RESIDUAL SPACES OF THE INFORMAL EMPIRE: REREADING SMYRNA AS AN INCOMPLETE COLONIAL PROJECT

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All languages and all prayers belong to me. But I belong to none of them. I belong only to God and to the earth, and it is to them that I will one day soon return. [1]

I love the way Amin Maalouf captured the complexity of identity when I first read Leo-Africanus and thought I could not describe myself so beautifully if I wanted to. I am Turkish from my mother's side and Irish from my father's. Part of my family was Muslim, while others were Catholic. My first language was English, but I learned Turkish, German, Italian, and French. I felt at home in all the countries I lived and visited until I returned to where I was born, İzmir-Smyrna, in the 19th century, after each visit. Funny enough, I also occasionally long for Ireland in a less enthusiastic way.

As such a person that I am, one afternoon, my supervisor, Erdem Erten, suggested that I find a connection between Smyrna and Belfast as a topic if possible. I smiled and said the only common aspect is that Britain's colonisation touched them both. He was like "*well there you go.*" This is how I landed on this topic that excited me the most and internally killed me the most. (smiles sarcastically) I am forever in debt to Erdem Erten for his support through this thesis and the papers we produced and for his constant support of my travels whenever I applied for a grant or permission from my workplace. I believe he knew that if I didn't travel, I might die. He introduced me to Prof. Dr. Stephen Parnell from Newcastle University. Stephen kindly accepted to be my supervisor during both of my research grants to visit England Archives and supported me in any way he could during my stays in England. For my second period in England, Prof.Dr. Zeynep Kezer also kindly became my supervisor with Stephen. I thank them from the bottom of my heart, and their influence and endless support will forever be very dear to me.

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[1]   Amin Maalouf, *Leo Africanus*, trans. Peter Sluglett (Chicago: New Amsterdam Ivan R.Dee, 1992), 1.

ABSTRACT

RESIDUAL SPACES OF THE INFORMAL EMPIRE: REREADING SMYRNA AS AN INCOMPLETE COLONIAL PROJECT

Smyrna (İzmir) has always been a busy and privileged trade node with its fertile Western Anatolian hinterland and naturally-protected harbour. During the 19th century, however, the city experienced an unprecedented trade boom and urban expansion mainly due to foreign industrial initiatives, modernisation projects, and its increasing importance in Mediterranean trade. Its port surpassed the size of Constantinople's port, the Ottoman capital city, and Smyrna became an arena of commercial competition, especially attracting Britain and France. As the leading imperial power and world economic centre of the 19th century, Britain was the first to establish railways connecting Smyrna's harbour to the hinterland as a modernisation project. British entrepreneurs bought 1/3 of Western Anatolian territory and ultimately controlled half of the port's trade volume. Although the economic history of this shift towards semi-colonisation has interested many scholars, how its clandestine colonial makeup left traces on the city remains to be studied. Regarding post-industrial revolution port city development, Smyrna was an odd example since after the Tanzimat Reforms', the modernisation strategies of different foreign investors, including the British, left a fragmented assemblage of urban spaces behind. The strange likeness of this assemblage to certain British colonial port cities rather than to port city models is worth exploring as new archival evidence shows that Smyrna was an incomplete imperial project formed in "British imagination". This thesis aims to reveal how this informal empire embedded in modernisation acts was actualised, through morphological analysis combined with memoires, diaries and correspondances as the founding narratives of residual semi-colonial urban space.

Keywords: *British Empire, Colonialism, Informal Empire, Colonial Urbanism and Architecture, Postcolonialism, Decolonialism, Colonized Mediterranean Ports, British in Smyrna*

ÖZET

ENFORMEL İMPARATORLUĞUN KALINTI MEKANLARI: SMYRNA'YI YARIM KALMIŞ BIR SÖMÜRGE PROJESI OLARAK YENIDEN OKUMAK

Batı Anadolu'nun verimli hinterlandının açıldığı doğal olarak korunaklı liman bölgesine kurulmuş olan Smyrna (İzmir), tarih boyunca işlek ve ayrıcalıklı bir ticaret merkezi olmuştur. Ancak 19. yüzyılda şehir, yabancı sermaye tabanlı modernizasyon projeleri, sanayi girişimleri ve Akdeniz ticaretinde artan önemi nedeniyle benzeri görülmemiş bir ticaret patlaması ve kentsel genişleme yaşamıştır. Limanının ticaret hacmi ile Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun başkenti Constantinople'u aşmış, özellikle İngiltere ve Fransa gibi emperyal güçlerin ilgisini çeken bir ticari rekabet arenası haline gelmiştir. 19. yüzyılın önde gelen emperyal gücü ve dünyanın bu yüzyıldaki ekonomik merkezi haline gelen İngiltere, Smyrna limanını ardalanına bağlayan demiryollarını ilk kuran ülke olmuştur. Bu dönemde İngiliz girişimciler Batı Anadolu topraklarının 1/3'ünü satın almış ve limanın ticaret hacminin yarısını kontrol etmiştirler. Her ne kadar bu değişimin ekonomik tarihi pek çok araştırmacının ilgisini çekse de, bu dönüşümün 19. yüzyıl Smyrna'nın kentsel mekânını nasıl etkilediği ve onun adeta bir gizli sömürge olma yolunda nasıl manipüle edildiği henüz araştırılmamıştır. Sanayi devrimi sonrası liman kenti gelişimi açısından İzmir farklı bir örnektir, çünkü Tanzimat Reformları'ndan sonra İngilizler de dahil olmak üzere farklı yabancı yatırımcıların modernleştirme stratejileri geride parçalanmış bir kentsel alan topluluğu bırakmıştır. Bu nedenle Smyrna'nın liman şehri modellerinden ziyade belirli İngiliz sömürge liman şehirlerine olan tuhaf benzerliği, yeni arşiv kanıtlarının da Smyrna'nın "İngiliz tasavvurunda" oluşturulmuş tamamlanmamış bir imparatorluk projesi olduğunu göstermesi nedeniyle araştırmaya değerdir. Bu tez, modernleşmenin ardındaki yarı-sömürge emellerini, kentsel mekanın kurucu anlatıları olan anılar, günlükler ve yazışmalarla birleştirilmiş morfolojik analiz yoluyla açığa çıkararak enformel imparatorluğun kalıntı mekanlarının nasıl oluşturulduğunu ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Britanya İmparatorluğu, Kolonyalizm, Enformel İmparatorluk, Kolonyal Kentleşme ve Mimarlık, Postkolonyalizm, Dekolonyalizm, Akdeniz'in Koloni Limanları, 19. Yüzyılda İzmir*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BOA   Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri

NA   National Archives UK

OBL   Oxford Bodleian Library

LMA   London Metropolitan Archive

LPL   Lambeth Palace Library, National Library and Archive of Church of England

BL   British Library (UK)

EUL   Exeter University Library

ORC   Ottoman Railway Company, also known as Smyrna-Aydın Railway

TURKEY   Turkey was used in British Archival reports to refer to Anatolian lands in Ottoman Empire. Even though the Turkish Republic was not established before 1923, when the maps and reports specifically stated Turkey to refer Anatolia, this term is preserved and used throughout the thesis.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"How build a coherent city out of the efforts of a thousand competing individualists who knew no law but their own sweet will?"[2]

Figure 1. Punta (Alsancak) Terminus pier dividing the city into front and back.[3]

The Punta region, known as such in the Smyrna of the 19th century but now referred to as Alsancak in İzmir, Turkey, holds a special place in my childhood memories. The British Consulate building, where we would go for passport renewals, stood out as a peculiar edifice, unlike any other building I was familiar with. Adjacent to its eastern façade was a church that always seemed to be closed, while on the opposite side of the road, towards the east, I could see a few abandoned structures and factory chimneys stretching out towards the horizon, in stark contrast to the modern apartment blocks lining

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[2]   Lewis Mumford, *The City in History*, 1st ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1961), 46.

[3]   'Darağaç Neighbourhood', Levantine Heritage, 1900s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/daragac.htm.

the consulate's western side. Something about the area had a different feel, and I always sensed that the city ended there. Though no strict dividing lines separated the east and west sides of the Punta Railway Station, located on the other side of the consulate's road, my family and I never ventured beyond the tracks to the station's other side. As a child, I thought it was the "***end of the world as I knew it***".

It would take some time to comprehend the reasons behind my peculiar feeling. It wasn't until I began my studies at the Department of Architecture that I learned the history of 19th-century Smyrna and its history as a Mediterranean city flooded with multi-ethnic and multi-religious populations; thus, such buildings existed. I learned that the different feelings associated with the experience of visiting the Punta region had their roots in that century.

The Mediterranean was the centre of the world before the 19th century, the word translated as "***the middle of the earth-media-terra***".[4] In Enrique Dussell's words, this is the part of a history that the Eurocentric progressive "*modern history of the West*" prefers not to acknowledge. The initial narrative of modernity depicted Europe as the central hub of enlightenment, with its brilliance radiating out to the rest of the world from imperial centres to colonies since the 16th century. However, according to Dussel's alternate perspective, before the 19th century, the European nations were living in once marginalised lands, struggling to connect with the old centre of the world in the Middle East and Mediterranean, where Smyrna was located.

Situated in a privileged geography in the Mediterranean basin with its naturally protected port and rich hinterland, Smyrna/İzmir in Western Anatolia has always been a node of trade. However, during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the city experienced a considerable boom resulting from industrial initiatives of foreign investors as it integrated into the world economy centred in Britain and gained real importance as a port city on the Mediterranean coast. This period saw Smyrna become the second largest city in the Ottoman Empire after Constantinople, the imperial capital.[5] Furthermore, due to the richness of its hinterland, its port superseded that of Constantinople, eventually transforming the city with the development spurred by the waterfront and railways to its hinterland.

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[4] Benjamin, Craig, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "*The Mediterranean*," (Cambridge University Press eBooks, accessed April 4, 2021). https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139059251.014.

[5] Sibel Zandi-Sayek, 'Introduction', in *Ottoman İzmir The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port 1840-1880* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 1–46.

Figure 2. Looking from the port of Smyrna to its castle and from the castle to the port and the Quay of Smyrna. [6]

Smyrna was situated at the opening of a slender gulf that leads to the sea. The region was characterised by a series of parallel mountains that run perpendicular to the coast, creating tranquil coves that have provided a safe haven for sailors of all nations for centuries. The Büyük and Küçük Menderes rivers to the south and the Gediz and Bakırçay rivers to the north formed valleys that wind their way to the Gulf of Smyrna. Kadifekale and Değirmendağı mountains marked the city's boundaries for maritime travellers. While the hinterland valleys beyond these mountains fuelled trade at the city's port, the inner-most parts were less fertile, resulting in a settlement pattern mainly along the waterfront. Behind these two mountains, a caravan route winded to the city from the famous Caravan Bridge in an area called Kemer today.

The bridge served as a critical gateway to the end of a burdensome journey of overland trade routes originating from the East, specifically Persia, Syria, and Iraq. It collected commodities from these internal trade routes and surrounding regions,

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[6]   'Cadoux Archive', 1900, MS. Cadoux Archive, Folder 108, OBL.

establishing itself as a hub for transporting Ottoman goods westward and importing Western goods eastward. Moreover, it was on the important Constantinople - Smyrna - Alexandria maritime trade route.[7] As Cana Bilsel illustrated in her thesis, the city's layout was influenced by this long-distance trade, with significant streets leading towards the centre and "khans", where trade took place.[8] Faruk Tabak stated that the rising influence of this overland trade enabled Smyrna to develop even though the Eastern Mediterranean waned since the overland routes terminated here[9] and were connected to the maritime trade.

Due to its importance, Smyrna became one of the central trading posts for European investors when the struggle of the European nations to reach the centre of world trade around the Mediterranean was eased with the capitulations given by the Ottoman Empire that owned the major ports of the Eastern Mediterranean. They were given to the French nationals in 1535 and then to the British in 1580[10] to establish trade connections with the ports around the Ottoman Empire. The British immediately established the famous Levant Company to lead Anglo-Ottoman relations for the next 245 years until its abolishment. Even though these factories obtained rights to trade in Ottoman dominions in the Mediterranean, they had limited power, and their presence was turbulent. There were natural disasters, massacres, and political pressures, so they had to remain subtle, living in their enclaves that were established adjacent to the sea, situated side by side with other European nationals.[11]

Following the establishment of the Levant Company and other European companies, Smyrna experienced significant socio-cultural changes after the capitulations. It evolved from a regional port to a major European trade hub, drawing in immigrants from Ottoman provinces and the Mediterranean. This influx of migrants contributed to diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds. European traders established trading houses,

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[7] Elena Frangakis-Syrett, 'Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries: The City- Port of İzmir and Its Hinterland', *International Journal of Maritime History* X, no. 2 (December 1998): 125–54.

[8] Cana Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru', in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi? Bir Osmanlı Limanından Hatıralar*, ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 143–60.

[9] Faruk Tabak, 'Economic and Ecological Change in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1550–1850', in *Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to the Present Day*, ed. Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz (London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010), 23–38.

[10] "Kapitülasyonlar - Atatürk Ansiklopedisi," Atatürk Ansiklopedisi, accessed January 2, 2023, https://ataturkansiklopedisi.gov.tr/bilgi/kapitulasyonlar/.

[11] These people were men, women and other family members did not join them in the Levant Company until the end of the 18th century.

factories, and consular representatives, while Jews, Armenians, and Greeks also settled in Smyrna during this period.[12] The city's diverse inhabitants from various ethnic and religious backgrounds were also reflected in its spatial organisation. Residential neighbourhoods were arranged according to social hierarchies between the 1700s and late 1800s. Muslims, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Franks (the European populations) lived in closely intertwined but separate quarters.[13] The settlement of the European merchants was established along the seashore adjacent to Armenian and Greek quarters and grew over time towards Punta.
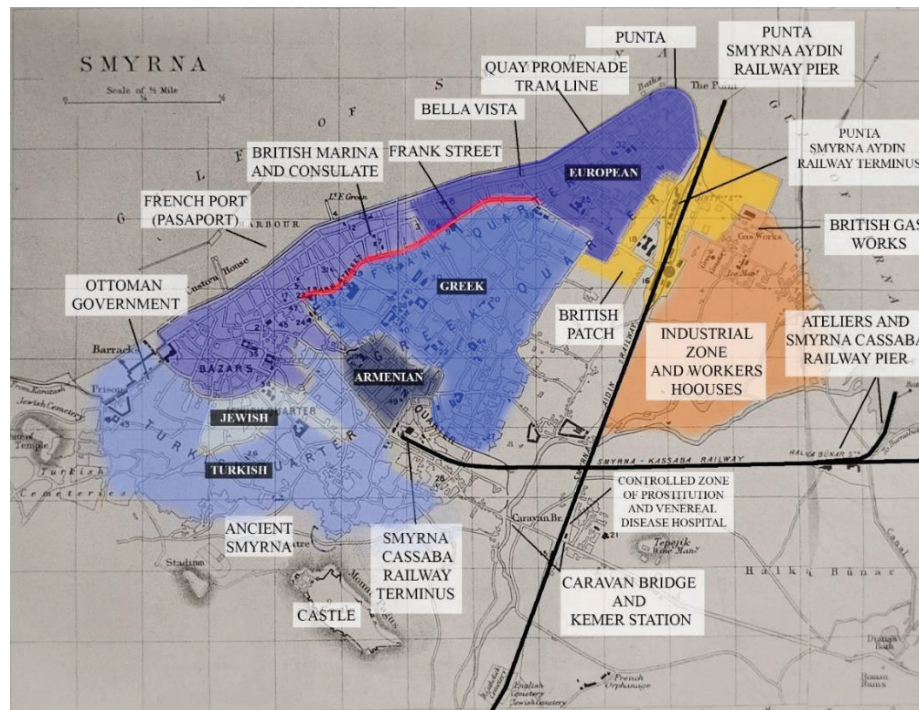
Figure 3. Neighbourhoods in Smyrna and important nodes, analysis prepared by the author on Rauf Beyru's plan[14]

With the changing political environment at the beginning of the 19th century, the factories of these European merchants (Franks) remained redundant. The world was changing rapidly with the Industrial Revolution and scientific advancements. In Britain's case, the government switched to free trade through Adam Smith's policies towards a British Empire on the cheap, where the capitalist gentlemen migrated to overseas areas and paid for spheres of influence to form a source of raw materials and new markets.

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12   Zandi-Sayek, "Introduction", 1-46.
13   Zandi-Sayek, "Introduction", 1-46.
14   Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2011), 81.

During this new era, the British Government contributed little financially. British Empire was to be expanded on the back of these maritime mercantile gentlemen from thereon. In Smyrna's case, these gentlemen largely emerged from the former Levant Company.

In her PhD thesis, *"Cultures et Fonctionnalités: l'évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la ville de Izmir aux XIXe et début XXe siècles"* Cana Bilsel explains that one of the impetus of the reorganisation of commerce of Smyrna during the 19th century was the dissolution of the Levant Company in 1825, which monopolised Great Britain's trade with the Ottoman Empire. According to Bilsel, the decision immediately impacted Smyrna, resulting in the establishment of multiple English companies. The previous representatives of the company settled in the city and founded trading houses, marking the beginnings of a significant foreign capital in Smyrna and fostering close ties with Europe. This development was not exclusive to the British; other foreign families of French, Italian, Dutch, and other communities also emerged as critical players in the city's economic activity following the Napoleonic Wars.[15] These Western merchants settled during this period and decided to make Smyrna a modern international port and trade centre.[16] The settled Levant Company merchants continued using the Levant Company Quarter, consisting of a hospital, church, consular offices, and prison. Their involvement in the city did not radically change until the Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of 1838. Things took a different turn from thereon. The Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of 1838, the 1839 Tanzimat Fermanı, 1858 "Toprak Yasası" and "Maden Yönetmeliği", and the 1867 enactments all provided the subjects of the Ottoman Empire as well as the foreigners with the right to own lands.[17]

Through land ownership, foreign merchants accumulated wealth and moved towards generational prosperity. According to Braudel, the bourgeoisie's rise to power and the establishment of capitalism as the foundation of the economic system can be attributed to this influential class's inherited land ownership and wealth.[18] With this power came significant authority, allowing the British and other foreigners to own lands and

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[15] Cana Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'évolution de La Morphologie Urbaine de La Ville de Izmir Aux XIXe et Début XXe Siècles' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Paris X-Nanterre Sciences Sociales et Administration, 1996), 45–46.

[16] Cana Bilsel, 'XVII. Yüzyıldan XX. Yüzyıla İzmir'in Bir Ticaret Limanı Olarak Gelişimi, Kent Mekânının Oluşumu ve Başkalaşımı', in *Akdeniz'in Kıyısında İzmir Körfezi Konferans Bildirileri Kitabı*, ed. Ayşe Filibeli and Güzel Yücel Gier (İzmir: Akdeniz Akademisi, 2018), 62–78.

[17] Oliver Jens Scmitt, 'Levantenler, Avrupalılar ve Kimlik Oyunları', in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi? Bir Osmanlı Limanından Hatıralar*, ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 123–39.

[18] Fernand Braudel, *Kapitalizmin Kısa Tarihi* (Ankara: SAY Yayınları, 2020), 66.

pass on their wealth to their descendants. From this date on, investments poured in. The primary competition occurred between the French and the British regarding the operation rights to three significant infrastructural investments in the organisation of the urban sphere: the building of Smyrna-Aydın Railway, Smyrna Cassaba Railway and the Quay of Smyrna. During the second half of the 19th century, these investments eventually shaped and transformed the mari-terrestrial interface of Smyrna.

The British investors purchased vast agricultural lands in and around Smyrna's hinterland, eventually owning 1/3 of Western Anatolian lands. As a rising global power due to its advancements in the Industrial Revolution, British investors flocked to Smyrna and Western Anatolia, joining the former Levant company families. These lands the investors bought received investments significantly after the British collaboration with the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War, ending in 1855. This established the required political reassurance the merchants needed. In the immediate aftermath of this war, the Smyrna-Aydın Railway was proposed in 1856 by British investors to become the first railways of Anatolia and the second in Ottoman Empire after Egyptian Railways. Moreover, the lands owned by the British Smyrna-Aydın Railway Company and its engineers around the then-empty Punta region constituted 1/9 of the existing settlement of Smyrna at the end of the 19th century. The second railway line for the Smyrna-Cassaba route was proposed in 1863 by other British investors. However, the Ottoman Sultan was not happy with the power the Aydın line obtained through their agreement, so the Cassaba line had different arrangements. Moreover, its terminus was on the outskirts of the city centre, near Caravan Bridge, which rendered the investment rather invaluable for British investors and officials in London. The line was eventually transferred to the French due to Andülhamid's power politics. The French investors gained the operation rights of the port in 1868 after the British failed to construct it in the first place. For this reason, this thesis focuses on "*Smyrna in British merchants' imagination*" towards semi-colonisation as a consistent group through which an alternative history of Smyrna could be written. None of the other nationalities owned as much land as the British merchants did, yet we rarely talk about the British presence in the urban sphere in Smyrna and generalise all the European investors under the "Levantine" identity even though each nationality had its agenda in the urban sphere.

As İlhan Tekeli points out, the disparities between governmental, municipal and competing local-elite-based dynamics[19] (as in the case of British-French rivalry) have always positioned cities like *İzmir/Smyrna in-between*, unlike the cities where government-municipal-maritime powers combined to one to have a holistic maritime landscape to be a port-city, such as Hamburg. The interests of the shipping and trading elites and local politicians were aligned in Hamburg and most European "*free cities*", notes Carola Hein. She illustrates the effective partnership between business and government officials as the bridge in Hamburg that links two structures: the stock exchange and the town hall, thus joining the economic and political leadership of the city.[20] This was a luxury in the Eastern Mediterranean since the imperialist powers stretched cities from all corners for effective colonial exploitation and individual benefit in the "*media terra*" they desired for too long.

Buying lands and settling in Smyrna was not just an entrepreneurial endeavour for any European powers but a colonial act, especially for the British. In 1857, James Whittall revealed the plans for a colonised Smyrna;

> *"I believe that if we enforce the Hatt-I Humayoon, and enable Europeans to buy land, the coast of **Asia Minor will become an English and German colony**. They are the only colonising nations. Asia Minor is a better field for them than America. There is far **more unoccupied land**; it may be bought of individuals for a shilling or two an acre; of the Government, for the mere cost of writing out the grant. The first and **most important step is to make railways**."*[21]

From this statement, we can deduce that colonies, in the cases of informal empire, were envisioned and established by the British merchants; it was the "*Empire of the British merchants*". When the strategic importance of these established outposts became prominent, the British Empire could take control of the outpost for its own advantage, thus the preliminary support mentioned. As James Whittall proclaimed, the first project to actualise the imperialist penetration was establishing "*colonial*" railway lines connecting goods from the hinterland directly to the seashore under the disguise of a "*modernisation project*". The most important impetus of Smyrna's modernisation, thus, was its integration into the imperialist-capitalist world economy via its railways that

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[19] İlhan Tekeli, 'Açılış Konuşması', in *Cumhuriyet, Osmanlı Döneminde İzmir ve Hinterlandında Yaşanan Kapitalistleşme ve Modernleşme Süreçlerine Ne Değişiklik Getirdi?*, 2022.

[20] Carola Hein, 'The Port Cityscape Spatial and Institutional Approaches to Port City Relationships', *PORTUSplus*, no. 8 (December 2019), https://pure.tudelft.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/81849744/190_Article_Text_234_2_10_20191229.pdf.

[21] Nassau W. Senior, 'A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857, and the Beginning of 1858', 1858, 206, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044010656916&seq=237&q1=colony.

enabled the produce to be transported through its piers. The port construction was the second step, all three initially being British investments but belonging to different investors. However, upon the failure of the port attempt, the concession was obtained and initially constructed by the French in 1876. Abdülhamid also transferred the Smyrna Cassaba line to the French in 1893. This was due to the changing dynamics between the Ottoman Empire and the British since the British slowly obtained lands from the Ottoman Empire over the years, making Abdülhamid suspicious of their colonial plans and "*imperial minds*". He believed the British aimed to control the area from Smyrna to Aydın to establish a Mandate where he would be trapped. Therefore, he tried to balance the British and French powers.[22] His suspicions were probably alleviated with reports from the Ottoman subjects, as shown below, regarding one of the secret agents reported to be working for the British in their secret project to control the important ports of Anatolia in 1892.
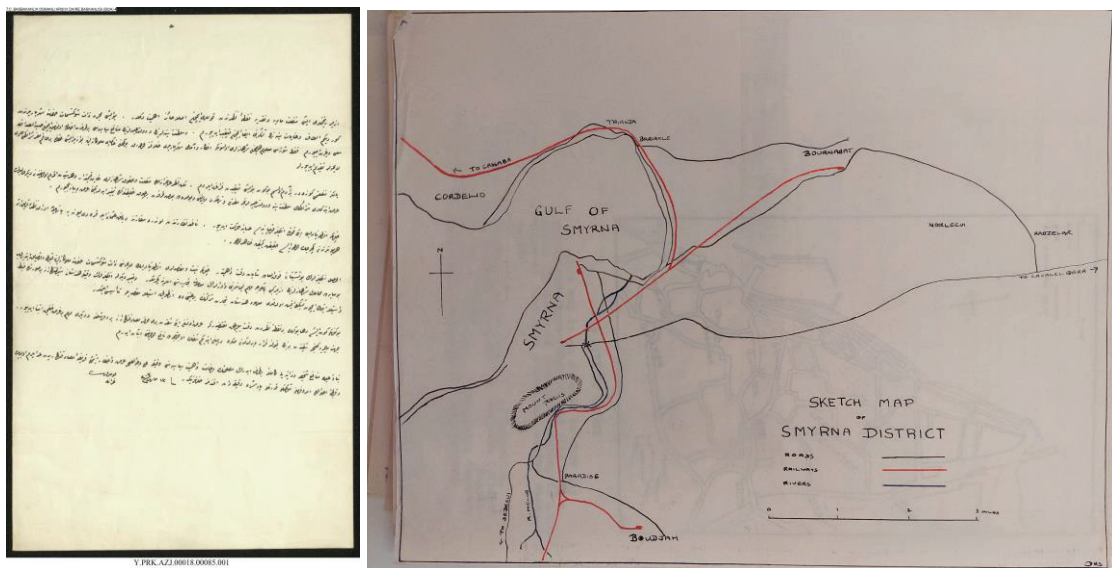
Figure 4. A guy named Antoniyadis, who works for the docks of Smyrna, was reported to work secretly for the British, who were planning to take control of the important ports of Anatolia. Map showing Aydın and Smyrna Cassaba Lines connecting suburbs of Buca and Bornova operated by the British until Cassaba was given to the French in 1893[23]

22 Necmettin Alkan, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arafta Bir Hünkar*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2023), 243.

23 Simpson, Donald H., *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, (London Metropolitan Archive: Unpublished, 1952), 137. Reference number: CLC/ 319/ D/ 024/ MS32616/ 00, box reference: RS 3261611

Why were the British investors after important ports? The effective exploitation for the capitalist gentlemen would require a port landscape with a solid connection to the railway to carry goods from the hinterlands, store them in large warehouses, support them with efficient water supply, coal, gas and electricity, and then load the colonial produce to ships in an efficient way from a pier where there would be large crane structures. In addition, an extensive underwater infrastructure of information, the telegraph, had to be established and prolonged through the railway lines for the punctual operation of the system and time carried utmost importance in smooth colonial transportation and communication, as well as for the disciplining of the colonial body fit for the industrial era. Since punctuality was paramount and transportation in the 19th century was a luxury for the working classes, workers' housing units were sometimes planned adjacent to these railway infrastructures. When they were not deliberately planned, they still existed for convenience. Other functions near such low-income neighbourhoods did not find themselves a place in most of the literary works in the case of Smyrna, such as the brothels, which were the frequent spaces of seamen and factory workers. The clubs and beer houses clustered following these developments. Counter-establishments for ethno-religious colonial image in colonial lands, such as the church and seamen's rests, would usually follow. In cases where they had to squeeze themselves into the existing city, they usually brought the overcrowding and insufficiency of the port in the short term, as was the case of the Port of Smyrna when it was completed. An essential part of planning both the railways and the ports, thus, was to find the perfectly expandable spot to connect land to sea for a port to be created *ex nihilo* to let modernity articulate space by the colonisers. The Punta area in Smyrna was to provide this spot for the British investors with essentially colonial intentions.

It would be beneficial to differentiate *imperialism* and *colonialism* here. While the strategy James Whittall refers to is connected to the "imperial mind/strategy" as the initial idea, colonialism is the practice of this idea in lands such as Smyrna. Imperialism is the idea driving colonialism, essentially an expansionist act; however, it does not always entail colonialism. Arneil explains that;

> *"...modern colonialism from the seventeenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, rooted in the Latin **colonia** and animated by an internalised, penetrative, and productive form of power that seeks to segregate and "improve" "backwards" people(s) from within and "improve" "waste" lands, overseen by colonial authorities living among and/or in close proximity to the colonized, is distinct from a central thread of imperialism, rooted in **imperare**, animated by a*

sovereign form of power that seeks to dominate "naturally inferior" subjects and vast territories from above and afar, justified—at least initially—through war and conquest."[24]

By focusing on the etymological roots of the two words, Arneil distinguished three principles: segregation, agrarian labour on wasteland and "*so-called improvement*" or "*modernisation*" of people and land through colonial processes and institutions. Within this process, the protagonists lived among/near the colonised populations instead of imperial power established through conquest and domination from above/afar.[25] Therefore, instead of seeing the transformation of 19th century Smyrna only as a modernisation process, this thesis problematises the narrative of "modernisation" through foreign investments in urban space and acknowledges them as acts of colonisation. Architecture and urban planning have always "*played a crucial role in organising colonial spatial relations and reflecting or contesting modernity, its rationalities, ideologies and hierarchies".[26]* To reveal the European colonial/modern projects designed towards exploitation, segregation, and dispossession through constructing its own identity as opposed to the "other spaces" labelled as traditional/ backwards"[27], this thesis aimed to expose how the British narrated, imagined, and partially transformed Smyrna by their imagination towards a colonised/or semi-colonised Smyrna while utilising the "*modernising agent*" on the outlook. In their colonial mind, they had a backwards country inhabited by people who did not know how to produce in their lands, were extremely superstitious, indifferent to timekeeping, and incapable of modern civilisation. These ideas are given throughout the thesis in quotations about their respective urban spaces.

As this thesis is produced from within the semi-colonised space, it also attempts to decolonise Smryna's history. Decoloniality is a means to understand the embedded relationship between the colonial condition and the imposition of a Western logic of "*modernity and modernisation*" as a consequence of colonialism. In "*Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues*", Bhambra points out that both the postcolonial and the decolonial are concerned with the troubling notion of "***modernity***", or, to be precise, with "***the way***

24   Barbara Arneil, 'Colonialism versus Imperialism', *Political Theory*, no. digital (2023): 1–31, https://doi.org/10.1177/00905917231193107.
25   Arneil.
26   Alessandro Petti, 'Decolonizing Architecture (2021-2022) Difficult Heritage', *DAAS - Decolonizing Architecture Advanced Studies* (blog), accessed 12 December 2023, https://www.daas.academy/courses/.
27   Petti.

the West imposed a universal model of modernity" on other parts of the world through imperial invasion and colonial governance.[28]

As the first "modernisation" act, as evident from James Whittall's words locating the railways as the first step of colonisation, this thesis focuses on the Smyrna-Aydın Railway line and questions;

- What is British colonial modernism, and how it manifests itself, especially in port cities of the British Empire,
- The port city and colonial port city models and how Smyrna corresponds to them,
- The process through which Punta became a mari-terrestrial colonial interface in the British Maritime Empire through the acts of modernisation in the Ottoman Empire,
- The consequences of imperial penetration and colonisation in Smyrna,
- Based on Çağlar Keyder's definition of Smyrna as a peripheralised area without official colonisation, is it possible to talk about colonised urban spaces formed during the city's integration into the capitalist world economy?
- What are the common aspects of colonial urban spaces in the British Empire?
- Did British colonisation have clear antecedents regarding the modernisation or urban space?
- Why is British presence not felt today in the form of British urban planning and architecture even though they owned 1/3 of Western Anatolian Lands and more than half of the trade volume during the 19th century?
- Was this incognito urban existence what constituted the British Empire in the first place?
- Was any part of Smyrna partially a product of the British Empire, or was it an Empire of merchants, and hence really an "*empire in the absence of mind*"?
- Based on "permanences in the city" today, what conclusions can we reach regarding British colonial architecture and planning?
- Is it possible to write Smyrna's modernisation through new archival material and postcolonial studies?

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[28] Michael Tsang, 'Aníbal Quijano – Decolonising Modern Languages and Cultures', 21 January 2021, https://blogs.ncl.ac.uk/decolonisesml/tag/anibal-quijano/.

1.1. Theoretical Underpinnings

This study draws on five distinct theoretical backgrounds. Firstly, it examines the entry of imperialism into Turkey and the integration of Smyrna into the global capitalist economy as a trade port from an economic history perspective. Secondly, it considers studies on British imperialism and the informal empire in shaping the centre-periphery dynamics, which is crucial to understanding the integration of Smyrna. Thirdly, it explores the history of the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire and the impact of this process on Smyrna. Fourthly, it examines how integration into the capitalist world economy affects cities and their inhabitants with ports, including port city and colonial city typologies. Finally, it evaluates British imperialism through the lens of post-colonial theory and investigates Smyrna's architecture and urban planning in terms of colonial modernism.

This research process took direction when Orhan Kurmuş, in his works *"Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi"* ve *"The Role of British Capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia 1850-1913"*,[29] placed the entry of imperialism into Western Anatolia and Smyrna on the Smyrna-Aydın Railway and stated that the majority of the capital that transformed the city was in the hands of the British. In this context, the works of Reşat Kasaba, *"Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism, the Ottoman Empire, and China in the Nineteenth Century"*[30], Çağlar Keyder's *"Toplumsal Tarih Çalışmaları"*[31] and Abdullah Martal's *"Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme 19. Yüzyıl"*[32] all state that the British turned Smyrna and Western Anatolia into a ***trade colony-a part of British informal empire***. The result of this British influence on Smyrna positions the city in Çağlar Keyder's book as a ***"peripheralised area without colonisation"***. There are other European actors in this process, such as the French, the Dutch, and the Italian. Still, just like Reşat Kasaba and Orhan Kurmuş, this thesis focuses

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[29]   Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 2nd ed. (Yordam Kitap, 2012); Orhan Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia 1850-1913' (PhD Thesis, Unpublished, University of London, 1974).

[30]   Reşat Kasaba, 'Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism, the Ottoman Empire, and China in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of World History* 4, no. 2 (1993): 215–41.

[31]   Çağlar Keyder, *Toplumsal Tarih Çalışmaları*, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016).

[32]   Abdullah Martal, *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme: 19. Yüzyıl*, 1st ed. (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1999).

on the British as they are a consistent focus group and a community that had 1/3 of Western Anatolian lands.

As a sub-category of the British Empire, the concept of informal empire was introduced by John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson's 1953 publication, "*The Imperialism of Free Trade.*"[33] Gallagher and Robinson argued that Britain had an extensive empire beyond its colonies, with trade following the flag. Peter J. Cain and Anthony Hopkins disputed this view in "*British Imperialism 1688-2015*", stating that the flag followed trade.[34] Regardless of their differing perspectives, both parties agreed that the foundation of the empire was built on economics and trade. Cain and Hopkins also coined "***gentlemanly capitalism***" to describe how wealthy British capitalists with similar backgrounds and educations shaped the informal empire by investing in overseas areas as merchants.[35] In "The Grey Men of Empire: Framing Britain's Official Mind, 1854-1934", Blake Duffield referred to this group as the "***grey men of empire***," who invested in various cities to shape the empire's space. These men were educated and bonded over their shared educational backgrounds, learning to make choices for the benefit of the British Empire.[36] John Darwin further explored these investments and claimed that the commercial empire was ***an incomplete project***, leaving fragmented areas behind in "*Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*".[37] These writers, including Orhan Kurmuş, emphasised the unequal trade agreements and railways as the basis of the informal empire's establishment.

Therefore, the third section of the literature review focused on Ottoman modernisation and the transformation of Anatolian cities following the introduction of railways to reap the benefits of unequal trade treaties. One of the key sources for this section was "Örgütleşemeyen Kent İzmir" by Mübeccel Kıray.[38] Kıray highlighted Smyrna's attempts to industrialise and integrate itself into the capitalist world economy while facing challenges resulting from the investments of various European merchants in

[33] John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *The Economic History Review* 6, no. 1 (August 1953): 1–15, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0289.1953.tb01482.x.

[34] Peter J. Cain and Anthony G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-2015*, 3rd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2016).

[35] Anthony G. Hopkins and Peter J. Cain, 'The Gentlemanly Order, 1850-1914', in *British Imperialism 1688-2015*, 3rd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 117–221.

[36] Blake Allen Duffield, 'The Grey Men of Empire: Framing Britain's Official Mind, 1854-1934' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Arkansas, 2016).

[37] John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*, 1st ed. (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2013).

[38] Mübeccel Kıray, 'Sonuç', in *Örgütleşemeyen Kent: İzmir* (Ankara: Bağlam Yayınları, 1972), 99–105.

the city. The competing interests of these merchants disabled Smyrna from achieving an organised trade environment, as in Hamburg, as explained by Carola Hein in the introduction.[39] In addition to this perspective, "*Batılılaşma Yolunda*" by İlber Ortaylı offered an insight into the Ottoman Empire's industrialisation efforts, which ultimately had adverse outcomes. The Empire's inability to realise its industrial revolution led to modernisation attempts that relied heavily on foreign capital and privileges. Ortaylı claimed that the backwardness of the industrial advancement in the Ottoman Empire was due to the nature of traditional production in general and the foreign trade relations.[40] The foreigners had a considerable advantage compared to the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, as the British had with the Balta Limanı Treaty in 1838, who spent their lifetime mostly on battlefields, leaving little room for agricultural advancement on their own. The solution was to allow the action and profit of Western capital in Anatolia by adopting a development strategy that used Western capital, knowledge and skills, as Cana Bilsel noted in "Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru.".[41] Cana Bilsel's other papers and her PhD thesis are of utmost importance for analysing the transformation of Smyrna through modernisation initiatives as well.[42] Bilsel emphasised that this modernisation stemmed from Western capital taking over the city's economy and region. It caused social division between marginalised groups due to the economy's new way of functioning and those who benefit from it. At the same time, all the region's wealth flowed to Smyrna; its modernisation and growth aligned with Western Capitalism's different networks and actors.[43] Bilsel's words were crucial for this thesis due to this emphasis.

Sibel Zandi-Sayek's "*Ottoman Izmir: The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port 1840-1880*" showed that a certain degree of reciprocity existed between the institutional modernisation and urban realities in 19th-century Smyrna. Starting with the challenges of establishing property rights, laws, and taxation, the author analysed the legislative disparities between Smyrna's Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants. Despite ongoing efforts to modernise ownership systems, these disparities persisted, with porous

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[39]   Hein, 'The Port Cityscape Spatial and Institutional Approaches to Port City Relationships'.

[40]   İlber Ortaylı, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sanayileşme Anlayışına Bir Örnek: Islah-ı Sanayi Komisyonu Olayı', in *Batılılaşma Yolunda*, 8th ed. (İstanbul: İnkilap Kitabevi, 2018), 133.

[41]   Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru', 143–60.

[42]   These sources include her PhD thesis "Cultures et Fonctionnalités : l'évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la ville de Izmir aux XIXe et début XXe siècles", "XVII. Yüzyıldan XX. yüzyıla İzmir'in Bir Ticaret Limanı Olarak Gelişimi, Kent Mekânının Oluşumu Ve Başkalaşımı", and "Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization"

[43]   Bilsel, Cana. "Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru," 143–60.

boundaries. Furthermore, the author illustrated how the demands of urban groups became instrumental in shaping the legal framework and the urban infrastructure through various civic projects such as lighting, paving, and so on.[44] Ultimately, this reorganisation of trade and commerce under the banner of "modernisation" enabled foreign interests to penetrate the region. These sources, in combination, showed how the modernisation of cityscapes, as Biray Kolluoğlu Kırlı referred to, revealed striking differences between the modernisation of the 19th-century Ottoman Empire and the 20th-century Turkish Republic. Kolluoğlu-Kırlı summarised these differences in four headings. Firstly, the developments under the modernisation umbrella in Smyrna during the 19th and early 20th centuries were urban management, not urban planning. Secondly, there was no holistic vision towards urbanisation in the Ottoman Empire, while in the early years of the Turkish Republic, the capital of Ankara was leading the visions of urban development. In the 19th century and early 20th century, Smyrna was developed based on local agencies, creating the problems of organisation Kıray emphasised. Thirdly, the Turkish Republic favoured national capital over merchant capital, which was proven to be profit-based and self-imposing. Fourthly, Kolluoğlu Kırlı stated that totalitarian and nationalist interpretations of modernity and modernisation prevailed in the Turkish Republic[45], to which I will add, while the 19th century and early 20th century Smyrna experienced colonial modernisms of different European powers in the city.

Abdülhamid strongly opposed any such capitalist-imperialist-colonialist Western power to dominate modernisation efforts in Anatolia. Necmettin Alkan gave a very enriching insight into his thoughts on the imperialist expansion of England in "*Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arafta Bir Hünkar*" book. Alkan conveyed that Abdülhamid thought that giving the port to the British would be giving the keys to Anatolia since they already had two railway lines in Western Anatolia terminating in Smyrna,[46] and feared a British mandate from Smyrna to Konya would be established, where he and his government would be trapped.*[47]* The strategic importance of the railways that made the Sultan suspicious of British intentions and their power in colonial exploitation of the Smyrna

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[44] Sibel Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir The Rise of a Cosmopolitan Port 1840-1880* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 77.

[45] Biray Kolluoğlu Kırlı and Anna Frangoudaki, 'Cityscapes and Modernity: Smyrna Morphing into İzmir', in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, 1st ed. (England: Bloomsbury Press, 2007), 217–35.

[46] Mübahat Kütükoğlu, 'İzmir Rıhtımı İnşaatı ve İşletme İmtiyazı', in *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2000), 239.

[47] Alkan, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid* Arafta *Bir Hünkar*, 243.

Railways was also given in "*İzmir Demiryolları*" by Nedim Atilla[48] and "*19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*" by Rauf Beyru.[49] Even though all of these sources provided valuable insights into the railways and capitalist integration into the world economy, they did not tap into the imperialist and colonialist aspects of this integration and its spatial manifestations in cities with ports, even though Smyrna was always emphasised as a port city in these sources.

Throughout all these studies, Smyrna has been defined as a port city. As a city that has been introduced to many different versions of the port-land relationship and its port actually prospered due to its hinterland, should Smyrna be considered a port city in every period throughout history? This question constitutes the fourth part of the literature review. Here, Carola Hein's "*The Port Cityscape Spatial and Institutional Approaches to Port City Relationships*"[50] and Matteo di Venosa and Rosario Pavia's "*Waterfront: Dal Conflitto All'Integrazione*" examining the city-port interface in the historical process provided a critical perspective. Venosa and Pavia argued that the term "port city", taken from pure geography, cannot be attributed to every period due to the changing land-sea interface relations throughout history. They argued that we should refer to "ports of cities" instead. Their valuable contribution was also observing the intersection of sea and land as a place of conflict[51], which will guide the following of this thesis. In addition, Çağlar Keyder and Biray Kolluoğlu claimed that Smyrna should be defined as a "city of commerce" in "*Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to the Present Day*".[52] However, the intersection of sea and land is where imperialist penetration takes hold, and eliminating this intersection when defining cities will negatively affect the analysis. Carola Hein, on the other hand, highlights that although they are called port cities, among the cities she examines, there are cities that presented integrity between port functions and city organisation, as well as cities that were caught between the interests of merchants and the conflict of local governments, just as the 19th century Smyrna. In addition, she suggested that calling all of these cities port cities is problematic.[53]

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[48]   Nedim Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, 1st ed. (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Yayını, 2002).

[49]   Beyru, 19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti, 81.

[50]   Hein, 'The Port Cityscape Spatial and Institutional Approaches to Port City Relationships'.

[51]   Matteo di Venosa and Rosario Pavia, *Waterfront: Dal Conflitto All'integrazione*, ed. Listlab (Online: Babel, 2012).

[52]   Biray Kolluoğlu Kırlı and Meltem Toksöz, 'Introduction', in *Cities of the Mediterranean: From the Ottomans to the Present Day*, ed. Biray Kolluoğlu Kırlı and Meltem Toksöz, 1st ed. (London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010), 23–38.

[53]   Hein, Carola, "The Port Cityscape Spatial and Institutional Approaches to Port City Relationships," PORTUSplus No:8 (December, 2019): 1-8.

