, 1920–1938 160
- 6.2 Structure of Aristotle Onassis’s shipping business, 1932–1940 169
- 7.1 The Liberty fleet 181
- 7.2 The American flag fleet, 1948–1957 184
- 7.3 The Onassis whaling fleet 190
- 7.4 German and French shipyards, 1951–1955 194
- 7.5 New tankers built in US shipyards, 1948–1954 195
- 7.6 Loans from US banks for the purchase of ships, 1946–1959 195
- 7.7 The Olympic fleet, 1959–1969 196
- 7.8 The Onassis VLCC tanker fleet, 1969–1975 198
- 8.1 Forfeitures of US flag ships suspected of being owned by non-US companies 213
- 8.2 Settlement agreements stemming from litigation by the Department of Justice’s Civil Division, 1954–1955 223
- 9.1 The Onassis model of company organization 234
- 9.2 Nationalities of Onassis shipping companies formed between 1939 and 1975 235
- 9.3 The structure of the Onassis shipping business in 1970 236

## LIST OF TABLES

xiii

- 9.4 The top shipping fleets of the world according to registry and beneficial ownership, 2015 (in deadweight tonnage, above 1,000 dwt) 242
- 9.5 Gross income from Onassis A-group of companies, 1946–1975 (in US dollars) 246
- 9.6 Types and sizes of tankers, 2016 248
- 9.7 Onassis and world tanker fleet in sizes of ships (in million deadweight tons) 250
- 9.8 The geographic location of Onassis shipping operations and management, 1954–1975 252
- 10.1 The Vagliano and Onassis inheritances 265
- 10.2 The Onassis fleet, 2016 285
- A1.1 Voyages of the Vagliano brothers as Masters of sailing vessels, 1830–1850 322
- A1.2 Current account for Mr. George Coutsis of Spetses, office of Mari Vagliano, Taganrog 325
- A1.3 The sailing ship fleet of the Vagliano Bros., 1825–1900 328
- A1.4 The steamship fleet of the Vagliano Bros., 1876–1919 333
- A1.5 Selected Greek and non-Greek merchants and bankers collaborating with Vagliano Bros. in London, 1858–1887 336
- A1.6 Network of agents and collaborators of Vagliano Bros., 1901–1902 338
- A1.7 Vagliano Bros, Schröder, and Rothschild assets, 1858–1887 343
- A2.1 The Onassis fleet, 1945–1975 348
- A2.2 American companies and vessels involved in the *United States v. Onassis* 350
- A2.3 American companies and vessels involved in the case of the *United States v. Kulukundis* 353
- A2.4 American companies and vessels involved in the case of the *United States v. Niarchos* 354
- A2.5 American companies and vessels involved in the case of the *United States v. Los-Pezas Group* 356
- A2.6 American companies and vessels involved in the case of the *United States v. Kallimanopoulos Group* 356
- A2.7 Port captains of Onassis group of companies 357

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-47539-6 — Creating Global Shipping  
Gelina Harlaftis  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

## PREFACE

Shipping has been a leading sector in European economic growth for centuries. By the end of the twentieth century, Greeks owned more ships than any other nationality in the world, and shipowners played a fundamental role in global connectivity and economic growth. Shipping integrates world markets. For centuries, it has been the international business par excellence in most national economies, and it preceded trends that later became visible in many other sectors of international economic activity.

Nevertheless, shipping remains invisible in the global business arena as its products – transport services – cannot be seen among the cargoes carried across the vast oceans. It is equally invisible in economic and business history, for several reasons. First, mainstream studies of the emergence of modern economic and business growth in industrializing economies usually focus on manufacturing; if they emphasize the service sector, they usually privilege banking and finance and neglect trade and shipping. Some historians have pushed back on this trend recently, notably Geoffrey Jones, Gordon Boyce, and Michael Miller, but their work is a relative trickle amid the flood of research on manufacturing and finance. The study of shipping and shipping firms has long remained on the periphery, isolated within the disciplines of maritime history and maritime economics. Second, the international character of shipping firms, which blurs their links to individual economies, has made them difficult for mainstream research to assimilate. The production of shipping and sea transportation takes place beyond national boundaries, and its income is earned abroad and is thus often removed from the economic structures of a one specific country. Shipping companies thus reside in a liminal space that is difficult for most historians to adapt to their nation-based conceptions.