So, what is a port city? An answer to this question has been sought with various typologies. Firstly, Bird developed the "Anyport" model. Based on his model, Brian S. Hoyle[54] and Shubert made additions. These models illustrated a port expanding along the same shore[55], whereas in Smyrna, the port area kept changing locations, and at one point, there were two shipping areas in the city. Cesar Ducruet developed the model for assessing port city typologies as a coastal town, outport, hub, urban port, city port, gateway, general city, maritime city, and hub port city.[56] This chart included modern-day Smyrna (İzmir) in the "maritime city" group with Lisbon, Marseilles and Amsterdam with its high centrality but medium intermediacy potentials. This interpretation assessed the modern-day Smyrna, validating my point of describing different periods of a city with a port about changing relations at the sea-land interface. Arguing that these do not fully respond to Middle Eastern ports, Soffer and Stern developed the model by analysing Smyrna, Alexandria, Haifa, and Beirut. They theorised a ***Middle Eastern Port City Model***, a sub-group of Middle Eastern and port cities, arguing that they share commonalities that set them apart from their European counterparts.[57] Izmir, which is included in the analysis of this model, does not comply with all the proposed features of the model due to the conflict created by the two railways and the port as opposed to reconciliation. At this point, similarities with the proposed British colonial port models became striking. Even though Serkan Karas did not develop any models, his highlight on the insistence of the British to build railway terminals on the shore and obtaining piers for the railways was an important starting point.[58] In addition to this, Partha Mitter, in her paper "*The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture Circa 1640-1757*", questioned whether there was conscious urban planning in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, important colonial port cities of Britain. She revealed that even though India was an important colony, overall planning schemes were not implemented until a certain

54 Brian Stewart Hoyle, 'The Port-City Interface: Trends, Problems and Examples', *Geoforum* 20, no. 4 (January 1989): 429–35, https://doi.org/10.1016/0016-7185(89)90026-2.
55 Carola Hein and Yvonne van Mil, 'Towards a Comparative Spatial Analysis for Port City Regions Based on Historical Geo-Spatial Mapping', *PORTUSplus the Journal of RETE*, no. 8 (November 2019): 1–18.
56 Hein and van Mil.
57 Arnon Soffer and Shimon Stern, 'The Port City: A Sub-Group of the Middle-Eastern City Model', *Ekistics - The Mediterranean – I and II: Urban Networks at the Regional, the National and the Local Scale* 53, no. 316/317 (1986): 102–10.
58 Serkan Karas, 'Not so Strategic: Colonial Cyprus's Harbours and Railway', *Encyclopédie d'histoire Numérique de l'Europe*, accessed 13 April 2022, https://ehne.fr/en/encyclopedia/themes/material-civilization/major-technological-networks-and-sovereignty/not-so-strategic-colonial-cyprus%E2%80%99s-harbours-and-railway.

urban crisis point had been reached. Before this point, these Indian ports had hospitals, schools, churches, cantonments and civil lines clustered around railway stations.[59] Preeti Chopra's "*South and South East Asia*" in "*Architecture and Urbanism in British Empire*" explained that after the Indian Rebellion of 1857, these railways were utilised to have a specific separationist pattern observed in Indian cities under colonial rule.[60] This brings us to Meera Kosambi and John E. Brush's Indian port city model for Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay.[61] However, their analysis lacks information regarding the impact of railway developments. Nevertheless, when the model is juxtaposed with the city plans, it is observed that their zoning lines dividing the Europeans and the Indians were indeed the railway lines, as Preeti Chopra pointed out. In "*Urbanism and Master Planning Configuring the Colonial City,*" Robert Home and Anthony D. King illustrate how the railway separation concept used in planning West African railway towns during the colonial era can be applied to mari-terrestrial space. This approach was widely used in the physical planning of new railway towns in Africa, even in non-port cities. In conjunction with the transformation of Indian port cities after 1857, railways became an essential aspect of British urban planning and division.[62]

These segregationist and utilitarian approaches to architecture and urban planning in the areas where the British Empire had an influence were deeply rooted in the creation of "*otherness*" as an inferior society and the British as "*superior*" as a technologically advanced civilisation. Postcolonial studies were influential as the fifth part of the literature to further understand this. Of course, the most inspiring was Edward Said's "*Orientalism*", a book I read long before deciding on my thesis topic. My perspective was probably already intact since I have loved reading his writings, and it influenced my reading of urban space through the new archival material. Edward Said noted that **"knowledge is power".** He said that knowledge and power were the two invisible foundations of imperial authority.[63] The British believed their advanced technical knowledge was a sign of superior civilisation. This idea of "*modernity equals civilisation*"

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59 Partha Mitter, 'The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture Circa 1640-1757', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45, no. 2 (1986): 95–114.

60 Preeti Chopra, 'South and South East Asia', in *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, ed. G.A. Bremner, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 278–318.

61 Meera Kosambi and John E. Brush, 'Three Colonial Port Cities in India', *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (January 1988): 32–47.

62 Robert Home and Anthony D. King, 'Urbanism and Master Planning: Configuring the Colonial City', in *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, ed. G.A. Bremner, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 51–86.

63 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

was used to justify their exploitation of new lands. As a result, Said argued that Europeans saw themselves as superior due to their knowledge, which they believed came from being a modernised and industrialised nation. In this regard, in 2013, Heynen presented an argument in "*The Intertwinement of Modernism and Colonialism: A Theoretical Perspective*" that drew upon Anibal Quiano's research on decoloniality. The crux of Quiano's perspective was that comprehending the relationship between modernity and colonialism was crucial.[64] Europe's concept of modernity, according to Quiano, was entwined with its domination of other areas. This interdependence is called "***modernity/coloniality***", underscoring the inescapable link between colonialism and modernity.[65] This terminology is utilised in this thesis as colonial modernism.

Acknowledging readings of urban space through the lens of "***modernism as a colonial project***" enables us to provoke these exploitation channels and manipulations in the urban sphere, which took place mainly in 19th-century cities, instead of a singular progressive and Eurocentric "*modern history of the West*" observed in imperialist writers works as Niall Ferguson's "*İmparatorluk: Britanya'nın Modern Dünyayı Biçimlendirişi*".[66] Enrique Dussel opposes such views and claims that modernity was already "*the rational management of the world system*".[67] As Dussel explained, the main goal of the Europeans was to reach out to the then-centre of the world economy, revolving around the Mediterranean pre-19th century. European powers sought alternative ways to reach out to the central activities of trade here to the commodities of the East, which they could not produce.[68] They sought alternative forms of exploitation, essentially leaving Arjun Appadurai's *" the shreds and patches of the Colonial heritage"*. Some of these patches were institutional; others were ideological and aesthetic. *"[69]*

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[64] Hilde Heynen, 'The Intertwinement of Modernism and Colonialism: A Theoretical Perspective', *Docomomo Journal*, no. 48 (1 July 2013): 10–19, https://doi.org/10.52200/48.a.1ktv3pae.

[65] Gurminder K Bhambra, 'Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues', *Postcolonial Studies* 17, no. 2 (2014): 115–21.

[66] Niall Ferguson, *İmparatorluk: Britanya'nın Modern Dünyayı Biçimlendirişi*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2020).

[67] Enrique Dussel, 'Modernity as Management of the Planetary Centrality and Its Contemporary Crisis', in *Beyond Philosophy: Ethics, History, Marxism, and Liberation Theology*, ed. Eduardo Mendieta (Washington: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 68.

[68] Enrique Dussel, 'Beyond Eurocentrism: The World System and the Limits of Modernity', in *The Cultures of Globalization*, ed. Frederick Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, 1st ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 3–27.

[69] Arjun Appadurai, 'Playing with Modernity: The Decolonization of Indian Cricket', in *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. C.A. Breckenridge (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 1–24.

Alex Bremner, Robert Home and Anthony King were among the first to discuss these shreds and patches in the British Empire from postcolonial perspectives. They revealed how colonial modernism and "modernities" in space were manifested in Anthony D. King's "*Colonial Urban Development*", Home's "*Of Planting and Planning*", and Bremner's "*Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*". However, it should be noted that while these sources acknowledge the presence of colonial urban modernisation in informal parts of the British empire, they do not provide a thorough analysis of these aspects.

The literature has often overlooked British colonialism in the semi-periphery (informal empire) because of its incomplete and subtle projects that deviated from the traditional narrative of the imperial centre, London, and its colonies. These projects lacked the grandeur of bringing modernity to savage lands and did not involve extreme interventions like the ones in India. The semi-periphery was a space where colonial industrial modernism remained incomplete in every sense, failing to fully colonise, industrialise, and modernise in a way that would satisfy a gentleman's vision despite being the site of capitalist gentlemen. As a result, the semi-periphery represents a unique space in the history of colonialism, where British colonialism's incomplete and subtle projects were not fully realised, leaving residual semi-colonised urban patches behind.

This thesis aims to contribute to architecture and urbanism's imperial and colonial histories by exploring this blank space in literature, representing *colonised spaces without colonisation as formed and partially realised through British gentlemen's imagination.*

1.2.   Notes on Archival Study and Narratives in Qualitative Research

This thesis is based on qualitative research; as qualitative research has the capacity to take in multiple aspects of real-life circumstances or settings. Moreover, its design is flexible, allowing adjustments throughout the research. Groat and Wang state that it is especially appropriate to study the meanings and processes of people's activities and artefacts, which this thesis aims to achieve. Four main categories might be better

identified as: interviews and open-ended response formats, observations, artifacts and sites, and archival documents.[70]

Even though this thesis utilised all of them, among these categories, it is based first and foremost on extensive archival research of 16 months in the United Kingdom. Two scholarships supported it. The first scholarship was YÖK YUDAB, and the second was TÜBİTAK 2214-A Scholarship for PhD Research. During these scholarships, necessary documents were discovered in archives in different cities such as London, Norfolk, Exeter, Lincoln, Liverpool, Belfast, etc. The National Archives in London was visited first since it holds most of the records, and its database provides search results for archives throughout the UK. The Whittall family archive papers were studied at the Exeter University Library. The Whittall Family was one of the major houses of Constantinople and Izmir, holding the majority of the industrial enterprises and being members of the construction committees in both cities. Thus, their documents provided insight into the modernisation and organisation of the industrialising Izmir and Constantinople. Other Levantine families, like the Bulwer family, granted their correspondences to British archives around the UK, usually to places where they originally came from. A trip to Norwich was organised to examine the papers of the Bulwer family, and a trip to Lincolnshire Archives was planned to search for the documents of an important railway engineer who worked for the construction of the Smyrna-Aydın Railway. The Lambeth Palace Library and London Metropolitan Archives also provided valuable information with their collections on churches and fire stations.

The Merseyside Maritime Museum and Albert Docks, Victoria and Albert Museum, Clockmakers Museum, and Science Museum were visited to understand the spirit of 19th-century enterprises, navigation, and scientific advances. These dynamics had a significant impact in shaping the port cities of the century into places of industry.

An essential insight into studying the spirit of a 19th-century merchant came from a series of interviews with the descendant of Edward Purser, the chief engineer of Smyrna-Aydın Railway and an important urban actor. Chris Horner responded on behalf of himself and his uncle, Willem Daniels. They were both descendants of Edward Purser through his oldest daughter, Dora. Dora's mother (Purser's wife) was a Greek woman, Sophia Miha. Willem is the son of Dora's daughter, Dorothy, and Chris is the son of Dorothy's daughter, Catherine. Chris owns almost 40 years of journals of Purser, although

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[70]   Linda N. Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2nd ed. (New Jersey: Wiley & Sons, 2013), 244–45.

some years are missing. He is writing a book about him and kindly shared his notes with me whenever I needed an answer. Related credits are given to him within the thesis.

In total, 13.337 pages from the National Archive documents, 1010 pages from Exeter University Library's Whittall Family Archive, 348 pages from Lambeth Palace Library documents focusing on the construction of Anglican Churches in Smyrna, 247 pages belonging to Smyrna-Aidin Railway Engineer correspondence from Lincolnshire Archive, 710 pages from Norfolk Archive Levantine family documents, 300 pages from British Library sources on railways in Anatolia, and 2.786 pages from London Metropolitan Archive documents were scanned during the research period. The Turkish Republican and Ottoman Archives were also included in these documents. All the papers gathered are organised and transcribed when necessary in the writing of the thesis. There are also approximately 12000 pages from family archives consulted. These include consular correspondence on the urban works related to Smyrna and its hinterland, such as the railways, telegraphic communication and industry, waterworks, boulevard projects, hospital construction, construction and consecration of churches for families and industry workers, company papers operating in and around Smyrna's Hinterland, the importance of post offices for the industry, missionary works and its infrastructure, consular constructions, bank establishments, epidemics and how they shaped the city, the establishment of cadastral survey, formation of fire brigade within the city and its related enclaves, medico-practical observations, Levant Company documents, trade reports, new planning initiatives to organise the city and its hinterland for more lucrative investments in industry, reasons for the loss of interest for the investments in Turkey at the end of the 19th century, and eventually loss/sale of these investments with the establishment of Turkish Republic.

By gathering all this information, it became possible to read the built environment of Smyrna in a new way. Through permanences (remnants of the era that stand today), cartographic and photographic evidence and ideas obtained via diaries, correspondence, and memoirs of the previous inhabitants, an alternative socio-spatial narrative was formed. In composing the outcome of the physical, morphological transformation of space and the narratives behind it, the thesis itself turned into a compilation of different narratives without an attempt to reach out to any metanarratives.

First, the archival maps, specifically the 1929 Turkish Republic map, 1913 Bon Map, 1876 Lamec Saad Map, drawings of railway engineers and architects, 1891 Ottoman Archive Punta map, 1836 Captain Copeland map and 1919 British Naval Map

of Smyrna, and telegraph line map from the Ottoman Archive were juxtaposed to reveal the Punta region at the and of the 19th- and the beginning of the 20th century. Many of these maps lacked proper representation of this area; roads were left incomplete, buildings were not identified, and even the train station was drawn in the wrong way. However, when they came together, they revealed a different Punta region. Yet, there were still missing parts in this morphological analysis of urban space. Why did the British investors build a clock tower when they could simply install a station clock inside the waiting room? Why did they decide to have a Seamen's Hospital that is significantly larger in size compared to the old one? Who owned the lands surrounding the station? How did all these narratives correspond to colonialism/modernism? None of the answers to these questions can come from mere analysis of physical space; they rest in "*the narratives*".
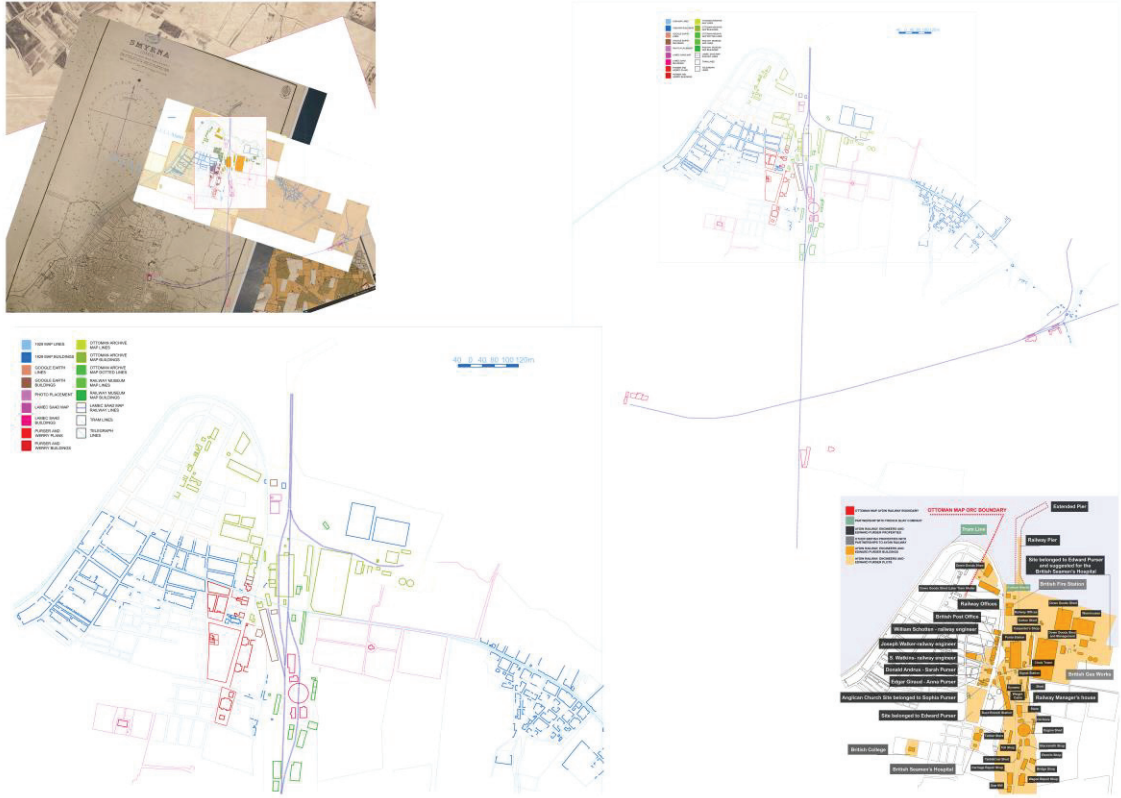
Figure 5. Overlapping of 1929 Republican Map[71], 1913 Bon Map[72], 1876 Lamec Saad Map[73], Drawings of A.F.W.Werry and Edward Purser[74], Ottoman Archive Punta Map[75], 1836 Captain Copeland Map[76] 1919 Naval Map[77], Railway Museum Blueprints, and Ottoman Archive Telegraphy Line Map[78]; the general plan on Autocad; the Punta area detailed in Autocad; final analysis of the Punta region showing the British properties-all prepared by the author

[71] '29 Ocak 1929 Tarihinde "Fen Memuru Vasfi, Büro Şefi Zeki ve Baş Mühendis Rıza Tarafından Hazırlanan İzmir Haritası-222 Sayfa' (Map, 30 January 1929), Belge Grubu, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Ahmet Piriştina Kent Arşivi, https://www.apikam.org.tr/tr/ArsivListele/101.

[72] 'Plan of Smyrna. 1:1,800. "Eleutherondakes", Athens', 1913, FO 925/21129, NA.

[73] Lamec Saad, 'Plan de Smyrne / Lamec Saad ; Blumenau et Soeder | Gallica', Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1876, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53239387c.

[74] '1898 Map of the Region around the Anglican Church of St. John, Smyrna', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1898, http://www.levantineheritage.com/1898map.htm; 'Correspondance-A.F.W.Werry - Architect', 1894, WORK 10/52/3, NA.

[75] 'İzmir-Aydın Osmanlı Demiryolu Şirketi'nin Tuzlaburnu'nda Olan Arazisinin Haritası', 1891, HRT.h. 1227, BOA.

[76] 'Gulf of Smyrna, by Captain R. Copeland and Others 1836-7. Admiralty Chart 1523. With Additions in 1882' (1836), FO 925/2850, NA.

[77] 'Smyma. 8 Inches to One Mile. To Accompany "Handbook of Asia Minor" Volume II- CB 847b.Naval Staff' (1919), FO 925/41249, NA.

[78] 'İzmir Telgraf Hattı Krokisi', 1880s-1890s, PLK.p. 4841, BOA.
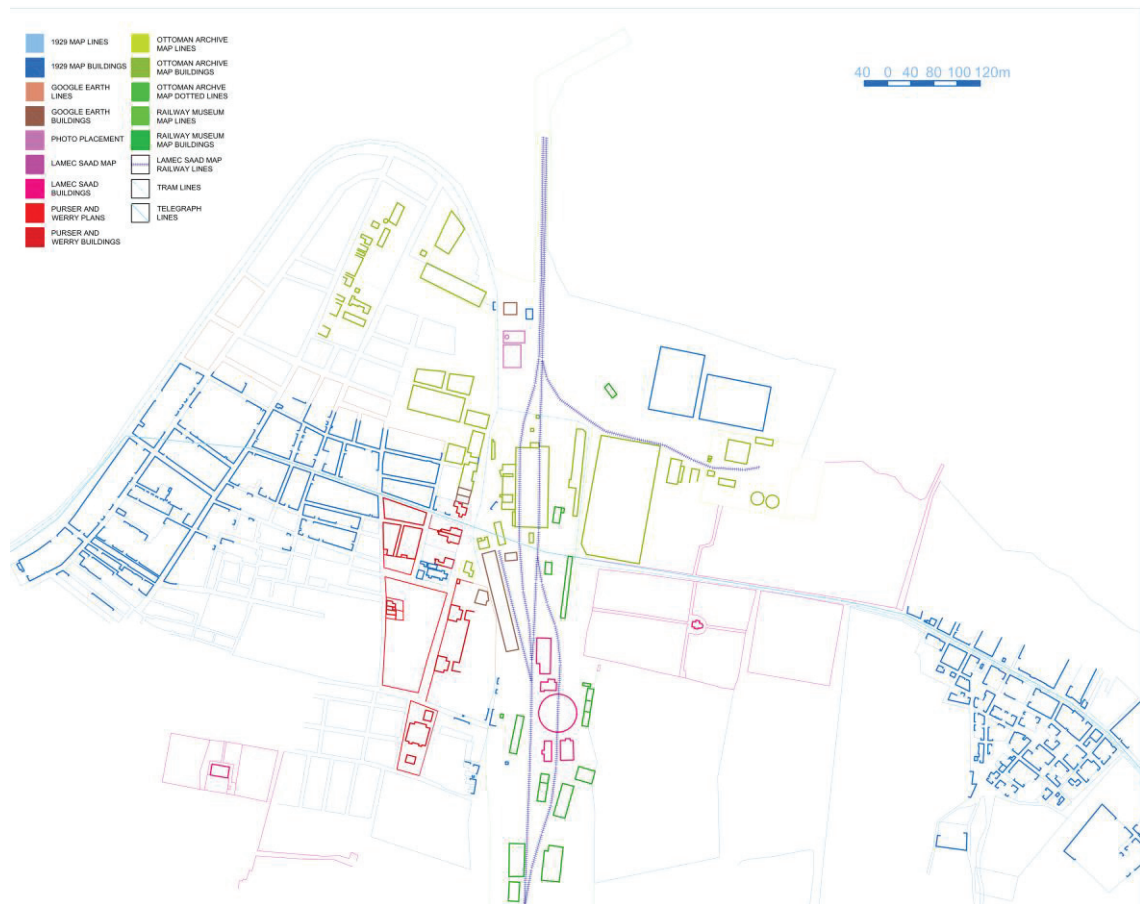
Figure 6. Punta region, around 1900, by the author[79]

At this point, as the cartographic analyses revealed fragmented investments, each piece was individually interpreted using the "**urban dissection**"[80] method and tested experimentally to see if an inductive process, a process initially referred to by Groat and Wang as a highly emphasised aspect of qualitative research[81], could yield a holistic view of the British presence in Smyrna. These fragments were then paired with photographs, diaries, maps, and memories from the archives and analysed using the "***horizontal***

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79   Legend from upper left to bottom right; light blue - 1929 map lines, dark blue - 1929 map buildings, light brown - Google Earth lines, dark brown - Google Earth bildings, purple - photographic evidence, light pink - 1878 Lamec Saad Map, fuchsia - Lamec Saad buildings, red - Purser and Werry plans, maroon - Purser and Werry buildings, lime green - Ottoman Archive map lines, grass green - Ottoman Archive map buildings, leaf green - Ottoman Archive dotted lines (future projections), fluorescent green - Railway Museum blueprint lines, dark green - Railway Museum blueprint buildings, railway lines indicated with stripes, tram lines are indicated with a blue line with dots at intervals, telegraphy lines are indicated with straight blue lines.

80   The author suggests the method.

81   Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 218.

viewing"[82] technique to provide a comprehensive perspective on the cartographic plane. The intersection of perpendicular and horizontal views of cartographically defined spaces revealed a complex and unique history I had not previously encountered. Smyrna, which became part of the global capitalist world economy under British influence, as Orhan Kurmuş suggested[83], comprised various patches developed by different European investors. The British patch, occupying a large area at the intersection of sea and land with a railway as its backbone, was recognisable and typical of colonial exploitation. Urban conflicts arose from these patches, as they had colonial connotations, which were not included in the previously written history of "*Smyrna with a cosmopolitan modern appearance*". As the pieces of this story came together, the conflict areas were identified, constituting the "modern part" of the city. A "*retrospective narrative*" [84] was employed to connect these conflicts and the history of the modernisation of Smyrna in the 19th century on the British layer, one of the many imperial stories it was exposed to during its integration into the global capitalist world economy.

I constructed the narratives of this thesis thematically. They are culminations of my mind's journey while I was in search of the "*imagined British colonial landscape*" in a city which had never been before considered to be colonized. While I do not propose a strict way of working to conduct a similar research for other researchers, I believe my flow of though that corresponds to the outline of the thesis can guide them in similar decolonial writings. Walter Mignolo writes in "*On Decoloniality"* that decoloniality is a "*praxis*" of "*undoing and redoing*" against "*modernity's designs and desires,and of nationalists' selection of the past of the nation*".[85] Therefore, throughout the narratives I consciously dissected and reconstructed narratives over and over again on the selected area to connect its pieces through different sets of relations. Colonial situation, or semi-colonial situation in Smyrna's case, is not an easy text to read. On top of the difficulty in obtaining colonial projects common in formal parts of the empire, the "imaginations and projections" formed but culminated in premature ways by the capitalist gentlemen are

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[82] Suggested by; Menatulla Hendawy, 'REPOSITORY 49 Methods and Assignments for Writing Urban Places – Writing Urban Places – COST Action CA18126', 90–93, accessed 30 January 2024, https://writingurbanplaces.eu/repository-49-methods-and-assignments-for-writing-urban-places/.

[83] Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital'.

[84] Suggested by; Kinga Kimic, 'REPOSITORY 49 Methods and Assignments for Writing Urban Places – Writing Urban Places – COST Action CA18126', 22–25, accessed 30 January 2024, https://writingurbanplaces.eu/repository-49-methods-and-assignments-for-writing-urban-places/.

[85] Walter Mignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 120.

difficult to reveal. That is why it was important to connect physical space with different narratives obtained through dense archival research.

I believe what is unique about this thesis is not just analysing the physical space through maps, especially since these lack correct representation of the area around Punta in morphological analysis, but connecting narratives to these spaces we have as permanences today. This shows how the informal colonial spaces were "imagined to have become" in the minds of merchants until the British Empire took them over, if it ever did. While the existing literature on urban and architectural histories provides large-scale planning and designs implemented by the empires, this thesis focuses on how Smyrna was shaped and constructed discursively first, to be manipulated physically to match those imperial ideas in the second. This included "*local histories, subjectivities, knowledges, narratives, and struggles against the modern/colonial order*" and for a journey through the looking glass, into a pluriversal and interversal decoloniality.[86]

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86   Mignolo and Walsh, 3.

Table 1. Maps used in juxtaposition

SOURCE	MAP	SOURCE	MAP
29 Ocak 1929 Tarihinde "Fen Memuru Vasfi, Büro Şefi Zeki ve Baş Mühendis Rıza Tarafından Hazırlanan İzmir Haritası-222 Sayfa' (Map, 30 January 1929), Belge Grubu, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Ahmet Priştina Kent Arşivi, https://www.apikam.org.tr/tr/ArsivListele/101.		'İzmir-Aydın Osmanlı Demiryolu Şirketi'nin Tuzlaburnu'nda Olan Arazisinin Haritası', 1891, HRT.h. 1227, BOA.	
'Plan of Smyrna. 1:1,800. "Eleutherondakes", Athens', 1913, FO 925/21129, NA.		'Gulf of Smyrna, by Captain R. Copeland and Others 1836-7. Admiralty Chart 1523. With Additions in 1882' (1836), FO 925/2850, NA.	
Lamec Saad. 'Plan de Smyrne / Lamec Saad ; Blumenau et Soeder	Gallica', Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1876,.		'Smyrna. 8 Inches to One Mile. To Accompany "Handbook of Asia Minor" Volume II- CB 847b.Naval Staff" (1919), FO 925/41249, NA.	
'1898 Map of the Region around the Anglican Church of St. John, Smyrna', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1898,.		'İzmir Telgraf Hattı Krokisi', 1880s-1890s, PLK.p. 4841, BOA.	

Table 1 Maps used in juxtaposition

Architect A.F.W. Werry drawings 'Correspondance-A.F.W. Werry Architect', 1894, WORK 10/52/3, NA

Railway Museum Blueprints

1.3.   Structure of the Thesis

The thesis comprises five chapters. Chapter one sets the stage in 19th-century Smyrna, discussing theoretically important sources, the use of archival materials, morphological analysis conducted, and narratives utilised and formed as a result.

The second chapter delves into the development of Anglo-Ottoman relations in the Mediterranean, exploring the formal and informal rules of the British Empire and its influence on the Ottoman Empire. The intertwined nature of imperialism/colonialism and modernity to penetrate into different regions as an imperial strategy is examined through "*colonial modernism*".

Chapter three provides an in-depth analysis of Smyrna's location and history, discussing the changing dynamics of the city's sea and land interface and problematising its classification as a port city. It reveals that even though Smyrna has always been considered a port city, it failed to comply with the developed port-city models in the literature. However, a striking set of resemblances are observed when compared to the colonial ports of the British Empire.

Chapter four combines the Anglo-Ottoman history and the analysis of port cities to explore Smyrna as a semi-colonised landscape without an official colonial rule. The chapter provides how the urban space is dissected to be analysed and re-composed to reveal different sets of socio-spatial narratives of urban space. Ten narratives are given in "***Through the Looking Glass****: Urban Narratives of Punta Patch Against the Rosy Visions of Cosmopolitan Paradise* ", written with the aid of archival material obtained. It is a view from through the looking glass since, as *in Alice in Wonderland, the scene of this thesis is the opposite of what is normalised or* expected. The narratives oppose the heaven-like/beautiful descriptions of 19th century Smyrna and all colonised/semi-colonised and exploited port cities, for that matter, as these places were only paradises for the rich. The remnants of their acts towards exploitation created a different world for the "others".

Finally, chapter five offers an alternative reading of a residual semi-colonial interface in Smyrna and questions the possibilities of overcoming the colonial marks in current İzmir.

CHAPTER 2

ANGLO-OTTOMAN RELATIONS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE ROLE OF SMYRNA

*"Whatever goes on two legs is an **enemy**.*
*Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings is a **friend.***
No animal shall wear clothes.
No animal shall sleep in bed.
No animal shall drink alcohol.
No animal shall kill any other animal.
All animals are equal.
*(But some animals are more equal than **others**)"* [87]

Figure 7. Tough on Turkey. England and Russia, together, "Be my ally, or I'll give you the worst thrashing you ever had in your life.[88]

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[87]   George Orwell, *Animal Farm*, Signet Classics (London: Penguin, 1996), 42 and 126.

[88]   England represented as a lion, and Russia represented as a bear, Türkiye is represented as a turkey. Illustration copyright Keppler and Schwarzmann, 'Tough on Turkey', *Puck*, 22 April 1885, V.17 no.424 edition, cover.

2.1.   Shifts Leading to the Conjunction of Ottoman and British Spheres

A series of interrelated changes from the 16th century onwards have contributed to the formation of 19th-century Smyrna as an important city on the waterfront. These changes can be grouped into two: the ecological shifts, through which the port cities gained importance as distribution points, and the socio-economic shifts, through which these port cities received spatial changes.

2.1.1.   Ecological Shifts Shaping the 19th Century Mediterranean and the Effects on Smyrna

Smyrna's rise as an important port city did not occur overnight and, thus, cannot be understood without dialectic of short and long duration and plural temporality. İlhan Tekeli explains that the Mediterranean we know today was geographically formed with a significant shift/change in Earth's climate. When the last Ice Age ended in 8000 BC, masses of ice melted, and the oceans rose 120 meters, resulting in an overflow of water from Gibraltar into the closed basin that we call the Mediterranean Sea. And so, unity of life was formed in this basin. The boundaries of this life were determined in alignment with climate and agriculture. For example, Tekeli states that the upper limit of olive trees determined the northern limit, and the southern limit is determined by the north limit of palm cultivation. However, as mobility extended, these boundaries were pushed further into inland territories over time, expanding the concept of the Mediterranean.[89] So, to infer, the 16th-century boundaries of Smyrna integrated into the Mediterranean were not the same as the city's boundary after the British built the railways and extended the city's hinterland, thus incorporating more and more cities into the Mediterranean economy and trade. With their mobility investments, the British expanded the concept of the Mediterranean in and around Smyrna during the 19th century.

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[89]   İlhan Tekeli, 'Akdeniz, Akdenizlilik ve Mobilite', *Meltem İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi Dergisi* 2, no. 3 (3 October 2018): 7–29, https://doi.org/10.32325/iaad.2018.0.

Fernand Braudel, who is non-controversially the most prominent writer on the history of the Mediterranean, made inferences regarding the integrity of the Mediterranean between the 12th and 16th centuries. Tekeli summarises these inferences in three determinations and two mechanisms. The first of these determinations is that the Mediterranean is a closed inland sea, and the second is that the north-south line of the Mediterranean is narrow, so the climate does not vary significantly due to the latitude not changing much along the coast. The third is that sea transportation technology has reached a certain level of development. Based on these findings, two mechanisms are used to deduce the emergence of similar life patterns in the Mediterranean and its surroundings. The first of these mechanisms is that people show similar adaptation patterns to similar physical influences. The second is when a certain level of maritime transportation capacity developed, the spread of technologies, ideas and beliefs accelerated due to trade and interaction between communities.[90]

The second shift is highlighted by Faruk Tabak, whose timeline extended Braudel's history of the Mediterranean until 1870. He stated that the production shift towards hillsides, highlands and mountains occurred during the 17th and 18th centuries. This situation positioned port cities as collection and distribution centres[91], which is essential to understanding Smyrna's transformation as a city port. Tabak explains that the collapse of the Mongol Empire and the resulting breakdown in security along the land routes connecting the South China Sea with the Pointic Sea gave a new lease on life to the southern maritime route via Cairo; hence, the resurgence of trade in the Levant from the 1350s onwards. The trade during this period was marked with sugar cane and cotton; however, before the 17th century, the water supply failed to support these products further. In addition, during the 17th century, the spice trade shifted its route due to the emergence of Lisbon, Antwerp and Amsterdam as redistribution centres that will be covered in the "Economic Shifts" headline. Furthermore, the Atlantic-bound journey of crops like sugar and cotton eventually deprived the basin of its prosperous trades, but Mediterranean crops gained importance around the same time. Unlike the coastal crops of the 14th and 15th centuries, new crops favoured the slopes and hillsides. This double movement altered the

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[90]   İlhan Tekeli, 'Bir Akdeniz Üst Anlatısı İçinde İzmir', in *Meltem: İzmir Akdeniz Akademisi Kitabı*, online, 2016, 13–26, https://doi.org/DOI 10.32325/iaad.2016.1.

[91]   Faruk Tabak, *Solan Akdeniz 1550-1870: Tarihsel Coğrafya Açısından Bir Yaklaşım*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Telemak Kitap, 2021), 40 and 243.

vegetal makeup of the Mediterranean as well as the economic centre of gravity. Financial devolution changed the boundaries of the Mediterranean.[92]

The decline in Mediterranean trade, the rise in Dutch hegemony and the inclusion of Dutch and British merchants during the 16th century, combined with the changes of the 17th century, brought two spatial transformations. Firstly, the number of port cities in the Mediterranean declined significantly. Port cities marketing local, regional and transit goods like spice and silk suffered. However, some cities felt the influence of this suffers differently. Smyrna and Salonica, for example, surpassed Cairo and Aleppo. The second spatial shift geographically was the rising influence of overland trade, which is of utmost importance for Smyrna as the overland routes terminated here.[93] The map I prepared below on a 19th-century map shows how much potential Smyrna had to connect to the interiors of the inland trade, as opposed to the other Mediterranean cities when the railways and roads were introduced.

Figure 8. Overland routes of Anatolia, roads and railways in Ottoman Empire, analysis done by the author[94]

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92   Tabak, 'Economic and Ecological Change in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1550–1850'.
93   Tabak.
94   'Western Asia Minor Railways Constructed and Projected', 1898, MPK 1/73/2, NA.
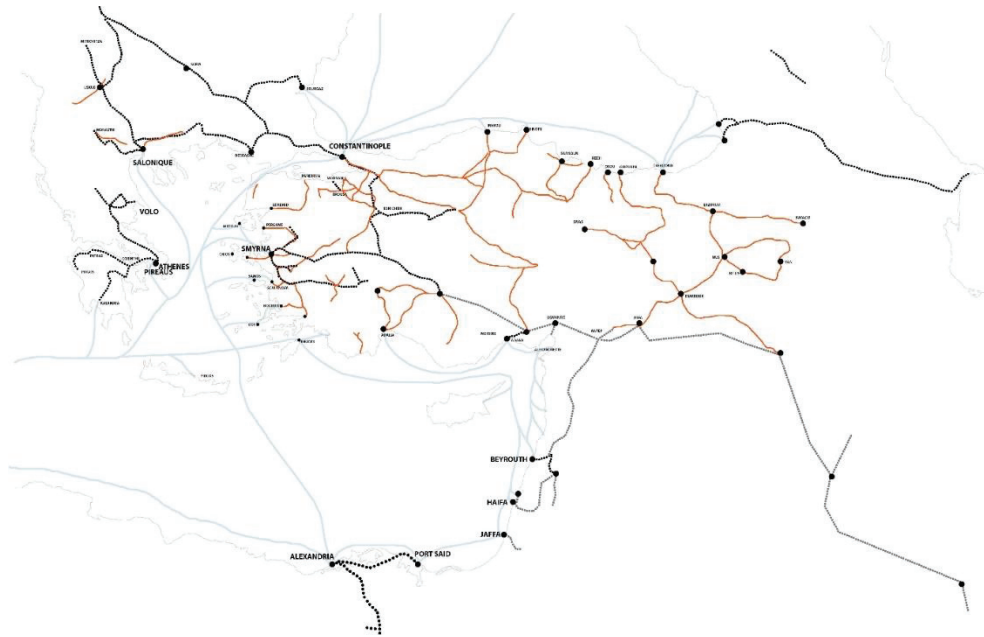
Figure 9. Maps showing the connections of Mediterranean ports at the end of the 19th century; dotted line indicates railways, orange lines are constructed roads, and blue indicates maritime routes, reproduced by the author[95]
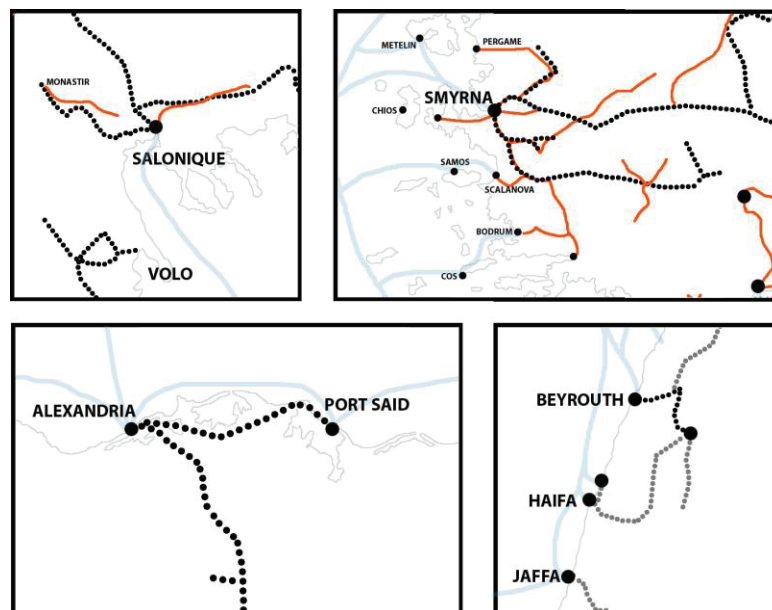
Figure 10. A series of sectional maps to emphasise Smyrna's difference from other Mediterranean ports in its power to connect land-to-maritime trade in an extensive hinterland, prepared by the author

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[95]   'Western Asia Minor Railways Constructed and Projected'.

Tabak also notes that the Little Ice Age and its climatic effects, such as the rise in humidity, precipitation, soil erosion and rising marshlands, changed the ecological makeup of the Mediterranean during the 1450-1650 period.[96] The mid-Victorian economic boom boosted demand for cotton and wheat, and the end of the Little Ice Age in the 1870s altered the region's landscape beyond recognition. That two-thirds of today's villages and nine-tenths of the cultivated parts of inner Anatolia date back only to the latter half of the nineteenth century is a perfect testament to how scarcely-populated the peninsula had been previously. Livorno and Smyrna emerged as the northern merchants' base of operations and favourite ports of call. The Alexandria–Smyrna–Constantinople axis dominated the economic flows of the 17th and 18th centuries. Even though it was outside the boundaries of the Mediterranean climate and escaped the vagaries of the Little Ice Age, the Mediterranean leg of the axis, Alexandria, as opposed to Smyrna, remained a pale shadow of its former self.[97]

So, to sum up, on the writings of Braudel, Tabak and Tekeli, we observe that two significant shifts, the Little Ice Age and the shifting of the production to hillsides positioning the port cities as distribution points which occurred in the Mediterranean, actually set Smyrna as an important Mediterranean port city in the long run.

2.1.2. Economic Shifts Shaping the 19th Century and Their Effects on Smyrna

A set of socio-economic changes occurred in the world, in Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire, leading to politics shaping 19th-century cities. The first of these shifts was the "***shift in the world economy***". Unlike Wallerstein, who focuses on the only world economy that emerged in the 16th century, Braudel believes that many consistent economic regions co-existed. The Ottoman Empire was one such region until the end of the 18th century. However, with the shift of the centre of the world economy from **Amsterdam to London between 1780 and 1815**, the Ottoman Empire seems to have lost this integrity internally. This marks a vital shifting point for the urban transformation of Smyrna and its relations with the British Empire as well. The British and their

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[96]   Tabak, *Solan Akdeniz 1550-1870: Tarihsel Coğrafya Açısından Bir Yaklaşım*, 257–322.
[97]   Tabak, 'Economic and Ecological Change in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1550–1850'.

economic power dominated the city until the War of Independence and a little longer until the centre shifted to New York with the 1929 Great Depression.[98]

The second shift was the "***shift in right of property***". Before the 19th century, the Sultan was the sole proprietor of the land in the Ottoman Empire. The families did not own the land, let alone leave it to their offspring. They held and looked after the land they possessed throughout their lifetime, and upon their death, it became automatically the ruler's property once again in the ***Tımar system***. Since the ruler was able to change the ownership of the land according to his will as well, the landed elite class was always prone to change, disabling the family wealth to accumulate. [99] From the beginning, the 19th century staged regulations, provisions and decrees to restructure and establish rule over the urban space, especially with the **Tanzimat Fermanı**.[100] The tımar system was abolished with the Tanzimat Edict in 1839, and the tımar owners claimed ownership rights over the lands they had long used. **The Land Law also abolished the Miri land** adopted in 1858.[101] The **Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of 1838**, the **1839 Tanzimat Fermanı**, **1858 "Toprak Yasası"** and **"Maden Yönetmeliği"**, and the **1867 enactments** all provided the subjects of the Ottoman Empire as well as the foreigners with the right to own lands.[102]

The third shift was "***towards family wealth***". Braudel states that the force behind the emergence of capitalism and then becoming the backbone of the system was the birth of the bourgeoisie and that this class was empowered with the bequeathed land ownership and wealth.[103] According to Cain and Hopkins, the most essential form of capitalist wealth is spread through emigrations by a small elite with lands in Britain. By the close of the 17th century, these landed elites slowly switched from a feudal system to market philosophy, and then the change occurred from feudalism to gentlemanly capitalism. Cain and Hopkins called this ***"gentlemanly capitalism",*** meaning;

> *"a formidable mix of the venerable and the new: it became the touchstone by which all other economic activities were judged. The more an occupation or a source of income allowed for a lifestyle similar to that of the landed classes, the higher the prestige it carried and the greater the power it conferred. Just as the landed capitalism in Britain in the eighteenth century evolved slowly out of pre-capitalist hierarchies and status structures and was modified by them, so too the*

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[98]   Braudel, *Kapitalizmin Kısa Tarihi*.
[99]   Braudel, 77–78.
[100] Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
[101] Haydar Karadağ and Mustafa Şit, 'Osmanlı Devleti'nde Toprak Mülkiyetinin İktisadi Sistemler Açısından Değerlendirmesi', *Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 4 (2016): 45–65.
[102] Scmitt, 'Levantenler, Avrupalılar ve Kimlik Oyunları'.
[103] Braudel, *Kapitalizmin Kısa Tarihi*, 66.

newer forms of economic activity in services and industry adapted themselves to the ideals of gentlemanly conduct.''[104]

Bounded by their backgrounds and club spirits, these gentlemen surrounding themselves with codes of honour and looking up to their leaders took up the role of bringing law and order to *"savaged"* lands (of the underdeveloped 'other') naturally and aimed at imposing this frame of mind to the local elites where they emigrated. To do so, they fiercely advocated the telegraph, the railway construction and other infrastructural investments of *"civilisation"*. They also established the informal ties of school, class and club-land in their new settlements. ***This was colonialism as a project of modernity***. Through these formations, orientalising in their nature, the cities of the empire's formal and informal parts were shaped to provide financial gain for the investments of the families of fortune. **Imperialism had the mission to civilise, promote good government, spread Christianity, exterminate slavery and elevate the lower races**. However, financial gain that could be accumulated through generations motivated people more than this to go abroad to faraway lands, which would not be possible in their motherlands.[105]

The fourth and the last shift was "***from monopoly to free trade***". Adam Smith wrote *"An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations",* famously known as *"The Wealth of Nations",* in 1776. He proposed two solutions in his chapter concerning the troubled colonies in America. The first was to give their independence and continue having friendly free trade relations; the second was to form an imperial parliamentary system and free trade. Richard Cobden, the then member of the Anti-Corn Law League and the Parliament, chose the first option and, with the Corn Laws in 1846, ***shifted Britain to a policy of free trade and empire "on the cheap" for decades.***[106] However, towards the end of the century, Smith's second proposal started to be favoured, and **in 1926, the Commonwealth of Nations was formed**. So, the 1920s became important turning points for Smyrna and Britain; since the Turkish Republic was established, the international politics of Britain had changed, and the world economic centre shifted from London to New York after the Great Depression in 1929.

In light of all these shifts, it can be understood that the period between 1830 and the 1930s became an intersection for Britain and the Ottoman Empire. During this period,

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[104]   Hopkins and Cain, 'The Gentlemanly Order, 1850-1914'.
[105]   Hopkins and Cain.
[106]   Anthony Howe, 'Free Trade and Liberal England 1846–1946', *Oxford Scholarship Online*, 15 January 1998, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198201465.001.0001.

London became the centre of the world economy, acquiring peripheral areas as Western Anatolia to exploit; British investors establishing companies in London acquired lands in Ottoman Empire to produce colonial products as the result of Tanzimat reforms enabling personal property ownership; the same British investors settling as families in Western Anatolia since they now were able to accumulate family wealth and bequeath it to further generations especially after Britain switched from the monopoly to free trading companies (which were eventually family establishments).

2.2. British Venturing Overseas and Colonial Modernism in Smyrna

"To thee belongs the rural reign;

Thy cities shall with commerce shine:

All thine shall be the subject main,

And every shore it circles thine.

"Rule, Britannia! Rule the waves:

"Britons never will be slaves."[107]

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[107] Illustration from; Colin Dunkerley, *27th March 1911. Britannia Rule The Waves*, accessed 27 March 2015, https://dailybritain.wordpress.com/2015/03/27/27th-march-1911-britannia-rule-the-waves/.
Based on the anthem "Rule Britannia", for more information; Ben Johnson, 'Rule Britannia', *Historic UK*, accessed 10 May 2022,
https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Rule-Britannia/.

As opposed to the unity portrayed by Braudel in the aforementioned geographical history of the Mediterranean, Edmund Burke claims that a structural, historical unity of the Mediterranean fails on two critical facts that annul associated historical narratives. Even though there are geographical unities, from a socio-cultural perspective, the history of the modern Mediterranean can never be a whole due to two factors: the separation of faith between Christianity and İslam dividing the east and the west of the sea and the presence of colonialism.[108]

Burke gives the first reason to be "Islam", and I have to criticise him for not stating Christianity and İslam together. He believes that the existence of Islam is the problem for unity, not vice versa. He further writes in the following quote that even though colonialism has ended in the region, Islam did not, as if it should have. The second important fact for him is colonialism. He states that while colonialism has ended,

> *"...the result is that the history of the Mediterranean continues to operate at two speeds, and the colonial past continues to shape how we understand the modern histories of the eastern and southern Mediterranean, of Turkey, the Balkans and the Arab Mediterranean, placing them apart from the history of the western and northern Mediterranean."[109]*

Colonialism, therefore, should always be included in the studies on the cities of the Mediterranean to understand how the societies of the region came to modernity.[110]

In middle English, the word empire meant a "supreme power, position of an emperor, territory under an emperor's rule," with roots in the admired Roman Empire, where the term referred to an "authority over family members and slaves exercised by the head of a household, supreme administrative authority, dominion, power exercised by a Roman emperor."[111] Following the meaning referring to the Roman Empire, England was first favoured as "an empire" by Henry VIII due to his affection for the Romans. However, the use of it encompassing several nations came in 1603 with the unification of the crowns of England, Scotland, Ireland and the principality of Wales after Henry's and his three successors' deaths. It was wickedly whimsical that who planted the seeds of an empire- as Henry had imagined it to look like- was his "illegitimate" daughter Elizabeth, who succeeded to the throne and opened vast horizons for the "merchant-explorers" during

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[108] Edmund Burke III, 'The Deep Structures of Mediterranean Modernity', in *Cities of the Mediterranean from The Ottomans to The Present Day*, ed. Meltem Toksöz and Biray Kolluoğlu Kırlı (London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010), 198–205.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Burke III, 'The Deep Structures of Mediterranean Modernity'.

[111] 'Empire', in *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, accessed 21 December 2023, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/empire.

her reign, leading the way to what many scholars referred as old imperialism[112] (from 16th to early 19th century) and to global imperial trade after the unification of the crowns.[113] During this period, many European powers sought alternative ways to reach out to the central activities of trade, which revolved around Baghdad, and to the commodities of the East, which they could not produce.[114] Later, combined with the scientific and industrial revolutions, imperialism entered a new phase during the 19th century. Although there are many different views on the rise and cause of this new imperialism (19th century onwards), as in British imperialism, the theory based on trade and consumption models of the 19th century stands as one of the strongest and the most influential.[115] In one of the early studies on this phenomenon, written in 1902, historian and economic journalist John Hobson claims that British imperialism resulted from excess capital. Investors with this excess capital wanted new territories for further investments, using them as new markets for consumption and raw materials.[116] In the words of Hobson, imperialists argued;

> *"We must have markets for our growing manufactures, we must have **new outlets for the investment of our surplus capital** and for the energies of the adventurous surplus of our population: such expansion is a necessity of life to a nation with our great and growing powers of production. An ever larger share of our population is devoted to the manufactures and commerce of towns and is thus dependent for life and work upon **food and raw materials from foreign lands.** In order to buy and pay for these, we must **sell our goods abroad.**"[117]*

With these ambitions in mind, by the mid-19th century, England became the single sovereign state controlling the majority of new centre-periphery trade focused around Europe as its centre. It expanded its colonial empire during this century and, through its investments, opened the way for European capitalism and modernism. Britain's colonies, including North America, Africa, and Asia, were linked with trade spread globally.

Apart from its colonies, England also established many political and economic enterprises in non-colonial lands, such as Latin America, China and the Middle East, as

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[112] Benjamin Linzy, 'From Imperialism to Postcolonialism: Key Concepts', *JSTOR Daily*, accessed 8 August 2022, https://daily.jstor.org/from-imperialism-to-postcolonialism-key-concepts/.

[113] Unification was not a benefit related pact or concern. Elizabeth I died without getting married, and thus without an heir. The son of Mary, the Queen of Scott's, James VI was the apperent heir to both England and Scotland thrones due to his blood-line.

[114] Dussel, 'Beyond Eurocentrism: The World System and the Limits of Modernity'.

[115] John Hobson is the one arguing about the connection between imperialism and trade. According to Julian Go, he then influenced Schumpeter and Marxist theories. Julian Go, 'Capital, Containment, and Competition: The Dynamics of British Imperialism, 1730–1939', *Social Science History* 38, no. 1–2 (2014): 43–69, https://doi.org/10.1017/ssh.2015.5.

[116] John Atkinson Hobson, 'The Economic Taproot of Imperialism', in *Imperialism: A Study*, Online (London: Online Library of Liberty, 1902), 76–100, https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/readings/hobson.html.

[117] Hobson.

parts of its *"informal empire"* where it had economic interests or naval power.[118] These *"informal empires"* replaced some of the oldest trading merchant houses, such as the British East India Company or the British Levant Company, in certain parts of the world.

2.2.1. Era of Companies and the Levant Company
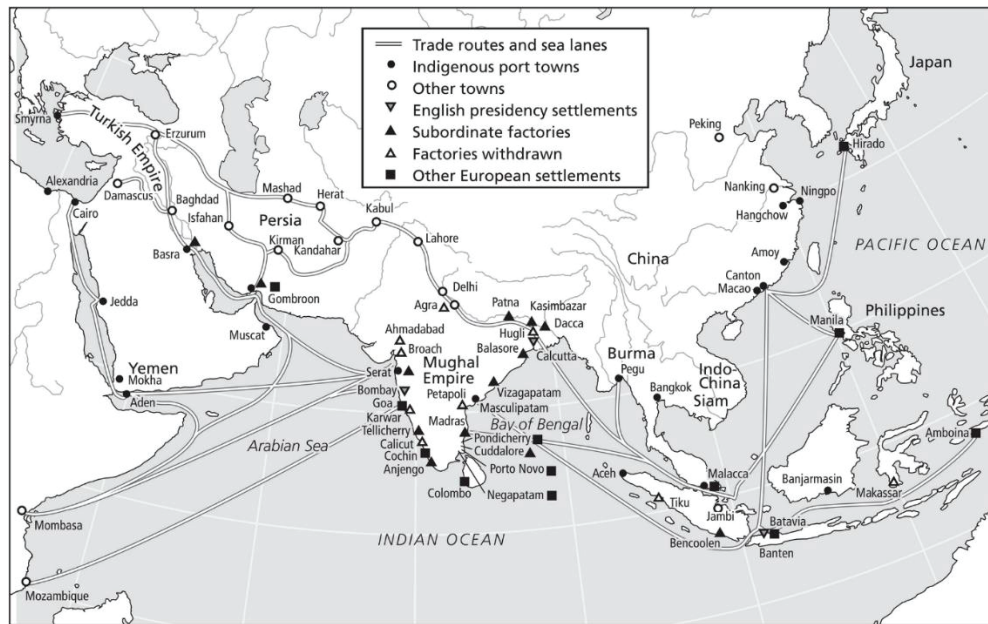
Figure 11. Dutch and English Trade in the Indian Ocean and the Levant, to about 1700.[119]

     The establishment of the Levant Company was the beginning of British presence in Smyrna. Until its resolution and the rise of free trade in the 19th century, its institutions formed the core of the British identity, and later, they were utilised to justify the long history of imagined British tradition and presence in Anatolia.

     Alfred C. Wood, the first person to write on the history of the Levant Company in 1935, states that the Levant Company was the successful result of three businessmen who had interests in the Levant trade during the reign of Elizabeth I. 1578 Edward

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[118] Louis Roger, 'Foreword', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), vi–viii.

[119] James D. Tracy, 'Dutch and English Trade to the East: The Indian Ocean and the Levant, to about 1700', in *The Cambridge World History*, ed. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, 6th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 240–62, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139022460.011.

Osborne, Richard Straper and William Harborne came to Constantinople. They created an illusion of being sent by Queen Elizabeth I at a particularly favourable time when Sokollu Mehmet Paşa was calculating the inclusion of the British against Spanish expansion. Upon his return, Harborne managed to get a letter from Murat III to Elizabeth dated 15th March 1579.[120] Even though in 1513 King Henry VIII appointed consuls to Chios, which was at the time more important for trade than Smyrna, the real beginning of this relationship between the two empires is based on 1578 and 1582 agreements by Wood and Laidlaw.[121]

Following this, the British merchants obtained the first capitulations in 1580. The first company to be established was the *"Chief Merchant of all Turkish Company"*, and the first ambassador was William Harborne, who settled in Constantinople, Pera, on 29th March 1583.[122] Harborne's duty was to organise the trade infrastructure for the newly established company. He had vast authority; he appointed consuls to trade ports, enforced law and punished those who did not obey, and did everything he could to ensure the British interests based on trade went on smoothly. He appointed consuls to Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus and Tripoli, major trade nodes around Mediterranean trade. [123] Queen Elizabeth renewed the charter on 7 January 1593 based on the company's thriving business. She included the Venetian group and established the "Levant Company" to continue operation until 1825.

This privately funded action became the basis for England's diplomatic relationship with the Ottoman Empire. The relationship between them was predominantly mercantile during these first stages. After establishing the company in 1581, the merchant William Harborne was immediately appointed England's first ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. After that, **all ambassadors had prior experience as the Company's agents in the Ottoman Empire, selected by the company and paid for as well, instead of the state**.[124]

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[120]   Alfred Cecil Wood, 'Sunuş', in *Levant Kumpanyası Tarihi*, 1st ed. (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2013), 7–17.
[121]   Christine Laidlaw, 'Giriş ve Levant Kumpanyası'nın Geçmişi', in *Levant'taki İngilizler: 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğuyla Ticaret ve Siyaset*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Alfa Tarih, 2011), 19–47.
[122]   Wood, 'Sunuş'.
[123]   Laidlaw, 'Giriş ve Levant Kumpanyası'nın Geçmişi'.
[124]   Maria Blackwood, 'Politics, Trade, and Diplomacy: The Anglo-Ottoman Relationship, 1575–1699', *History Matters*, no. 7 (May 2010): 1–34, https://journals.library.appstate.edu/index.php/historymatters/issue/view/8.

However, in 1691, Ambassador William Hussey died, and then King William III appointed an ambassador to his place **without consulting Levant Company officials**. Although the Company was involved in this critical selection process for the following century, the radical change came with the 19th century. For the Elizabethans*, trade was not a relevant part of state affairs; however, towards the 19th century,* trade became increasingly political. Commercial interests became a matter of state, and the ambassador became a representative of the British Government rather than the Company.[125]

Some scholars dwell on this point of change, which occurred towards the end of the Levant Company. The emergence of English imperial aspirations started to dominate, and according to Gerald Maclean, the dynamic between England and the Ottoman Empire became a matter of *"imperial envy."* Now turning itself to the global scene, the tiny island empire seemed to envy the Ottomans spread over three continents.[126] Against this background, Katarina Galani claims that such trade companies were the deliberate agents of the Tudor policy of establishing *a commercial empire overseas.* Wood describes them as the *organised form of developing capitalism*.[127] The Moscow Company, established in 1855, the Levant Company, established in 1580, and the East India Company, established in 1600, all mark the beginning of this establishment phase of a commercial empire overseas. It should be noted that even though the East India Company is the most famous among these, it is interesting to reveal that the Levant Company was established before that. So, the dissemination of the companies towards Asia could be interpreted as stemming from the closest to the farthest geographically. It is also interesting to see that even though the Muscovy Company is the first established one and still exists as a charity today after it changed its nature in 1917, less information about the architectural presence of this company is available. However, the crucial postcard below reveals that for these companies, church and hospital complexes for the seamen were a common spatial feature in establishing the commercial empire overseas.

[125]   Ibid.
[126]   Geralt MacLean, 'Ottoman Things in Early-Modern England', in *Geographies of Contact: Britain, the Middle East and the Circulation of Knowledge*, Online (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2017), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pus.6035.
[127]   Wood, "Sunuş", 7–17.

Figure 12. The Anglican Church and British Seamen's Hospital in Cronstadt, 1866.[128]

Of course, as Laidlaw discusses, neither the Muscovy Company nor the Levant Company did not have as much commercial and political power as the British East India Company.[129] East India Company merchants traded for the company's profit as a centralised institution, unlike the Levant Company, where all the merchants operated for their profits. Moreover, the East India Company represented the British Government as a ruler until the government took over after the Indian Mutiny in 1857. The company was dissolved shortly after in 1860.[130] The remnants of its presence can still be seen today in Mumbai, Calcutta and Madras in the form of fort constructions.

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[128] ' The British Newspaper Archive', *Illustrated London News*, 26 December 1866, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001578/18661229/079/0016.

[129] Laidlaw, 'Giriş ve Levant Kumpanyası'nın Geçmişi'.

[130] Laidlaw.

Figure 13. Fort William in Mumbai, 1783[131]

Just as Mumbai, Madras and Calcutta, the Levant Company favoured Smyrna, Constantinople, and Scanderoon (or Alexandretta/ İskenderun) for the goods from Aleppo, Syria. The ships rented by the company frequented these three cities, as well as Alexandria and Salonica, but the two latter cities did not have purpose-built structures as opposed to the first three port cities.

The trade they established in these cities placed English merchants in a favourable position in the Levant trade.[132] The privileges the Ottoman Porte gave enabled free trade through sea and land, exemption from tribute, autonomy in internal disputes, and permission to establish consuls in Smyrna, Scio, and other enumerated towns." The governing body of this *company consisted of a governor, deputy governor, treasurer, and 18 assistants*.[133] As Hyde Clark explains, it had a unique administration process as well:

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[131] Samuel Davis, 'View of Calcutta from Fort William', Digital Collections, *Victoria and Albert Museum*, 1783, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O105548/view-of-calcutta-from-fort-painting-davis-samuel/.

[132] Arthur Leon Horniker, 'Anglo-French Rivalry in the Levant from 1583 to 1612', *The Journal of Modern History* 18, no. 4 (December 1946): 289–305, https://doi.org/10.1086/237049.

[133] Hyde Clarke, *The History of the British Colony at Smyrna* (British Library Archive, 1862), 2.

"the general and local government was, in reality, dependent on the freemen or members of the company. The general court of assistants in London admitted the freeman, paying a certain fine and taking an oath to obey the laws of the Company. As freedom could only be obtained in England, the sons of members of this factory were in the habit of going to England to take up their freedom. The date of admission into the Company is that of a visit to England. Still, afterwards, the law was altered so that Englishmen residing in the Levant could take the oath before the authorities of the Company, paying the fee of twenty pounds. The Company's original members were all Englishmen, but after the beginning of the eighteenth century, British subjects were admitted to the same privileges. Widows of members succeeded to their privileges." [134]

As soon as a gentleman was admitted as a member of the Company, he became a privileged person in Smyrna and all the Levant. The selection of the Lord Ambassador was also performed by the company with the Secretary of the State and the Consuls, Vice Consuls, Treasurers, Chancelleries and other officers of the factories. The members of the factory in Smyrna generally consisted of 12 people. In Constantinople, there were six; at Salonica and Aleppo, 24 or 36. Apart from these members, six people were licensed to trade, but these were not members of the factory but freemen's apprentices during this century. The English community consisted of these, together with some officials, some of the non-privileged sons, clerks, stray wayfarers, and officers and seamen of the navy and trading ships.[135]

Each year, two auditors were elected to audit the company's account. The dragomans were at the service of the factors in all ordinary cases without reference to the Consul but in matters of application to the Turkish authorities to act under the Consul's instruction. The Consul was a factor of standing who had commonly been Treasurer of the factory and was appointed after a hard canvass by the company at home. ***The factory and church went hand in hand, inseparably, just as the consulate.*** Thus, the Chaplain of the Factory ***was a man holding a good position in the Church***, and Smyrna was significant for Christianity. The Rev. F. V. J. Arundell, in the 19th century, wrote a standard work on the "Seven Churches," which pointed out the importance of Smyrna as the "***old seat of Christianity***". Later in the 18th century, the hospital was included next to the consulate and church. This growth resulted in the rise of factory members, and they even started to settle with their family members in Smyrna. Apart from the merchants engaged in Turkish trade, a large auxiliary staff consisting of civil servants, priests, physicians, and their family members who helped and facilitated the conduct of trade with their presence in the Levant grew in size until the 19th century.[136]

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[134]   Clarke, 2.
[135]   Clarke, 3.
[136]   Laidlaw, 'Giriş ve Levant Kumpanyası'nın Geçmişi'.

Gaining its imperial consciousness during the second half of the 17th century brought the development of a ***centralised imperial state***. According to Alison Games, state centralisation changed **the English style of piecemeal expansion governed by large overseas companies.** The previous autonomy of the Levant Company slowly diminished, and the Crown assumed direct control over English diplomatic relationships at the beginning of the 19th century.[137] The Company was finally dissolved in 1825, leaving the consular premises and its buildings to the ownership of the British Government.

Levant Company was modest compared to the famous East India Company and ended its life before the Muscovy and East India Company. However, it established Anglo-Ottoman relations and played a crucial role in diplomatic relations. From its establishment in 1581 until 1804, it was solely responsible for selecting the Ambassador at Constantinople and appointing consular representatives in Ottoman dominions. It financially provided for the embassy and consulates on its own for a long time. It had a dual role in representing the British Government at Constantinople and protecting the British trade interests.[138]

The presence of the Levant Company also became the cornerstone of Britain's future policy towards this region after its dissolution. It has elected the wealthiest and most influential people in London as its members in its heyday, and people like William Barker, whose family remained and acquired family wealth for generations after he first arrived in Smyrna in 1760. When the British Empire changed its policy in the aftermath of the switch to free trade and the Crimean War, these gentlemen became crucial in establishing the informal empire and preserving the imagined legacy of the Levant Company.

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[137]   Blackwood, 'Politics, Trade, and Diplomacy: The Anglo-Ottoman Relationship, 1575–1699'.
[138]   Laidlaw, 'Giriş ve Levant Kumpanyası'nın Geçmişi'.

2.2.1.1. The Origin of the Interface in Smyrna: The Quarters of the Levant Company

In the aftermath of the dissolution of the British Levant Company, the quarters and their elements continued to be advocated as the origins of Britain's presence. They were utilised for legitimisation by the merchants who continued to trade in the city.

The Levant Company had three significant ports in Constantinople (İstanbul), Scanderoon (İskenderun/Alexandretta), and Smyrna (İzmir). There were other ports such as Chios, Tripoli, Algiers, Cyprus, Alexandria, etc., but these three were mentioned as the most important ones. Aleppo (Halep in Syria) was considered the *"emporium for central and Southern Arabistan"*[139]. Through Scanderoon (or Alexandretta, or İskenderun), the *"British manufactured and other goods were imported and transported by land to Aleppo"*. Wood states that there were 14 people in addition to the consul in Aleppo and that they decided to have a masonry khan built-in Scanderoon as the operating port of Aleppo. The only architectural evidence dating back to that period is a document from the Levant Company archive at the National Archives of the United Kingdom. It is very important since it is the only available Levant Company plan. The plan does not have an explanation but is followed by a letter concerning the lousy state of the building in Scanderoon and, therefore, could be associated with it. Later plans of the 19th century Levant Company buildings of Smyrna, which were left to the Crown to be operated under the Consular service, have similarities with that of the supposed khan in Scanderoon. Both port buildings face the seashore, have a central axis from the seaside to the back street to load the goods, and a small chapel. Its façade, with little openings on the ground level and a fort-like appearance, is similar to the Smyrna company enclave that we see photos of as the old Consulate. It also has a hall in the middle connecting the street at the back directly to the sea, possibly with a pier like in Smyrna. Alexandria, Tripoli, Algiers, Cyprus, and Scio all had leased properties as consulates instead of purpose-built structures. Scanderoon and Smyrna are unique examples of port/consulate/warehouse/church complexes with wharves. Smyrna, furthermore, was the only one that survived in 1870.

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[139]   'Levant Company Papers', 1738, SP 100/74, NA.
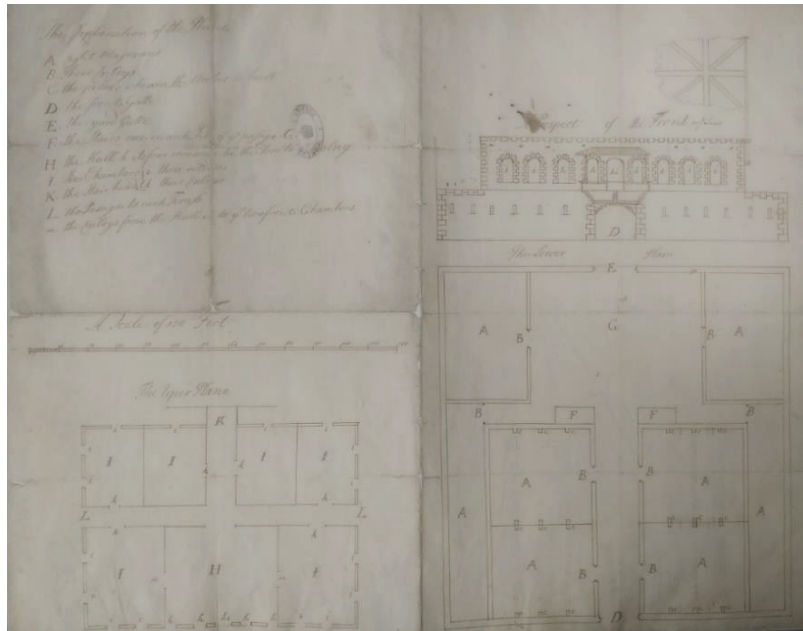
Figure 14. Plan and elevations of possible Scanderoon Levant Company quarter, drawn around 1738[140]

Figure 15. 1851 Map of Scanderoon/İskenderun, the British Consulate, probably the former Levant Company building, is indicated in red[141]

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[140]   'Levant Company Papers'.
[141]   'Map of İskenderun', 1851, İ.DH.244-14880, BOA.

The Smyrna Levant Company Quarter was established in the Frank Quarter, with a private pier in front. We know from an archival document, a letter written by Mr Freshfield to Lord Stanley, the original British Wharf –"*İngiliz İskelesi*" on maps- was built by Mr James Hanson abutting upon and forming part of the seashore of Smyrna on land belonging to his wife, Mrs Hanson. It is stated that Mr Hanson spent a large sum of money on the construction.[142] The Levant Company factory quarter had a judicial court, consular lodgings, consular offices, prison, chapel, and fire engine rooms, which proved somewhat costly to maintain and sometimes had to be replaced from England and not within but near a hospital establishment.[143] After the 1724 plague epidemic, in 1733, a house was acquired as a hospital as an addition to Levant Company Quarters. It was in a separate plot and fitted with six beds. It was for the convenience of the British merchants and sailors. The hospital's exterior was paved, following the example of the Dutch in 1737.[144] When the Smyrna Quay was built, the quarter remained inland. From a consular correspondence, we know that this situation was not welcomed, as it noted, "*There is, just as Constantinople, constant and considerable danger from fire, but a still more serious question arises in connection with a new quay now in the course of construction.*"[145]
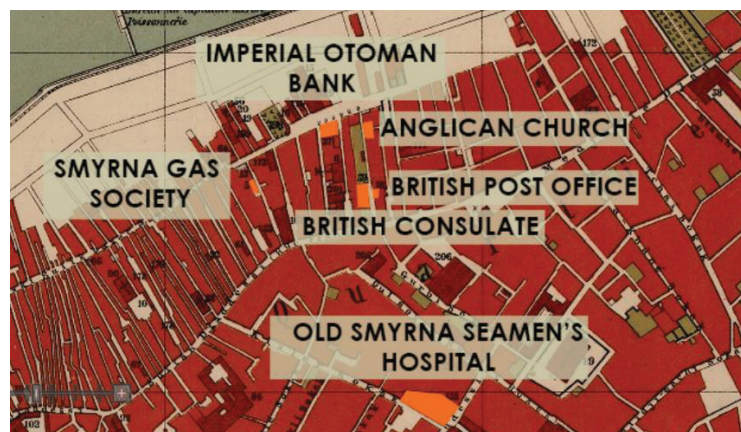
Figure 16. The first core of British presence, around which other British functions gathered, on Lamec Saad's map 1876, analysed by the author[146]

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142 Mr Freshfield, 'Correspondance from Mr. Freshfield to Lord Stanley', 82 1868, FO 424/335, NA.

143 Donald H. Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, Unpublished (London Metropolitan Archive, 1952).

144 Simpson, 29–20.

145 'Correspondance - Smyrna Consular Buildings', 1888 1871, FO 78/4338, NA.

146 Saad, 'Plan de Smyrne / Lamec Saad ; Blumenau et Soeder | Gallica'.
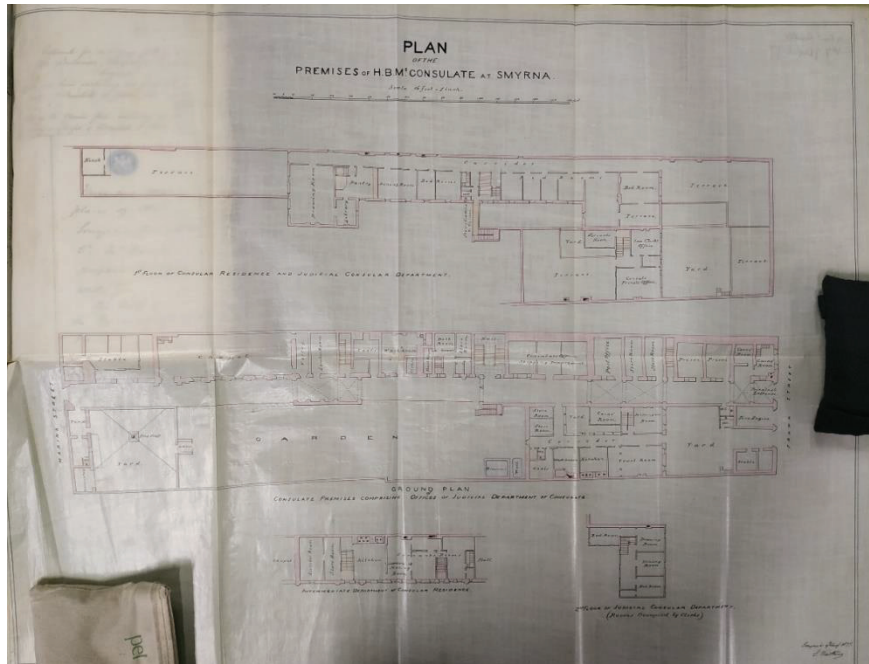
Figure 17. Detailed plan of the British Consulate in Smyrna by S. Watkins in 1877, before the rebuilding project[147]
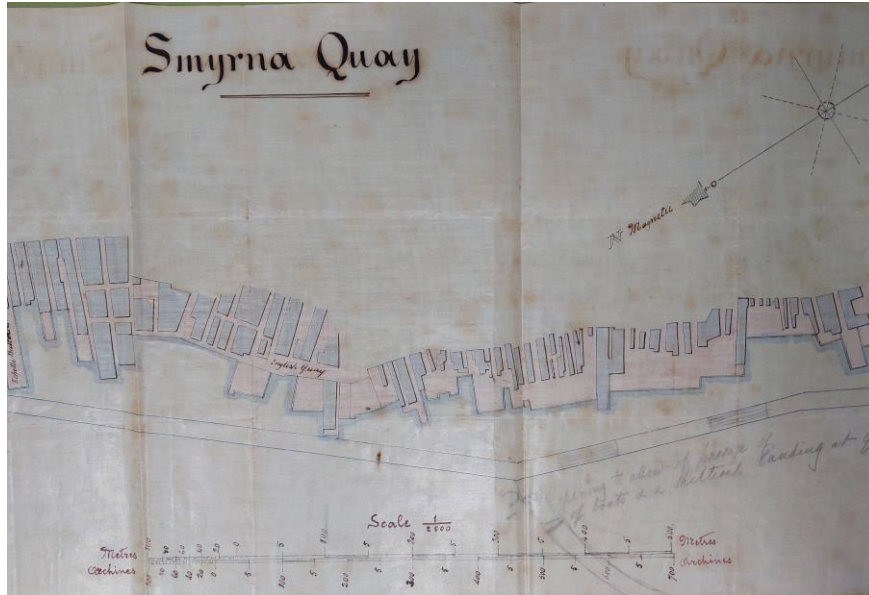
Figure 18. Plan showing the English Quay in front of the Levant Company Quarter[148]

[147] S. Watkins, 'British Consulate in Smyrna by S. Watkins', 1877, FO 48/4338, NA.
[148] 'From Smyrna - Consulate', 1868, FO 195/910, NA.

Figure 19. The Levant Company Quarter, used as the British Consulate in 1855, is seen between Freshfield property and the Austrian Consulate[149]

Figure 20. View of British Marina as a public space with a coffee house on the ground floor of the Freshfield building (The one with a high towerette and weathervane in the form of a ship to represent the mercantile shipping community)[150]

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[149] Kindly scanned and sent; 'The Levant Company Quarter Used as the British Consulate', 1855, Suna and İnan Kıraç Institute for Mediterranean Civilizations.
[150] 'The Levant Company Quarter Used as the British Consulate'.

From Lamec Saad's plan, the formation of the Frank Quarter as densely packed rectangular plots could be observed. This quarter was occupied by French, Dutch, Venetian, English, and other European nationals. I argue that the settlement pattern in Frank Quarter, where enclaves like the Levant Company were built in such dense and small plots adjacent to each other, shows the anxious lust for easy access to the sea and the need to escape in turbulent times. We can see that the narrow and dense forms of "*ferhanes/frenkhanes*", a name given to the trade houses in these narrow plots, did not continue to be built when the city was expanded towards the sea later in the 19th century when the colonial powers started to feel safer in their urban presence.[151]

The Frank Quarter had been constructed by 1630, a designated area along the water's edge, facilitating efficient loading and unloading of goods at the rear entrances of these narrow plots. Levant Company Quarter was one of these plots designed as a long rectilinear space. "The Frank Street" was located on the interior side of this line of rectilinear plots. Though the street spanned a mere half-mile in length, its narrow passage made it difficult for even a fully laden camel to traverse. **"It could be locked at night,"** notes Simpson[152], pointing to the **colonial anxiety** of being in foreign lands. The houses were constructed with sturdy stone outer walls and wooden partition walls, forming a U-shaped courtyard with warehouse facilities on the ground level and living quarters on the first floor, connected by galleries that could also serve as shelters during seismic activity. On the quayside, the docks were utilised as loading areas for goods and a promenade for leisurely strolls. However, some questionable items, such as contraband, were occasionally transported through this area as well. [153]

Communication between Smyrna and England took four to five months by letter before advanced communication systems. As a result, the British community created their own way of life and society. They adapted to their remote location and developed their own community.[154] In 1660, Smyrna was home to approximately 50 English merchants known for their extravagant buildings, where each merchant had their own separate house. They were also known for their opulent dress, equipment, and lavish payment to their servants. A French visitor wrote that money seems to cost them nothing; "*they have*

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[151] Kolluoğlu Kırlı and Frangoudaki, 'Cityscapes and Modernity: Smyrna Morphing into İzmir'.
[152] Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 9.
[153] Simpson, 30.
[154] Simpson, 3.

wit and spirit; they are indeed proud and haughty and wish to carry themselves above all others".[155]

Exploring Western Anatolia's interiors has historically been challenging due to various obstacles such as resistance, criminal activity, and language barriers. In contrast, the coastal regions have welcomed people from diverse backgrounds, resulting in more dragomen availability than the less travelled interiors. ***The seashore was also a refuge in times of danger***. Despite Smyrna's significant role in Europe's trade industry, living in the city had its drawbacks and hazards. Earthquakes, plagues, massacres, and sieges were among the perils that residents had to face.[156] Russian Consul Spyridon Iur'evich Destunis (1782-1848) wrote during his stay;

> *"Why did God bring me to Smyrna? Was it perhaps as punishment? ...One problem ends, another begins. Criminal investigation, plague, reprimands, inspection, earthquake, revolt, plots, fears of war ... and all, all this during my stay."*[157]

For instance, in 1654, earthquakes began on May 20th and persisted almost daily for a month. Initially, the Franks sought refuge on board ships to find respite; later, they utilised cabins in their gardens and on the quays; ultimately, they grew accustomed to the tremors and returned to their homes. To combat the plague, people retreated indoors with provisions (replenished from the sea) and eliminated animals carrying the disease.[158] In the earthquake of 1688, the library and chapel were destroyed. On August 5th to 6th, 1766, a grave fire broke out, leading to unrest and looting, and significant harm was dealt to the Consulate and Hospital. In 1770, 1500 Greeks were killed in a massacre, and most of the Franks took refuge on ships and stayed there for a month. In 1778, a severe earthquake and fire resulted in the loss of the Chapel and the Chaplain's quarters.[159] From the Whittal Family Archive, we know that in Charlton Whittall's office, which has been used since the establishment of the firm by him at the beginning of the 19th century, an interesting memento of all times is still preserved in the shape of a jar buried in the ground and covered to escape observation or detection the object of this jar in the terrible times of the first years of the firm's existence was to conceal there in jewels cash and any movable event in case of fire, revolution, pillage, or massacre.[160]

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[155] Simpson, 9.

[156] Simpson, 9.

[157] Theophilus C. Prousis, 'Smyrna in 1821: A Russian View', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, no. 7 (1992): 145–68.

[158] Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 9.

[159] Simpson, 34–36.

[160] *Trading in the Levant: Centenary of C. Whittall & Co. Smyrna, 1811-1911*, 1911.

In addition to natural disasters and violent incidents, political tensions were also present during this time. In the early 1790s, a new Consular residence was being constructed with a complete redesign and beautification of a suitable house. The plan included a Chapel, which was to be built from a terraced warehouse adjoining the actual house for convenience. However, during the preparations, Turkish Government officials entered the house and placed the Molla's seal on the door of the Chapel. They claimed that it was too large to become a church for all Christians, including those under the Sultan's rule, and therefore under Ottoman jurisdiction. The Consul quickly removed the seal and filed a complaint with the Ambassador at Constantinople.[161]

Due to tensions at the time, the Chapel was kept modest to avoid any renewed disputes with the Turks. It wasn't until 1898 that the St John the Evangelist Church was built with façade designs instead of plain rectangular spaces within bare masonry walls. [162] The Consulate and Chapel underwent a rebuilding project in 1802, costing $5,000 and 75 British residents in 1804. However, early in 1807, the Sultan joined forces with Napoleon and declared war on the British, resulting in the merchants in the Factories having to leave the country. The Smyrna factory members left on February 5th, including servants. Mr Robert Wilkinson was left to handle British interests as Danish Consul. The factory returned to Smyrna, including Charlton Whittall, after their exile in 1809. With peace restored with the Ottoman Empire at the end of the year, the merchants returned to Smyrna. Following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, trade in the Levant could resume on a scale not seen in over 20 years.[163]

Under such turbulent circumstances, Mark Crinson's lines explaining why there were never pre-19th century buildings belonging to the British in Constantinople and Cairo come to mind. There were many situations in which the British had to leave their belongings to escape, and investing in urban projects would prove to be a financial disaster in case of an escape. On the other hand, Smyrna was too important to give up easily. It was referred to as "commercial capital", surpassing the importance of Constantinople in this matter. In 1649, the Smyrna Factory surpassed that of Constantinople in trade.

161 Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 37.
162 Edward Purser, 'Church Building Committee Minutes- General Meeting', 18 July 1894, CLC/383/MS30787, LMA.
163 Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 39–46.

Constantinople enclave was for diplomatic representation, and it can be understood through the designs of buildings. The complex left by the Levant Company in Pera, Constantinople, was close to the sea but not directly related to it. It was designed with the same program elements as Smyrna but at larger scales.
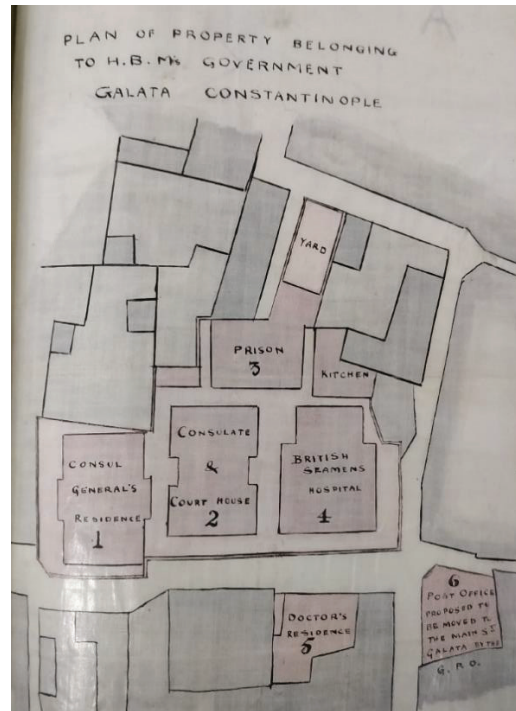
Figure 21. Site plan of the Levant Company Quarters in Constantinople used as Consular Premises after 1825[164]

The consulate in Smyrna and the hospital were modest. On the other hand, the tower of the maritime hospital in Constantinople rebuilt in 1904, turned into a structure that watched over the ships entering the Bosphorus and gave a different political message with the British flag on its tower. When we look at the photographs from the period, the British flag seen just below the Turkish flag on the Galata Tower must have had a similar meaning for the ships of all powers coming to the Bosphorus. The British wanted to assert their presence right next to the Ottoman government. This situation is quite different from the small-scale old sailors' hospital of Constantinople shown on the above maps, as it is next to the consulate, prison and post office complex dated 1860. Compared to the Smyrna hospital, which was seen in the construction correspondence to be designed to make it easier for patients to be transported from the ship on stretchers, the Constantinople

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[164]   'Correspondance', 1894, FO 78/4407, NA.

Seamen's Hospital was close to the sea but on a hill and at a point that was difficult to reach. In this respect, its goal was not to hold on to the maritime-terrestrial area and eliminate all sanitary problems that would hinder or stop trade.

There was also a difference of representation between Constantinople and Smyrna as well. While in Constantinople, the Embassy and the church were located in Beyoğlu; on a walk towards Galata, the consular offices were between the quay and the Galata Tower. These two areas were separate, as the consular office only dealt with the trade and commercial affairs of the British merchants. That is why the post office, prison and hospital were located around the consulate, not the embassy. This quarter was arranged similarly in Smyrna as well. Of course, the buildings we see today were all built during the 19th century; they must have been subtler in their designs before this era of political confidence.

As the political tensions between the Anglo-Ottoman factions subsided following the Crimean War, the opportunity arose for architectural expression outside the Levant Company's trading quarters. According to Crinson, an imperative surfaced in the 19th century for architecture to do more than meet communal needs; it needed to confer distinction and character upon these communities.[165] Thus, major ports such as Constantinople and Alexandria saw the building of the individual elements of "***urban presence***", including the embassy, consulate, church, hospital, post offices, and prison, to which I can add the railways and educational institutions.

A consular correspondence written in 1870 stated that the late Levant Company erected the current building after the devastating earthquake of 1778. It is also mentioned that the constant occurrence of earthquakes since then caused considerable damage to the existing consular enclave during the early years of the 19th century.[166] The climatic conditions, the earthquakes and the fires were creating the need for new constructions, and as Crinson stated above, they could be built more expressively now. The new consulate was the first building to be rebuilt by demolishing the old Levant Company Quarters in Smyrna. During the rebuilding, the old consular church was also demolished. The new Seamen's Hospital was rebuilt larger in size in Punta towards the end of the 19th century.

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[165] Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 9.

[166] 'Correspondance - Smyrna Consular Buildings'.

Figure 22. From top left to bottom right, the Seamen's Hospital in a postcard with the British flag seen next to the Ottoman flag, the façade drawing of the new hospital by architect Perry,[167] the entrance of the hospital with mosaic tiling with the construction date (1904), the main gate of the hospital, photo of the current situation of the tower observed from a ferry in Bosphorus in 2021

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167 'Seaman's Hospital at Galata', accessed 19 January 2023, http://www.levantineheritage.com/hosp.htm.

Figure 23. From top left to bottom right, the Consulate building, consulate buildings entry hall, date plaque of the staircase dated 1860, British Post Office opposite the Consulate and hospital, British Prison, British Girl's School in Galata, Embassy Church built in 1579 with a commemorative plaque, British Embassy. By the author, 2021
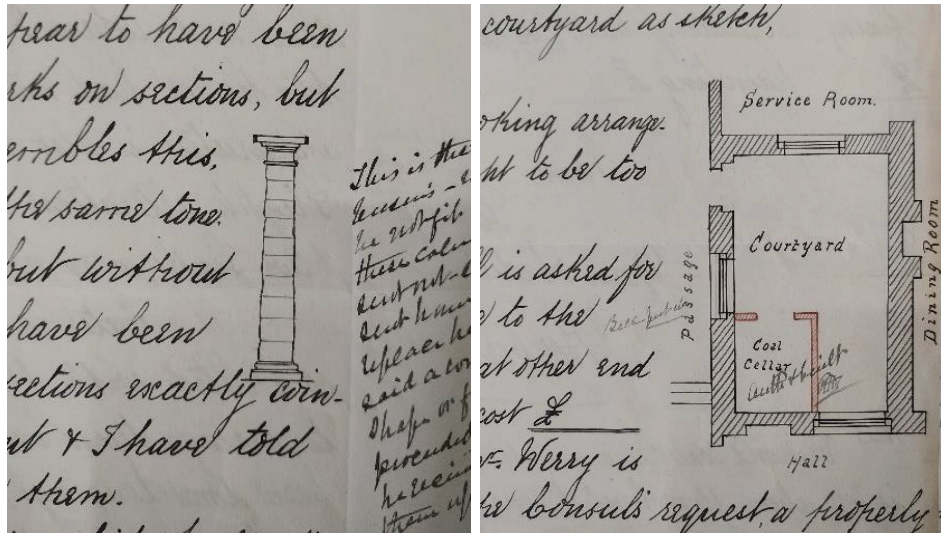
Figure 24. Details for the new Consular Residence by A.F.W.Werry[168]
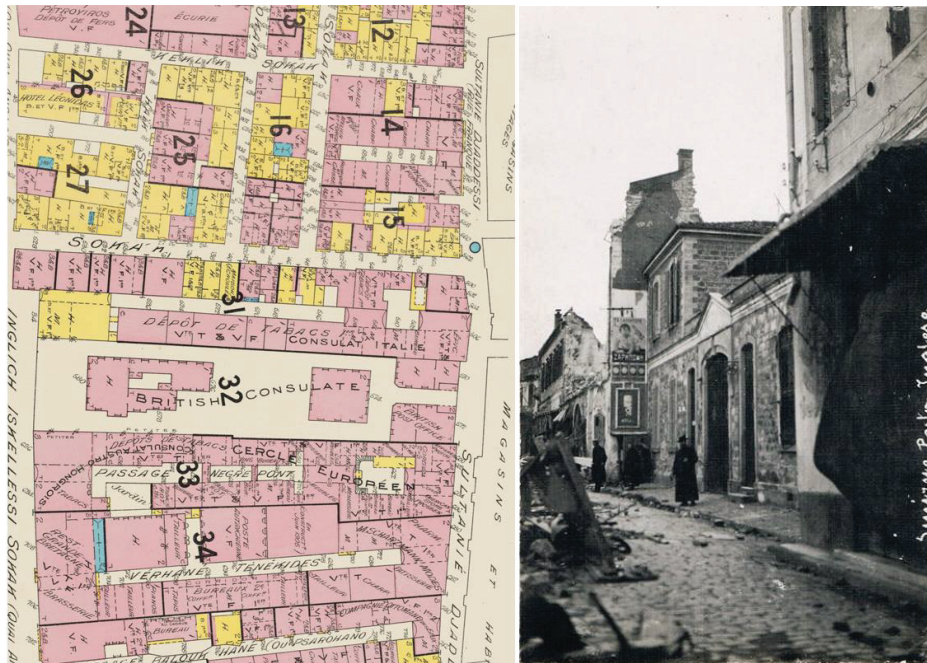
Figure 25. After the establishment of the Quay, the Consulate was rebuilt, and the church and the hospital moved to Punta, İngiliz İskelesi Sokak[169] and the new Consulate's Post Office façade on Sultaniye Caddesi after the fire of 1922[170]

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168 'Purchase of Site and Erection of Hospital; Sale of Old Hospital; Smyrna' (1935 1891), WORK 10/52/3, NA.

169 'Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna) ; Turquie : Plan, Index', Scanned Maps - CURIOSity Digital Collections, accessed 19 January 2021, https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/scanned-maps/catalog/44-990093754910203941.

170 'Smyrna Fire Photo Album', accessed 19 January 2024, http://www.levantineheritage.com/fire.htm.

Large-scale British projects and plans were only possible in formal parts of the empire since, on the informal side, they always had competition with the French, German and other powers. Therefore, they usually collaborated for economic advantage or, in other cases, many projects had to be abandoned due to prolonged negotiations. However, the British still differentiated themselves in social relations and urban presence. Once they gained political confidence, the functions within the Levant Company Quarter started to gain their own identities, in larger scales and architectural expressions around the newly formed British railway quarter, which was to be referred to by many travellers as "little British town". Even though informal lands lacked British monuments and governmental buildings, due to their imagined and manipulated spatial and visual continuity with Britain they accentuated certain kind of "Britishness".