The third reason for the underexamination of global shipping is that the evolution of shipping firms has been overshadowed by the history of trading companies. For example, the European-chartered companies serving colonial expansion in the early modern era and the international European trading companies of the nineteenth century were also major shipping firms, but the latter function has been overshadowed by their trading and financial activities.

Large, specialized shipping corporations, meanwhile, are a product of the twentieth century and remain understudied.

A fourth reason shipping has been neglected by historians is that prior to the twentieth century, in the era of sailing ships, the shipping sector was comprised mainly of small-scale firms known as free traders. Free traders were shipowners who usually captained their own vessels, engaged in both trade and sea transport. They were essentially family firms that developed in maritime regions around small towns and island ports on Europe's coastline. There they developed their own maritime traditions, practices that were only fitfully connected to the main economic centers or ports of their respective countries. In the same way that early industrial districts were established (in Italy, for example), maritime districts developed with the emergence of hundreds of small firms. The sheer numbers of shipping firms, and the elusive character of the businesses at sea and in foreign lands beyond their home waters and land base, makes their historical study particularly difficult.

That elusiveness is related to the fifth reason for the invisibility of the business of shipping: its intangible nature. The economic output of a ship is not as easy to see or value as the output of a factory or a plot of land – even the historical remains and ruins of such a space are more palpable. The fact that the ship and its crew spend most of their time at sea further contributes to shipping's evanescence. Ships are demolished; they live and die like people and they leave only indirect traces.

Finally, the large, independent shipowners that created the global shipping business groups of the twentieth century based them on global institutions like offshore companies and open registries, thus allowing them to remain shrouded in secrecy in a world that still focused on national economies.

This book explores the evolution of the European shipping company through the study of two Greek shipping firms, which provide a prime example of the regional European maritime businesses that evolved to serve Europe's international trade and eventually the global economy. The Vagliano Brothers case traces the transformation of Greek shipping from local sea transport and trading to international shipping and ship management, while the Onassis case shows how international shipping was transformed into a global business.

The book contributes to the understanding of the shipping business during two major waves of globalization. The Vaglianos were active during the first wave, which started in the second half of the nineteenth century and receded during the interwar period. The Onassis business emerged from the explosion of the second wave of globalization in the second half of the twentieth century. These two firms contributed to the process of global economic integration by inventing and reinventing a Greek and ultimately a wider, southern, and northern European maritime tradition. For this story is not only about of the Greeks: it can also be read as the history of the evolution of the European

maritime tradition in tramp/bulk shipping. It follows that this book should draw on the field of maritime business history, developed in the past few decades by maritime, economic, and business historians, and that it has benefited from discussions in the international fora facilitated by the European Business History Association and the International Maritime Economic History Association.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*With the kind support of Panagi A. Vagliano and S. F. Antypa Bequests in Cephalonia.*

This book has taken me on a long and happy journey to many port cities. It “set sail” from Argostoli, in Cephalonia, continued to Taganrog and Rostov-on-Don, in Russia, proceeded on land to Kiev, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, and then took to the sea again: to Marseille, London, Bergen, New York, and Boston. Each time I discovered a new source, a new piece of the mosaic, it gave me more enthusiasm and impetus to continue. A large number of friends and colleagues came on board to sail alongside me on various legs of the journey. They showed me the way, described the winds and currents, in every sea and ocean, and tolerated my driving the boat, showing patience and great interest while I talked to them endlessly of my long-term relationship with four men: Mari, Andrea, Panagi, and Aristotle. I am thankful to all.

I have long studied the Greek shipping industry, identifying its actors and, in most of my studies, incorporating the big picture. Then a time came when I needed to return to the microlevel before drawing the big picture again – to examine, that is, the activities of the shipping businesses themselves. This time I decided to choose the biggest shipping business of the nineteenth century, the Vagliano Brothers, and the best-known shipping business of the twentieth century, the Onassis group. I decided to write about the Vaglianos in the summer of 2006 in Cephalonia, in Argostoli, while sitting on the balcony of the Ainos Hotel overlooking the statue of the Vaglianos in the main square. At the local branch of the General Archives I had just “discovered” a fragmented Vagliano Archive. I decided to write about Onassis in connection to the Vaglianos at the Harvard Business School (HBS), in Cambridge, Massachusetts, sitting in my office overlooking the gardens. It was in the fall of 2008, during which I spent part of my sabbatical as an Alfred D. Chandler Jr. International Visiting Scholar in the Business History program. I had just recently uncovered, through electronic sources, more archival evidence on Onassis (this time from the FBI), which gave me enough evidence to proceed. The concept of the book was presented for the first time in November 2008, at an HBS seminar organized by Geoffrey Jones and Walter Friedman. I would like to thank them both very much for their inspiration and support.

It was in February 2009, while I was a visiting fellow at All Souls College, Oxford University, that I continued my research in the Archives of the Bank of England. I would like to thank the warden of All Souls, Professor Sir John Vickers, for facilitating my research there. Many thanks are owed to the archivist of the Bank of England, Sarah Millard, who assisted me in tracing all the necessary collections. I thank Heather Gibson, my flatmate in Oxford back in 1986, for presenting me with the connection between the Vaglianos and the Bank of England; she had heard about this link from her professor of banking at Glasgow University. It was information that remained in my memory for more than twenty years before I searched for evidence to support it. It was the historian and museographer Eleanna Vlachou who had told me of the existence of the Vagliano Archive back in 1997. The archive lay in the basement of the Korgialeneio Historical and Folklore Museum of Cephalonia, beyond the grasp of researchers for many years. When the archive was moved to the Greek State Archives for the Prefecture of Cephalonia, it was more easily accessible, although it had not been catalogued at the time. My most sincere thanks go to the director at that time, Stamatoula Zapanti-Pentogalou, for allowing me open access and study of the as-yet unclassified archive. The next director, Dora Zafeiratou, has proved equally obliging and I would like to thank her very much for facilitating my research during my visit to Argostoli.

I would also like to thank the Management Committee of the Panagi A. Vagliano and S. F. Antypa Bequests in Cephalonia and, in particular, the committee's president in 2008, George Kouris, for the financial support they provided for my research on Mari Vagliano in Kiev. Warm thanks go to the next president of the Bequest's Management Committee, Spyridon Hourmouzis, board member Nikolaos Boukas and secretary Maria Choida for their time and interviews and for access to the minutes of the committee. Many thanks are also due to the current president, Iliriani Tzanetatou, for financial support for the editing of this volume. At the Nursery Home-Charity Foundations of Lixouri, in Cephalonia, I am grateful to Gerasimos Geroulanos and to the president, Christina Tsangaratou-Valsamou, for their hospitality and for providing me access to the only existing photo of Panagi Vagliano. I am also grateful to the Korgialeneio Historical and Folklore Museum of Cephalonia for giving me permission to photograph the Vagliano portraits and other archival material from the Collection of Francis and Stephan Vagliano, and I wish to extend special thanks to the curator of the museum, Theotokoula Moulinou, for facilitating everything. Many thanks also to Eleni Lykiardopoulou for the valuable tour in Keramies and to the photographer Vassilis Loukatos for making it possible to take the pictures from Lixouri and Argostoli.

Meeting and conversing with the members of the Vagliano family in the United States, France, England, and Greece was very rewarding. Making Andre Marino Vagliano's quasi-metaphysical acquaintance in cyberspace made it possible to meet the "lost" French branch of the Vagliano family.

Before that, however, the research of his son Jason Vagliano on the family history, along with the accessibility of his interview with Francis Vagliano, gave me the first window onto the grandsons of Mari Vagliano. I am very grateful to Marina Eloy, Sonia de Panafieu, and Jean Marc de le Bédoyère for providing me with details and photographic material on the descendants of the Vagliano family in France. Sophia Kostomeni, Irene Matiatou Facon, Athanassios Akrivos, and Ioannis Dimitriadis-Vaglianos provided me with valuable photographic material and details on the genealogical tree of the Vaglianos who remained in Greece.