Figure 26. Queen Victoria in front of Belfast City Hall, Ireland – the first country colonised by the British in the 16th century, by the author, 2016

2.2.2. Era of British Informal Empire and Victorian Expansion Overseas

The economic hegemony and the spatial development that followed British imperialism should not simply be seen as a concomitant aspect of trade but also as the result of meticulous planning, which involved the setting up trade infrastructures together with legislative and social infrastructures.

The British expanded their influence through *free trade treaties*, *gentlemanly capitalism* performed by the urban elite, and the influence of the urban elite over governing bodies, which inevitably *controlled spatial development*. As long as the Empire secured its interests, it did not establish a formal rule over a country or a region in the form of colonies or mandates but only did so when necessary. In this regard, India, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Jamaica represented some formally ruled countries. In contrast, China, Argentina and Persia represented some of the informally associated ones where the built environment was shaped and organised in alliance with the claims of the capitalising class over the raw materials and natural sources, reinforced by the vast construction of railways along these sources.

Britain's colonies, including America, Africa, and Asia, were linked with global trade. Apart from its colonies, England also established many political and economic enterprises in non-colonial lands, such as Latin America, China and the Middle East, as parts of its *"informal empire"* where it had economic interests or naval power.[171] It is essential to understand the *"informal empire"* here**. Regarding British "informal" imperialism, Onley states that Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher developed two leading theories on one side and Peter J. Cain and Antony G. Hopkins on the other. The former duo advocated *a "trade followed the flag" relationship, while the latter advocated a "flag followed the trade".* Whichever one chose to dwell on, they both claimed an economic background for imperialism and believed that the empire wanted *"informal control if possible, formal control if necessary".[172]* As long as the British had local collaborators and mediators, such as non-Muslim minorities in Smyrna, they always preferred indirect control over the region's sources. The two differing standpoints also

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[171]   Roger, 'Foreword'.
[172]   James Onley, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf', *Journal of Social Affairs*, no. Fall (2005): 29–43.

find common ground in believing that the "informal empire" was Britain's ***"commercial empire outside the British Empire".[173]*** The type of dominance, be it formal or informal, varied according to;

- Economic value of the territory

- The strength of its political structure

- The readiness of its rulers to collaborate with British commercial and strategic purposes

- The ability of the native society to undergo economic change without external control

- The extent to which domestic and foreign political situations permitted British intervention

- How far European rivals allowed British policy a free hand[174]

As the famous imperial historian Darwin famously declared the maritime empire of the Crown as an "*Unfinished Empire*", following Gallagher and Robinson's concept of informal empire. Its urban manifestations were piecemeal and unfinished. The informal lands consisted of semi-colonized littoral space, half-settled hinterlands, missionary stations, cantonments, treaty ports and ports of no future. This is a very similar picture to what archives on Smyrna show us.

The range of dominance differed from informal paramountcy to formal political rule. Some ***became colonies, protectorates, or mandates***. Some did not, but eventually, all were subjected to commercial penetration and hegemony. The most common political technique of British expansion was the ***treaty of free trade*** and friendship made with or imposed upon a weaker state. Britain signed commercial treaties with Persia in 1836 and 1857, with the Ottoman Empire in 1838 and 1861, and with Japan in 1858; obtained favours from Zanzibar, Siam and Morocco; signed hundreds of anti-slavery treaties with many African chiefs, allowing the British government to carry trade relations with these regions.[175] Then, the next step had always been to build railways in these lands to secure commercial gain since *" both the formal and informal dependencies in the mid-Victorian age there was much effort to open the continental interiors and to extend the British*

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173 Onley.
174 Gallagher and Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade'.
175 Tan Chung, 'The Unequal Treaty System: Infrastructure of Irresponsible Imperialism', *China Report* 17, no. 5 (1981): 3–33, https://doi.org/10.1177/000944558101700501.

influence inland from the ports and to develop the hinterlands."[176] McLean explains the avoidance of formal annexation partly to world reactions to the South African War and the overstretch of financial and workforce implications for the British Empire. The policy of treaty-based hegemony was thought to be less open to criticism and *"has often been described as **empire-on-the-cheap.**"*[177] This empire on the cheap was the empire of capitalist gentlemen seeking economic opportunities overseas. According to Cain and Hopkins, these gentlemanly capitalists;

> *"had a clear understanding of the market economy and knew how to benefit from it; at the same time, he kept his distance from the everyday and demeaning world of work. Production was held in low repute in an order dominated by gentlemanly norms. Working for money, as opposed to making it, was associated with dependence and cultural inferiority."*[178]

This view of cultural inferiority enabled this gentlemanly class to exploit the workforce and lands overseas. Their common educational and social background held together this paternalistically driven class. Blake A. Duffield refers to this group as "the Grey Men of the Empire" and states that everywhere, these men were educated and bonded with the same educational backgrounds in which they learned to make choices for the benefit of the British Empire. With this term, Blake A. Duffield refers to colonial servants who are civil servants or bureaucrats who played a crucial role in British colonial administration, making day-to-day decisions without direct oversight from higher authorities. They were often products of ***elite educational institutions*** and had a significant impact on the survival and proliferation of the British Empire.[179] During the 19th century, the gentlemen/or the grey men of the semi-colonial lands gained relative independence and became policy drivers. This independence enabled them to manipulate communications with the centre for their benefit and understanding of ***colonial prestige***.[180]

Why didn't the British claim some lands but only want economic and political dominance through its gentlemanly class? It was because the colonial partition was not always desirable or possible when the stakes of rival powers were too finely balanced, or when none wanted the responsibilities of formal administration when there were native

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[176] John Gallagher, *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire: The Ford Lectures and Other Essays*, ed. Anil Seal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 10.

[177] Glen Balfour-Paul, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Middle East', in *Judith Brown, Ed., The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Judith Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 496.

[178] Hopkins and Cain, 'The Gentlemanly Order, 1850-1914'.

[179] Duffield, 'The Grey Men of Empire: Framing Britain's Official Mind, 1854-1934'.

[180] Duffield.

regimes who had authority over large areas, and when these regimes had a greater appeal to their locals. By the end of the nineteenth century, three such areas were great examples: **the Ottoman, Persian, and Chinese Empires**. Britain had the largest commercial stake in all but had a particular political significance it attested to them as well.[181] The rulers of the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and China relied on foreign borrowing, opening their lands to foreign enterprises. As a result, *"what developed in the Turkish, Persian, and Chinese Empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a conscious attempt on the part of British officials to forward the interests of British financiers for the sake of the political advantage which might be gained—an attempt, in other words, to create an "informal empire" based on the strength of the private economic enterprise."[182]* Unlike the general impression, *"Turkey, Persia, and China were not important for British trade or financial investment."[183]*

British exports amounted to over £5oo million, out of which only £5 million belonged to Asiatic Turkey, £724,808 to Persia, and just over £12 million to China in the boom year of 1913.[184] Local elites performing this trade were not supported directly by the Foreign Office. When it did, especially with the banking houses, it was only because of commerce and finance that the strength of the government relied. Politics and finance combined were the core of interest in Turkish, Persian, and Chinese Empires. British officials, be they local or Londoners, were aware that economic and political supremacy went together and thus were incorporated into the supporting system of local British elites.

Persia had a strategically important position on Britain's way to India. It was between the Indian frontier and the southern limits of the threatening Russian Empire and, thus, was considered the first line of defence against the southward spread of Russia towards India and Afghanistan. To protect its interests and the Persian Gulf, British policy tried to support the regime in power in Tehran to keep Persia's domains intact. To establish this, the Ottoman Empire encouraged trade and economic development reforms for political stability. Moreover, it invested capital in road construction, mining, and developing the railways in southern Persia. The loans were secured by the revenues of foreign trade and the Persian Gulf customs duties of the Gulf ports. The British

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181   Duffield.
182   David Mclean, 'Finance and "Informal Empire" Before the First World War', *The Economic History Review* 29, no. 2 (May 1976): 292–93, https://doi.org/10.2307/2594316.
183   Mclean, 304.
184   Ibid.

Government formed its financial agent, the Imperial Bank of Persia, to support this system. It was founded in 1889 and was granted a Royal Charter by the British government to facilitate public subscription. It was not the creation of the British government, but, once again, the Foreign Office gave its support to the financiers and gave the Bank the benefit of its support until 1914.[185]

Like Persia, China suffered from a weak administration, bankrupt treasury, and foreign pressures during the 19th century. Once again, Russia, France and Germany were after this vast empire's political and economic hegemony. Britain had its eye on the Yangtze Valley and, for that, secured its position in Beijing. As was the case in the Ottoman Empire and Persia, the British Government sought administrative reforms and economic concessions for railways and mining after 1895 in China. For the financial support needed, the British again formed a bank, and between 1905 and 1908, it received the support of the Foreign Office. The FO supported the cooperation of Anglo-French formations here, and the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank were the means to do so. Eventually, an Anglo-French syndicate was formed, and it supported a large loan for the Hukuang Railways scheme in 1909-10 together with German and American financiers forming an international consortium. It was all a policy of the Foreign Office, as was the case in the Ottoman Empire and Persia too, to support and rely upon financial interests, especially in building the railways, to ensure that its political influence in other architectural and urban interventions be made.[186]

Like Persia and China, the Ottoman Empire had administration and financial problems. The British first had their hands on Egypt, an important route to India. Failing to form an informal empire in Egypt due to the unsuccessful attempts at reforming its domestic political and legal institutions in collaboration with the French, the British colonised Egypt in 1882.[187] Lands of Western Anatolia were essential for Britain since it could have also connected England to India via railways.[188] As Reşat Kasaba emphasises, it was also crucial for the expansionist policies of British industrial interests.[189] As a result of their interests, Ottoman trade increased fourfold from 1840 to 1880, and the Ottoman

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[185] Jesse Dillon Savage, 'The Stability and Breakdown of Empire: European Informal Empire in China, the Ottoman Empire and Egypt', *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 2 (16 June 2010): 161–85, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110364287.

[186] Mclean, 'Finance and "Informal Empire" Before the First World War'.

[187] Savage, 'The Stability and Breakdown of Empire'.

[188] Martin Lynn, 'Policy, Trade and Informal Empire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 101–22.

[189] Kasaba, 'Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism'.

Empire participated in the global economy centred on Britain.[190] However, Britain didn't play with the Ottoman Empire as it did with its colonies; it decided to keep the integrity of the Empire against the expansion of France and Russia.[191]

Like the other emerging port cities of Alexandria, Salonica, and Beirut in the Ottoman Empire, Smyrna offered alternative consumption models cut out for the production-consumption cycle the Britons desired for their global trade.[192] Among these port cities, Smyrna gained a particular importance. It was the "single most important" port for the eastern Mediterranean trade during the 19th century. It remained so until the early 20th century since it was the intersection point between East and West.[193] Due to this unique geographic position, especially after the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty was signed in 1838, Smyrna's cultural and built environment changed rapidly since the city became an open port for free trade and eventually transformed into a regional node in global exchange networks.[194] Through the general steps of establishing economic hegemony and indirect rule, Britons became the biggest importers and exporters during the second half of the 19th century by holding more than half of the total foreign trade volume and 1/3 of the lands in Smyrna's hinterland afterwards[195]. These steps, which were valid for all British dependencies, included;

- Free trade treaty (Balta Limanı Treaty in 1838),
- "Direct governmental promotion of products required by British industry,
- Government manipulation of tariffs to help British exports,
- **Railway construction** at high and guaranteed interest rates to open the continental interior."[196]

In this way, Britain established economic hegemony over Western Anatolia, making it a trade colony.[197] The gentlemanly capitalist British investors governing this trade and owning the lands in Western Anatolia came from different parts of Britain or other European countries and obtained British subject status. These investors emigrated

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190 Zandi-Sayek, 'Introduction', 4.
191 Kasaba, 'Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism'.
192 Donald Quataert, *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), 3.
193 Frangakis-Syrett, 'Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean'.
194 Frangakis-Syrett.
195 Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*.
196 Gallagher and Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade'.
197 Abdullah Martal, 'XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İzmir'in Sosyo-Ekonomik Yapısında Gerçekleşen Değişmeler', *Çağdaş Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 3 (1993): 117–31.

from Britain and settled in and around Smyrna for generations to come while dominating the trade and changing the urban environments in the region. It should be noted that **between 1812 and 1914, over 20.000.000 Britons emigrated from the British Isles, nearly 70 per cent** of them settling outside the British Empire[198], to understand the massive British influence spread all over the world during this period, making Smyrna a part of a larger framework than Eastern Mediterranean port city.

Within this frame, it is easily understood that the changes Smyrna experienced as the construction of the port, drainage works and irrigation facilities, railroads, stations, railway siding facilities for the factories, warehouses and other facilities for direct loading and offloading of the trade together with the domestic settlements, hospitals, schools and clubs were all part of a process of *political and social organisation of the region* for Britain's gentlemanly capitalism and imperialism.

2.2.2.1. Routes to India and Smyrna within the Network

As stated by Gallagher and Robinson, railway concessions were the most characteristic projects of the modern colonial world. These railways did have two aims: opening up the continental interior to exploit goods in support of British industry and establishing secure and fast routes to geographies that Britain wanted to reach out to.

Beyru also supports this by explaining that the short-term purpose of the railway concessions granted to foreign companies to build railways in Anatolia was to deliver the rich above-ground and sub-soil products of the rich valleys of Smyrna's hinterland to foreign markets most shortly and cheaply through the port of Smyrna. On the other hand, the long-term goal was to extend these lines to other Asian countries, especially India. In this way, *Britain would be in control of historical trade routes in a new way*, as in the imagined connection of Britain to India through railways.*[199]*

The Middle East was important for its route to its most important colony, India. China was necessary to support India financially through the opium trade.[200] "The

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[198]   Gallagher and Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade'.
[199]   'State and Prospects of Turkey-Speech of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe at Smyrna', *The Bombay Gazette*, 23 December 1858, The British Newspaper Archive edition, sec. From Morning Post 17 November 1858.
[200]   'A Taste for Power', *BBC Empire* (Youtube, 2012), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Cc4LaSRiSc.

extending of Britain's dominance over a much wider area **between the Mediterranean and India** to establish her informal empire in the Middle East was thereby given a crucial push. The primary object was securing *all routes to India.*"[201]
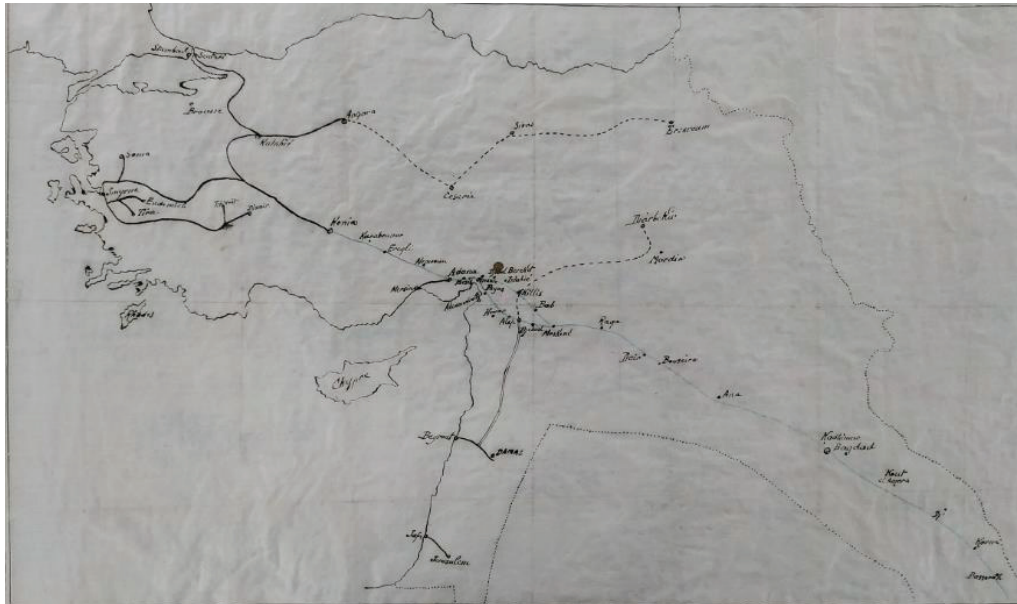
Figure 27. Map of the route connecting Europe to India through Smyrna and Constantinople[202]

As McLean declared, the "British governments had no wish for involvement in the affairs of traders and financiers overseas: *an attitude of laissez-faire prevailed at the Foreign Office*", but it wanted its imperial frontier to be secured, and for that interfered with the local elites' trade issues only when it became necessary. However, an emergency surfaced when France, Germany, and Russia entered into foreign lending and financial concessions. The search for economic enterprise abroad meant the growing diplomatic tension between the European powers and the division of most of Africa and Asia between them in the late 19th century. In these regions, the *ever-increasing railway, road, mining, and other concessions ensured the regional dominance of the country's power, providing the necessary capital.[203]* Therefore, although the British Government did not have any official control over the urban elites of these cities, name them as gentlemanly capitalists or grey men of the empire as debated before, it highly trusted them to obtain

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[201]   Balfour-Paul, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Middle East', 492.
[202]   'Western Asia Minor Railways Constructed and Projected'.
[203]   Mclean, 'Finance and "Informal Empire" Before the First World War', 292.

these concessions and be the ones to provide the money to the malfunctioning local government to have a political advantage when needed.

For this aim and background, the transformation of the Western Anatolian lands and Smyrna were designed, and imperial penetration occurred. This was not the sole reason, but an important one for the British, especially before the establishment of the Suez Canal in 1869.

2.2.2.2. Securing the Healthy Mediterranean and the Illusion of Good Colonial Power

"I had also been led, by the view of several lazarettos in my travels, to consider how much all trading nations are exposed to that dreadful scourge of mankind which those structures [lazarettos] are intended to prevent." [204]

The **interaction between locals and soldiers in a colony concerning endemic or epidemic diseases has** always been a primary concern of British naval ships. Infectious diseases were a significant concern, especially after what Faruk Tabak explains as the advance of marshlands causing many diseases[205] such as fever, cholera and malaria. Port cities were the disease gateways for such diseases to spread, as the opening quote of John Howard implied. Quarantine facilities and hospitals/lazarettos became one of the prominent spatial manifestations of colonial penetration around the Mediterranean to protect foreign trade from the late 18th century onwards.

In 1786, British philanthropist John Howard travelled in Europe and Asia to investigate the provision of quarantine facilities and lazarettos around port cities, as the earliest examples belonged to the Italians in the Mediterranean. He was an important figure in eradicating typhus from English prisons and was often referred to as a prison reformer. His actions spread from prisons to gaols, hospitals, orphanages and various *houses of correction*, resulting in organised medical, sanitary and social activities, which we now refer to as the "*public health movement*." Howard noted that the Smyrna merchants were the most enthusiastic about any measures that could prevent hindrances

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[204]   Leona Baumgartner, 'John Howard and The Public Health Movement', *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 5, no. 6 (1937): 489–508.

[205]   Tabak, 'Economic and Ecological Change in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1550–1850'.

to trade caused by plague and other infectious diseases. [206] He observed with pleasure the English hospital, which was recently repaired, and the new Dutch hospital, almost opposite. Those supported by the Venetians, French, Jews, and Greeks existed in the city. However, the archives show that the British Hospital only served British citizens as a critical example.

The Ottoman Empire started implementing quarantine measures against infectious diseases in 1831 for the first time in response to a cholera outbreak twenty years before[207] the first International Sanitary Conference in Paris on July 23, l851, which aimed to establish an international consensus on urban sanitation. Ottoman imperial representatives regularly attended this conference, and the third conference was held in Constantinople following the catastrophic 1861 and 1865 cholera outbreaks. At this conference, the spread of cholera was connected to the movement of people and the use of contaminated water. The conferences pointed to the necessity of a new municipal organisation to regulate the development of health facilities, sanitation, construction site selection, and the administration of quarantine measures as required by urban centres.[208] Unsurprisingly, the Europeans – particularly the British – protested that establishing the Ottoman quarantine in 1838 was contrary to the Ottoman's commitment to free trade. Lord Ponsonby (1770–1855), the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte, having imposed the Balta Liman unequal trade treaty on the Ottomans that year, succeeded in forming the Constantinople Superior Health Council, an international body to supervise the quarantine. The British would also prompt other major European powers to gather a series of international sanitary conferences to which the Ottoman quarantine would also be subject.[209]

As these developments indicate, the Ottoman and foreign governments would struggle over who would ultimately control the quarantine, its policies and revenues during the ensuing eighty years. The French and British reacted to the 1838 Ottoman quarantine by embracing a new understanding of plague as infectious in places where

[206] Baumgartner, 'John Howard and The Public Health Movement'.

[207] Pelin Böke, 'İzmir Karantina Teşkilatının Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri (1840-1900)', *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* VIII, no. 18–19 (2009): 137–59.

[208] Norman Howard-Jones, 'Introduction', in *The Scientific Background of the International Sanitary Conferences, 1851-1938* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1975), 9–12.

[209] Birsen Bulmuş, 'Preliminary Remarks', in *Plague, Quarantines and Geopolitics in the Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 1–14, https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474423397-003.

filthy and unhygienic conditions propagated the disease.[210] This understanding, pioneered by French doctors Antoine Clot (1793–1868) and Louis Aubert-Roche (1810–74) in Egypt in 1841, was in contrast to the previous view of plague as being spread from person to person or through infected goods. They advocated increased medical policing of at-risk populations, such as Egypt, India, China and the Ottoman Empire – all non-European countries. Advocates of this new school of thought argued that the Ottoman quarantine was insufficient to eliminate the disease.[211] They supposed that only the Europeans had the means and technological know-how to improve sanitation, building codes, sewage and water supply systems to transform the infested areas into hygienic living spaces. These views helped to justify **colonial control of public health** in Egypt, often humiliating the native population as coming from an inferior, diseased culture.[212] The British institutionalised these practices in Egypt's major cities and in medical inspection stations set up along the Suez Canal after they declared Egypt a protectorate in 1882.

The expansion of British colonial and imperial rule in the eastern Mediterranean began with the formal occupation of Malta in 1802, and then the British invaded Egypt in 1882. The process ended during the Suez crisis in 1956, and following this, the colonisation of Cyprus in 1960 and then Malta gained its independence in 1964.[213] Tsiamis, Thalassinou, Poulakou-Rebelakou, Anogiatis-Pelé, and A Hatzakis explain that when the British obtained the status to be the protectors of the Greek Islands as their first step into the Mediterranean between 1815 and 1864, they utilised the old Venetian lazaretto system and enhanced them as the beginning of securing the Mediterranean trade. The British had an experimental sanitary model inspired by the Venetian Republic to which military physicians and surgeons contributed. The seven Ionian islands Corfu, Kithera, Zakynthos, Lefkada, Paxos, Cephalonia and Ithaca were located at the entrance of the Adriatic Sea, where East meets West, making them a significant point of disease penetration to the whole Mediterranean trade. Before the British, under Venetian control, these islands had lazarettos and health *proveditore* in charge. When the French took control, they also adopted this system, and when the British took over control, they adopted the system but also enhanced it. All the islands had a British General resident of

[210] Karaağaçlıoğlu, Fezanur. "Epidemics, Urban Life, And Sanitation: Pera and the End of The Plague." İstanbul: Unpublished MSc Thesis, Boğaziçi Uniersity, n.d. Accessed 2019.
[211] Bulmuş, 'Plague, Quarantines'.
[212] Bulmuş.
[213] Sakis Gekas, 'Colonial Migrants and the Making of a British Mediterranean', *European Review of History: Revue Europeenne d'histoire* 19, no. 1 (February 2012): 75–92, https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2012.643611.

health, a physician from the ranks of the British Army as the head of the sanitary system with expanded authority and duties.[214] As Manikarnika Dutta stated, the effective health administration and control of infectious diseases was planned to improve Britain's reputation as an excellent and modernising colonial administration.[215]

These British authorities started an ambitious program to renovate the old institutions and construct modern military and civil hospitals according to Western European standards to spread the notion of such "*good colonial administration*". The British also forced vaccination since isolation and going to lazaretto was a great fear for the farmers because it affected the crops. Seaborne diseases were a significant threat to agriculture and industry.[216]

During this whole period, the Seamen's Hospital in Smyrna, as well as Constantinople, did not work as singular entities but as part of the Ionian island health network and the safe Mediterranean, as well as the minority hospitals the British operated, such as the Jewish Hospital of Smyrna. However, Archival material strongly emphasises the two Seamen hospitals as they were the only ones the British had in the Middle East.[217] Moreover, for the spiritual well-being of seamen, Smyrna was and still is, after a century, a part of Gibraltar's mission to seamen. These networks and their material assemblies placed themselves around the port-rail connections, which were attraction points for the in-between people, the ***flux-habitants*** of maritime space, which were considered originators of diseases.

As seen above, the British tried to prevent any local initiative towards a healthy Mediterranean and forced to implement its institutions and surveillance over the quarantine measures, making the sanitary engineering a colonial act[218] operating under the elevated image of a supposedly-already-modernized superior Western rule, even though the Ottomans tried to initiate their own ways.

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214 Costas Tsiamis et al., 'Infectious Disease Control in the Ionian Islands during the British Protection (1815–1864)', *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps* 159, no. 3 (22 March 2013): 247–54.
215 Manikarnika Dutta, 'Cholera, British Seamen and Maritime Anxieties in Calcutta, c.1830s–1890s', *Medical History* 65, no. 4 (October 2021): 313–29, https://doi.org/10.1017/mdh.2021.25.
216 Tsiamis et al., 'Infectious Disease Control'.
217 'Correspondance', 13 June 1894, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
218 Dutta, 'Cholera, British Seamen'.

2.3.   Colonial Modernism in Informal Empire

*"We are going in a different guise to the conquerors of **former time.** We go not to dispossess the legitimate sovereign but to strengthen his hands, and we invite civilised Europe to join us in that high enterprise. We hope to bring to these lands the blessings which our civilisation and our long peace have brought us; **we hope to give them the blessings of commerce, railroads, the steam-plough, manufactures, and all the arts and employments of peace**. We have invited the French, the Italians, and the Germans to join us."[219]*

Modernity has been such an inseparable part of European colonial projects that one cannot be discussed without including the other. For two reasons, the association of modernity with constant progress while relating traditions with "*former time*" is an essential topic of discussion when working on a colonised (or semi-colonised) urban space. The first reason is that, as the opening quote refers to, the so-called "*modernisation*" projects have always been integral, and I would argue the most tangible aspect of colonialism that can reveal the exploitative and segregationist patterns. The second reason is that acknowledging readings of urban space through the lens of "*modernism as a colonial project*" enables us to provoke alternative modernities, or alternative readings of the same urban space, instead of a singular progressive "*modern history*".

Based on Heynen's description, "*Modernity*" here refers to an attitude of life that is constantly evolving and transforming, oriented towards a future that will be different from the past and present. The related term "*modernisation*", refers to the process of social development whose main features are technological progress and industrialisation, urbanisation and rise in population, the emergence of nation-states and bureaucracy, the growth of mass communication, democratisation and the expanding capitalist world market.[220] Heynen exclaimed in 2013 that one of the most recent important revisions to the history of modernity and modernisation came with the postcolonial critique. This critique started from the understanding that ***modernity and colonialism are intertwined*** and cannot be seen as separate discourses.[221] There are two strands of discussions regarding the colonial situation and its aftermath in relation to modernity. The first one is *postcolonialism,* and the second is *decolonialism*. Postcolonialism emerged from a

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[219]   'U.K. Parliamentary Papers-Lord Sandon's Speech' (ProQuest Firm, 1870).

[220]   Hilde Heynen, 'Moderniteyle Mimarlık Yüzyüze', in *Mimarlık ve Modernite: Bir Eleştiri* (İstanbul: Versus Kitap, 2011), 23.

[221]   Hilde Heynen, 'The Intertwinement of Modernism and Colonialism: A Theoretical Perspective', *Docomomo Journal*, no. 48 (1 July 2013): 10–19, https://doi.org/10.52200/48.a.1ktv3pae.

critique of discourse and is primarily based on the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa. Its important writers include Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Homi Bhabha. It largely focuses on analysing European colonialism's political, economic, sociocultural, and historical impact in the text. Decolonial research, on the other hand, focuses on the relations between the colonial condition and the imposition of a Western –colonial-modernity. It is a search for how to separate ourselves from the structured knowledge of the West to create alternative ways, as pointed out in the writings of Walter Mignolo.[222] In her essay "*Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues*", sociologist Gurminder K Bhambra delves into the intersection of both postcolonialism and decolonialism. The essay highlights their shared critique of the problematic notion of "modernity", which has historically been imposed on non-Western societies through colonialism and imperialism. She points out to Anibal Quijano's argument, the first writer on decoloniality, that it is crucial to comprehend the interconnectedness of the idea of modernity in Europe with the frameworks of colonial subjugation over other regions of the globe. Therefore, these two facets are inextricably linked and are commonly known as modernity/coloniality.[223] As can be seen, both lines of literature inseparably connect coloniality with modernity. Based on the archival material I obtained during this thesis, I believe this to be the truth in terms of the production of space through architecture and urban planning. Every action towards the exploitation of the environment was justified through the discourse of "*modernity equals civilisation*" in the majority of the archival material, and the superiority was established on the basis of the colonial power's ability to know more as an already modernised nation.

The most prominent writer of the former, as a postcolonialist critique, is, of course, Edward Said. Said used, in *Orientalism*, James Balfour's speech that he made in the House of Commons in 1910, to point out the importance the British put into what he calls the two invisible foundations of imperial authority: knowledge *and power as two Baconian terms*.[224]

> "*I take up no attitude of superiority. But I ask [Robertson and anyone else] …who has even the most superficial knowledge of history if they will look in the face the facts with which a British statesman has to deal when he is put in a position of supremacy over great races like the inhabitants of Egypt and countries in the East. We know the civilisation of Egypt better than we know the civilisation of any other country. We know it further back; we know it more intimately; we know more about it. It goes far beyond the petty span of the history of our race, which is lost*

[222]   Mignolo, Walter D., and Catherine E. Walsh. *On Decoloniality*. Duke University Press, 2018.
[223]   K Bhambra, 'Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues'.
[224]   Said, *Orientalism*, 32.

in the prehistoric period at a time when the Egyptian civilisation had already passed its prime. Look at all the Oriental countries. Do not talk about superiority or inferiority." [225]

Acknowledging that Baconian understanding, *scientia potentia est*-knowledge is power, British merchants had long believed they held certain superiority by ***"knowing"*** more than the ***"natives"*** (the **subordinate**) and thus saw it as their duty to help the less fortunate ones along the same lines. The emerging Conservatism strongly supported this idea in England after the 1830s.[226] This venturing gained momentum, especially during the second half of the 19th century, with the advance of the Conservatism, Tory worldview and Victorian ethno-religious arrogance expressed in the urban sphere in the form of advocating infrastructural projects, governing bodies, education and even religion as modernisation projects.

For the "*modernisation projects*" writers of the British Empire, colonialism **was the conveyor of modern values, institutions, and infrastructures to the colonised world** through utilising the hidden presence of "*cultural and technological superiority*". As unbelievable as it is, there are still writers such as Niall Ferguson who have the audacity to claim that Britain colonised the world but does not need to apologise for its consequences since we owe the modern world we live in today to British colonialism, that it was in favour of the global good in the end. He advocates that Britain's colonial rule's legacy was the spread of modernity, technology and globalisation.

> *"To imagine the world without the [British] Empire would be to expunge from the map the elegant boulevards of Williamsburg and old Philadelphia; to sweep into the sea the squat battlements of Port Royal, Jamaica; to return to the bush the glorious skyline of Sydney; to level the steamy seaside slum that is Freetown, Sierra Leone; to fill in the Big Hole at Kimberley; to demolish the mission at Kuruman; to send the town of Livingstone hurtling over the Victoria Falls – which would of course revert to their original name of Mosioatunya. Without the British Empire, there would be no Calcutta; no Bombay; no Madras. Indians may rename them as many times as they like, but these vast metropoles remain cities founded and built by the British."*[227]

Through these words, Ferguson rejects the fact that the construction of the British Empire and colonial industrial modernism exacted a heavy toll on numerous individuals, including indigenous populations, labourers, sex workers, seafarers, and more. It is essential to comprehend the underlying causes that led to the suppression of particular histories and narratives, identify the places where they have been preserved, and

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[225] Said, 32.
[226] Conservative Party in England did exist before the 1834, date of today's formation, however it was widely described as moribund.
[227] Niall Ferguson, *The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), xxi.

determine how these mechanisms can be leveraged to fortify contemporary politics. This critical aspect is foreign to imperialist literature such as Ferguson's work. It is also part of the archaeology of colonialism's work to excavate these histories from the patches of the colonial world. Ferguson even further suggested that we cannot even write a history of the modern world without ever referring to British rule. [228]

> *"But while it is just about possible to imagine what the world would have been like without the French Revolution or the First World War, the imagination reels from the counterfactual of a world without the British Empire."*[229]

The classical doctrine on which Ferguson also leans to position Britain as a prosperous centre, teaching the history "*from the scientific developments and the need for raw materials to colonisation and then the modernity*", is challenged by many authors. Mark Crinson, for example, states that the spread of modernity wasn't always necessarily due to the West's domination and that the actual relationship of modernism with colonialism was far more intertwined. Colonies were often used as test sites for new cultural expressions, architecture, and government policies, as in the case of French colonies, which were even referred to as "*laboratories of modernity*". This led to the creation of Modernism and the establishment of the "***colonial modern***". An essay written by another postcolonial critic, Enrique Dussel, starts his argument by saying that ***modernity didn't cause colonisation; it is the devilish story of the invasion of other lands that started modernity***. The first story of modernity emanating from the imperial centres to the colonies, of course, portrays Europe as the centre of the world, out of which illuminating light of modernity radiated to the world. On the other hand, the second version of Dussel portrays European countries as once peripheral lands suffering to reach out to the old centre of the world in the Middle East. Out of their suffering, they figured out their own evil in the newly discovered "*lands of the lesser people*" that they could exploit for their own progress. He gives the example of Spain, as a colonial power, which couldn't reach out to the centre effectively, so it tried a new way around, creating one modernity by exercising hegemony over "*an integral culture, a language, a religion; as a military occupation, bureaucratic political organisation, economic expropriation, demographic presence*"- of course by large massacres, "*ecological transformation, and so on…*" The other modernity was the ***Modernity of Anglo-Germanic Europe*** with the

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[228] Ferguson, *İmparatorluk: Britanya'nın Modern Dünyayı Biçimlendirişi*, 20.
[229] Ferguson, *The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, xxi.

history of Flanders granting the world capitalism.[230] This second version, to Dussel, is the Modernity in accordance with the interpretation of Sombart, Weber, and Habermas, or even to some post-moderns, and in its reductionist way, misses the sense of its ***contemporary crisis***. He suggests that to be able to be the centre and manage its position as such; actual modernity is always in a crisis mode.[231]

The capitalist economy is at the core of this crisis. As Edward Soja quoted Marshall Berman's belief that modernity is a "*collective sharing of a particularised sense of the self and others*", and with this sharing, the experiences of time, space, history and geography are constantly being shaped. Soja states that this is a valid process of history-making; however, modernity differs in that it entailed capitalism and employed a series of "radical social and spatial restructuring" for its capital surplus and to satisfy its need for "***spatial fixes***". At this point, Soja returns to Berman's famous quote, "*All that is solid melts into air*", to support that this world really is pregnant with opposites and all that is solid melts quickly into air for the sake of capitalism's constant need for change,[232] to secure itself in the state of constant crisis.

In alignment with Dussel and opposed to writers like Niall Ferguson, Sandip Hazareesingh states that the colonial rule was, in fact, responsible for a combination of crises, as structuring class-based process of uneven urban developments that actually created the problems of congestion, bad housing and environmental disasters. As an example, the author shows that while there were forts built to accommodate the British East India Company in Bombay, also Madras and Calcutta were not mentioned in the text before the Rebellion of 1857, the British state took over the rule afterwards and aimed to consciously reconstruct social space in the Forts. In the case of Bombay, this resulted in the demolition of ramparts and reclamations from the sea. The new colonial presence wanted to erase built signs of "*military origins*" and showcase the city's commercial prosperity and imperial power. Planned public buildings were constructed in the neo-Gothic style, designed to display the architecture and urban space of a "*superior*" civilisation. The most prominent of these was the Victoria Terminus building, according to Hazareesingh, featuring mounted figures representing "*progress*", "*commerce*", and "*engineering*", which clinched the Fort's function as the embodiment of an emerging

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[230]   Dussel, 'Beyond Eurocentrism: The World System and the Limits of Modernity'.
[231]   Dussel.
[232]   Edward W. Soja, 'Chapter 1: History: Geography: Modernity', in *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London-New York: Verso, 1990), 10–43.

"***colonial industrial modernism***". In this process, projects of "*Western modernity*" were selectively utilised to foster the difference between "us" and "the other" in urban spaces under disguise. However, urban regeneration in environments of colonial industrial modernism faced limitations where economic actors prioritised quick returns over the adoption of long-term policies and interventionist strategies necessary for creating a good city life.[233] Preeti Chopra also acknowledges the date 1857 as a turning point towards building difference in the urban sphere because, in the aftermath of the revolt, railway lines in Delhi and Allahabad were deliberately used to segregate Indian and European settlements for additional security.[234] As the result of such piecemeal and segregationist interventions, the urban products of colonial industrial modernism were formed as "***shreds and patches***" among all the other local elements that existed simultaneously. These patches, of course, remained to different extents in current cities, as discernible permanences of a colonial past and often as problematic sites for integration.

> *"For the former colony, decolonisation is a dialogue with the colonial past, and not a simple dismantling of colonial habits and modes of life… one underlying strand is always **the question of what to do with the shreds and patches of the Colonial heritage**. Some of these patches are institutional; others are ideological and aesthetic."*[235]

I want to add to Appadurai's list the urban patches in the crisis-prone scenes of the capitalist economy, the cities of maritime trade, as places that have been in the constant process of spatial structuring. As a companion to Said's perspective on colonialism and Wallerstein's "*capitalist world system*", the first study towards the understanding of colonial urban space was Anthony D. King's "*Colonial Urban Development*". Since then, writers such as MacKenzie, Bremner and others have produced many works on the architecture and urbanisation in the British Empire; however, they remain largely India-oriented and lack recognition of the informal empire's colonial space, which is in the form of shreds and patches.

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233 Hazareesingh, 'Colonial Modernism and the Flawed Paradigms of Urban Renewal: Uneven Development in Bombay, 1900-25', *Urban History* 28, no. 2 (2001): 235–55.
234 Chopra, 'South and South East Asia'.
235 Appadurai, 'Playing with Modernity: The Decolonization of Indian Cricket'.

Figure 28. Abu Gharban British railroad station in Bayuda desert, as patch-looking as it can be[236]

Furthermore, despite the large number of British Empire sources, the prevalent spatial division between the British core and the colonial periphery is still prevalent. This historiographical divide continues to reproduce an imperialist tone. As in the example of Dussel's less preferred colonial history as a failure to reach the world's then centre, the literature eliminates the incompleteness of the informal empire where modernity projects failed to reach imperialist standards. We only talk about the imperial centre -London- or its colonies. I argue here that it is due to the incompleteness and subtleness of many projects of British colonialism in the semi-periphery that the literature avoids. There are neither "grand projects" that brought modernity to savage lands to brag about for writers like Niall Ferguson, nor are there extreme interventions to stick out among others, as in the writings of Hazareesingh and Chopra's India. The semi-periphery is where the colonial industrial modernism remained incomplete in every sense, in colonising, industrialising and modernising in a way that would suit a "*gentleman's dream*" even though it was the scene of the capitalist gentlemen. Therefore, it requires digging deep like an archaeologist, through an "***archaeology of colonialism***" to be [un]-covered and included in imperial histories.

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[236] Frederique Cifuentes, 'Colonial Era Railway Station, Abu Gharban, in Sudan', *Colonial Architectural Heritage in Sudan*, accessed 24 May 2023, https://www.sudanmemory.org/cms/53/2/.

As parts of the semi-periphery, port cities were the first and most important sites for colonial industrial modernity to actualise itself. As the nodes of junction between different transportation systems and outposts of rich hinterlands, they were prone to face the emerging capitalism's colonial penetration more than other cities. Therefore, digging deep into their organisation under certain European powers is an essential contribution to the existing literature on both colonisation and modernisation.

2.3.1. The Anglo-Ottoman Perspective on Modernization and the British in Smyrna

"Ne zaman bir eyaleti Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan koparması söz konusu olsa, İngiltere benim değil düşmanlarımın safında yer almıştır."[237]

Sultan Abdülhamid II, 1898

The process of Ottoman modernisation was a struggle to keep up with the world during the 19th century, a world which tried to grab a bite of the Ottoman Empire's every unsuccessful attempt, as the quote above suggests. In as much as it was a promising act at the beginning, the end of the process was marked with raised Western control over the areas that were projected to be modernised by the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire.

Although the beginnings of modernisation are debated and not fixed for all the regions in the world, it started to show its real effects with the scientific, political, military and technological developments since the 18th century. The important milestones of the modernisation of Europe during this century were the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution and the rise of Imperialism. These events shaped modern political and philosophical ideas, educational and legal institutions, and cultural and technological innovations regarding human, social and state life, and they penetrated a significant part of the world through either occupation or modernisation impulse.[238]

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[237] Can be translated as: "Whenever there is an opportunity for Britain to obtain new lands from me, the British had always been on the side of my enemies, against me." Alkan, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arafta Bir Hünkar*, 244.
[238] Alkan, 25.

Ringer and Charriére note that during the 19th century, the Middle East underwent modernising reforms across countries such as Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Central Asia. These programs varied in nature, from defensive military reforms implemented by early reformers to more comprehensive movements like the Ottoman Tanzimat, Arab Nahda, Iranian, and Central Asian Jadid in the latter half of the century. Although their approaches varied, the supporters of these reform initiatives encountered two main obstacles:

1. the growing industrialisation and
2. the interconnectivity of European and Middle Eastern economies, as well as the ascent of European superpowers

Expansionist and imperialist Western powers heavily influenced the modernisation of Middle Eastern nations to their advantage by simply utilising their advancement in industrialisation. Despite their determination to resist military capabilities, commercial pressures, and diplomatic aggressions from Europe, regional leaders also sought to integrate themselves into new commercial and political systems, hoping to reap their benefits. Experts of these leaders believed that their efforts would lead to economic advancements and enhance their position in the world. Conversely, they were apprehensive about falling under the political and economic domination of the powerful nations in Europe if they failed.[239]

The initial steps towards modernisation for the Ottoman Empire were in military and modern diplomacy. One of the critical elements of modern diplomacy involved "***forming alliances***" and maintaining a "***balance of power***" with European nations. Opening embassies and establishing a Ministry of Foreign Affairs were the initial steps towards this goal. As a result, the Ottoman Empire became integrated into the modern European state system. Ironically, to defend themselves against the rise and penetration of European Powers, the Ottoman Empire had to adjust to the dynamics of modernisation and industrialisation with the aid of the same powers.[240]

The Ottoman modernisation, until the establishment of the Turkish Republic, saw five Sultans, beginning with Abdülmecid (1839-1861), who declared the Tanzimat modernisation movement into his first year reigning—Abdülaziz (1861-1876), V. Murad

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[239] Monica M Ringer and Etienne Charrière, *Ottoman Culture and the Project of Modernity: Reform and Translation in the Tanzimat Novel* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), 1.

[240] Alkan, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arafta Bir Hünkar*, 30.

who reigned only three months in 1876, II. Abdülhamid (1876-1909), V. Mehmet (1909-1918) and VI. Mehmet (1918-1922) followed him. During this turbulent period, Queen Victoria reigned Britain from 1837 to 1901, holding the longest reign then, and his son Edward VII succeeded her until 1911. Edward VIII was his successor and the King during the establishment of the Turkish Republic, so when one looks at the 19th century, a very turbulent history in the name of the Ottoman Empire prevailed, while Britain was ruled by the same Queen, who alternated William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli as influential prime ministers shaping the politics affecting the Ottoman Empire throughout this century.

During the 19th century, the gradual dissolution and turbulent situations of the Ottoman Empire posed a significant challenge, which was part of the "Eastern Question" for Britain. Various European powers sought to acquire territories that could be dismembered from Anatolia; however, preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire against the expansion of Russia was of great importance to Great Britain[241], at least until after what is called the "*Bulgarian Atrocities*" in 1876.[242] They thought that;

> *"The first essential is a stable Government, and without this, nothing else is any good. The Turkish Governmental system, bad as it was, had still features which were not unfavourable to a certain amount of progress within, it is true, very narrow limits." [243]*

To achieve this, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was appointed as the British Ambassador in 1842 to Constantinople to spearhead a ***reform and modernisation*** movement in the Ottoman Empire.[244] The objective was to bolster the Ottoman Empire's resilience against the internal and external forces that threatened to tear it apart. This was understandably crucial for the secure Mediterranean ideals of the British Empire. As discussed in further chapters, the main object was to connect Britain with India through railways and secure the Mediterranean trade regarding modern health measures and politics.

Even though internal dynamics drove Ottoman modernisation initially, external actors such as the British became highly involved, especially after the 1856 Reform Edict. İlber Ortaylı states that the Ottoman Empire's industrial modernisation began during Sultan Abdülmecid's reign but failed almost immediately. Therefore, starting with the

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[241] Kasaba, 'Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism'.
[242] David S. Katz, *The Shaping of Turkey in the British Imagination, 1776-1923*, ebook (Tel Aviv: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 5.
[243] 'Correspondance', 1919, FO-608-232, NA.
[244] Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital', 302.