Meeting the “Onassis business family” was another delight. I am indebted to the president of the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation, Dr. Anthony Papadimitriou, for his trust and for opening the “magic door” to the Onassis business archives. The unconditional access to the Onassis business records was an unexpected gift. Research for this book in the unclassified but systematically amassed Onassis archive, gathered carefully over the years by the Onassis Foundation, triggered his interest. Through the initiative of Dr. Papadimitriou, the “Onassis Business Archive” is currently under construction. It classifies the Onassis business documents to make them accessible to the public.<sup>1</sup> This is a pioneering endeavor not only for Greek shipping but also for the Greek business world, as extremely few business archives exist in Greece, and these are usually connected either with banking or state enterprises. Its formation will set an excellent example that I believe will prove a landmark in the course of maritime business history in my country and in the greater understanding of the global shipping community.

I am also obliged to Paul Ioannidis for the long and numerous discussions of the Onassis business and the early, formative years of the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation. Ioannidis is a respected figure and the only surviving member of the permanent board of directors appointed by Aristotle Onassis in his will. At ninety-six years old, he retains his lucidity, memory, and passion for the continuation of the Onassis shipping business and the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation. I am extremely privileged for the time I was able to spend with him.

The staff of the Onassis Foundation were also more than obliging and helpful. Effie Tsiotsiou, executive director of the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, facilitated the research in all the storage areas of the Onassis archives in Athens and New York. My sincere thanks to Clare Nelson, of the Onassis Public Benefit Foundation in New York, a trusted employee of the

<sup>1</sup> The organization and classification of the Onassis Business Archive is undertaken by a research team from the Institute for Mediterranean Studies at the Foundation of Research and Technology-Hellas and is financed by the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation. The team aims to complete the project by 2020. It will be led by the author; the main collaborators are Amalia Pappa, the deputy director of the General State Archives of Greece, and postdoctoral researcher Alexandra Papadopoulou.

Onassis business and Onassis Foundation since the 1970s, who made my research there possible. The diachronic presence of the Onassis shipping business was nowhere more evident than at the Olympic Shipping and Management, the Onassis shipping company, headquartered in Paleo Phalero. I am very grateful to John Ioannidis, the general manager at the time and also a member of the executive committee of the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation, for his account of their work in the shipping business and the teamwork since the 1990s.

Springfield Co. was the company Aristotle Onassis set up in 1963 in Greece; today it is the main subagency of Olympic Shipping and Management. I am greatly indebted to its general manager, Dimitris Patrikios, for his time, openness, and friendliness. Thanos Krassaris, his predecessor, and a member of the Onassis company since the 1960s, gave me invaluable information about the organization of Onassis companies around the world and their intercompany communication; I would like to thank him heartily. The interviews from all heads of departments at Springfield greatly illuminated the continuity of the maritime tradition of the company. I would also like to sincerely thank Captain Dionysis Siganakis, head of the Operations Department; Captain Gerassimos Barkas, head of the Marine Department; Captain Thanasis Apostolopoulos, head of the Manning Department; and naval architect Dimitris Makris, head of the Technical Department. Needless to say, the contribution of Emmy Adali in facilitating everything was invaluable.

The only real surviving relatives of the Onassis family that I was able to meet were from the side of Aristotle Onassis's first cousins, the Konialidises. Ritsa Konialidis, wife of Constantino Konialidis, and her brother, Professor George Hartofilakidis-Garofalidis, provided me with the fullest genealogical tree I could find and with photographic material. Nicolas Const. Konialidis, the son of Constantino and Ritsa Konialidis, helped me to complete many gaps and I would like to thank him very much for his kindness in Montevideo. The son of Nikos Konialidis, Marios Chrysostomos Konialidis contributed substantially in filling the gaps in the genealogy and gave me valuable information after the completion of this book which I hope to use in a future study; unfortunately he passed away in March 2019. I would like to thank all of them very much for their time and contributions.

The beautiful painting of Konstantinos Volanakis that is on the cover of the book was generously provided by Panos Laskaridis; my warmest thanks. I would also like to thank Roger Kvarsvik, of the Bergen Maritime Museum, for his help with Norwegian bibliographies and archives. Julia Kysla, in Kiev, was very helpful during my research in the Ukrainian State Archives. Dimitra Kardakari in Corfu did the difficult and exhausting job of furnishing a database from the thousands of transactions of the Vaglianos in the Bank of England. And, as always, I am indebted to Dr. Mitia Frumin for the maps in the book. Jim Ashton edited this volume and I would like to thank him for his efforts and collaboration.

There are a number of colleagues and friends with whom I have discussed this project and whose advice, inspiration, and support have been invaluable. I am indebted, as always, to a special person and colleague, Ioannis Theotokas, for discussions, comments, and ideas on Onassis' entrepreneurship. My thanks also to Stig Tenold for being my Norwegian "co-sailor." I collaborated with my good colleague Maria Damilakou, a specialist in Latin American history, to present a paper on the early Onassis professional life in Buenos Aires at the sixteenth annual EBHA conference in Paris in 2012 and she provided valuable evidence from her own research, which has been incorporated in Chapter 6. I would very much like to thank another special friend and colleague, Nikolaos Chrissidis, whose help and guidance in Russian history, archives, and research in Kiev, Odessa, and Rostov-on-Don have been decisive. Equally, without Oksana Iurkova I would not have been able to trace the archives on the trial of Mari Vagliano in the Russian courts; her help in the State Ukrainian Archives in Kiev was fundamental. My dear friends and colleagues Evrydiki Sifneos (1957–2015) and Evdokia Olympitou (1962–2011) heard a lot about this book over the years and gave me valuable advice; their premature absence has left an unfilled gap.

I have profited from the discussions, research assistance, and archival data furnished over the years by a number of young scholars who were PhD students when I began and, by the time this book was finished, had already received their doctorates. As they were all doing research in various archives in Greece and abroad, wherever they found the name "Vagliano" they would send me the evidence. Apostolos Delis provided me with evidence on the Vaglianos building or buying of ships from the Syros shipyards. Panayotis Kapetanakis gave me access to his database "Odysseas," concerning ships arriving to the Ionian Islands, along with some evidence from the National Archives in the United Kingdom. Dimitris Kontogeorgis brought to my attention evidence on the Vaglianos from the Archives of the National Bank of Greece. Alexandra Papadopoulou gave me, from her own research in the Coutsis Archive, on the island of Spetses, a few hundred transliterated letters from the valuable correspondence between the Coutsis shipping firm and all three Vaglianos. With Katerina Galani, we did research in the Archives of the Bank of England on Greek merchants in the City of London. Together with both Alexandra Papadopoulou and Katerina Galani we discussed theoretical approaches and presented papers at the European Business History Conferences. Anna Sydorenko helped me identify and process evidence from the Ukrainian and Russian archives and has given me another perspective of the nineteenth-century northern Black Sea ports, trade, and shipping. All of them have proved valued collaborators along the way, and I cannot thank them enough for how much they have taught me.

I would like to thank my two closest friends, Katerina Tsakona and Thaleia Spanou, for always being there. Writing this book (and others!) means that I have neglected them from time to time, and I would like to express my

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

xxiii

gratitude to both for their patience, love, and support and to tell them how much I value their friendship.

And then there is Dimitri, my husband. It is he who gives me the space, the place, the embrace, and the peace to write. This book is dedicated to our children, who have spent almost a third of their lives listening to my stories about Vagliano and Onassis and have endured a “spaced-out” mother. It is for Chrysiida, who is twenty-eight, and Niko, who is twenty-five, who have both finished their studies and are out there, to explore and conquer the world.

## ABBREVIATIONS

DWT	Deadweight Tonnage
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FO	Foreign Office
GARO	Государственный архив Ростов области [State Archive of the Rostov Region, Russia]
GRT	Gross Registered Tonnage
NRT	Net Registered Tonnage
TsDIAK	Центральний державний історичний архів України [Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kiev]