1860s, new projects were sought. However, during the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire did not show the expected progress in agriculture and industry. Ortaylı claims that the backwardness of the industrial advancement in the Ottoman Empire was due to the nature of traditional production in general and the foreign trade relations.[245] The foreigners had a considerable advantage compared to the subjects of the Ottoman Empire, as the British had with the Balta Limanı Treaty, and also, as the archival material summarises, the Turkish population spent their lifetime mostly in battlefields, leaving little room for agricultural advancement on their own. The solution was to allow the action and profit of Western capital in Anatolia by adopting a development strategy that used Western capital, knowledge and skills.[246]

This process can be observed in Smyrna after this turn towards the Western capital, as Bilsel states that Smyrna was one of the forebearers of 19th-century Ottoman modernisation. Beginning with the purchase of lands from the Turkish people who were unable to join into agriculture, the construction of the railways connecting these agricultural centres of Smyrna's hinterland, the construction of trams and the quay, and the organisation of the first municipality, the modernisation of Smyrna came into being through the joint acts of the Ottoman Government and the members of the European merchants or the local minorities. The Ottoman government supported the foreign investments in these areas carried out by the construction companies with international capital, formed by the members of European colonial powers and local non-Muslim subjects, with the guarantees and concessions it provided to these employers. While allowing the action and profit of Western capital on its territory, the Ottoman Empire adopted a development strategy that used Western capital, knowledge and skills.[247] The British merchants and investors were among the highest providers of this capital and expertise, and their primary interest stemmed from the weakening of the Ottoman Empire.

Investments were very scarce in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Levant Company in 1825. Before the Crimean War, British capitalists hesitated to invest in the Ottoman Empire. Despite the railway mania in 1845, no railway proposals were made to connect Britain with India through Anatolia as a strategic instrument. However, after the war, the British capital flooded into Western Anatolia because of the reputation of the

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[245] Ortaylı, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sanayileşme Anlayışına Bir Örnek: Islah-ı Sanayi Komisyonu Olayı', 133.
[246] Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
[247] Ibid.

British diplomats as the Sultan's (Sultan Abdülmecid at that time) loyal allies. This image was bolstered by the support of the British Government during the Crimean War. It should be noted that the Ottoman Government also saw how strategic the railways could be during this war and planned to connect its lands against upheavals with the help of the British.[248] The growth of British influence was swift, to the extent that at one point, it was believed that the British Ambassador wielded greater authority than the Sultan himself.[249] Kurmuş states that Lord Redcliffe was even nicknamed "*Elci Sultan*", meaning "Ambassador Sultan", due to the power he obtained during his stay in the Ottoman Empire.[250] He further notes that in 1864, Sir Austen Henry Layard, then the Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Lord Russell:

> *"I wish we could get Namik Pasha removed. He is a most mischievous fellow," to which the Foreign Secretary would reply: "Write to Stuart (W.Stuart, the British Charge d'Affaires in Constantinople) to try and get Tevfik Pasha in his place."[251]*

This quote, on its own, showcases the British power in the Ottoman Empire at the time. It is also known that an esteemed official in the Porte, whose identity remains undisclosed but is referred to as "*Englander*", revealed sensitive information from cabinet meetings to the British Ambassador. This individual believed that divulging all data, even state secrets, to England would ultimately serve the best interests of the Ottoman Empire in its efforts to modernise itself.[252] Cabinet members, back then, were divided to either support France or Britain for the future well-being of the Ottoman Empire.

It wouldn't be wrong to state that the period after Tanzimat was marked by a highly vicious competition between Britain and France to obtain such power over the Ottoman Porte. Later, Germany also got involved in this competition towards the end of the 19th century. The peculiarity of British control as opposed to the French was the land and trade volume they acquired after the Balta Limanı Treaty in 1838, in addition to their political power in Constantinople after the Crimean War (1853-56). The **Anglo-Ottoman Treaty of 1838**, the **1839 Tanzimat Fermanı**, **the 1858 "Toprak Yasası",** and the **1867 enactments** gave British merchants the right to own lands.[253] Before the Treaty and the aforementioned shift of the world economic centre to London, France was the dominant

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248   Elvan Cobb, 'Railway Crossings: Encounters in Ottoman Lands' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Cornell University, 2018), 9–13.
249   Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital', 303.
250   Ibid.
251   Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital', 303.
252   Kurmuş, 304.
253   Scmitt, 'Levantenler, Avrupalılar ve Kimlik Oyunları'.

power in Smyrna. However, once the British slowly surpassed them, the first acts towards modernising the urban sphere in Smyrna came with the British after the Crimean War. The Smyrna-Aydın Railway was constructed literally by dismembering the railway in Crimea and re-establishing it for the Smyrna-Aydın Railway. Later, the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway was also completed by British investors. These two were the first modern industrial establishments in Anatolia. Smyrna-Aydın Railway was even the second railway line in the Ottoman Empire, after the first railway line in Egypt.

Even though most of the Ottoman modernisation's first moves were in diplomacy and military, Smyrna's first steps were taken with industrial modernisation towards spatial re-organization of the city and its hinterland. In as much as the British investors wanted to continue to own specific urban infrastructures such as the port construction and harbour organisation in addition to the railways, towards the end of 1870s, Sultan Abdülhamid II became highly suspicious about the acts of the British in his first years of reign and shifted to "balance of power" between foreign investments. His father (Sultan Abdülmecid) raised him to trust the British. In 1878, he was known to write a letter to Sir Henry Layard, then British Ambassador in Constantinople, that his one and only friend is Her Majesty the Queen (Victoria) and Britain and that he has ultimate trust in them. He was asking for protection with this letter in the aftermath of Ali Suavi events that took place at that time. Still, when Britain started to mingle with the Ottoman Empire's reforms to a great extent, he developed anti-British sentiments.[254] Around the same time, it is known that the aim to conserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was given up by the British.[255] So Abdülhamid witnessed that in every war or treaty, a piece of land was taken from the Ottoman Empire, almost always via an intervention by the British. He eventually stated that the British;

> *"Hilafet-I İslamiye'ye zarar vermek, İzmir'den Konya'ya kadar küçük bir daire içinde ve İngiltere'nin himayesi altında küçük, müstaki bir Türk Hükümeti bırakma siyasetindedir." [256]*

These lines could be translated as the British policy to harm the caliphate and establish a small mandate in a restricted area from Smyrna to Konya, where they would allow Turkish rule to remain. His words explain a lot about the British developments in Smyrna. In the following chapters, we will witness the investments made by the British merchants, their applications for funds from the British Government and the lack of

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[254] Alkan, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arafta Bir Hünkar*, 239.
[255] Alkan, 239.
[256] Alkan, 243.

willingness of the British Government to support them monetarily while providing every political means for their investments to flourish. It seems they were really after an *empire on the cheap* in the form of a mandate.

Bulgarian atrocities of 1876 changed the British plans since they observed the Turks as incapable of modernisation[257], and on the other side, the Berlin Congress in 1878 caused land loss for the Ottoman Empire, and Abdülhamid blamed the British for it; the invasion of Cyprus by the British the same year, and loss of faith in British after they occupied Egypt in 1882, mark the beginning of a new era for the Ottoman plans in modernisation and industrialisation. Abdülhamid leaned towards Germany for technical and political support by stating that the Germans did not have any malicious thoughts and want of lands towards the Ottoman Empire.[258]

This shift of understanding for Abdülhamid II marks the beginning of a struggle for British investors to keep their railways under British control and build their port in the Punta region. Both of these major projects failed to be solely British, Abdülhamid transferred the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway to the French in 1893, and after a long period of struggle since the 1860s, only in 1914, an agreement was achieved between French and British merchants of Smyrna to move the port built in Pasaport to Punta Region where the Smyrna Aydın Railway had a pier and large plots of warehouse lands. This had to be a joint project, probably because after Abdülhamid, Britain never gained its former credibility at the Ottoman Porte.

Everything changed for the Anglo-Ottoman Relations between 1878 and 1882 when the British decided that the Ottomans were incapable of modernisation and the Ottomans decided that the British were untrustworthy people. However, even though economic historians such as Reşat Kasaba and Çağlar Keyder state a decline in investment in Ottoman Empire, why did the Foreign Office continue to support investments in Smyrna, and how come large projects such as the rebuilding of a larger Seamen's Hospital, St. John the Evangelist Church, and prolongments for the Smyrna-Aydın Railway to Eğridir were all still projected after this change? I speculate that this was the power of British gentlemen in Smyrna to preserve their interests.

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[257]   Katz, *The Shaping of Turkey in the British Imagination, 1776-1923*, 163–64.
[258]   Alkan, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arafta Bir Hünkar*, 248.

2.3.2. Colonial Modernism and Smyrna

"I do not admit, for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly wise race to put it that way, has come in and taken their place."[259]

As discussed in colonial modernism of informal empire, the envisioned scientific and cultural superiority of the British imperialists, summarised in a nutshell in Winston Churchill's famous quote he made to the Palestine Royal Commission, was the fruit of the primary strategy of the British imperialists, which was to be the ***superior example to look up to***"[260], or "***to be replaced by***". Following the nature of the regions in which the British had interests, the way of such transformation or displacement selected its ways. In this aspect, industrial advancement became the primary way of penetrating colonial modernism in the Ottoman Empire, as was the general situation of the informal empire.

The Ottoman Empire needed loans for the post-Crimean War reconstruction, industrialisation and modernisation that it envisioned for itself; however, as mentioned in previous chapters, it needed to learn about the new developments in politics and industry to do so. As a result, a group of investors established the Ottoman Bank in London in 1856.[261] Following this, the positive attitude of the Turkish government became a unique opportunity for the British to propose investments in modern infrastructure and industry. This way, on the one hand, it meant that the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire could be maintained under close British surveillance, and, on the other, British industrialists would find a ready market for their manufactures.[262]

However, I should stress the importance that the Ottoman Empire should not be perceived as passive in modernisation initiatives. On the contrary, Cana Bilsel says that the restructuring of the physical space and its methods was part of the global reorganisation projects of the Ottoman reformers long before the British railways. From the beginning, Tanzimat issued regulations, provisions and decrees to restructure and

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[259] Tom Heyden, 'Winston Churchill's Speech He Made to Palestine Royal Commission', *BBC News-The 10 Greatest Controversies of Winston Churchill's Career*, 1937, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-29701767.

[260] Christopher Ludden McDaid, 'Justification: How the Elizabethans Explained Their Invasions of Ireland and Virginia' (Unpublished MScThesis, Virginia, College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences, 1994), 66, https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-4bnb-dq93.

[261] Kurmuş, Orhan. *The Role of British Capital in the Economic Development of Western Anatolia 1850-1913*, 2002.

[262] Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital', 304.

regulate the urban space. Laws prepared with this perspective aimed to transform the Ottoman urban space in harmony with the principles and practices in force in Europe by highlighting a Western image of the city. Examples are the Armenian neighbourhood plan and the Punta region development plan prepared by Luigi Storari after 1845.[263] Furthermore, there were also influential French investors, as well as Dutch, Italian, and later American, in the history of the modernisation of Smyrna. However, within the scope of this thesis, the archival material studied in the National Archives is only used to shed light on the colonial modernism of the British Empire and its ways of articulating urban space for its benefit rather than evaluating the balance of different actors in Smyrna.

The railways were the leading investment to enable colonial modernity to articulate itself and the availability of new markets as the epitome of the British informal empire. In this regard, the first initiative that Bilsel, Beyru and Atay examined as the beginning of transformation was the Smyrna-Aydın and Smyrna-Cassaba railways. For the first line, 4 Englishmen, Sir Joseph Paxton, Whytes, W. Jackson and A.W. Rixon, requested concessions from the Ottoman Empire in 1856. Then, in 1859, Englishman A. Edwards and Dutchman M. Keun received a concession for the Smyrna-Cassaba railway.[264] The density of archival documents and the language used indicate the difference between these two railway initiatives. The Smyrna Aydin railway is always referred to as a proud British investment in British archive documents, and its number is considerably more significant than the Cassaba railway in the National Archives files. The terms of the agreement and the Ottoman Empire's involvement in the second initiative played a significant role in this, as did the transfer of the Cassaba railway to the French in 1893. For the British, the Smyrna Aydin line, which ended in the Punta region outside the existing city, was to position the station on the seashore in line with the general British approach, and by purchasing the surrounding parcels, it would both speculate on land and allow British expansion when necessary, and also meet the need for railways and factories to be located on the waterfront. For example, since Smyrna Cassaba Station is situated in the Basmane region in the city centre, crossing the old caravan bridge, it could neither serve the land speculation of capitalist gentlemen nor their expansion when warehouses needed. Also, since water was required in the maintenance workshops, the company built piers and workshops near Halkapınar on the Bornova line, but as seen on

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263   Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
264   Bilsel.

the maps, they had to be very far from the city and the station. This resulted in favouring the Smyrna Aydın railway line, the British merchants, and the British Government.

At the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the Caravan Bridge station on the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, Lord Redcliffe summarised the intentions of the British capital in the Ottoman Empire:

> *"The railway is expected to prove a beneficial investment of capital, stimulating the introduction of our manufactures. I need not tell you that Europe has, more than ever, a deep stake in the regeneration of Turkey. Western civilisation is knocking hard at the gates of the Levant, and if it be not allowed to win its way into regions where it has hitherto been admitted so partially, it is but too capable of forcing the passage and asserting its pretentions with little regard for anything but their satisfaction. It is manifestly our business to encourage those fertilising enterprises which, like your railway, may help to infuse new vigour into the veins and sinews of Turkey."*[265]

It was against this political background, and through the Smyrna-Aydın Railway project, the British capital first found its way into Anatolia. Every establishment to bolster the imperial influence of Britain and other Europeans, as well as the French, in Smyrna, was made with "*you are not advanced enough to do this as much as I am, and I am your biggest supporter, let me handle it for you*" undertones. For example, when the Ottoman Empire wanted to implement its own quarantine system at ports as early as 1838, the British vehemently opposed this by stating that the Ottoman Empire did not have as much knowledge in the field as Britain did[266], even though London was so filthy that it experienced "the Great Stink" in 1858, as the highest point of filth in its history. Only in 1865, London had its sewage system designed by Sir Joseph Bazalgette, a Victorian engineer and public health visionary of the sewage system that London still relies on today. So, in my opinion, seeing many reports downgrading Smyrna for its filthy sewers and unhygienic conditions before 1865 summarises the colonial superiority that they wanted to establish. To get the concessions needed for infrastructural projects, they had to be of the good colonial model if the formal rule was required, even when they were failing in Britain, which I will further discuss in the 4th chapter.

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[265]   Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital', 305.
[266]   Bulmuş, 'Plague, Quarantines'.

Figure 29. Interior engines of Crossness Pumping Station, by the author, taken on Victorian Society Scholarship Summer School in 2017

As was the case in other colonial contexts, Smyrna and Western Anatolia first became part of the "discursive constructions" to be able to be invaded informally, if not formally. These *focused on "Britain's role in modernising an oriental country and the material problems of designing and building in a place of growing economy but no formal control by the British."*[267] Most of the time, lands were described as "barren" to be valued once touched by the "West" by the "British".[268] Architects and engineers were regarded as the " West " civilising agents for the "Orient. The general view in this regard was very similar to that of architect Smith on helping the Ottoman Government to build new buildings;

> *"a work was a humble source of aiding…the advancement of civilisation…pure love for my profession and of being useful in a* **barbarous country struggling to civilise itself**. *I have done good to British commerce and manufacture."*[269]

Indeed, the British believed the Ottomans were suffering to modernise and civilise themselves. As aforementioned, this belief continued to dominate until the Bulgarian

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[267] Crinson, *Empire Building*, 97.

[268] "The very hills which are now looked upon as barren will be valuable even to their brushwood (çalı çırpı), which will sell for fuel or for charcoal, and the produce of the milch animals, the buffaloes, cows, ewes and goats will be made available"
From; Hyde Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway, Its Position and Prospects ... Reprinted from the Levant Quarterly Review* (istanbul: Koehler Brothers, 1861), 12.

[269] Crinson, *Empire Building*, 134.

Atrocities in 1878, when the British decided that the Ottomans were incapable of progressing as such. This notion of civilising the "Orient", the "East", slowly progressed in the aftermath of the Crimean War. As a spatial manifestation, the British rule's architectural presence gradually made itself apparent to avoid being perceived as intruders. For this reason, Crinson states that it is not easy to find 17th-century British buildings in Cairo, Smyrna or Constantinople. Only after the establishment of strong diplomatic, missionary, and commercial communities (local elites/gentlemen of capitalism) were formed did we start to see the urban presence of the British.

This began mainly after the 19th century, supported by the improvements in mail service after the 1840s, before which the arrival of mail took three weeks from İstanbul to London when mailing took only a couple of days between England and İstanbul; by the establishment of vast telegraphy lines after 1858. These developments enabled the communications for contractual and building decisions. Photography also added another aspect to this building sector by providing an opportunity to learn about the site and the state of construction.[270] Moreover, the building of the railways also enabled the construction boom to follow. Of course, the main reason behind the construction of these extensive railway projects in Western Anatolia was not planned for the good of this sector. It was the most comprehensive urban and rural intervention for mainly three reasons;

- Supplying England with raw materials
- Connecting England and Europe to the "East" via the Constantinople-Bandırma-Western Anatolia-Konya-Bağdad line
- Creating a secure Mediterranean to enable uninterrupted trade

Though Smyrna and Western Anatolia were never the topic of discussion in the literature of imperialism based on such exploitation, Hyde Clarke refers to the products of this area as "colonial produce", stating the clear view of the investors of the Smyrna-Aidin railway line.

> *"**Colonial produce** is carried to the central local market at Aidin, and then redistributed to the neighbouring towns;… in the case of hides they are collected, tanned and re-transported as leather; even with regard to corn it is in many instances carried to a market, warehoused, resold conveyed to a mill ground into flour, the flour exported or manufactures into biscuits and resold….It is this handling of goods in a productive district with large cities which swells the returns of a railway company."[271]*

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[270]   Crinson, 159.
[271]   Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 13.

Thus, Smyrna and its hinterland became a colonial urban landscape with the power to compensate for the cost of railways while producing the raw materials of the British industries simultaneously. Very detailed information about this process is given by Orhan Kurmuş, who stated that the British introduced capitalist agriculture in Western Anatolia during the 1860s following the construction of the railways. He further noted that the British first used agricultural machinery and other advanced techniques, such as crop rotation, irrigation, draining, etc., on their lands, which were registered as "*çiftliks*".[272]

Kurmuş states that the British played a notable role in facilitating advancements in the production processes of a diverse range of industries, including cotton ginning, olive oil and tannin extraction, liquorice and soap making, and carpet weaving. Their introduction of power-driven machinery and experimentation with electrically driven machinery has revolutionised the industry. In addition, the British made significant contributions to modern business techniques, including establishing the Ottoman Empire's first bank, the Bank of Smyrna, which was opened in 1842 by the Whittall and La Fontaine families, almost 15 years before the Ottoman Bank. The British also made notable discoveries in mining, having uncovered more than half of the Ottoman Empire's current chrome deposits, which have proven valuable resources for the Ottoman Empire's economy. Factors contributing to the rise in customs revenue for the Imperial Treasury include the growth of Smyrna as an export-import centre, the increase in agricultural production stimulated by the railways, and taxes on the high profits of the mercantile community. Smyrna's average annual customs revenue from 1873 to 1877 was approximately £230,000, accounting for about 12% of the Ottoman Empire's total customs revenue.[273] British entrepreneurs were responsible for 81 factories in Western Anatolia, including noteworthy establishments such as the Gas Works in Alsancak and the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers' weaving mills in Manisa, Aydın, and Nazilli. Additionally, they owned MacAndrews and Forbes' liquorice factories in Aydın, Söke, and Kuşadası, along with manganese, chromium, and lignite mines. The operation also included 16 mechanical ateliers and over 65 mines, including the Hasançavuşlar manganese mines near Tire, J.W. Wilkinson's Ödemiş-Cinlikaya antimony mines, and E.F. Abbott's 24 emery mines, among others.[274]

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[272]   Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital', 306.
[273]   Kurmuş, 308.
[274]   Total obtained from Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital'.

As one might notice, the name above, La Fontaine family, was of French origin. However, the identity politics were ever-changing and fluid in Smyrna. While it is known that the British emigrating from England married local non-Muslims and other foreigners, the family nature was androcentric. It is known that over their long marriage, Smyrna Aydın Railway engineer Edwar Purser, who was married to a local Greek woman, never learned a word of Greek, and their children were of British nationality. As was the case with James Whittall's will written in 1879, the children were usually expected to return to Britain. There is no better quote than the words of James to explain how superior they believed the British were and how any person can be absorbed into Britishness completely in three generations, all while glorifying colonisation. His words also prove that what they were doing by investing in Smyrna was, in fact, colonisation and that their spatial interventions, thus, should be studied as colonisation initiatives.

> *"The breaking up of the Ottoman Empire and approaching downfall of its present Mahometan rulers joined to their British nationality; all combine to favour them.* **Let my descendants ever hold to their fatherland, England***, and in identifying themselves with the country of their allegiance, they will best serve their interest. The Anglo-Saxon race by its broad sense, is* **enlightened Christianity***, its* **aptness for colonisation***, justice and love for free institutions, will become a paramount power of the World and promises to attract all other nations into its embrace. It is surprising how foreigners, after the third generation [as in the case of La Fontaine Family], merge into Englishmen under British rule, to exhibit no signs of foreign descent…"*[275]

This corrupts the "cosmopolitan" and "Levantine" generalisations. Cosmopolitan would mean a citizen of the world, an unidentifiable blurred boundary of origins. The British had pride in being British. The term Levantine would localise them beyond separation, but they always sent their kids to get an education back to London. Also, the British were the first to give up their institutions in the aftermath of the Lausanne Treaty, while every other nationality tried to hold on to theirs in Smyrna. Indeed, they planned to return to Britain one day. For the combination of these reasons, within the thesis, the British investors who operate under British citizenship and sought the British Consul's aid in conflicts were taken to be British. Legally, the British Government had the right to intervene and govern the investments operating under any British investor's name, as happened to Smyrna Aydın Railway when its headmaster became a person from the British Foreign Office with no experience in railways whatsoever.

These British investors' interests did not end with the railways, as much as their trademark in its zones of influence was the railways. When the governor of Smyrna

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[275]   James Whittall, 'Whittall Family Archive-Correspondance', 1879, EUL MS 259/3, EUL.

decided to construct a permanent dock, the British wanted to be the ones to build it as well. In 1867, John Charnaud, Alfred Barker and George Guarracino obtained the concession but failed to acquire high capital and went bankrupt.[276] Also, the French Consulate intervened and got the concession for the French Dussaud Brothers, who built the Port Said near the Suez Canal, to construct the port.[277] Interestingly, when their concession ended, the British bought the port in 1878, but over the same night, Abdülhamid strongly opposed this and gave it to the French once again, stating that they could not sell it without the permission of the Porte. Abdülhamid thought that the British already had two railway lines in Western Anatolia terminating in Smyrna, and giving the port to them would be giving the keys to Anatolia[278] and end what he feared: A British mandate from Smyrna to Konya, *where he and his government would be trapped.[279]*

With the construction of the Smyrna port and Quay, Smyrna gained a modern façade on the surface, both technically and at the urban planning level. Bilsel summarises that Kordon, a four-kilometre-long promenade, became a centre of attraction for the city's residents. Moreover, a 1200-kilometre-long protection breakwater was built, two tram lines between Konak and Punta station were built, and a sewage system was laid on a flock of islets with an average depth of forty meters along the docks gained from the sea.[280] By selling these lands step by step, which Sibel Zandi Sayek counted as 150 plots acquired from the sea[281], the Docks Company not only amortised its working expenses but also earned a significant income, similar to the British gaining from the lands around Punta Station. The Quay area became the most popular place in the city. Banks, maritime agencies, commercial establishments, consulates and insurance agencies are located here. While Frank Street was now left behind the Quay promenade and set of urban plots specialised in luxury trade for the well-to-do, the modest craftsmanship centred in the inns of the old trade centre[282], which received little of the modern investments.

Moreover, while the centre was being polarised between the old and the new centre, the suburbs of Buca and Bornova, which were small villages before, gained importance and grew as a site for the wealthy foreigners to escape the city and have their primary residences connected to the city centre via railways. This was a common

276 Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 117.
277 Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
278 Kütükoğlu, 'İzmir Rıhtımı İnşaatı ve İşletme İmtiyazı'.
279 Alkan, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Arafta Bir Hünkar*, 243.
280 Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
281 Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 115.
282 Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.

separation in every colonial or semi-colonial city, from Buenos Aires to Alexandria to Shanghai. The foreigners didn't live with the "others". They established churches for the industry workers of their factories in the port area. Still, they built their own in these suburbs, and the British even refused to share their pastor in Bornova with the church at Punta, even though both were Anglican churches. In addition to these, hospitals, social clubs, and many other social infrastructures serving largely the Frank Quarter changed the built environment of Smyrna by appropriating its hinterland. The British, specifically, built their mansions (such as De Jongh, Forbes, Rees family mansions in Buca; Paterson, Whittall, La Fontaine, Giraud, Maltass, Edwards, Wilkinson family mansions in Bornova) and social infrastructures for this capitalising class (such as English clubhouse, Buca Baptist Church, Alsancak St. John the Evangelist Church, which was built by the Levant Company for its workers, and Bornova St. Mary Magdalene churches) to create a life for the Britons who sought their home-town kind of living patterns in the city while establishing industrial sites around. The British not only brought the construction materials and architectural styles of the time with them but also what they believed to be the "civilised" "modern" way of living, with their rising entrepreneurial bourgeois lifestyles fit for gentlemanly capitalism.

Cana Bilsel emphasised that this modernisation process stemmed from Western capital taking over the city's economy and region. It caused social division between marginalised groups due to the economy's new functioning and those who benefit from it. While all the region's wealth flowed to Smyrna, its modernisation and growth took place due to the different networks and actors of Western Capitalism.[283] Bilsel's words were crucial for this thesis due to this emphasis. I noticed that, for a city like Smyrna, the constant writing of history as a "*paradise lost*" or the "*Paris of the East*" accepts a singular progressing Smyrna and hides the chaos and separation caused by partial colonisation disguised under the name of modernisation. This provided the background for many of my inquiries from the urban space in the fourth chapter.

Whose Paradise was Smyrna?

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[283]   Bilsel.

CHAPTER 3

SMYRNA AS A MISFIT: AN ODD PORT CITY?

"Su akar yolunu bulur…"[284]

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[284] A Turkish idiom with a similar meaning to "*Nature will take its course*". The photo from Cüneyt Oğuztüzün, 'Gediz Deltası Tek ve Benzersiz', *Atlas Dergisi*, accessed 26 March 2023, https://www.atlasdergisi.com/kesfet/doga-cografya-haberleri/gediz-deltasi-tek-ve-benzersiz.html.

The third chapter details the history of Smyrna and its strategic location for British colonial modernism to articulate itself. It questions two definitions widely used for writing on 19th-century Smyrna: "cosmopolitan" and "port city. " It delves into the models proposed for the evolution of port city models, including British colonial ports, and discusses whether Smyrna conforms to them. Moreover, it also tries to initiate a discussion on using the "port city" denomination for all stages of Smyrna in history.

This discussion stemmed from the archival material found in the London Metropolitan Archive. When Bishop Sandford visited Smyrna in May 1875, he described the city in his memoirs as "still" the most important in Asia Minor, even 50 years after the dissolution of the Levant Company. He stated that the city was on the shipping routes to the main ports of Europe and the Levant (though lacking adequate wharves) and had two railways to its hinterland and a telegraph office. The Bishop emphasised that Smyrna's *"importance was entirely dependent on the rich hinterland since there were no industries in the city itself."* [285] A question has been raised regarding the relationship between cities and their ports. Is it accurate to refer to a city solely as a port, and does this diminish the importance of the surrounding hinterland and trade relations in the city's spatial organisation?

It should be noted that assessing port city terminology and questioning alternative names for cities is relatively new. Also, studies on the mari-terrestrial interface where the growing imperial capitalism and modernism transformed, and the problematic uses of the terms "port city" and "cosmopolitan" for all cities with ports are very few. Therefore, this chapter aims to open this field of discussion for further studies to follow, as well as shedding light on how the spatial organisation of Smyrna could be included in British colonial urban planning discussions.

3.1.   Brief Background on the Conditions of Smyrna

Situated in a privileged geography with its naturally protected port and rich hinterland, Smyrna has always been a trade node. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the city experienced a considerable boom resulting from industrial initiatives of foreign

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[285]   Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 76.

investors, and it gained real importance as a port city on the Mediterranean coast. Eventually, Smyrna prospered and became the second-largest city in the Empire after Constantinople.[286] Its port superseded that of Constantinople due to the richness of its hinterland.

Traveller Christophe Aubin, appointed by Napoleon to identify trading potentials of the regions outside his rule during the early 19th century, defined Smyrna as the only city in the Ottoman Empire that could ***be named as a commercial centre*** in 1812.[287] It was the "single most important" port for the eastern Mediterranean trade during this century. It remained so until the early 20th century since it was the intersection point attracting "…*an array of Ottoman goods destined for the West and Western and domestic goods bound for other centres within the Empire.*"[288] This unique geographic position, a deep-water harbour suitable for long-distance vessels, resource-rich hinterlands to exploit and mercantile classes with local know-how and far-reaching commercial networks allowed the city to transform as such. Thus, capital flows, investors, and migrant workers were all attracted by the city,[289] creating a busy commercial centre.

3.1.1. Location and Geography

The city of Smyrna, known today as İzmir in Turkey, is situated at the mouth of a slender and elongated gulf that opens up to the sea. This region is known as the Aegean Region. It is defined by a range of parallel mountains that stretch perpendicularly towards the coast, forming tranquil coves that have served as safe harbours for seafarers for centuries.

Nestled between two parallel mountain ranges, the Büyük and Küçük Menderes rivers to the south and Gediz and Bakırçay rivers to the north give rise to lush valleys that wind their way to the Gulf of Smyrna, forming a plain where 19th century Smyrna was situated. The Kadifekale and Değirmendağı mountains delineated the city's boundaries, with the plain serving as the arrival point for goods from the fertile valleys. The hinterland

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286   Zandi-Sayek, 'Introduction'.
287   Reşat Kasaba, 'İzmir', in *Doğu Akdeniz'de Liman Kentleri 1800-1914*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren, and Donald Quataert (istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994), 1–23.
288   Frangakis-Syrett, 'Commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean'.
289   Zandi-Sayek, 'Introduction'.

valleys were where agricultural activities thrived, providing the impetus for trade at the city's port. However, the innermost sections of the plains were not as fertile as the areas closer to the gulf, leading to settlement patterns along the waterfront throughout the region's history. Of all the valleys, Aydın (via the Büyük Menderes River) and Salihli (via the Gediz River) were the most fertile, with Hyde Clark describing them as "among the finest and best-cultivated valleys in the world." Unfortunately, these rivers were not navigable, a drawback that necessitated animal-powered transportation until the 19th century. This mode of transport was slow and often resulted in financial losses due to spoiled cargo, as evidenced in archival documents belonging to the railways.

Figure 30. Map showing the railways following the river valleys[290]

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[290] 'Part of S.W. Asia Minor Showing Railways Constructed and in Course of Construction', September 1895, FO 881/6698a, NA.
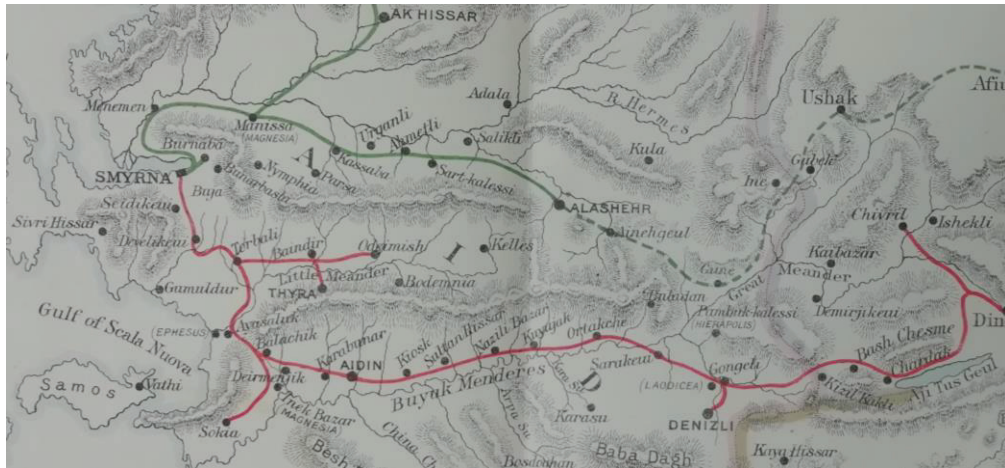
Figure 31. Detail from the map

Smyrna was strategically located on the busiest sea route in the Mediterranean: Constantinople – Smyrna – Alexandria. Its prime position allowed it to gather goods from its surrounding hinterland, stretching into Anatolia, Syria, and Persia. As a result, Smyrna became a crucial transit point where Ottoman goods were gathered and transported to the West. In contrast, Western goods were imported and transferred to the interiors of Anatolia. Long-distance trade logistics shaped the city's layout, and Cana Bilsel's works reveal that the most significant streets were not only directed towards the city centre but also towards "khans," where goods from vast trade routes were collected and traded. In a short article titled "*Smyrna's Medical Topography*", published in Medical Times and Gazette, dated 1855, the city is described as;

> *"Located at the bottom of a deep gulf and so built that half the town is placed upon the shore, while the remainder rises as an amphitheatre, Smyrna must be regarded, were it provided with proper drainage, as offering the conditions of a very healthy place. It consists of two large divisions, the high and the low town; the former comprising the Turkish quarter, while the Frank, Greek, Jewish, and Armenian quarters are situated in the lower town. As in all other Eastern towns, except now Alexandria, cemeteries are scattered throughout. It is supplied with water from the little river Mélé (Meles), as this passes to the sea."[291]*

With this strategic location and geography, Smyrna became an important distribution centre of its hinterland and a protected port in Mediterranean trade, receiving immigration from many nationalities over the time spanning from the 17th century to the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

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[291] M. Aubert, 'Smyrna's Medical Topography', *Medical Times and Gazette*, June 1855, WO 43/977, NA.

3.1.2. History

Smyrna has a history dating back to 8-9 thousand years, with current foundlings from the excavations held in Yeşilova Tumulus.[292] Other archaeological sites within the city mark different periods of settlements, such as ancient Smyrna in Bayraklı dating back to 3000 B.C. There is also the Smyrna that was established on Pagus Mountain, Kadifekale, after the invasion of Great Alexander.[293]

Since the city owned a geographically protected port, it was a strategically important settlement during the Lydian Kingdom, Persian Empire, Hellenistic Period (after the invasion of Alexander the Great), Roman Period, Byzantine Empire, and Turkish rule after the occupation of 1426.[294] During this time, there were two other large port cities nearby. The cities of Miletus and Ephesus were important port cities. However, they were affected by the alluvial deposits carried by the rivers the Büyük Menderes and the Küçük Menderes. Eventually, they became inland areas and lost their importance in the region. Unlike these two cities, Smyrna was established near the mouth of the Gediz River with a comparatively slow deposit carrying capacity. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire changed the path of this river many times with different projects, as in the 1886[295] project, moving the mouth of the river from the southern direction of the salt production areas towards the west. Therefore, it never lost its place as an important port city. It eventually became one of the two most important cities of the 19th-century Ottoman Empire, with its potential to support industrialisation initiatives and port functions.

Production shifted to hillsides, highlands, and mountains during the 17th and 18th centuries, as explained in ecological shifts. This movement positioned port cities as collection and distribution centres. Eventually, the Atlantic-bound journey of crops like sugar and cotton depleted the basin of its precious trade. However, Mediterranean crops gained importance around the same time, and new crops favoured the slopes and hillsides, unlike the coastal crops of the 14th and 15th centuries. This double movement caused

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[292] 'Yeşilova Höyüğü I-V No'lu Alanlar', *Yeşilova Höyük*, accessed 4 June 2022, http://yesilova.ege.edu.tr/genel-bilgi.html.

[293] Martal, *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme: 19. Yüzyıl*, 47.

[294] Sedef Eylemer and Dilek Memişoğlu, 'The Borderland City of Turkey: İzmir from Past to the Present', *Eurolimes*, https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-46521-3, no. 19 (2015): 159–84.

[295] Işılay Tiarnagh Sheridan, 'Value Assesment at the Intersection of Nature and Industry the Case of Çamaltı Saltern' (Unpublished MScThesis, Ankara, Middle East Technical University, 2016), 143–44.

changes to the vegetal makeup of the Mediterranean and shifted the economic centre of gravity. As a result, financial devolution altered the boundaries of the Mediterranean.[296] Smyrna and Salonica, for example, surpassed Cairo and Aleppo. The second spatial shift geographically was the rising influence of overland trade, which is of utmost importance for Smyrna as the overland routes terminated here.[297]

Çağlar Keyder, Eyüp Özveren and Donald Quataert in "*Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives*" state that it is easy to understand why cities with ports became important nodes of trade since they showcase how the ***transformation through foreign penetration*** could shape the faith of a city. The authors explain two ways of perceiving this penetration: positive modernisation elements or a dependency harbinger. Zandi Sayek shows that a certain degree of reciprocity existed between the institutional modernisation and urban realities in 19th-century Smyrna. Beginning with the trials in defining the property rights to law and taxation, the author gives an in-depth insight into the legislative differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim residents of Smyrna, which were always proven to be porous against the constant effort to modernise ownership systems. Through numerous public works such as lighting, paving, etc., she further shows us that the demands of the urban groups played a crucial role in modifying not only the legal aspects but also the urban infrastructure[298], which eventually became a means to foreign penetration through reorganisation of trade and commerce under "modernisation".

In her PhD thesis, *"Cultures et Fonctionnalités: l'évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la ville de Izmir aux XIXe et début XXe siècles",* Cana Bilsel explains that the abolishment of the Levant Company in 1825, which monopolised Great Britain's trade with the Ottoman Empire, lead to the creation of several English companies: the former representatives of the company settled in the city and founded trading houses. It was the beginning of forming an important "Levantine" capital in Smyrna and having close relations with Europe. This was not limited to the British; other Levantine families belonged essentially to French, Italian, Dutch and other communities who were about to play a leading role in the city's economic activity in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars.[299] Bilsel notes Daniel Goffman's emphasis in another article, *"XVII. Yüzyıldan XX.*

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[296] Tabak, 'Economic and Ecological Change in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1550–1850'.
[297] Tabak.
[298] Zandi-Sayek, 'Introduction'.
[299] Bilsel, 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'évolution de La Morphologie Urbaine de La Ville de Izmir Aux XIXe et Début XXe Siècles', 45–46.

yüzyıla İzmir'in bir ticaret limanı olarak gelişimi, kent mekânının oluşumu ve başkalaşımı", stating that it was these Western merchants who settled during this period and decided to make Izmir a modern international port and trade centre.[300]

As a result of this decision, socio-cultural changes beginning during the 17th century also started to change Smyrna's socio-spatial makeup. Sibel Zandi Sayek explains that this process began during the late 16th and early 17th centuries when Ottoman Smyrna evolved from a regional port supplying Constantinople to the principal Eastern Mediterranean hub for European export trade. This transformation brought waves of migration from Ottoman provinces and the Mediterranean, significantly increasing population and diversifying ethnic and religious backgrounds. The region's abundant agricultural products, such as cotton and raisins, attracted European traders from Dutch, French, Genoese, and Venetian merchants who established trading houses, factories, and consular representatives. The English Levant Company was among the first such companies based in Smyrna as early as 1580. Additionally, Jews from Thessaloniki migrated to Smyrna in search of opportunities to serve as translators, customs house officials, and tax farmers. Armenians from Aleppo, Bursa, and Isfahan came to Smyrna as the extension of the silk trade with Persia, which linked the city with an already extensive trade system from China to Europe. Finally, Greeks from Morea, Chios, and other islands also began settling in Smyrna during the 17th century.[301]

The accumulation of people from such different ethnic and religious backgrounds is also reflected in the city's spatial organisation. Social hierarchies organised residential neighbourhoods from the 17th century through the late 1800s. Quarters inhabited by Muslims, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Franks were closely interlocked. The Muslim population resided on the slopes of Mount Pagus (Kadifekale) near the ancient castle. Jewish quarters were located adjacent to the Muslim ones, extending down to the plain on the level ground of the hill. Next to the Jews, the Armenian quarter began near the Caravan Bridge, which served as the city's land trade entry point. After the Armenian quarters, the Greek quarters were situated between the Frank quarter along the shore and the Meles River in the interior, towards the Punta region.[302]

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[300]   Bilsel, 'XVII. Yüzyıldan XX. Yüzyıla İzmir'.
[301]   Zandi-Sayek, 'Introduction'.
[302]   Zandi-Sayek.
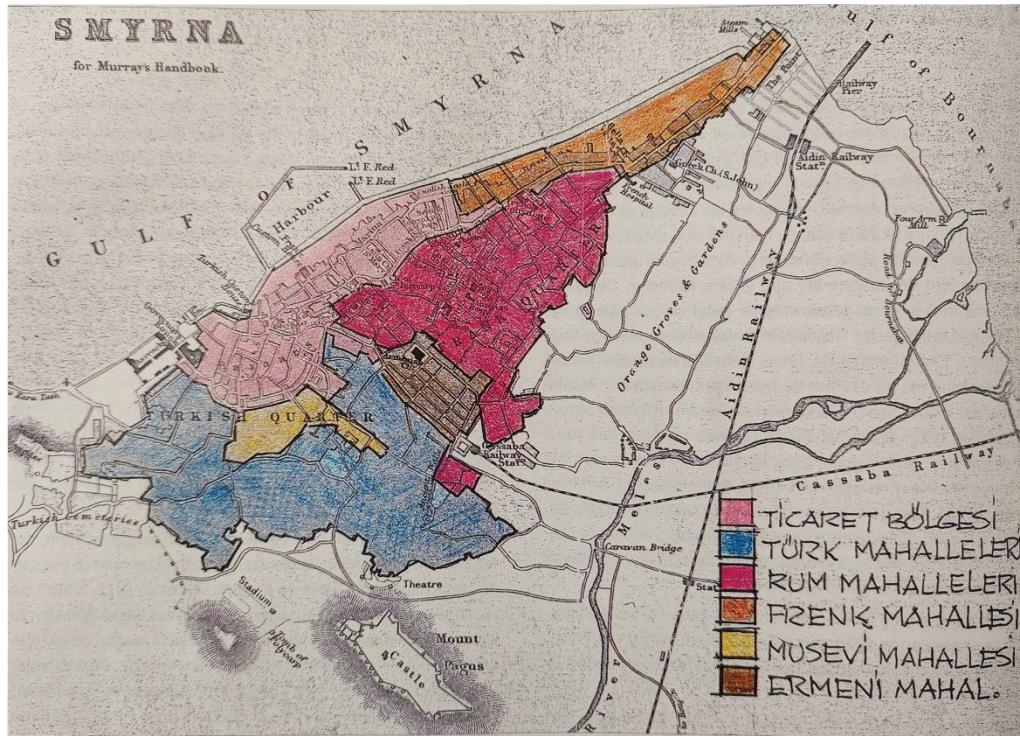
Figure 32. Neighbourhoods from Rauf Beyru: pink indicates trade centre, blue Turkish, red Greek, orange Frank Quarter, yellow Jewish Quarters, and brown Armenian Quarters.[303]

Although Zandi Sayek mentioned the interlocking nature of these neighbourhoods, a Lambeth Palace Library archival document points out a strict differentiation between Muslim, Armenian, Jewish, and Greek quarters and the Frank Quarter. Frank Quarter was an elongated strip of trading houses adjacent to each other packed in tight order as if the plots had to be squeezed into the tiniest space possible. They were all facing the sea and had their private piers in front. A long street, the Frank Street, laid on the opposite side of this maritime facade. It would be locked at night due to what Manikarnika Dutta refers to as "***colonial anxiety***."[304] There would be no permeability between these two worlds at night or during conflicts and natural disasters. It is seen that only after the Tanzimat Decree in 1839 and the Crimean War ending in 1856 did the foreigners become confident to spread beyond lockable confinements. Even so, the mari-terrestrial interface remained an important gateway in times of natural disasters or political conflicts.

The reorganisation of trade and commerce, industry, and urban infrastructure was actually not "organised". Mübeccel Kıray explains that before the city transformed into

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[303] Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 90.
[304] Dutta, 'Cholera, British Seamen'.

an international port and trade centre in the 16th century, within the feudal order of the Ottoman society, there was a reasonably balanced settlement organisation integrated within itself, depending on the boundaries of the feudal order's technology. However, during the development period of the Ottoman Empire, labour and land were scarce production factors in the production order that the technological level allowed. In such a production system, it is possible to increase the controlled surplus product by a) enlarging the controlled land and labour and b) using the land and labour more rationally, which refers to organisational problems. The land and the controlled group (labour) are augmented through conquest in such an order. As much as the conquest itself is an organisational problem, controlling the surplus product of the conquered places and ensuring their integration with the system is another organisational problem since transportation technology remains constant.[305]

To understand the history of this, Kıray discusses the pre-industrial Smyrna and the Smyrna that is transformed to be an underdeveloped metropolitan city today by focusing on the need to analyse the relationships between determining factors rather than relying on descriptive features such as population size and underdevelopment indices. As a result of her analyses, the author positions Smyrna of the 19th century as a single dominant city phenomenon, where a major urban centre dominates a region's economic, social, and political life, leading to backwardness and a deterioration of the rank-size order. The author argues that Izmir fits the general model of a ***pre-industrial city*** before the 19th century, with characteristics such as political control institutions, social stratification, and a land use pattern reflecting the order of tradesmen and craftsmen before industrialisation. In its transformation to the industrial era, the author suggests that a linear, progressive or developmental line didn't emerge; on the contrary, a complex structure emerged in which the old and the new continued to exist together. The period of the 19th century was characterised by intense foreign trade of agricultural surplus products facilitated by new transportation and communication technologies. The organisations maintaining this surplus product flow used a combination of old and new technologies to increase efficiency. The control of agricultural surplus products shifted from the state to new economic institutions, while non-agricultural products and activities remained under the power of the old administration. This contradiction, the bilateral

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[305]   Kıray, 'Sonuç'.

control relationship, has revealed a specific dual settlement structure in the city, making the reorganisation unorganised.[306]

Together with these organisational problems and piecemeal development projects, 19th century Smyrna became Republican İzmir after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, following a turbulent period of War of Independence (19 May 1919 – 24 July 1923). When the Turkish troops entered Smyrna on 9 September 1922, the city became chaotic for foreigners trying to flee to the ships. The waterfront, the mari-terrestrial landscape they always preserved for a refuge, once again became one. Especially between 13-22 September, when the European quarters of Smyrna were burnt down, a lot of the people were evacuated from the waterfront. With the 1922 Great Fire, an era ended, destroying about 25.000 to 50.000 buildings in Armenian, Greek and European neighbourhoods, including famous clubhouses and trade houses belonging to Britons.[307]

Cana Bilsel sheds light on the aftermath of the War of Independence and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in "*Bir Şehir Küllerinden Yeniden Doğuyor: Cumhuriyet Smyrna'sının Kuruluşu*" by focusing on the acts of rebuilding the city and its economy. These acts include requesting new city plans from Danger and Prost and later from Le Corbusier. This time, the models brought by Western civilisation were adopted in the rebuilding of the city to create a modern society. Only now was the initiative taken by the government itself, and contacts were made directly with the urban planners, instead of private individuals, to actualise modernisation without foreign capital. The piecemeal modernisation acts of the 19th century then found themselves as patches in the Danger Prost plan. For example, the nature of the Punta region remained the same as an industrial area. Later, it was developed further for the new port construction with a diversion of port and railway designs.[308] However, this diversion never happened, and today, the problem of integration between the Alsancak area, the port and the immediate hinterland of the port, where the industrial area was developed with workers' houses during the 19th

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[306] Kıray.

[307] Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, 'Yangın, Bir Yaşam Modelinin Sonu', in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi? Bir Osmanlı Limanından Hatıralar*, ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 229–38.

[308] Further readings by the same author include Cana Bilsel, 'Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization', *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* 16, no. 1–2 (1996): 13–30.. Cana Bilsel, 'İzmir'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kent Planlaması (1923- 1965): 20. Yüzyıl Kentsel Mirası Ve Kamusal Mekânlar', *Ege Mimarlık*, no. 71 (April 2009): 12–17. Cana Bilsel, '19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İzmir'de Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler ve Kent Mekânının Başkalaşımı', *Ege Mimarlık*, no. 36 (April 2000): 34–37.

century, continues to exist due to the line drawn to separate them on purpose by the British colony. The chain of transformation, both at organisation and spatial aspects, was a harbinger of dependency, as Keyder suggested. To achieve the level of attachment desired by foreign merchants, the built environment is torn into pieces irrevocably, and we are still trying to cope with the results of this.

3.1.2.1. Critical evaluation of "Cosmopolitan" Smyrna and British Among "Levantines"

"What is at stake in claiming cosmopolitanisms? This is the question today, here, now. Cosmopolitheia is a way of world governance. Our responsibility is to think this one through."[309]

Spivak's critical examination of the term "cosmopolitan" to define cities is crucial in the post-colonial analysis of port cities. Numerous scholars, including Evalgelia Achladi, Marie Carmen-Smyrnelis[310] and Sibel Zandi Sayek, have characterised Smyrna's populace as cosmopolitan and also with Levantine Smyrniots being a blend of various cultural backgrounds as the result of marriages. Nevertheless, research on British family archives suggests that the British investors held a contrasting viewpoint. They did not subscribe to the notion of amalgamation but instead embraced a particular interpretation of "Britishness" that subsumed other cultures.

Johanna Lininus explains how the use of the word "cosmopolitan" in post-colonial studies, as Spivak does, is viewed as problematic;

*"Postcolonial scholars… have criticised new cosmopolitanism's **Eurocentric** and universalising stance. Pointing to the impossibility of global conviviality in a world where non-Western epistemologies and cosmologies continue to be marginalised, they have challenged the exclusions and silences within the new cosmopolitan project. Decolonial scholars have also proposed cosmopolitanism as a decolonial political project challenging Western hegemony."*[311]

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[309] Gayatri Spivak, 'Foreword: Cosmopolitanisms and the Cosmopolitical', *Cultural Dynamics* 24, no. 2–3 (July 2012): 107–14, https://doi.org/10.1177/0921374013482350.

[310] Evangelia Achladi, 'Savaştan Yunan İdaresine: Kozmopolit Smyrna'nın Sonu', in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi? Bir Osmanlı Limanından Hatıralar*, ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 211–29; Smyrnelis, 'Yangın, Bir Yaşam Modelinin Sonu'.

[311] Johanna Leinius, 'Decolonizing Cosmopolitanism in Practice: From Universalizing Monologue to Intercultural Dialogue?', *Collegium Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, no. 15 (2014): 39–65.

Maureen Jackson reflects on using the term "cosmopolitan" to refer to Smyrna specifically. She analyses specific quotes from travellers and shows how the entertainment life of Turkish and Jewish traditional shadow plays was associated with poverty, dirt, smoke, and lower social status. On the other hand, entertainment labelled as cosmopolitan was considered European, Christian, and better off. Port cities in the Mediterranean, such as Smyrna, Beirut, and Alexandria, Thessaloniki, as well as specific neighbourhoods of Constantinople, have been referred to as "cosmopolitan" and even "Little Paris" by residents and travellers alike. This reflects a European claim to cosmopolitanism and its associated attributes.[312] Thus, using the term "cosmopolitan" to reflect Smyrna runs the risk of being Eurocentric at its core.

Emre Erol coined the term "fragile cosmopolitan" to challenge the prevailing definition of cosmopolitanism as applied to port cities and imperial capitals that were the hubs of global capitalism before World War II. While these places are often considered diverse and multicultural, the reality is that their true nature has been romanticised and idealised, with little regard for the complex and delicate dynamics at play. The concept of fragile cosmopolitanism acknowledges the tensions and rivalries in these spaces but also recognises the underlying unity that ultimately prevails, albeit by a narrow margin. Rather than viewing coexistence as inevitable or teleological, Erol emphasises the subtle stabilities that make it possible. This perspective offers a glimpse into the possibilities that were lost with the rise of nationalism and is particularly relevant to port cities and towns of the Ottoman Empire, such as Constantinople, Izmir, Foça, Mersin, Thessaloniki, Alexandria, Haifa, Jaffa, and others.[313]

The second term, Levantine, also seems to lack a total definition. Rauf Beyru states that apart from the Greek, Armenian and Jewish minorities settled in Izmir, it would be appropriate to point out a group, although smaller in number, whose entry into the city dates back to the early 15th century and is sometimes generalised under the name "Frank" and sometimes "Levantine". Indeed, during the Ottoman Empire, all foreigners of European origin were defined under this name. Although there is no consensus on its exact definition, we accept that everyone from a European family who settled in this country was called Levantines. On the other hand, according to some definitions, Frank

312   Maureen Jackson, 'Cosmopolitan' Smyrna: Illuminating or Obscuring Cultural Histories?', *Geographical Review* 102, no. 3 (1 July 2012): 337–49, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1931-0846.2012.00155.x.
313   Emre Erol, *Foçateyn Foçanın Büyük Dönüşümü* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2023), 125–30.

was a name given to all foreign elements. Expressions such as Frenk Mahallesi, Frenk Street, Frankish, Alafranga and even syphilis constituted the words that such a generalisation brought to the Turkish language.
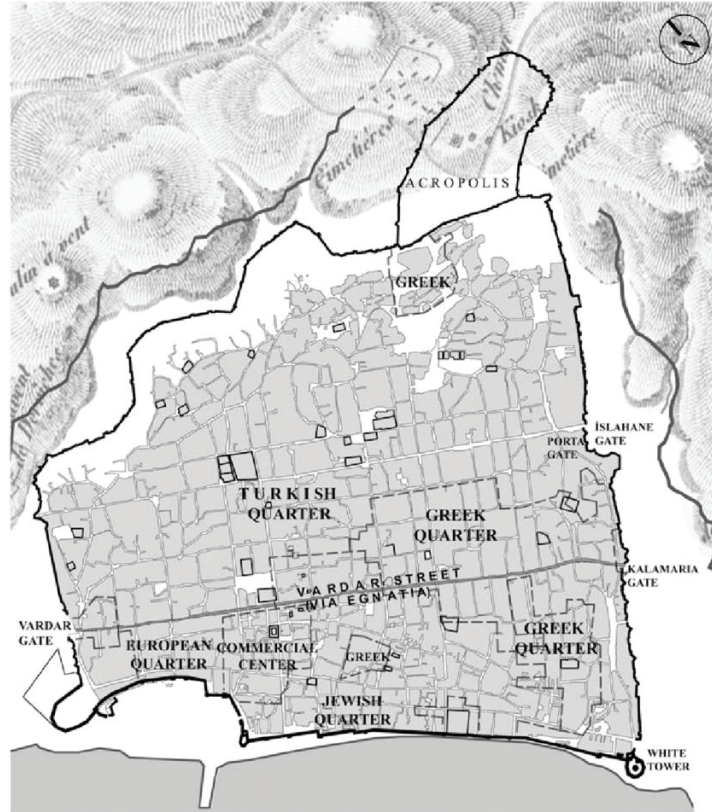
Figure 33. Thessaloniki in the 19th century before the demolishment of city walls on the waterfront[314]

Levantines were an intermediate element between indigenous minority groups and Western people. Still, at the same time, they intensely disliked being confused with Greeks and Armenians, whom they call indigenous because they were proud of their European origins. According to Beyru, Tancoigne's definition of "Levantine" encompassed individuals of any national origin born, wed, and established residence in the Ottoman Empire while adopting Greek customs and language.[315]

In Chapter II, James Whittall's words sparked a questioning of the prevalent notion of pride in one's origins, as evidenced in the archive documents I have studied. Through careful analysis of Edward Purser's diaries, James Whittall's notes, and the writings of Doctor Levi Prinski Scott of Scottish Mission Hospital to Jews, I propose the

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[314] Ceylan İrem Gencer, 'Dualities in the Transformation of the Urban Realm: Smyrna and Salonica 1840-1900', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 31, no. 2 (2016): 139–63.

[315] Rauf Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir'de Yaşam*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları, 2000), 13.

use of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural descriptors to portray Smyrna instead of the Eurocentric term "cosmopolitan." This approach will better capture the natural diversity of Smyrna's populace, including excluded groups like seamen, prostitutes, and industry workers from cosmopolitan definitions of Smyrna and Levantines, which I plan to include in the upcoming 4th chapter.

> *"Let my descendants ever hold to their fatherland, England, and in identifying themselves with the country of their allegiance,...[omitted as referred before] It is surprising how foreigners, after the third generation merge into Englishmen under British rule, to exhibit no signs of foreign descent…"[316]*

A family descendant of Edward Purser, Chris Horner conveys a set of crucial notes on some of these foreign families transforming to a specific type of "Britishness" as well as Purser's situation against the imagined intermingling of "Levantine" families in Smyrna. Horner explained that in 1878, Edward Purser, railway manager to Smyrna-Aydın Railway from Britain, wed Sophia Miha, a woman from the Greek island of Andros living in Smyrna, in a civil ceremony at the English Consul's office in Smyrna/Izmir. The couple welcomed three daughters: Dora (born July 28, 1870), Sarah (born February 14, 1874), and Anna (born January 27, 1876). As infants, all three girls were baptised in the Orthodox faith at Greek churches, their mother's religion. However, soon after, Purser promptly ensured his daughters were raised as Englishwomen in the Anglican faith.

As British citizens, all three girls married in the Anglican faith. Dora and Anna wed into well-known local families, the **de Jonghs and Girauds, who were fully Anglicized despite their Dutch and French names**, as Purser's diaries suggested. We know that the La Fontaine family was also included in this change of citizenship. Sarah married an English engineer who worked for the Ottoman Railway. All three daughters received an English education and an English boarding school in England during their late teenage years. Growing up, the family's daughters spoke Greek with their mother and English with their father. They were all proficient in both languages, but their English writing was notably more accurate. Regarding discussions surrounding family finances or the girls' education, the daughters often acted as interpreters for their parents. Additionally, they occasionally translated letters between their parents when Purser worked away from home. These details can be gathered from Purser's over 40 years of diaries in the possession of Chris Horner. Horner noted that, even though he was rather strict in their daughters' Anglican upbringing, Purser owned a home in Aziziye/Çamlik,

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[316] Whittall, 'Whittall Family Archive-Correspondance'.

where he provided support to Sophia in establishing a small Orthodox church and securing its official recognition by the Bishop of Aidin. He even went to help pay the priest's salary, indicating his tolerant and supportive attitude towards his wife's religious beliefs. Moreover, Horner noted that while Purser worked with individuals of all kinds of ethnic backgrounds during his 40-plus years in the Ottoman Empire, it's accurate to say that he overwhelmingly socialised with people from the English community, whether these were individuals who had recently come out from England to work on the railroad (managers, engineers, etc.), or who belonged to English or primarily English Levantine families. We know from the diaries that these families strongly tended to send their children, especially male children, to school in England. Horner thinks that Purser was somewhat exceptional in paying the level of attention he did to girls' education. He educated his three daughters to not only a pretty high level for the times but also the daughter of Sophia's sister and the daughter of his nephew who worked for a time as an engineer on the Smyrna-Aydın Railway and had a daughter with a Greek woman in Smyrna/Izmir whom he did not marry. Purser died in 1906, and Sophia died in 1924.[317] It is interesting to see Sophia being buried in Smyrna, indicating that she did not leave the city as a Greek woman in 1922.

> *"**Jews, Greeks, Turks and Armenians**, having nothing in common in their ordinary life, but all brethren in affliction. Who could look at such a company without thinking of the universal remedy to be found for sin and suffering with Christ, our Great Physician? We availed ourselves of such opportunities for bringing this truth home to the sufferers."*[318]

As the quote above illustrates, even though some descriptions of "Levantine" included the Greeks in the definition, as Rauf Beyru suggested, as a doctor arriving from Britain, Levi Prinski Scott did not think they were equal to the city's European inhabitants. Clearly, the locals were suffering others, and the well-doing Western men had come to save them. From his point of view, for example, Purser's wife Sophia would be excluded from the bubble defining the non-sufferers.

Since both terms seem to point to a ***Eurocentric differentiation*** between superior West and inferior East, referring to Smyrna, I have deliberately decided to define the city as multi-ethnic and multi-religious to highlight diversity.

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[317] All the information about Edward Purser here, and anywhere in this thesis is a compilation of knowledge Chris Horner gathered for me over the years. Purser has over 40 years of diaries.

[318] Levi Prinski Scott, *The Story of Smyrna Medical Mission in Connection with the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: R&R Clark, 1887), 19.

3.2.   Smyrna: Port City of All Ages?

During the colonial era, ports played a crucial role in the growth of economies as capitalist gentlemen invested in infrastructure. Nurçin İleri emphasises that referring to these cities simply as "port cities" due to geographic properties is too general. Instead, they should be viewed as political and social spaces that developed in response to the economy's needs. These needs varied over time and were not fixed, so it is vital to question why the terminology "port city" describes all periods.

Rosario Pavia and Matteo di Venosa's "*Waterfront: Dal conflitto all'integrazione*" provides a thought-provoking perspective on this topic. The authors shed light on the distinct division between the port and the city during the 18th and 19th centuries, caused by increased maritime traffic and the establishment of industries. The authors remark on the constant change in the port-land interface, which they refer to as a place of conflict.[319] They argue that it may be more appropriate to refer to "ports of a city" rather than "port cities" or "city ports".[320] This lack of a clear definition and associated typologies presents a challenge when identifying the traits that make a waterfront city a "port city" in a defined sense. While existing literature has generally accepted the term for cities such as Smyrna, Thessaloniki, Triste, Porto, Alexandria, etc., it remains unclear whether these cities can be studied under the same umbrella or if a new definition is needed. While the authors do not provide a definitive answer, they offer a valuable overview of the changes in the port-city interface over the centuries.

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[319]   di Venosa and Pavia, *Waterfront: Dal Conflitto All'integrazione*, 7.
[320]   di Venosa and Pavia, *Waterfront: Dal Conflitto All'integrazione*.
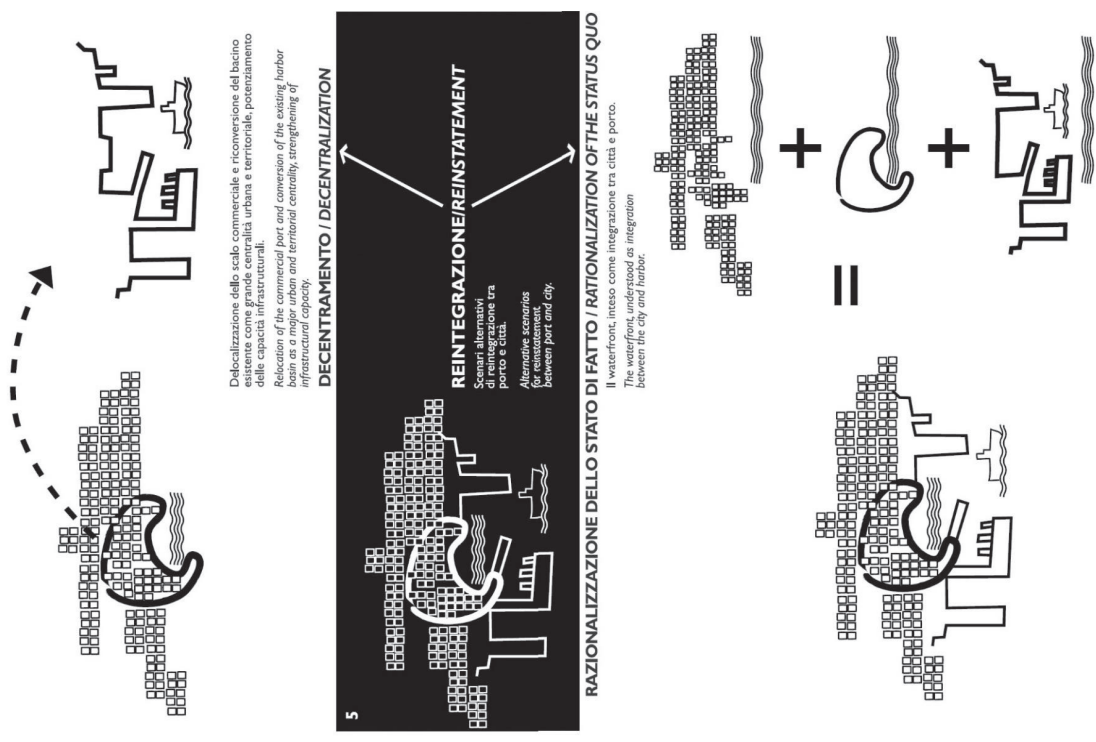
Dalle origini fino al secolo XIX
NUCLEO CITTA' PORTO
integrazione funzionale e formale tra il porto e la città.
CORE CITY-PORT
From origins to the Nineteenth Century
formal and functional integration between the port and the city.

1 INTEGRAZIONE/INTEGRATION

Primi decenni del 1900
ADEGUAMENTO DEL PORTO E SUA PRIMA ESPANSIONE
il porto si adegua all'evoluzione dei traffici marittimi e allo sviluppo delle tecnologie di trasporto; si potenzia e si amplia tramite grandi opere marittime.
First decades of 1900
ADJUSTMENT OF THE PORT AND ITS FIRST EXPANSION
the port is adapting to the evolution of maritime trade and the development of transport technologies; it enhances and expands through large marine works.

2 SEPARAZIONE/SEPARATION

Anni '50 / '80
ESPANSIONE DELLA CITTÀ
la città si amplia urbanizzando intensivamente le fasce costiere e compromettendo le ulteriori fasi di crescita del bacino portuale.
50s and 60s
EXPANSION OF THE CITY
the city is expanding urbanizing coastal areas intensively and impairing the additional phases of growth of the port basin.

3 SEPARAZIONE/SEPARATION

Fase attuale
ESPANSIONE DEL PORTO
lo sviluppo del traffico marittimo, la crescita del trasporto unitizzato, la nuova dimensione delle navi e delle opere infrastrutturali hanno prodotto l'espansione crescente delle aree portuali. Si realizza tra città e porto una profonda sconnessione.
Current phase
EXPANSION OF THE PORT
the development of shipping, transport growth unitized, the new size of ships and infrastructure projects have produced the growing expansion of the port areas. Is realized between the city and harbor a deep disconnect.

4 SEPARAZIONE/SEPARATION

Delocalizzazione dello scalo commerciale e riconversione del bacino esistente come grande centralità urbana e territoriale, potenziamento delle capacità infrastrutturali.
Relocation of the commercial port and conversion of the existing harbor basin as a major urban and territorial centrality, strengthening of infrastructural capacity.

DECENTRAMENTO / DECENTRALIZATION
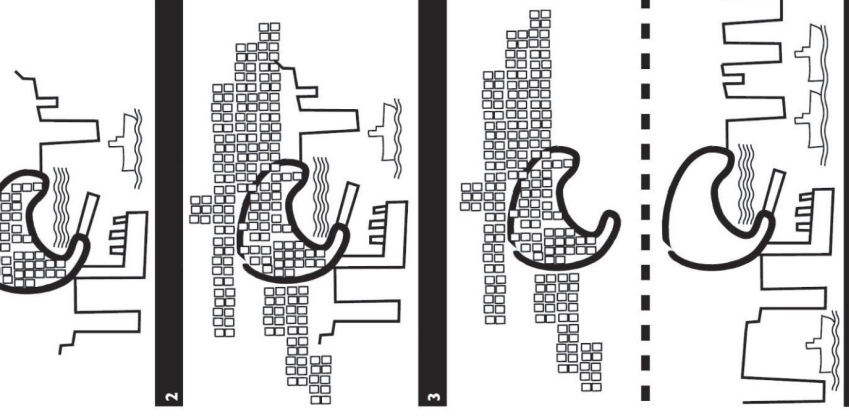
REINTEGRAZIONE/REINSTATEMENT
Scenari alternativi di reintegrazione tra porto e città.
Alternative scenarios for reinstatement, between port and city.

RAZIONALIZZAZIONE DELLO STATO DI FATTO / RATIONALIZATION OF THE STATUS QUO
Il waterfront, inteso come integrazione tra città e porto.
The waterfront, understood as integration between the city and harbor.

5

Figure 34. Pavia and Venosa's transformation of port city[321]

321 di Venosa and Pavia, 10.

Biray Kolluoğlu and Meltem Toksöz suggest that the term "***cities of commerce***" (initially proposed by Çağlar Keyder) is a more fitting description for cities in the Eastern Mediterranean with ports that were once under Ottoman rule until the end of World War I. The book features Algiers, Alexandria, Athens, Beirut, Cairo, Constantinople, Izmir, Piraeus, Salonica (Thessaloniki), Tripoli, and Tunisia (Tunis) as examples of these cities. According to the editors, "cities of commerce" better captures the intersection of space, class, community, and political authority and the relative autonomy these cities had from imperial suzerainty while maintaining a "cosmopolitan attachment" to the state.[322] However, I argue that by eliminating the reference to a maritime world, Aleppo and Smyrna could fall under the same category even though the former is an inland city. The maritime-terrestrial interface is an essential aspect of colonised cities at the waterfront. Speaking of British colonisation, in particular, it is known that the British Empire's trading posts were always on the waterfront, whether a fort of the East India Company or the merchant enclaves of the Levant Company.

The colonial powers first penetrated this intersection area, and the merchants shaped large parts of these littoral spaces. For these reasons, I propose that the second half of the 19th century Smyrna should be termed not as a port city but as a "***mari-terrestrial mercantile city***". I do not propose this denomination to describe Smyrna of other periods. The term comes from Liverpool Unesco nomination, in which the explanation to define the city as a **maritime mercantile city** because the area was "…*the mercantile area, with its shipping offices, produce exchanges, marine insurance offices, banks, inland warehouses and merchants' houses, together with the William Brown Street Cultural Quarter, including St. George's Plateau, with its monumental cultural and civic buildings."* Even though scale-wise Liverpool is an extensive example, the description above suits perfectly to "Frank Quarter" and the development projects applied beyond Turkish and Jewish Quarters. The area beyond the Turkish and Jewish Quarters developed towards the Punta region due to the activities of the merchants and their maritime associations, banks, insurance houses, public buildings, seamen houses, all gathered in this area, and newly introduced urban infrastructure. Moreover, the goods of the hinterland are collected here to foster this development. Calling Smyrna only a port city, thus, would do injustice to its hinterland as it is the source of its transformation. As Bishop Sandford's words quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Smyrna's importance

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[322]   Toksoz, Meltem, and Biray Kolluoglu. *Cities of the Mediterranean*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014.

during the second half of the 19th century was strictly dependent on its rich hinterland since there was only a newly developing industry within the city.[323] In this way, the importance of the hinterland is also not disregarded.

Table 2. Table showing the names attributed to Smyrna and the suggested term by the author

Cana Bilsel Sibel Zandi Sayek Çınar Atay Rauf Beyru	Rosario Pavia Matteo di Venosa's	Biray Kolluoğlu Meltem Toksöz	Proposal
Port city	**Ports of cities**	**Cities of Commerce**	1839-1923 **Mari-terrestrial Mercantile City**

Once this term is set, the second question arises. Can we define the mari-terrestrial interface where the activities of the merchants shaped the urban space? The explanation for this question is twofold.

Firstly, there is a major gap in the extant literature on cities at the waterfront and, quoting Appadurai, on the "***colonial patches***" at the interface of sea and land shaped by colonial powers. The numerous sources always mention the building of the railways, the port, and other infrastructural modernisation projects but fail to focus on the interface where the hinterland met the sea and where these colonial networks competed. To go beyond this piece-by-piece analysis of the urban presences, which are, in reality, part of a whole, this thesis decided to go beyond the port-bound or railway-bound history. It sought to find sources to understand the "***interface***" between the land and sea and the problems of "***integration***" between these two worlds. The first provocative source in this regard was Carola Hein's "*The Port Cityscape: Spatial and Institutional Approaches to Port City Relationships*", in which she introduces the concept of "***port cityscape***" as a framework for understanding the relations between ports, their immediate cityscapes and hinterlands. She points out the problems of not having regulatory spatial practices in these relations. With their multiple stakeholders having vast interests regarding the same space where these relations are condensed due to the port's existence, port cityscapes remain

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[323] Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 76.

chaotic.[324] The same concept could be applied to Smyrna's urban history concerning its failure to establish effective connections between its two ports and their railways to the hinterlands. The temporalities of these port cityscapes differ from those of their respective cities and citizens, creating a challenge to cohabitation in the same space. Thus, ***port cities are "zones of conflicts"*** instead of being ***"Paris of the East"*** or "***cosmopolitan heavens***". Multiple actors were Smyrna's curse as opposed to Hein's Hamburg example, where different actors of the urban space acted holistically to form a coherent interface since each group tried to stretch the city to their benefit, as we will see in the following chapters.[325]

Secondly, this creation of an interface entailed the creation of entirely new spaces to facilitate expansion. "*An essential part "of planning both the railways and the ports, thus, was to find the perfectly expandable spot to connect land to sea for a port to be created **ex nihilo** to let modernity articulate space by the colonisers*."[326] In support of this quote of Denis Lee in "*Writing in Colonial Space*", Christine Laux, in her work, proves how important it is to obtain an ***ex-nihilo space*** to expand[327], and 19th-century port cities were of utmost importance in the process of modernisation, industrialisation and integration into the capitalist world economy as either being centres, semi-peripheral or peripheral lands.

So, there are two important guidelines to define mari-terrestrial interfaces during the 19th century: the accumulation of conflicts reflected in urban space by different capitalist actors and the ex-nihilo spaces selected to articulate modernity by the colonisers.

[324] Hein, 'The Port Cityscape Spatial and Institutional Approaches to Port City Relationships'.

[325] Ibid.

[326] Dennis Lee, 'Writing in Colonial Space', *The Threepenny Review*, no. 19 (1984): 3–5, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4383318.

[327] Claire Laux and Jean-François Klein, 'Ports in a Colonial Situation: Questioning The Relevance of a Concept:The Case of the French Empire from the 16th to the 20th Century', *Histoire et Sciences de La Mer*, no. online source (16 November 2018): 1–17.

3.2.1. Port City Discussions and Models

Smyrna is an odd example when the typologies developed to examine the transformation of port cities are applied to its urban sphere during the 19ᵗʰ century for three reasons. Firstly, the non-linear development along the waterfront did not align with the proposed models in the literature. Secondly, Smyrna had two separate shipment areas, Pasaport and Punta, that were not functioning as a cohesive unit, which was not considered in the models. Thirdly, these models did not adequately consider the significance and impact of railways.

Even though there is no consensus on what constitutes a "port city", many models discuss the similarities and differences in various contexts. The first evolution model for port cities was suggested by Bird in 1963 with his famous "Anyport Model" based on British ports. According to this theory, the evolution of ports can be explained through six distinct phases. The second important model was developed by Hoyle in 1989, a historical-morphological methodology for the port-city interface. As it became clear that the changing spatial configuration of ports also influenced the urban configuration, Hoyle stated that port and city are two entities with a changing mutual spatial zone in between, pointed out as the ***port city interface***. Shubert later expanded on Hoyle's original model, adding a sixth phase in which the port and city collaborate rather than conflict.[328] This collaboration, which differs from the first phase in that it involves two distinct entities, is marked by various changes, including the emergence of up-market residential areas in former port neighbourhoods, the establishment of port museums, and the development of port-related tourism programs.[329]

In 2006, Ducruet and Lee made a valuable contribution to the field with their matrix of port-city relations. According to this table, a correlation exists between the centrality and intermediacy of ports on the x-y axis. As the centrality increases from low to high, so does the intermediacy of the port. In their analysis, İzmir is classified as a Maritime city along with Lisbon, Marseilles, and Amsterdam due to its high centrality

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[328] Hein and van Mil, 'Towards a Comparative Spatial Analysis for Port City Regions Based on Historical Geo-Spatial Mapping'.

[329] Van den Berghe, Karel. (2015). Beyond geographic path dependencies: Towards a Post-Structuralist Approach of the Port-City Interface.

but medium intermediacy.[330] In addition, Rodrigue and Notteboom (2011) presented types of port systems in which they explain two different types of connections in ports with an on-dock and a near-dock rail facility. The difference between them is not the distance of the railway facility but the ***terminal clearance***.[331] Based on this model, a direct link to the port pier always meant less delay and more profit, a mindset on which the British Empire expanded itself while designing docks with direct railways, as in the case of the Punta rail-port intersection.

As can be seen upon analysing these models, Smyrna tends to adhere to these models only partially. Notably, when compared to Hoyle's table, Smyrna undergoes a shift in its port location upon its transformation into İzmir. As a result, the separation between the city and the port occurred in two separate areas during the mid-20th century until the port was ultimately relocated to the Punta site completely.

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[330] César Ducruet and Lee Sung-Woo, 'Frontline Soldiers of Globalisation: Port–City Evolution and Regional Competition', *GeoJournal*, no. 67 (2006): 107–22, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-006-9037-9.

[331] Jean-Paul Rodrigue and Theo Notteboom, 'Port Regionalization: Improving Port Competitiveness by Reaching beyond the Port Perimeter', *Port Technology International*, no. 52 (2011): 11–17.

Figure 35. Bird's Anyport Model,[332] Ducruet and Lee's proposal,[333] Hoyle's classification with Shubert's 6th phase,[334] Rodrigue, J-P and T. Notteboom (2011) [335]

[332] Karel Van den Berghe, 'Waarom Blijven We Havensteden Geografisch Analyseren? De Ideaaltypische Concepten Zorgen Voor Een Institutionele Lock-In', *Ruimte & Maatschappij*, no. 7 (2016): 6–27.

[333] Ducruet and Sung-Woo, 'Frontline Soldiers of Globalisation: Port–City Evolution and Regional Competition'.

[334] Hein and van Mil, 'Towards a Comparative Spatial Analysis for Port City Regions Based on Historical Geo-Spatial Mapping'.

[335] Rodrigue and Notteboom, 'Port Regionalization: Improving Port Competitiveness by Reaching beyond the Port Perimeter'.

3.2.2. Middle Eastern Port City Model

The categorisations proposed by Bird, Hoyle, and Shubert lack a thorough examination of how ports relate to the pre-existing cores of historical cities, and they mainly draw upon European examples. Soffer and Stern contributed a Mediterranean perspective to this discourse by focusing on Smyrna, Alexandria, Haifa, and Beirut. They constructed a *Middle Eastern Port City Model*, a sub-group of Middle Eastern and port cities, arguing that they share commonalities that set them apart from their European counterparts.[336] However, while Smyrna was deemed compatible with Beirut, Haifa, and Alexandria in this analysis, its conjunction with two railways and its relationship to the old city centre distinguish it as a misfit for this model in two significant ways.

First of all, according to the model, the port's growth is typically tied to its historical roots and will occur gradually. The "rings" surrounding the central area will differ from those of the inland city models, as the port city is built around a central hub that blends old and new elements. On one side of the hub, you will find remnants of the past on the edge of the Central Business District with businesses, workshops, industries, and low-income neighbourhoods. On the other side of the hub, what the authors refer to as modern elements are located. These are the more attractive outskirts of the CBD, middle and upper-class residential neighbourhoods, and greater ethnic segregation due to foreigners coming to the port city - particularly between 1800 and 1945 when many Europeans migrated to the Middle East. Additionally, recreational areas and beaches will develop along the shore but relatively far from the port facilities. Although this pattern may resemble that of southern European port cities, the differences in culture, religion, development time, and history between the two regions have made significant distinctions between their models.

Secondly, the model also suggests that railways would approach the city centre and stop at the perimeter of the historic district. This model would have applied to 19th-century Smyrna if only the Smyrna Cassaba Railway existed, as its terminus was just outside the old city centre. However, the location of the terminus of Smyrna-Aydın Railway, far away from the centre and its junction with the Cassaba Railway differentiate Smyrna from other analysed cities. No other city the model tested has railway crossings

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[336]   Soffer and Stern, 'The Port City: A Sub-Group of the Middle-Eastern City Model'.

that are so close and boundary-creating. Furthermore, the division of shipping activities between Pasaport and Punta, connected by a night tram, makes Smyrna an incompatible example for this model.
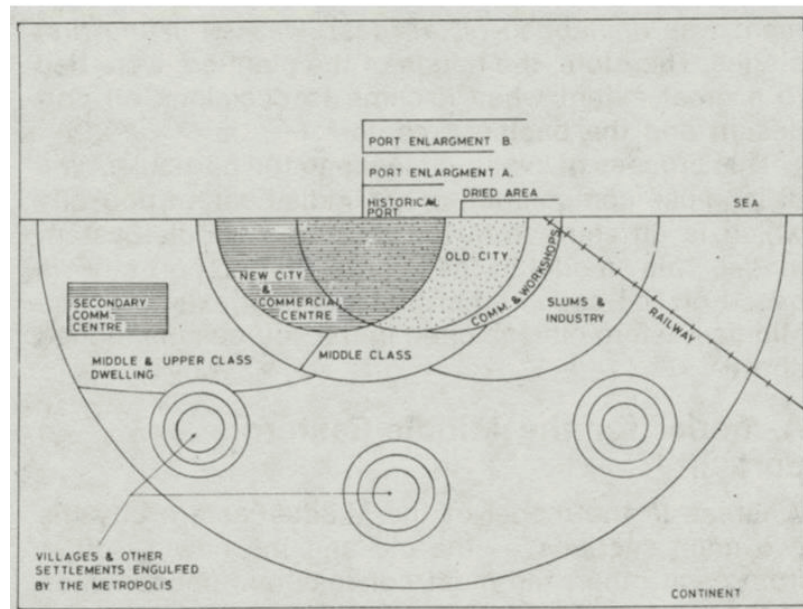
Figure 36. Proposed model of Soffer and Stern for Eastern Mediterranean Port City, 1986[337]

When comparing Alexandria and Smyrna, it becomes apparent that they share similarities regarding having two railway systems. However, how these railways are integrated into the city differs. The two railway lines in Alexandria do not intersect, but one of these lines also terminates at the waterfront and works with a coal pier. This is similar to how the Smyrna-Aydın Railway line separates the city centre from the industrial area on the other side of the Punta station. However, the significant difference is that the Mahmoudiya Canal, initiated by Muhammed Ali in 1817, is the first project dividing Alexandria's western and eastern areas, not the railway. Muhammad Ali envisioned the west side of the canal, Minet Al Bassal, as an industrial zone.[338] The railway line was established on that side later in 1855. In contrast, Smyrna does not have this particular setup. In Smyrna, the division comes with the Smyrna-Aydın Railway line in 1858 and is not part of a general project like Alexandria's industrial zone. During this

337 Soffer and Stern.
338 Dina Mamdouh Nassar and Shahira Sharaf Eldin, 'A New Life for the Industrial Heritage of Minet El-Bassal at Alexandria', *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie - Journal of Heritage Conservation*, no. 33 (2013): 23–31.

period, only several small factories existed on the eastern side of this drawn railway line extending towards the Meles River border in Smyrna.
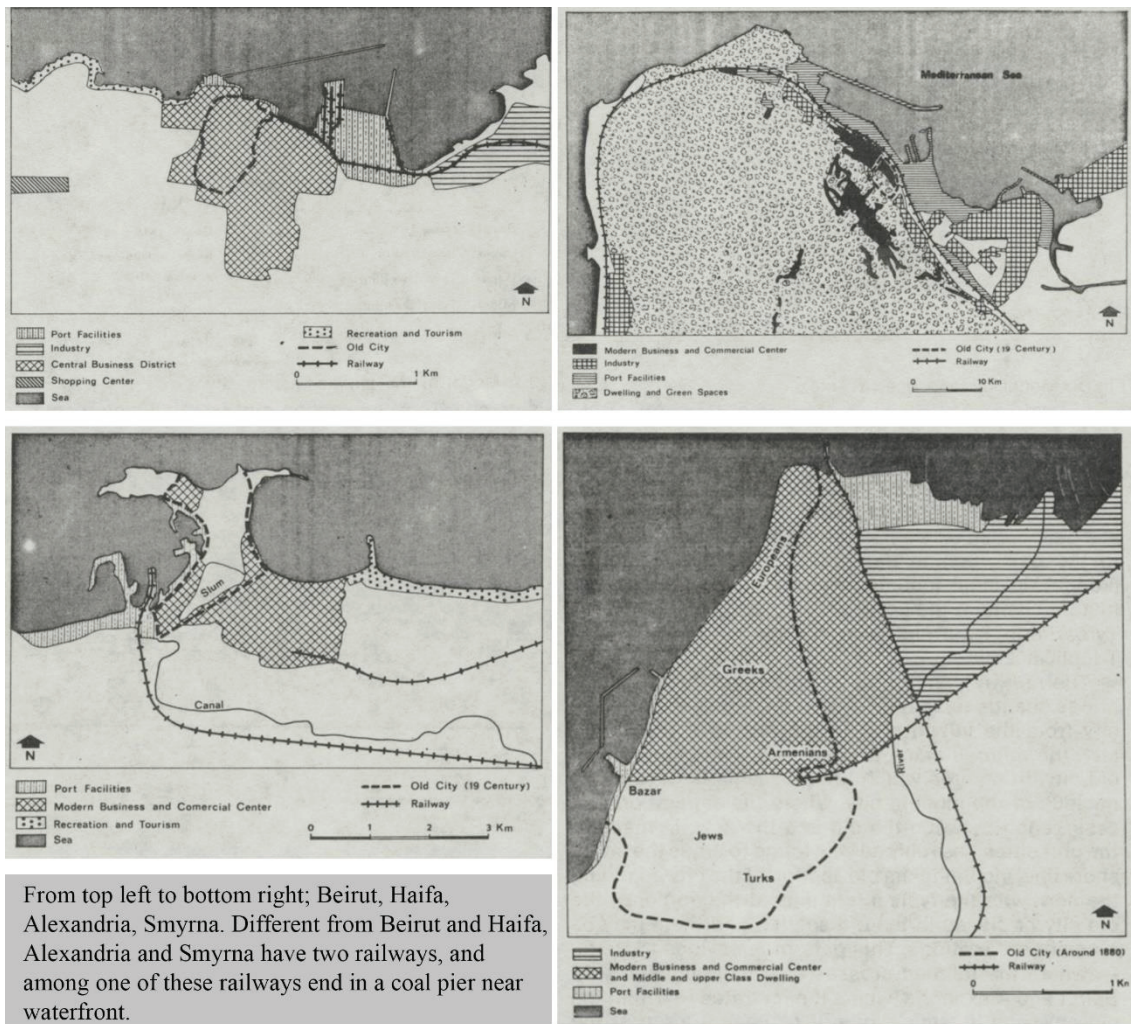
From top left to bottom right; Beirut, Haifa, Alexandria, Smyrna. Different from Beirut and Haifa, Alexandria and Smyrna have two railways, and among one of these railways end in a coal pier near waterfront.

Figure 37. Analysed cities combined, Smyrna's misfit can be observed among them.[339]

As a result, even though the authors proposing and testing the model saw some zoning similarities between these four cities, Smyrna became a misfit with its two scissor-like projected railways acting as strict dividers in urban space. This was a colonial act, as seen in the following headline.

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[339] Soffer and Stern, 'The Port City: A Sub-Group of the Middle-Eastern City Model'.

3.2.3. British Colonial Port City Models

Even though Smyrna is an odd example among the general and Middle Eastern port city models, a striking set of resemblances surface when the colonial models are applied to the city to connect Smyrna to a broader scope of the British Empire; it is possible to examine works on the cities of colonial Britain. Related examples of railways and ports are selected from India, Africa, China, and the West Indies. Some of these examples were both parts of the formal and informal rule of Britain, while some of them were directly under colonial rule.
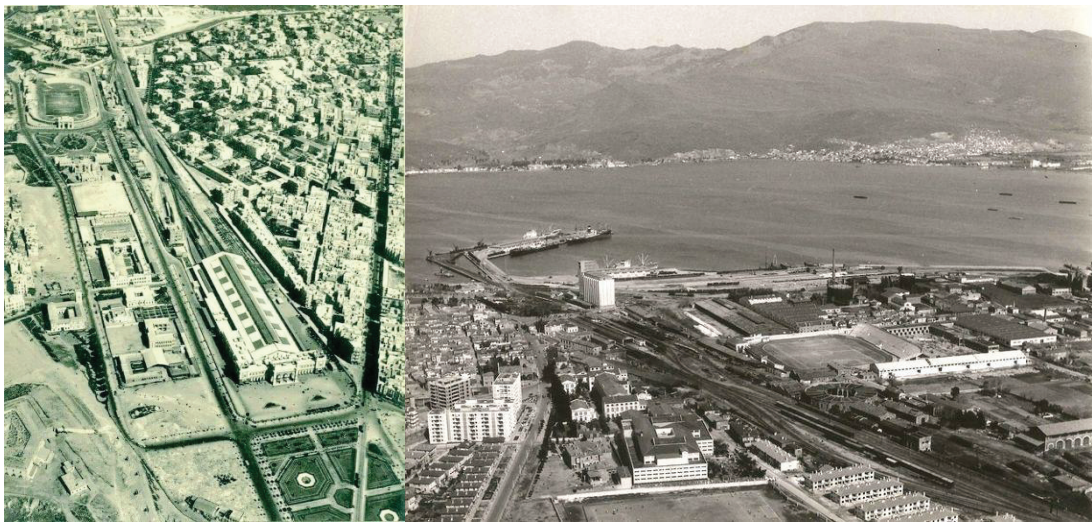
Figure 38. Alexandria and Smyrna are strikingly similar in certain aspects; settlement extends on one side, and industry and recreation are on the other, divided by a railway line.[340]

Within the scope of the thesis, similar mari-terrestrial arrangements in informal parts of the British Empire, such as China or Argentina, were analysed. However, the most important feature came with the harbour-railhead connection as a prominent feature of West African colonies and the West Indies or Egypt, as Serkan Karas highlighted in "*Not So Strategic: Colonial Cyprus's Harbours and Railway*". Karas stated that "in the late 19th century, the British Empire had a practice of constructing railways stretching to the hinterland that had termini in developed harbours" and implemented the same

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[340] Photographs are from; Zahraa Adel Awad, 'Aerial View of Downtown Alexandria, Egypt', photography, *Twitter*, 1930, https://twitter.com/zahraaawd/status/941718864303480832. and 'İzmir 1950'ler', facebook entry, *Facebook-Eski İzmir*, 1950s, https://www.facebook.com/herzamanizmirli/posts/1547515818743240/.

planning pattern for Cyprus under Chamberlanian politics in the early 20th century.[341] This sparked an interest in looking to colonial cities instead of searching for commonalities with informal empires and their colonial counterparts. Indeed, Smyrna was, to a great extent, similar to British African colonial railway-port towns and post-1857 Indian colonial ports in utilising the railways.
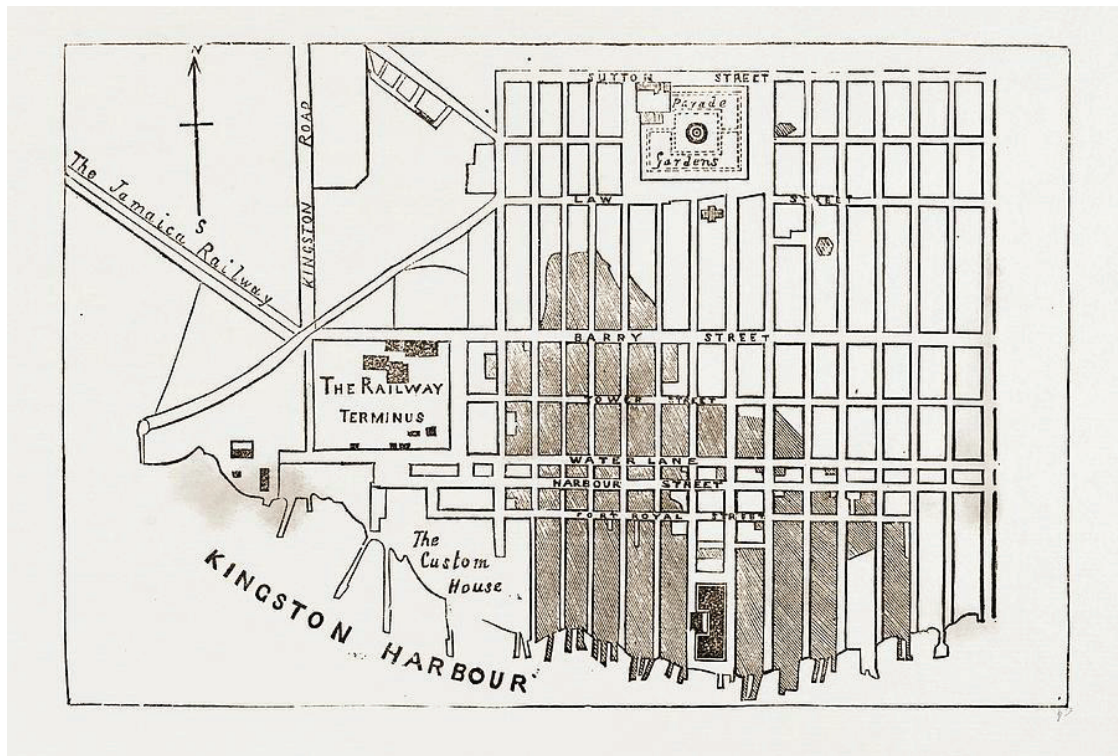
Figure 39. Plan of Kingston, Jamaica[342]

In her paper "*The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture Circa 1640-1757"*, Partha Mitter questions whether there was conscious urban planning in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, important colonial port cities of Britain. Opposing the literature claiming that these cities were planned with strictly symmetrical grid-iron planning, she uses pieces of evidence to prove that the British East India Company, unlike its French counterparts elsewhere, was against ambitious urban planning. Through analysing the ground plans of these cities, the author shows that due to colonial anxiety, only the streets were laid out in straight lines, but there was no

341   Karas, 'Not so Strategic: Colonial Cyprus's Harbours and Railway'.
342   Litz Collection, 'Plan of Kingston, Jamaica, 1883 The Shaded Part Shows the Portion of the City Which Has Been Burnt', *Fine Art America*, 1883, https://fineartamerica.com/featured/plan-of-kingston-jamaica-litz-collection.html.

symmetry. There were central planning codes of other colonial powers towards their dominions, like the Royal Ordinance of 1573 of Spanish Colonies. However, the building projects in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta resulted from growing urban requirements instead of being planned with a top-down approach. The buildings were defence-motivated small enclaves since hostile locals and other European powers surrounded them. The projects were modest, and defence naturally dominated building activities, mainly because hostile local and European powers surrounded these tiny enclaves. The growing needs of the inhabitants could not be neglected, and thus, churches and hospitals came next in order of priority. On the other hand, the governors' mansions had a position of peculiar importance in these port cities as they were meant to be a clear and visible symbol of authority.[343]

Most Europeans were settled in cantonments and civil lines in such colonial cities of India. These segregated areas were two to three miles from the existing Indian towns and cities. This separation was further emphasised with the introduction of the railways. For example, the railway lines in Delhi and Allahabad were designed to separate Indian from European areas of settlement to provide an additional layer of security in the aftermath of the *Indian Rebellion of 1857* against the rule of the British East India Company.[344]

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[343]   Mitter, 'The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture Circa 1640-1757'.

[344]   Chopra, 'South and South East Asia'.
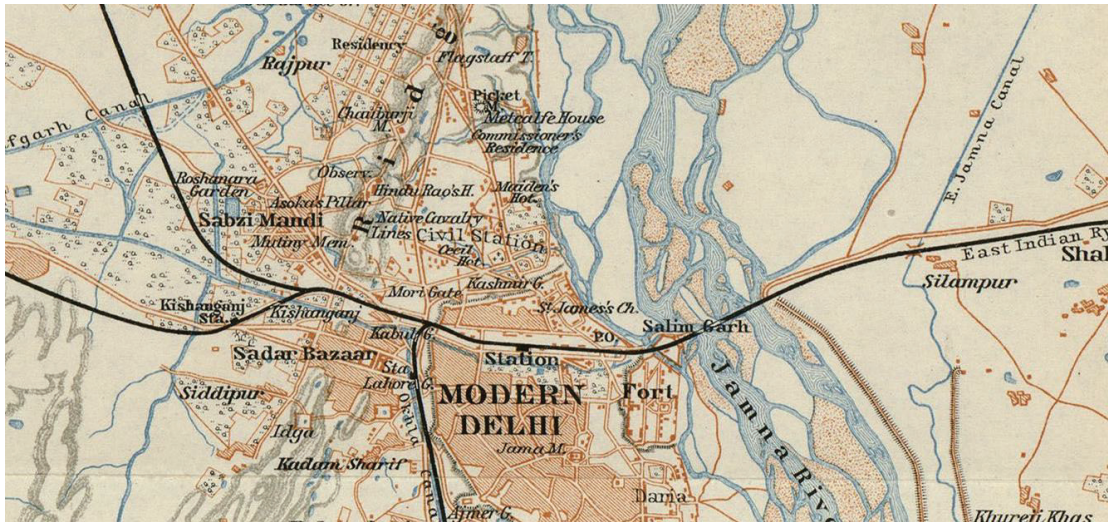
Figure 40. Delhi Railway, after demolishing part of the town walls and separating quarters[345]

It is a "***peculiar coincidence***" that the Smyrna Aydın Railway terminus was established in 1858 outside the existing centre (!) Even more peculiar is that Rowland MacDonald Stephenson designed both the Indian Railways and the Smyrna Aydın Railway. The concessions of the first section of the Smyrna Aydın railway line belonged to Sir Joseph Paxton, Messrs Wythes, W.M. Jackson, and A.W. Rixon. These people had the concession of Bengali train projects as well. Further analysis in the following chapter will also reveal its strict cut between the industrial zone where the factories existed and workers living from the Levantine quarters.

Meera Kosambi and John E. Brush modelled the Indian port cities of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay. However, the analysis lacks information regarding the impact of railway developments on the urban landscape. According to the authors, the critical components of the cities include a fort next to the commercial waterfront, an open esplanade surrounding the fort, separate European and Indian residential areas with Western or Indian commercial districts, additional residential zones for immigrant Asians and Eurasians, a peripheral manufacturing area next to the Indian sector, and an outlying military zone bordering the European sector. This pattern developed in three distinct phases. The first saw the establishment of a fortified factory and town, which served as the nucleus for urban settlement. The growth around the factory had a dual ethnic pattern

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[345] 'Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection-Maps from Baedeker's Indien: Handbuch Für Reisende, 1914', Map, *University of Texas Libraries*, 1914, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/baedeker_indien_1914/txu-pclmaps-delhi_environs_1914.jpg.

from the outset, with segregated European and Indian areas, known as the white and black towns, respectively, each with commercial and residential functions. The European town was fortified and surrounded by the factory, while the Indian town was later enclosed by either a defensive wall or a ditch. The European town or area was always located south of the original factory site and the Indian sector, but the reason for this choice is unclear. It may have been to provide a protected escape to ships at anchor and access to the safety of the high seas.[346]

It should be noted that even though the authors did not emphasise the railways in the model, the boundaries corresponded to these railway lines, as can be understood from the map of Madras below. On the northern side of the fort, George Town and the Madras port were separated from the local elements by strict railway lines.
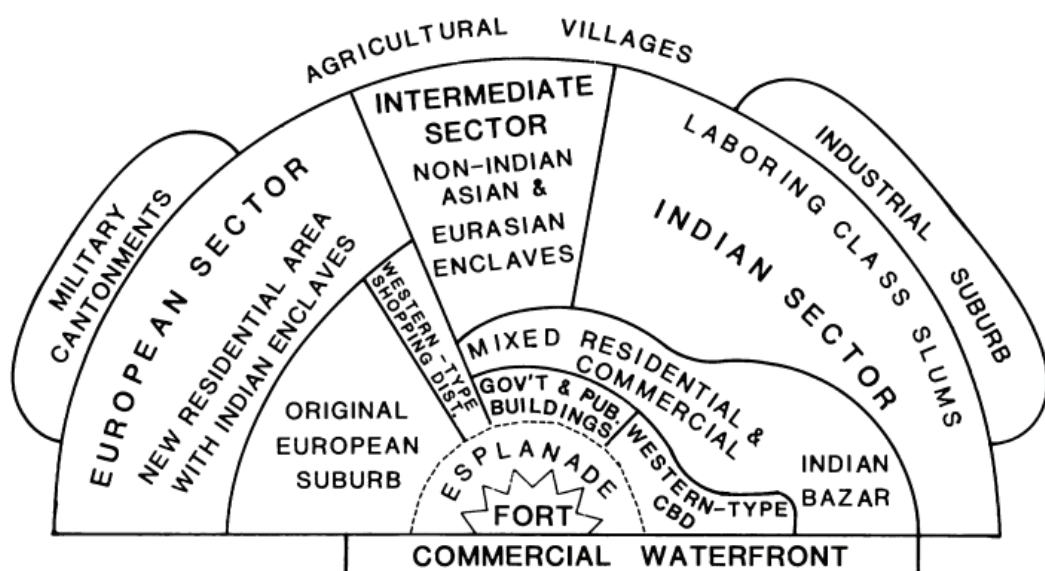
Fig. 1—Schematic model of the colonial port city.

Figure 41. Kosambi and Brush's model of Indian port city[347]

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[346]   Kosambi and Brush, 'Three Colonial Port Cities in India'.
[347]   Kosambi and Brush.
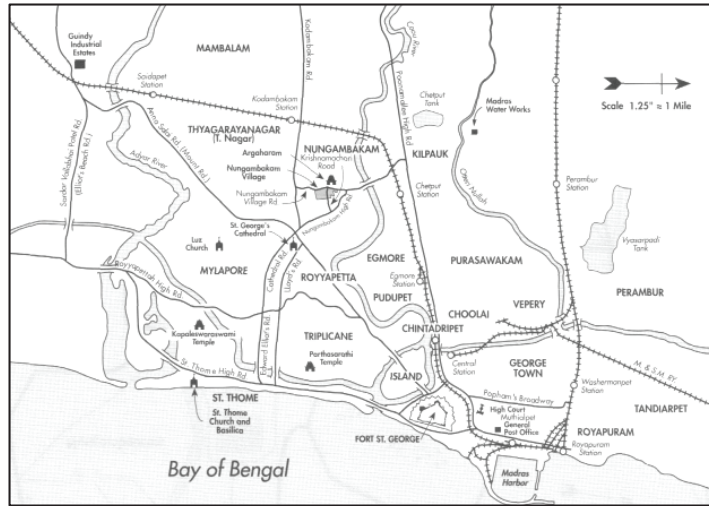
Figure 42. Bay of Bengal and Map of Madras[348]
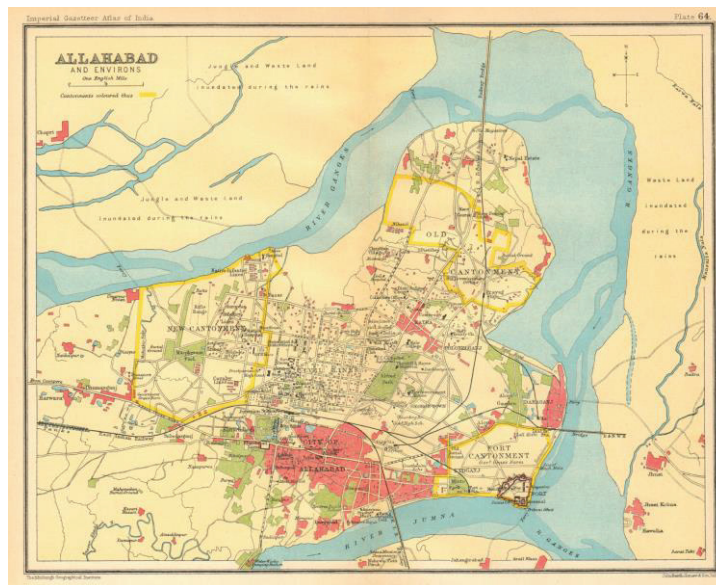
Figure 43. Map of Allahabad, Old Cantonment, the Fort Cantonment, the New Cantonment and the "civil lines (aka White Town)" on the northern side of the city separated from The existing City of Allahabad[349]

[348] Mattison Mines, *Public Faces, Private Voices: Community and Individuality in South India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 86, http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft6v19p0zf/.

[349] John Bartholomew, 'Allahabad/Prayagraj Town City Plan. Cantonment. British India. 1909 Map.', *Antiqua Print Gallery Ltd*, 1090, https://www.antiquemapsandprints.com/categories/maps-by-cartographer/bartholomew-john/product/allahabad-prayagraj-town-city-plan-cantonment-british-india-1909-old-map/P-6-016883~P-6-016883.

As another port that was part of Britain's informal empire before 1882 and then was occupied, Alexandria is among the port cities compared with Smryna. As explained in the Middle Eastern Port City Model, Alexandria's railway lines do not intersect as Smyrna's, and both have one more industry-oriented railway pier, which does not comply fully with the referred model. However, their relationship with the industrial pier and railway line shows similar British imprints.

Just like in Smyrna and Western Anatolia, British projects in Egypt mainly focused on transport infrastructure because they were working on establishing land routes from Alexandria to Suez that would reduce the journey time to India from 3 months to just 35 to 45 days.[350] The British were primarily interested in securing access to their dominions in Asia and creating a safe trading corridor to India, the largest and most influential British colony, or the jewel of the British crown, as it was aptly described at the time. The British efforts to convince Egyptian rulers to build railroads only went to fruition when Abbas ascended to the throne. This conviction occurred because the British supported Abbas against the Ottoman Empire when the Sultan refused his ascension to the throne. In 1851, a contract was signed, and the railway from Alexandria to Cairo was completed as the first railway of the Ottoman Empire in 1855[351], just a year after another group of British investors got a concession to build railways in Smyrna.

The Railway reached Western Harbour to connect the flow of goods between Europe and Egypt's interior. The area where the railway connected the interior with the maritime world was the Minet El-Bassal district. It was located in the western part of Alexandria and was established in 1810 with a strategic position overlooking "The Western Harbour," which served as Egypt's only seaport at the time. The district aimed to become the hub of trade for all Egyptian products exported to European countries, with its headquarters of international trading companies, extensive warehouses, workers' housing, and an international marketing centre for Egyptian cotton known as "Bourse de Cotton." The area was supported by a well-designed transportation network for both people and goods, including a freight railway built in the 1850s and the adjacent Mahmoudiya Canal, constructed with Muhammad Ali's vision. Introducing a transportation network stimulated noteworthy industrial growth in the region, linking the

[350] Christina Pallini and Annalisa Riccarda Scaccabarozzi, 'British Planning Schemes for Alexandria and Its Region, 1834-1958', in *Urban Planning in North Africa*, ed. Carlos Nunes Silva (Surrey: Ashgate, 2016), 187–203.

[351] Amr Nasr El-Din, 'Railroads in the Land of the Nile: The Story of Egyptian Railroads', *EBHRC Chronicles*, no. 1 (2006): 19–22.

district to crucial local production and marketing locations. As a result, Alexandria gained virtual control over Egypt's cotton industry, expanding its warehouses, processing units, canals, roads, tram lines, and railway systems to cater to this influence and the subsequent demand.[352]

Figure 44. Map of Alexandria in 1921, from New York Public Library[353]

As aforementioned, this introduction of the railway line was not the first division between the city and the industrial district but enhanced it. Moreover, when the railway line was built, it had a terminus (not used today) in the mari-terrestrial interface and a coal pier, precisely like Smyrna had at Punta with the Smyrna-Aydın Railway line. So it is clear that what Karas explained in Cyprus and stated to be valid for African ports established by the British was valid for Alexandria and Smyrna about railways.

When it comes to the African-British colonial port cities, Jean Debrie's "The West African port system: global insertion and regional particularities" marks that the make-up of the West African port cities was determined by colonial exploitation, which in return supported economic extraversion according to the structure of the trade. Maritimity was the way towards continuity for the European colonisers. This maritime space in ports, the author claims, relied on the development of ports specifically served by railways to exploit the colonies with a system set up with a minimum of investment. The national states later reorganised this system of ports and railways. The early periods of independence produced infrastructure on the existing ports, inland roads, and railway

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[352]   Nassar and Eldin, 'A New Life for the Industrial Heritage of Minet El-Bassal at Alexandria'.
[353]   William Hannah McLean, 'City of Alexandria Town Planning Scheme', *New York Public Library*, 1921, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/01448ee0-e0f4-0134-ae63-02d713d062a3.

lines. Debrie explains that this was similar in almost all areas with a colonial past and that polarisation in spatial organisation was a common feature in different African port cities.[354] David Hilling's "The Evolution of the Major Ports of West Africa" highlights the same process for the colonial period in Africa. Improved transportation was necessary to establish the "effective control" needed to stimulate economic growth. It led to the concentration of commercial activity and "progressive differentiation" between cities with ports about their suitability for land/sea interchange. Hilling mentions that in the absence of suitable navigable waterways in West Africa, similar to Smyrna's unnavigable rivers, the unsuitable nature of animal transportation elevated the railways to great importance. As a noticeable difference to French West Africa, where railways were means of links between navigable inland sections of the Niger and Senegal rivers and the sea, British Africa lacked navigation in inland rivers. Therefore, the author also highlights the location planning for a "railhead" as much as a "port". The West African Cities were considered and planned to be railheads or deep water ports. Still, the combination was the desired outcome, especially in geographies without navigable rivers. Even though Smyrna had two major rivers and Valleys, Gediz and Bakırçay, none was navigable. That is why the terminus was designed to be located on the waterfront in a protected harbour area. This situation was well explained for Smyrna in Nedim Atilla and Rauf Beyru's books.[355] For Africa, Freetown and Alexandria are examples of this planning.

[354] Jean Debrie, 'The West African Port System: Global Insertion and Regional Particularities', *Flux*, no. 97–98 (March 2014): 110–17, https://doi.org/10.4000/echogeo.13070.

[355] Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*; Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*.

Figure 45. Takoradi Railway Terminus in the mari-terrestrial interface, Ghana[356]

Figure 46. The railway line divided Maroon Town and the European side while serving the port.[357]

356 The Transporter News Staff, 'Reconsturct Sekondi-Takoradi-Kojokrom Rail Lines', *Ghana-Sweden Chamber of Commerce*, accessed 23 April 2023, https://ghanasweden.com/reconstruct-sekondi-takoradi-kojokrom-railines.html.

357 Army Map Service, 'Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection-Sierra Leone Maps- Freetown (Central Ward)', Map, *University of Texas Libraries*, 1947, https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sierra_leone.html.

Robert Home Anthony D. King in "*Urbanism and Master Planning Configuring the Colonial City*" shows how the model developed for colonial mari-terrestrial space by utilising separation qualities of the railways as applied in 20th-century planning of railway towns in West African colonies of Britain. This was the general physical planning approach to new railway towns in Africa. Even though they are not port cities, combined with the post-1857 Indian port city transformation, the use of the railways became extensively divisionary in British urban planning.[358]
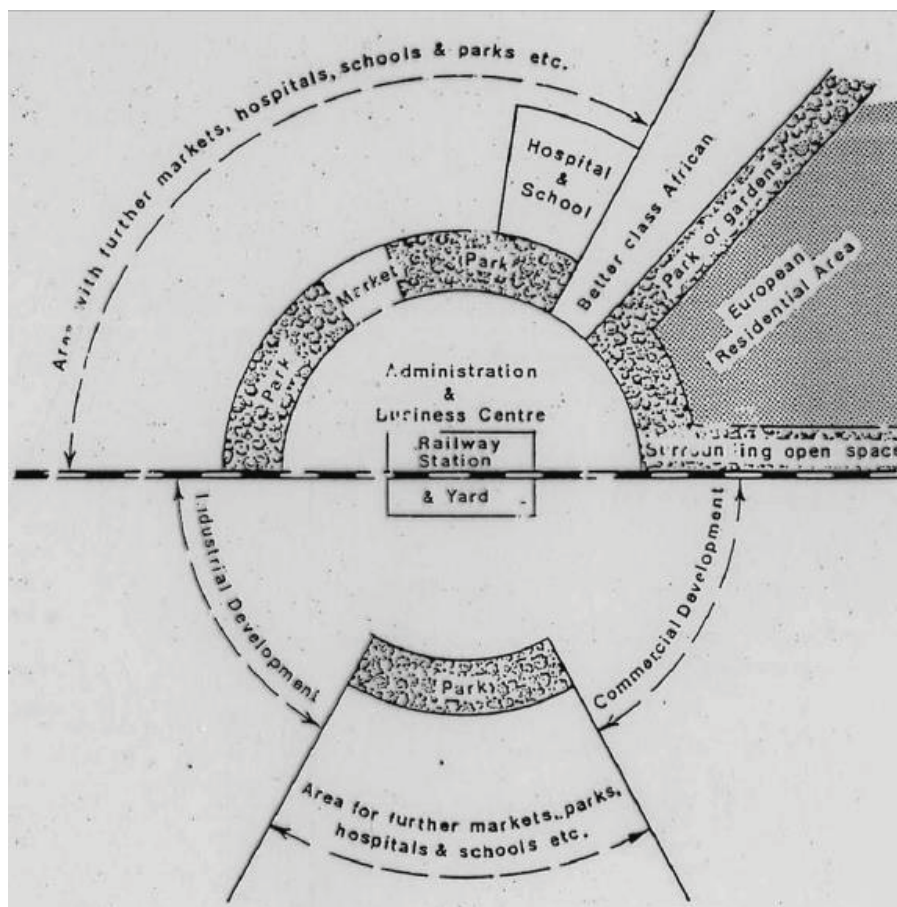
Figure 47. "Suggested principles for the planning of new towns, from F. D. Evans and G. J. Pirie, Selection of Site for Towns and Government Residential Areas (1939). First attempt at a general physical planning approach to new railway towns in Africa, produced by the Directors of Public Works and Medical Services in Nigeria, following the segregation principles of Simpson and Lugard."[359]

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[358] Home and King, 'Urbanism and Master Planning: Configuring the Colonial City'.
[359] Ibid.
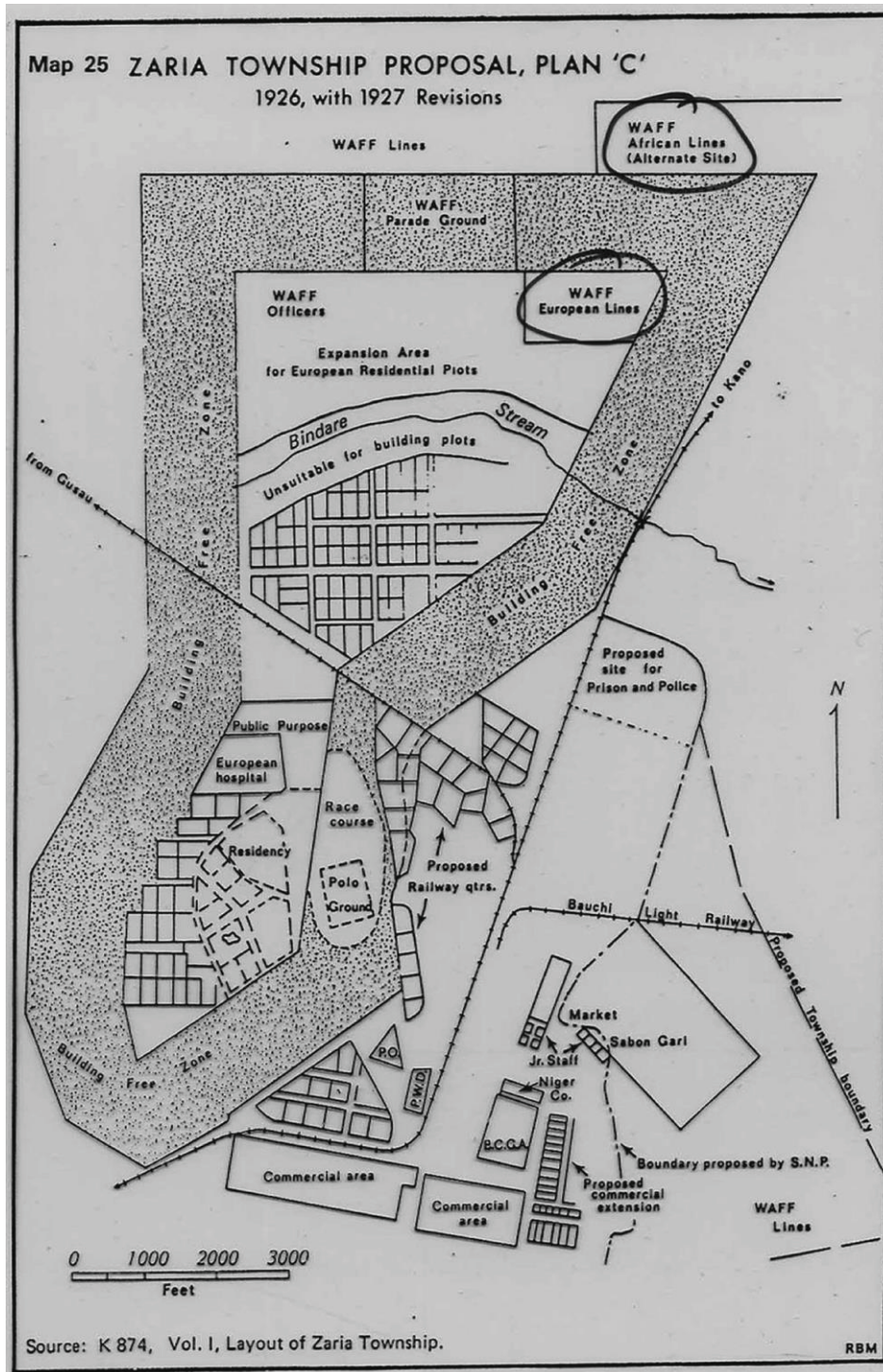
Figure 48. Zaria Township Proposal, Plan "C"', Northern Nigeria (1926). Plan for the expansion of Zaria Township showing a 'building-free zone' (shaded) surrounding the township. The top right shows the separation of white and African barracks of the West African Frontier Force and the European residential area (*centre left*) with polo and other recreational facilities.[360]

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360   Home and King, 'Urbanism and Master Planning: Configuring the Colonial City'.

3.2.4. Smyrna in Port City Discussions

Amar Farooqui states that a colonial city is characterised by colonial-indigenous dualism, while a capitalist city is characterised by class differentiation as a determining factor of spatial pattern.[361] As the analyses above show, both aspects are observed in Smyrna simultaneously, making it an odd example among similar examples.

As a city between these dynamics, Smyrna had European Quarters separated from the local communities, which had the commercial street "Frank Street". This street was locked at night due to security concerns; however, there were no district separations during the day when one wandered among the different ethnic quarters in the city.[362] Smyrna was later divided into two with the introduction of the Smyrna-Aydın railway line extending from the hinterland to the inner harbour zone, which introduced the class-based divide to the city for the first time. Unlike loose ethnicity-based neighbourhood thresholds, this line was a vast and imposing divider between the industrial zone workers' houses and the wealthy European quarters. Even the terminus building dividing these two spheres faced towards the European quarters instead of facing the harbour zone, which would have made the threshold loose.

This duality positions Smyrna as an odd port city when one applies the existing port city models to Smyrna. Five conflicts reveal Smyrna's incompatibility with reasons in this regard. The existing literature fails to disclose these conflicts in the interface between the sea and land, where the conflicts accumulated in the ***mari-terrestrial interface***. This interface is the "***colonised space***", and to see how incompatible Smyrna is and how patchy its planning was, one has to look at the colonial framework. As the model drawn below based on all the mentioned models, conflicts of integration conflicted with the repeated "*Smyrna at the end of the 19th century transformed into the modern port city*"[363], ***as if its transition was somewhat smooth and magical.***

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[361] Amar Farooqui, 'Urban Development in a Colonial Situation: Early Nineteenth Century Bombay', *Economic and Political Weekly* 31, no. 40 (1996): 2746–59.

[362] Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 9.

[363] Cana bilsel? Fatma tanış?

Conflicts of Integration Process	1. Port of Exploitation/ Geography Conflict
	2. Station-Port Intermodality Conflict
	3. Quay Zone Conflict
	4. Alternative Centre Conflict
	5. Spatial Segregation/Social Conflict
	6. New Port Formation/ Waterfront Conflict
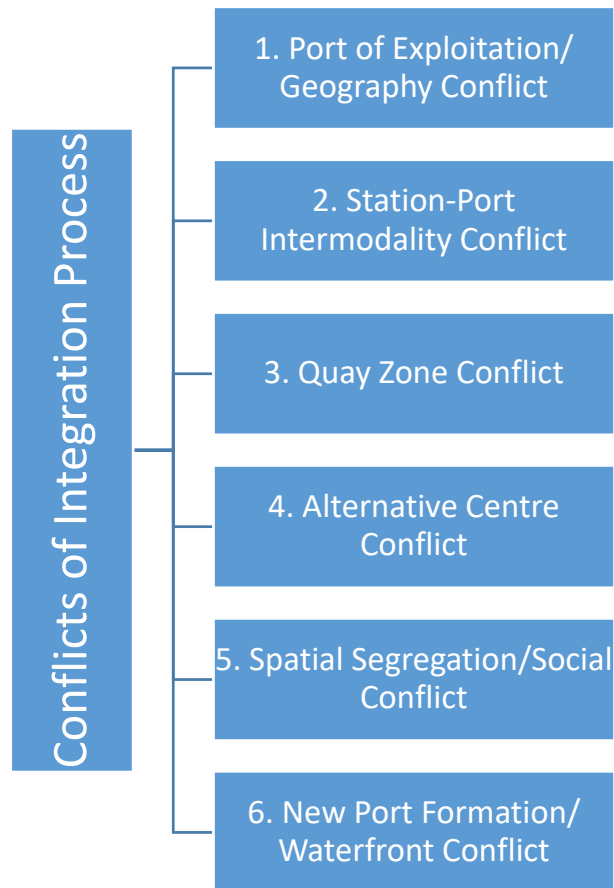
Figure 49. Conflicts of integration, prepared by the author

Six integration conflicts were identified upon analysing Smyrna in the context of proposed port-city models. The first conflict is the "***port of exploitation-geography conflict***." The British preferred a strict line reaching from the hinterland to the sea in their planning since there were no navigable rivers to compensate for any break in the line of carrying goods. The Ottoman Empire did not allow the terminus to be directly connected to the sea. As a result, the British opted for an area slightly further inland that still had possession of sea plots. As they were entitled by the concession to build a pier, they used the sea plots to construct this pier. They connected it to the terminus building, eventually disabling the transit from central Smyrna to the other side of the Punta terminus. The second conflict was the "***station-port inter-modality conflict***." Basmane station was located in the city centre, but goods required animal power to be transported to the French port near the old town, and there were no direct boulevards at the time. On the other hand, customers of the Smyrna Aydın Railway line could use the railway pier for on-off loading of goods, but there was no efficient port. Around Punta, there was more space to store

goods in warehouses and cranes for large cargoes like coal and mining operations, but the French port had the customs authority. This caused a lot of conflicts over time, so a customs house was eventually built in Punta station plots. The third conflict was the "*quay zone conflict*." As mentioned in the previous chapter on colonial modernism in Smyrna, a tram line was established between the French-owned quay and the British-owned Smyrna-Aydın Railway's Punta terminus. This tram line carried passengers during the day along the wanderers of the Quay Promenade, which was the new social space of Smyrna, with almost all the entertainment facilities located side by side. However, a conflict arose at night when freight trams carried goods between the French port and the Railway terminus. This was not an ideal image for a social space, so the failure to connect the port with transportation hid itself behind the darkness of nighttime.
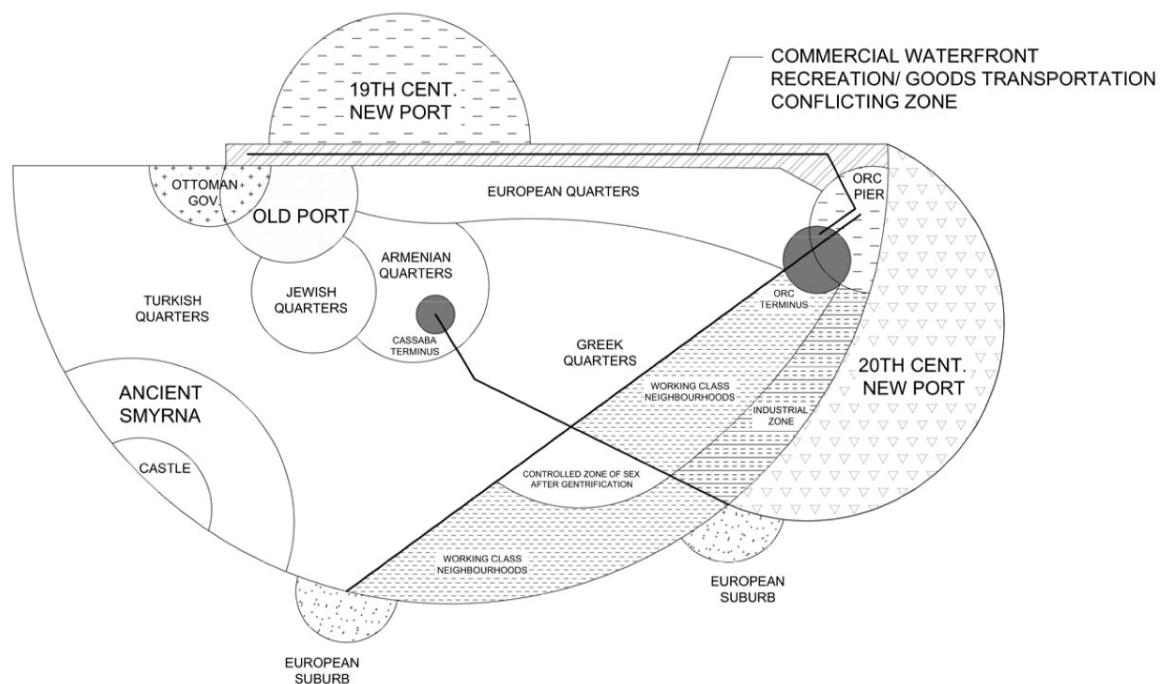
Figure 50. Smyrna is illustrated as the port city model by the author

The fourth conflict is the "*alternative centre conflict*," which we will delve into in detail in the fourth chapter. Smyrna, quite literally, had two centres: The Ottoman Government's Konak, with the largest square with a military essence, and the railway square established by slightly surrounding the area in front of the Punta terminus. The railway shed where the trains went was a perpendicular space. However, the station building in front of this shed was divided into three masses connecting around an almost semicircle, forming the railway square. These two areas became increasingly opposed to

each other when Punta station had Western standard time with its clock tower, and the people of the old centre looked up to the Ottoman time and clock in the Hisar mosque. This caused conflicts in daily life; as can be imagined, there were two worlds in Smyrna. The fifth conflict is "*spatial segregation-social conflict*," which we will discuss in the fourth chapter. The Smyrna-Aydın Railway line cut the urban space so that "unwanted" functions like prostitution and industrial work started to be dislocated from the city to the other side of this line. The intersection of this line with the Cassaba railway line around Caravan Bridge even furthered this situation, eventually resulting in a brothel area and the establishment of a venereal disease hospital. The railway line became an extremely segregating device in the end. The sixth and final conflict is the "*new port formation-waterfront conflict*." Due to all the conflicts above and the inadequacy of the port at Pasaport upon completion, new solutions were necessary. The Tram line between the French port and the British railway at Punta did not solve the problems of the growing capitalist economy. Eventually, around 1910, it was noted in the Ottoman Archives and National Archives of Britain that an agreement was reached between the French and the British to demolish the port in Pasaport and plan a port at Punta, which is where the modern-day port of İzmir stands today.

In summary, a close examination of the existing literature reveals that while Smyrna has been regarded as conforming to typical port city models by scholars, it has never been incorporated into British colonial planning models. Upon testing it against such models, it becomes clear that Smyrna was not designed by a specific model but served as a testing ground for segregative planning strategies that were later applied to other locations, including African railway towns and cities with ports.

CHAPTER 4

PUNTA AS A MARI-TERRESTRIAL COLONIAL INTERFACE OF THE BRITISH MARITIME EMPIRE
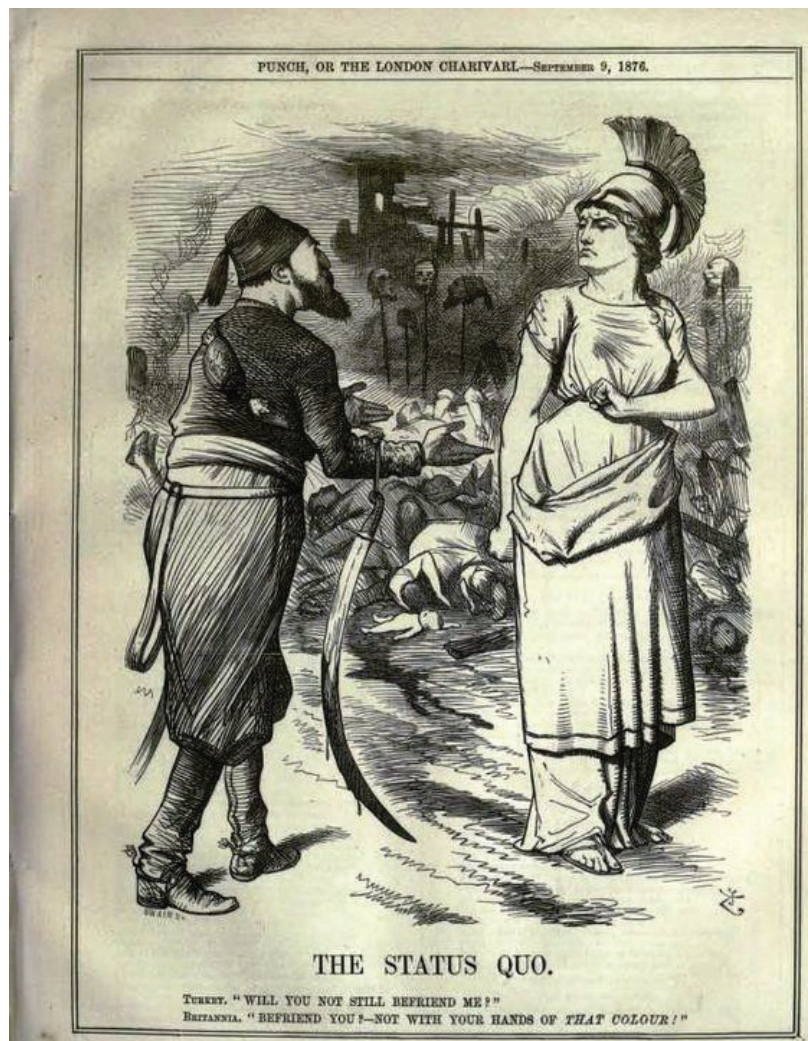
Figure 51. Turkey: Will you still not befriend me? Britannia: Befriend you?-Not with your hands of that colour![364]

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[364] Joseph Swain, 'The Status Quo-Originally Illustrated as "Unspeakable Turk" on 9 September 1876', *Punch-or- The London Charivari*, 16 December 1914, sec. Supplement to Punch.

4.1. Semi-Colonial Origins

19th-century port cities were of utmost importance in modernisation, industrialisation, and integration into the capitalist world economy as centres and semi-peripheral or peripheral lands. Faraway lands were one by one connected through steamships and rails through which thousands of people fluctuated from one of them to the other as investors, workers or enslaved people in the making of the modern world, and empires exploited these mobile populations to strengthen their positions in *longue durée*. Britain, rising as the centre of the world economy at the dawn of the 19th century, was one of the most successful empires in utilising these **"fluxabitants"[365] in its ports** to provide its centre with peripheral port cities for the chains of industries and with strategical bridgeheads in times of conflicts. Such actors enabled the creation of ex-nihilo spaces to be controlled and developed as adequate ports of exploitation of workforce and produce.

As Soja elaborated on Henri Lefebvre's trialectics –lived, perceived, conceived space- *"spatiality, temporality, and social being can be seen as the abstract dimensions which together comprise all facets of human experience… each of these abstract existential dimensions comes to life as a social construct which shapes empirical reality and is simultaneously shaped by it. Thus, the spatial order of human existence arises from the (social) production of space."* [366] Soja's elaboration of Lefebre's trialectics includes first space, secondspace, thirdspace. The first space is the physical environment, planned and mapped as the extensive cartographic examination of the Western coasts of Anatolia conducted during the 1840s.

Secondspace is in the imaginations and discourse of Smyrna's inhabitants. As Robert Young quoted Helene Cixous, who stated, *"I saw how the white, superior, plutocratic, civilised world founded its power on the repression of populations who had suddenly become invisible, like proletarians, immigrant workers, minorities who are not the right colour*.", the right-wrong, true-false binaries operate at such levels that one eventually claims right to diminish and rule the other, as the more civilised version of humankind.[367] The "Orient", as an imaginary geography and culture that was established

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[365] Term developed by the author
[366] Soja, 'Chapter 1: History: Geography: Modernity', 25.
[367] Robert Young, 'Introduction', in *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1–20.

as the "other", as the "subaltern" of the Occident, is one of the most comprehensive examples of this kind. Upon the opening of the so-called East to the West during the 18th and 19th centuries, the East's role as the constitutive other to the West was formed. It helped the West to construct itself as the rational "cradle of civilisation" foundations dating back to ancient Greece and Rome, as opposed to its mystic and spiritual subaltern, whose origins were Ertuğrul and Osman Gazi who were considered to be invaders as if the Romans hadn't invaded any land. David Katz quoted in "*Shaping of Turkey in British Imagination*";

> *"Among these were 'the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks' and 'the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to Western civilisation'. The '**civilised world'** of the Allies was the European world, based upon cultural foundations that rested on the soil of Rome and, beneath that, the bedrock of ancient Greece. The Osmanlı Turks, the Ottoman descendants of Ertuğrul and his son, the eponymous Osman Gazi, were invaders who had swept down from somewhere out in central Asia and whose presence had caused nothing but trouble for real Europeans during the past six hundred years."*[368]

Thirdspace was like Lefebvre's lived space created by how the inhabitants actually lived in that space. Within this lived space, everyone had their own empires; as Darwin points out:

> *"The empire of migrants… had little in common with the wider 'empire of free trade' on which exports, employment and profits depended. Neither looked much like the 'Empire of Christ' – the open sea of Christian Faith- into which Britain's Protestant missionaries hoped to draw the whole world. The Empire of coaling stations, bases and fortresses was again different."*[369]

In addition to many readings and layers in Smyrna palimpsest, I claim that a sub-imperial space existed in the British Empire. This British Empire was created in discourse, in surveyed maps and visualisations, calculated with Western standards of time and space, envisioned as an extension of a certain kind of Britishness, peripheralised to world economy without colonial rule through exploitation channels, divided cities, marginalised people in a constant effort to reach to a vision of colonial modernity, which was, I argue, never achieved despite of such meticulous planning. To understand Britain's imperial experience in these lands, architecture and its spatial syntax can be read and interpreted as a form of cultural discourse against classic knowledge-power relations existing in the colonial built environment to reveal the processes behind the production of space.

This production, of course, relies on important aspects of the relationship between informal imperialism, orientalism, and architecture. As was the case in other colonial

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[368]   Katz, *The Shaping of Turkey in the British Imagination, 1776-1923*, 1.
[369]   Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*, 12.

contexts, Smyrna and Western Anatolia first became part of the "discursive constructions" to be able to be invaded informally, if not formally. These focused on *"Britain's role in modernising an oriental country and the material problems of designing and building in a place of growing economic but no formal control by the British."[370]* Most of the time, lands were described as "barren" to be valued once touched by the "West" by the "British".[371]

This was the case in almost every part of the informal empire where other colonial powers sought their own interests, making any bold moves subject to debates and resistance. In contrast, large districts were planned without hesitation in formal parts of the empire. Until the age of laissez-faire in the 1840s, British colonial settlements received their architecture and urban planning according to a centralised scheme beginning in the 17th century. This was the ***"Grand Modell" of colonial settlements***, seen from Ireland to the New World and the Antipodes. The main components of these colonial plans included a policy of deliberate urbanisation, or town planning, land rights allocated in a combination of town, suburban and country lots, the towns planned and laid out in advance of settlement, wide streets layout in geometric, generally gridiron plan usually around 2.6 km2, public squares, standard – rectangular – wide plots, some plots for public functions, and a physical separation between town and country, generally by a public land or green belt.[372] These were generally called "***plantations***" because they were literally planted before any settlement[373], unlike the existing cities of the informal empire lands.

Bremner states, "*Britain's Empire and its colonial urban system depended upon networks of knowledge: flows of ideas, books, arguments, money and people moving from the metropole to the colonies and between colonies and continents*."[374] This specialist knowledge in the "Western" world philosophically justified colonial rule. [375] It worked for civilising the "Orient", the "East". The notion of civilising others manifested itself in architecture, too. **The architectural presence of the British rule made itself apparent**

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[370] Crinson, *Empire Building*, 97.
[371] "*The very hills which are now looked upon as barren will be valuable even to their brushwood (çalı çırpı), which will sell for fuel or for charcoal...*"
From; Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 12.
[372] Robert Home, 'The Grand Modell of Colonial Settlement', in *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 389–1005.
[373] Robert Home, *Of Planting and Planning* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
[374] Home and King, 'Urbanism and Master Planning: Configuring the Colonial City', 69.
[375] Home and King, 69.

slowly to avoid being perceived as intruders. For this reason, Crinson states that it is not easy to find 17th-century British buildings in Cairo, Smyrna or Constantinople.[376]
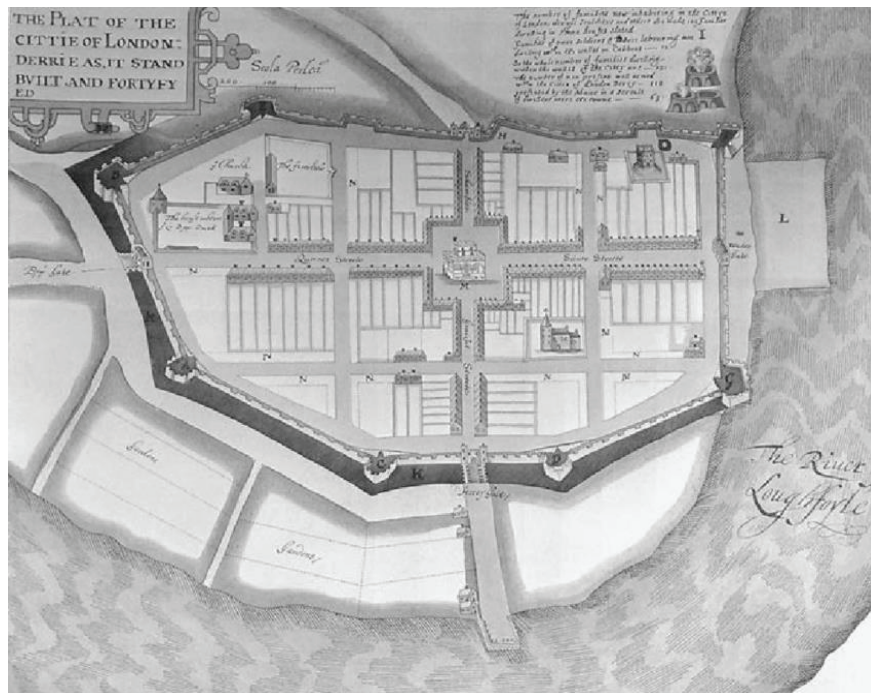
Figure 52. Ulster Plantation, Plan of Londonderry[377]

The subtle architectural and urban penetration process in British imperialism could be why we don't feel their colonial presence in our everyday lives today. It was why I never felt content with the archival material I gathered for a long time. I felt like the projects were too small to be considered within the scope of imperialism and colonisation.

There was nothing too small to be considered an act of colonisation.

Smyrna and its surrounding areas became a colonial urban landscape that helped offset the cost of railways while also providing raw materials for British industries. Even their presence was subtle and small scale except for the terminus buildings, the Smyrna Aydın (1856) and Smyrna Cassaba (1863) railways were the first colonial modernisation projects undertaken by British investors in Western Anatolia, as they had done in other colonial regions such as Latin America and the Middle East. Additionally, they changed

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[376] Crinson, *Empire Building*, 159.
[377] Home and King, 'Urbanism and Master Planning: Configuring the Colonial City', 58.

key connection cities to ensure that goods could be transported safely and efficiently through controlled ports. British colonies typically constructed housing enclaves separate from local communities, and the second phase involved creating British premises near these settlements to establish their identity as Britons. Crinson explains that during the 19th century, a need emerged for architecture to satisfy communal requirements and give these communities prestige and identity.[378] Thus, significant ports such as Constantinople and Alexandria saw the building of "urban presence" elements, including the Embassy, the Consulate, Churches, Hospitals, Post Offices, and Prisons. Another point stated by Crinson in the Constantinople case is also valid for Smyrna. He notices that the Muslims were pushed out into the peripheral, less preferred areas. At the same time, the Levantine settlements, even when they were not in the centre before, took centre stage with the urban developments. Colonialism was *"impossible without the buildings and spaces that articulated its presence",[379]* and *"representation and projection of imperial power through the manipulation of architectural form and space"* was vital in imperialism *and* "*… many if not all former colonial towns and cities having significant stock of colonial buildings and infrastructure, much of which are still in use"[380],* and form parts of our everyday lives, making it vital to acknowledge them towards decolonisation.

As this chapter will reveal, the imperialist mind could not initiate significantly holistic changes. Rather than a progressive modernising force, as they thought themselves to be, or a ruthless exploiter of local populations as generally portrayed in literature, they usually failed in urban manipulation. Especially studying the in-between spaces of the British Empire, the informal lands and semi-colonial landscapes provide a viewpoint grounded in urban analysis to reveal this failure.

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[378]   Crinson, *Empire Building*, 3.
[379]   G.A. Bremner, 'Introduction', in *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, ed. G.A. Bremner, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1.
[380]   Bremner, 'Introduction'.

4.1.1. Naval Surveying of Maritime Space as Imperial Space-Making

"As much as guns and warships, maps have been the weapons of imperialism."[381]

Naval surveying was pivotal in the British colonial government's control over land and peasants in England and its overseas territories. Harley highlighted the importance of surveys, emphasising the need to gather information to identify strategic points, harbours, fertile lands, and potential mineral sources.

In "*Hydrography, Technology, Coercion: Mapping the Sea in Southeast Asian Imperialism, 1850–1900",* Eric Tagliacozzo states that one of the ways that the British started to change the patterns of shipping and space was through the exploration and mapping of the maritime frontier.[382] From the early 1800s onwards, states conducted cartography covertly for military use, leading to rapid progress in the field. Alongside territorial disputes and colonial expansion, property-focused research in burgeoning cities also drove this development. Additionally, European leaders widely recognised the importance of having detailed maps of the land to engage in successful military operations.383 The surveys of Anatolia and its coasts housed in the National Archives and British Library are a testament to this, as are the results of the work of surveying officers like Captain Copeland. His maps served as a foundation for future officers who built upon his work, creating detailed and advanced maps still widely used in literature today, particularly concerning Smyrna. The sources confirmed that it was primarily lieutenants and captains who prepared these maps. Their meticulous work helped the British colonial government maintain control over land and peasants and significantly influenced the country's expansion and effect worldwide.

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[381] John Brian Harley et al., 'Maps, Knowledge and Power', in *Geographic Thought : A Praxis Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2009), 57.

[382] Eric Tagliacozzo, 'Hydrography, Technology, Coercion: Mapping the Sea in Southeast Asian Imperialism, 1850–1900', in *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. David Killingray, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, 1st ed. (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2004), 142–58.

[383] Murat Tanrıkulu, 'Sigorta Kartografyasinin Bati'da, Osmanli Devleti'nde Ve Türkiye'de Doğuşu, Gelişimi Ve Son Bulması', *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 27, no. 7 (August 2023): 335–58.

By the 1890s, the Mediterranean fleet had become the largest in the Royal Navy, surpassing even the home fleet. [384] Correspondences from the era mention numerous maps created by members of this fleet, along with countless meteorological and seismic reports. The amount of geographical knowledge produced was immense, and it was due to the dedication and hard work of surveying officers such a vast amount of information was gathered. Their efforts allowed the British colonial government to maintain a strategic advantage, and their work remains a testament to the importance of thorough and accurate surveying.

Due to this accumulation of geographical and ecological data made available to the Foreign Office and through the Foreign Office to the British investors, the exploitation channels were effectively created under the disguise of modernising transportation infrastructure.
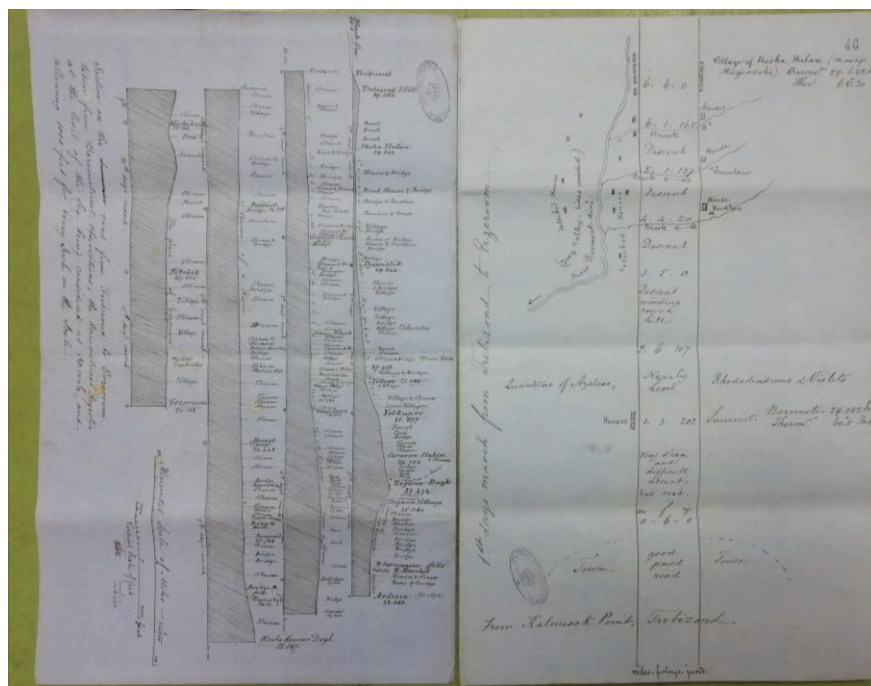
Figure 53. Survey of roads from Trabzon to Erzurum, 1857[385]

384   Steven J. Holcomb, 'A Century of British Dominance of the Mediterranean: Lessons for the U.S. Navy in the South China Sea', *Naval History Magazine*, June 2021.
385   'Ottoman Empire. 4 Maps (of Territory Now in Turkey). (1) 'Survey of the Route From...' (1857), MR 1/646, NA.

Figure 54. Underwater telegraph communication survey[386]

Figure 55. Meteorological Observations of Smyrna by ORC Manager Edward Purser-1864[387]

[386]   '4th Mission to Turkey. (Described at Item Level)' (1855), FO 352/46, NA.

[387]   Edward Purser, 'Meteorological Table of Smyrna for 1864(-67)', 1864, 8752.b.5.(1.), BL.
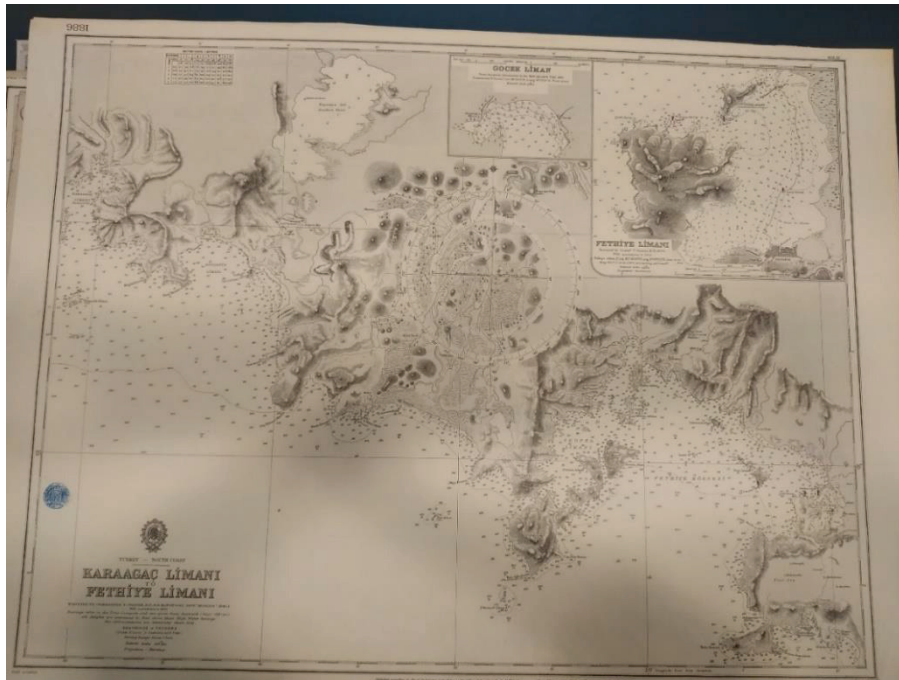
Figure 56. 1940 map based on 1850 plan showing Paterson wharf in its detail[388]
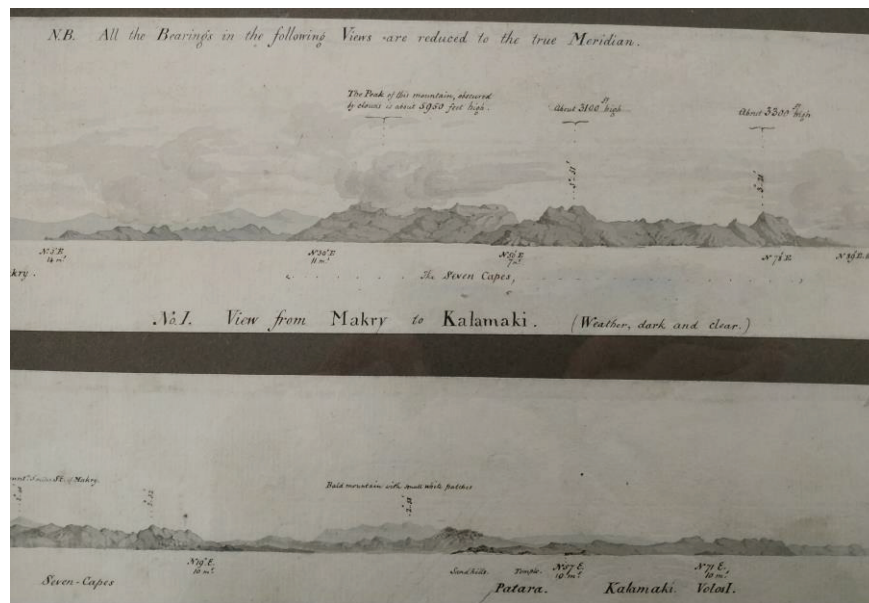
Figure 57. Views from Fethiye shores, where the Paterson Family extracted important chromium mines[389]

388 'Rhodes Island to Kara Burnu - Turkey in Asia - Mediterranean' (1957 1885), OCB 1/236/B1, United Kingdom Hydrographic Office (UKHO) Archive.
389 Ibid.

4.1.2. The Importance of Imagined Spatial and Visual Continuity as a Colonial Practice at Mari-Terrestrial Interfaces

"...arriving in port in Bristol or Calcutta, a ship's company would have been met with the reassuring view of familiar buildings." [390]

With the quote above, Bremner and Crinson stress how creating imagined familiarity about architecture in colonial contexts became strategic. Once the Britons gained confidence and political control over a premise, they built extensively, particularly in creating home-land familiarity. This familiarity impressed the British workforce, including the sailors, engineers, missionaries, doctors, and many others who travelled with the illusion of British presence existing everywhere around the globe. Moreover, these workers often left their homelands and families behind, so an intense longing prevailed – as the Smyrna Aydın Railway company engineer's letters in Lincolnshire archives detail.[391] British merchants and investors utilised such familiarity to ease such longing and enable long working periods.

In the case of the Ottoman Empire and Anatolian lands, the threshold for this confidence dates back to the Crimean War (1853-1856).[392] Before this, the Levant Company Quarter was the only place they could enjoy leisure time with other British-speaking individuals and attend an Anglican church. After the war, the Europeans took on an expansionist role more than before, and that is why we do not possess 17th-century British buildings but have many 19th-century ones, as Mark Crinson suggested. It is known that this century saw many battles of styles and discussions on the "most appropriate", "the most British/German/French", and the noblest, truest to essence discussions in architecture with the rise in identity politics. High Victorian theorists searched for "our own character" during these discussions, especially during the 1850s.[393] Bremner states that the British colonists in New England *"ignored the Native American Culture and took no indigenous design into account whereas in India they found the*

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[390] Daniel Maudlin, 'Beginnings - Early Colonial Architecture', in *Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire*, ed. G.A. Bremner, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 23.

[391] 'Minute Book and Diary', 1865, MISC DON 1352/1, Lincolnshire Archives.

[392] Crinson, *Empire Building*, 132.

[393] Crinson, 139.

sophisticating Mughal architecture and mixed with them"[394], pointing out the selective nature of architectural practice in these lands.

Apart from the hybrids, two prominent styles existed for the British colonists: the most reliable *"the real Early English Gothic"* and the *"noblest good taste Neo-Classicism"*. The British largely employed the former one in their cathedrals/ churches/ chapels in colonial contexts since they believed that Byzantine was half-developed while Greek Orthodox was not Anglican in character and that the Anglican church should look like Anglican as the primary source of identity and mission in "savage lands". Moreover, the Gothic style represented a union with the broader Christian world, suited to imperial vision. This was due to understanding the church as the "***flagship of Evangelizing efforts***"[395] in civilising the "other" as well. Crinson states this was so even when the climatic conditions didn't suit the British Gothic. In this case, they developed two different kinds of colonial church architecture in 1846;

- A Hyperborean Style for the North: thin, linear, light, monochrome
- A Speluncar Style for the South: thick-walled, polychromatic tropic[396]

The second favourite style of the British colonists was the Neo-classical in the early modern period, bringing architectural sameness and nobility. This sameness assured a sense of identity and belonging in a foreign land but for the gentlemanly classes in a neo-classical style. It was also accepted as the universally recognised "good taste" conveyor of particular social standards. According to Maudlin, this had a practical effect; simply as the opening quote stated, to arrive in port in Bristol or Calcutta, people would be welcomed with the reassuring view of familiar buildings."[397] In Daniel Maudlin's words;

> *"...neo-classicism maintained social groups or hierarchies and served both to include and exclude. Indeed, with time, many colonised peoples, whether they be native Americans, Indian Sepoys serving with the EIC, Irish Gaels, or African slaves, learnt to read a very different set of meanings into British neoclassical buildings, including fear, violence, and oppression."[398]*

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[394] Bremner, 'Introduction'.
[395] Crinson, *Empire Building*, 146.
[396] Crinson, 140.
[397] Maudlin, 'Beginnings - Early Colonial Architecture', 23.
[398] Maudlin, 24.
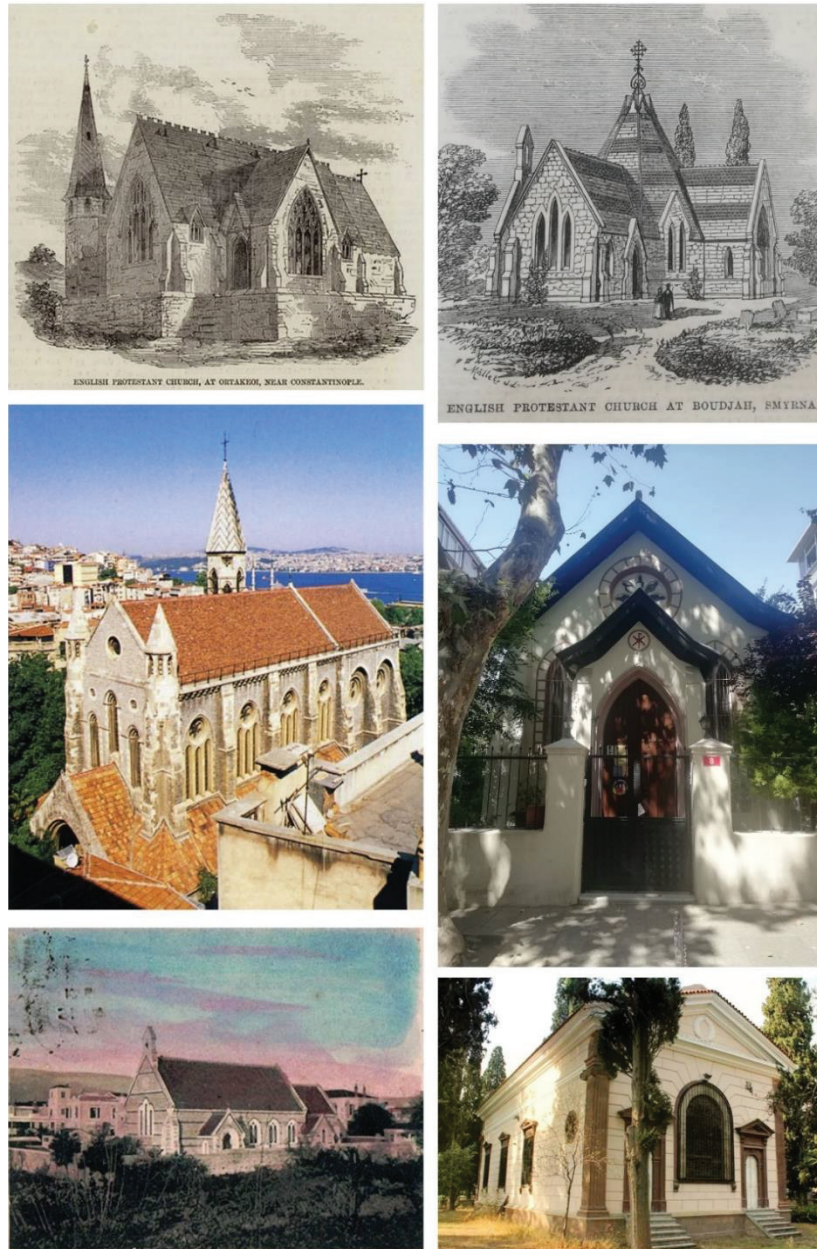
Figure 58. From top left to bottom right: First Anglican Church in Turkey- Ortaköy in Constantinople and the second church built by the Paterson Family – Buca in Smyrna, both in neo-Gothic Style[399] Crimean Church in Constantinople,[400] Moda Whittall Church taken on 12.08.2021 by the author, Punta St.John the Evangelist Church around 1902 [401] Bornova St. Mary Magdalene Church of Whittall Family[402]

[399]   'Canon Clarke Collection Photo Album of Africa - Buca Anglican Church - Originally Printed in Illustrated London News', 4 May 1867, Clarke/3/109, LPL.

[400]   Geoffrey Tyack and Andrew Finkel, 'Cornucopia Magazine Stone from Malta, Timber from Trieste, Tiles from Marseilles and Money from England…', accessed 2 July 2023, https://www.cornucopia.net/magazine/articles/the-crimean-church-in-istanbul/.

[401]   'St John's Church in Alsancak', Levantine Heritage Foundation, accessed 1 April 2020, http://www.levantineheritage.com/stjohn.htm.

[402]   Erol Şaşmaz, 'St. Mary Magdalene Anglikan Kilisesi-Bornova', Tarihi Mekanlar Kişisel Ansiklopedi Erol Şaşmaz, 2012, https://www.erolsasmaz.com/?oku=764.

Manikarnika Dutta in "Cholera, British Seamen and Maritime Anxieties in Calcutta, c.1830s-1890s" and "The Sailors' Home and Moral Regulation of White European Seamen in 19th Century India" draw the focus on the less represented actors of port cities who, together with merchants, missionaries, migrants, engineers and diplomats made the British Empire possible overseas, notes these groups essentially sought the comfort, familiarity and security. It was provided spatially by the British merchants to ease the **colonial anxiety.** [403]

This familiarity assured the colonial continuity in the eyes of the maritime workers. Seeing the Anglican churches, the British owned-railway lines that they sometimes took to see the ruins of Ephesus, and the existence of the British flag in specific structures such as the fire station, was reassuring of the feeling that they were not that far away from home and that they had to be proud members of such a wide-spread power.

4.1.3.   Am I a Periphery to Your Centre: Changing Dynamics of the Interface with the Industrial Revolution

Edmund Burke III states that the Mediterranean is where Europe, Asia and Africa intersect and connect. Throughout its modern history, the Mediterranean has experienced both continuity and discontinuity at political, cultural and economic levels. It has been a crossroads for culture and trade and a barrier between Europe and other regions. However, in the mid-16th century, the Mediterranean became less critical to north-western Europe's new economic centre of gravity. As a result, it became a semi-peripheral region of the capitalist world system with weak state structures, delayed or muffled class formation, agrarian backwardness and the persistence of pastoralism. Due to this, the path to modernity in the cities of the Mediterranean increasingly became similar to the historical experience of the Third World.[404]

Dussel claims that modernity was already "the rational management of the world system".[405] In the 3rd volume of his seminal work Civilization and Capitalism 15th–18th

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[403]   Dutta, 'Cholera, British Seamen'. And Manikarnika Dutta, 'The Sailors' Home and Moral Regulation of White European Seamen in 19th Century India', *Cultural and Social History* 18, no. 2 (2021): 201–20.

[404]   Burke III, 'The Deep Structures of Mediterranean Modernity'.

[405]   Dussel, 'Modernity as Management of the Planetary Centrality and Its Contemporary Crisis', 68.

Century, Braudel showed us that European trade had extended to cover the whole world by the late 18th century. He then connected this grip with London's becoming the dominant capitalist city around 1775. According to him, the parts of the world economy each developed their core, middle zone and periphery, each with its dominant city.[406] Wallerstein's[407] famous **world-system theory** added to the modern capitalist world system the "semi-periphery" concept, which could be explained as an in-between space semi-exploited to provide raw materials to the centre.

Abdullah Martal's book "*Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme: 19. Yüzyıl*" shows how export-dominant trade was primarily responsible for the semi-peripheralization of Britain's modernisation and industrialisation.[408] As the new centre of the world economy, Britain established economic hegemony over Western Anatolia by buying large mines and agricultural areas and exporting the produce to England, making Smyrna a semi-periphery trade colony. He also states that the British dominated the economic, social, and spatial spheres, so Smyrna became part of Britain's "informal empire". The author says that Smyrna has a special place in examining the Ottoman economic order, trade and industrial movements in the 19th century because Izmir bears the striking traces of such "***imperialist infiltration methods***". This century appears to be when the Ottoman Empire struggled to maintain its existence through modernisation efforts. The most distinctive feature of these efforts was the acceleration of economic integration with the world capitalist order, along with reforms in the fields of army, bureaucracy, education and law. In this integration, the Ottoman administration's submission to ***British liberalism*** led to the defencelessness and destruction of domestic industry. After the failure of the state-dominated industrialisation implemented in the 1840-50 period, the Ottoman government began to content itself with the regulatory role. In this new period, Ottoman lands became a source of raw materials and markets, especially for British and French industries. This group of investors invested to increase agricultural potential by solving Ottoman society's "subsistence" structure. This integration with the outside world in the field of agriculture-commerce-industry without ensuring internal integrity led to the one-way development of the economy and external dependence. As a result, at the end of the 19th century, the British were Smyrna's largest

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[406] Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Volume III: The Perspective of the World* (University of California Press, 1992), 36 and 295.

[407] Immanuel Wallerstein, *Dünya Sistemleri Analizi* (İstanbul: Bgst Yayınları, 2018), 51–81..

[408] Abdullah Martal, 'Sonuç', in *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme: 19. Yüzyıl*, 1st ed. (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1999), 181–86.

buyers and sellers and captured more than half of the city's foreign trade volume. Martal says that it can be thought that the state remained insensitive to these activities of private enterprises as the British investors and left their activities out of supervision and control.[409]

Based on Wallerstein, Tuğçe Atik[410] summarises in her thesis, "*The Rise of Ottoman İzmir as a Commercial Centre*", that the core required wage labour, the periphery employed slavery and feudalism, and sharecropping defined the relationships in the semi-periphery and positioned Smyrna to be a semi-periphery instead of "periphery" which this thesis also accepts. Çağlar Keyder states that in peripheral history, the focus has been on the colonial side of history, mainly India and Africa. However, non-colonized lands need to be included in this history. Therefore, he further explains that there were changes in production relations in cases where the landowner-tenant or sharecropper relationship prevailed. Landowners pressured their tenants to plant new export crops and accept contracts that included greater exploitation to take advantage of increased commercial opportunities. As landowners, whether free or tenant, entered into commercial and financial dependence relationships with merchants and moneylenders, peasants were forced to produce new products that could be converted into money in the market instead of traditional grains and pay as their creditors and landowners wanted. Such integration with the international market meant the formation of a distant specialisation and division of labour that would erode the traditional divisions of labour of empires. There was also a shift in the integral role of domestic products, as products once obtained through the side activity of the peasant family were replaced by imported goods. As a result of such capitalist expansion, the market boundaries expanded. If Adam Smith's rule is remembered, this expansion meant being included in a single division of labour. What is meant by unequal development or dependency relationship is that such a division of labour condemns the peripheral regions to a subordinate position vis-à-vis the central areas of the world economy. Keyder explains this process with the Ottoman Empire and China as non-colonized lands in peripheralisation.[411]

As we will see in "*Through the Looking Glass: Urban Narratives Against the Rosy Visions of Cosmopolitan Paradise*", the British investors largely bought agricultural

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[409]   Martal.
[410]   Tuğçe Atik, 'The Rise of Ottoman İzmir as a Commercial Center' (Unpublished MScThesis, Middle East Technical University, 2014), 32.
[411]   Keyder, *Toplumsal Tarih Çalışmaları*, 229–45.

lands in the interiors of Western Anatolia and employed local farmers in the production process in a way as explained before. They had certain products imposed in production, such as cotton, valonia or liquorice roots, which the British required in amounts not produced in Ottoman lands before. The main artery for this system became the Smyrna-Aydın and Smyrna-Cassaba Railways, collecting and distributing elements with large warehouses and special rails to some of the production centres. The British Government never directly and fully financed and supported the investments of the British merchants in obtaining these lands and railways.

> *"**The German merchants and shipowners had the active financial and political support of their Government,** and the German government's commercial and political policies were in line. The British merchants and shipowners had no financial support from their Government ..."*[412]

The existence of merchant-based development as such points out to the British Empire's version of a semi-peripheralization, an empire on the cheap where the British Government was free of financial and military responsibility since the periphery would be direct colonies of the British Empire where it would fund the projects largely.

4.2.   Dissecting the Interface: Urban Presence and the Gentlemen's Empire

> *"The progress of the West had not been able to penetrate and remove the barriers the East had long opposed. But the timely assistance Western Powers had given Turkey during the Crimean War finally opened the gates to their capital and Enterprise, which were necessary to exploit and develop the country's rich natural resources."*[413]

Once the political barriers were surpassed in Anglo-Ottoman relations, the British capitalist gentlemen left the boundaries of the Levant Company to exploit the Western Anatolian lands. The ownership rights were given with the Tanzimat and Toprak Reforms. The British gentlemen then owned 1/3 of the Western Anatolian lands and were declared the wealthiest group of merchants on period reports. Being informal politically, economically, and spatially was not to be a single dominant entity at a defined period; there were other Europeans in competition with the British against the extensive lands the British owned. If it were just British dominance, Smyrna would be a colony. This does

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[412]   'Correspondence - Regarding the History of British Merchants', 1919, FO 608/232, NA.
[413]   *Trading in the Levant: Centenary of C. Whittall & Co. Smyrna, 1811-1911.*

not mean different nations can occupy colonies; they can, but never simultaneously. There will always be one politically dominant power that can exercise power on all the members of the colonised territory. On the other hand, informality is the co-existence of multiplicity. To be able to read that multiplicity, one has to look into what constitutes that multiplicity and how the individuality of a specific power is manifested; it's *the little things that matter in colonisation history*.

Dwelling on such understanding, this thesis tries a new approach to reading the spatial organisation of 19th-century Smyrna and its hinterland by focusing on objects, places and actors in the following ten topics. This will be a generative dissection of the members of urban space at the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century. These ***consciously disjointed*** members of the semi-colonial patch come together to form a specific British colonial character densification, combined with the analysis conducted in the 3rd chapter. By understanding the selected members related to the modern colonial infrastructure that was to be superimposed on the existing city, a new understanding of the urban sphere in Smyrna was aimed. This, of course, is not a final interpretation fixed at an endpoint but one of many possible readings of the same city.

These disjointed members gathered around Punta Station, consisting of the railway town, its terminus, ateliers, its pier, clock Tower, Buca suburban station, Post Office, Telegraph, Church, Seamen's Hospital, Punta Fire station and the British College[414].

Leaving the Pasaport port behind, someone walking north or taking the tram to Punta would pass the fire station on the right, with the British flag flying, before arriving at Punta's curving point/cape. As s/he rounded the cape, s/he would be greeted by the railway pier, which extends as a large breakwater with industrial cranes. When s/he turned the cape and left the sea behind him, he would start to see the houses built by the railway engineers on the land they owned on his right and the Punta station building, called the ornament of the city, on his left. The left side separated the railway pier from the city and the citizens with impassable barriers and walls. The only opening here was a gate-sized gap reserved for the passage of industrial workers. Workers must have passed through here, going to the factories behind the railways and their houses between them. As you approached the Buca suburban train station, which was opened next to the Punta terminal, you would come to a large square. Embracing this square was Punta Station, which was

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[414]   There is little knowledge about this building in the archives, compared to the rest of the buildings. Therefore, it is less represented.

divided into three parts. Although it was built as a rectangular building block in the 1860s in front of the place covering the train tracks, which was also built as a rectangular block, it is understood from the photographs that it was renovated in the 1870s.
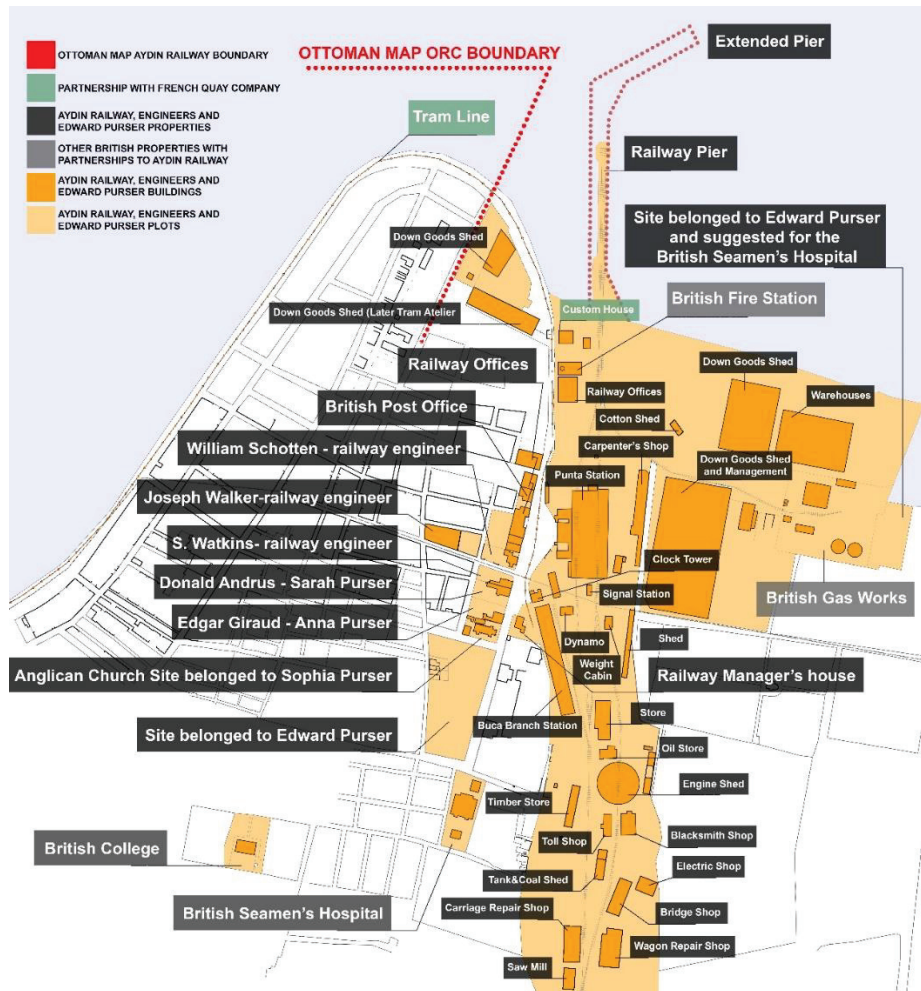
Figure 59. Punta Station patch, orange indicates buildings owned by the British, the black box text indicates buildings owned by the Smyrna Aydın Railway Company, the grey box indicates buildings owned by other British investors, by the author

The station was divided into three branches, embracing the station square in a semicircle. Another change made during the renovation was on its facade. The first train stations in England were built as big houses in response to public reaction.[415] The first Punta Station looked like a European Villa with its entrance portico. In the renovation project, the door was removed, and a cafeteria was added to the entrance, embracing and overflowing the square, thus turning this previously deserted space into a social space.

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[415]   Steven Parissien, *The English Railway Station*, 2nd ed. (Swindon: English Heritage, 2015), 4.

The tram passenger would encounter a lively square with people drinking coffee in the cafe, walking in the square, entering the station to catch the train, and workers going through the small garden gate opening to the industrial area "behind" the city. Smyrna's first clock tower would greet him when he arrived at Buca suburban line station. The clock tower differed from the clocks in the Ottoman city centre by using Roman numerals. Everyone who came here and wanted to adjust their time and catch the train without missing had to comply with the railway that introduced the European standard and Edward Purser's British standard Greenwich time settings. Purser also refused for 40 years to print railroad texts and timetables in any language other than English. So, this square did not impose the British character only with its architectural and spatial characteristics. It also set British norms in sociocultural daily practices.

Figure 60. View from the Buca suburban line entrance to British properties, by the author-2022

The traveller from Passport and the old town must have felt like he had suddenly entered British territory. Just beyond the Clock Tower, the bells of the Anglican church, built in neo-Gothic style by the railway engineer as a small English Town Church, were ringing. The road passing in front of the church ended at the British Seaman Hospital. A street below this hospital would lead the traveller to British College. It is known that there were three British Schools in Smyrna and its suburbs, one in Bornova, one in Punta near British Seamen's Hospital, and one British Trade School to educate British railway workers' children and workers with national pride.[416] Wealthy merchant children were constantly sent to England for education, so these schools were usually for the workers. Along the line, followed by the traveller, there were entertainment venues, consulates, banks, and offices of British and other European merchants. Life on the back side,

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[416] Karl Scherzer, *İzmir 1873* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2001), 41.

separated by the railway, contrasted this. To see the workers' lives here, the traveller had to leave the tram going to Buca station and get on the newly added tram going to Darağaç workers' area. What they would see would be a different city. This tram line would show him single-storey and simple workers' houses and factories, separate from the ornate European buildings of the Quay. At night, he couldn't use this tram. The location of the port in the old city centre, which was unsuitable for growth, caused the problem of insufficient storage capacity and inability to connect to any railway. The city's actors were trying to solve this problem by running the freight tram between Pasaport and Punta at night instead of passengers. But perhaps the traveller following this tram would come across the hidden entertainment venues and prostitutes around Punta Station at night and the sailors of the ships in the port spending time with them. Smyrna's *vitriné* and its back, as well as its nights and days, were radically different from each other. The Punta terminus patch stood in the middle of all this divide and at the beginning of it.

4.2.1. An Inquiry into Semi-Colonial Patches

> *"patch: a small area that is different in some way from the surrounding area."*[417]

Based on Appadurai's explanation of the elements of the colonial presence in the post-colonial situation as patches, when we look at the Punta region in Smyrna, where British investments are concentrated, it is observed that the settlement formed around the railway station, offices, clock tower, railway lodgings, post office, telegraph office and warehouses, as well as the Aydın railway station terminal building, really looks like a patch within the modern city today.

Upon examining historical maps of the region, it becomes clear that the organisation of the area has remained consistent over time. The Punta train station served as the focal point, where the railway pier's maritime traffic, passenger and cargo traffic via tram from the Pasaport, the telegraphy lines and pedestrians came together. However, the visions of influential figures like the Whittal family, the Wilkin family, the De Jongh

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[417] 'Patch', in *Cambridge Dictionary*, accessed 12 October 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/patch.

family, and Edward Purser, who saw the area as a potential new port and centre of attraction, were never fully realised since Sultan Abdulhamid disapproved of further British projects due to feeling politically isolated by the British government. Consequently, the Punta region remained an unfinished project for British investors. Only when V. Mehmet ascended to the Ottoman throne did the British and French investors agree in 1910 to construct the new port in Punta.[418] Since this is a history of failure regarding British colonisation and imperialism, such projects as leftovers have never been examined in existing academic studies.

Figure 61. A patch is something noticeable with its internal coherency in contrast to its surrounding environment, by the author 2018

Bremner, Robert Home and Anthony King, who observed that the majority of research in this field has emerged from the Anglophone, first-world West and is primarily focused on India, provided valuable insights into the formal and informal aspects of such patch-wise colonial environments, which aided me in proposing a fresh perspective on such spaces.[419] I asked, *can we not talk about colonised spaces without official colonisation*? I aimed to remove preconceived notions of plantation-like settlements or grand projects and delved into the complexity of incomplete urban spaces. Although Smyrna still had some elements of a colonial empire, it offered a unique case study. As

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[418] M.J. Duckerts, *Turquie d'Asie Compte Rendu d'une Exploration Commerciale*, 1904.
[419] Bremner, 'Introduction', 3.

Bremner pointed out, the recent interest in the historic built environment has led to sub-disciplines in architectural history. This thesis can contribute to such a sub-discipline by examining the ***shortcomings of colonised spaces without colonial rule***.

In this regard, Smyrna was colonialism without colonisation, a **blank space in imperial and colonial histories.**[420] In the Ottoman lands, which Çağlar Keyder defines as a peripheralised area without colonisation due to having a relatively strong bureaucracy compared to colonised areas, Western Anatolia and Smyrna established the main arteries of semi-peripheralization within the British informal empire. Still, these were all in the form of patches and fragments. I claim that the most critical urban characteristic of being peripheralised without official colonial rule was that the colonial space remained as a patch in the urban sphere and also created urban conflicts of integration in the case of Smyrna, conflicting with the rest of the city and sometimes creating obstacles to current everyday lives.

4.2.1.1. Who Designs the Patch?

When one visits the archives in the UK, one figures that the design process included four separate spheres: The Foreign Office, the Office of Works, the local building committees, and finally, architects and engineers. Only when strategic assistance was needed in cases of railway construction was the Intelligence Office of Britain included in the design process.

The most prominent figures were the railway engineers, who gave the characters of the built environments along the tracks. Their understanding of what constitutes British identity and character was reflected and carried along the rails of Smyrna to Aydın and Smyrna Cassaba Railways from central Smyrna to the production centres in its hinterland.

The built environment we see in Punta, and to a large extent in Çamlık, as well as other towns where the railway reached out to, were the projects of Edward Purser. Intriguingly, his name has never been mentioned in the literature. He worked as the chief engineer and planned every detail meticulously throughout his work period of 40 years.

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[420]   Barbara Lüthi, Francesca Falk, and Patricia Purtschert, 'Colonialism without Colonies: Examining Blank Spaces in Colonial Studies' 18, no. 1 (22 December 2015): 1–9, https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2016.1107178.

There is little consistency about 19th century Smyrna; it was a very fluent world where the Ottoman officials came and went, the Cassaba railway was sold to the French, and people migrated and died. Still, Edward Purser remained constant for 40 years of work. It is mind-blowing to think how much of his works we are familiar with in our everyday lives in and around İzmir today. The second person referred to in the building of the railways and the St. John the evangelist church was engineer S. Watkins. He also owned a house in Punta railway square that still stands today. He was probably working in close collaboration with Purser. The third distinct name we know from the archives was Alfred Frederick William Werry, who built the new consular residences, consulate, and the British Seamen's hospital after demolishing the old Levant Company Quarters. He was a local architect, so there must have been more of his work.

All of the plans and projects developed by these engineers and architects were sent to the Foreign Office for inspection and to ask for funding. The British Government always provided feedback through the Foreign Office and almost always sent inspectors to foresee these projects. However, it was also always reluctant to pay. It expected the local merchant committee to fund the most significant amount possible. The British Government never wanted the zones of influence to burden home taxpayers.

The last of the actors were the local building committees formed whenever a project needed to be developed for the British community, such as the Seamen's Hospital, St. John the Evangelist Church, and the Fire Station. These included the wealthy gentlemen of Whittalls, Patersons, Architect Werry, Barkers, and Purser. They arranged meetings primarily in Purser's Office in Punta station and decided on the architectural characteristics and financial issues of the building processes.

These actors have shaped the urban environment in Smyrna to an extent that we still experience today. To their understanding, their hands formed a modern Smyrna to enable a desired degree of exploitation. In the following ten headlines, we will analyse how these actors planned this process of colonial modernisation in the production of colonial urban space.

4.3. Through the Looking Glass: Urban Narratives of Punta Patch Against the Rosy Visions of Cosmopolitan Paradise

Traveller Hans Barth depicted Smyrna as where the Eastern view and its scent that greets us from a distance is replaced by the smell of tar, fish and oil infused with European culture as we approach the shore. He states that the dock stretches before the traveller, Smyrna's marvellous dock. It is Smyrna, the pearl of the east, or, as the people of Smyrna call it, the pearl of the world. European Smyrna …There is no trace of the Eastern crowd that the Levantines despised. Everything is modern here; everything is "European" here: the street stones are the most tasteless, the houses are tasteful but monotonous; The mansions, which start towards the northeast, are along the street that forms Smyrna's boulevard and are intertwined with the halls and entertainment venues that are integral parts of them.[421]

As opposed to his depictions, architect Werry depicts Smyrna docks on the 20th of March 1893 as;

> *"If they really have the welfare of the seamen at heart as they profess, they cannot but admit that they are well aware of one important fact and that is the unhealthy locality where the present hospital is situated. There never were properly constructed sewers and what has made it still worse is that since the construction of the quay, a large amount of land was reclaimed from the sea, the streets surrounding the hospital are on a lower level, consequently there is no outfall for the street sewers which are nothing more than stagnant cesspools and have constantly to be cleaned out are a standing cause of infections to the whole neighbourhood…"[422]*

While this thesis primarily focused on the papers of the investors - and thus inevitably a little biased in conclusions due to lack of the original points of view of the "subalterns" on documentation, as Spivak[423] points out the difficulty of obtaining, it tried to show in combining the modernisation and dependency theories that the system based

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[421] Translated by the author from Turkish quoted in İlhan Pınar, *Gezginlerin Gözüyle İzmir 19. Yüzyıl II* (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1996), 108. The original quote in Turkish from the source: *"Uzaklardan bakınca bizi karşılayan Doğulu görüntü ve onun rayihası, kıyıya yaklaştıkça yerini Avrupa kültürü yalamış katran, balık ve yağ kokusuna bırakıyor….Rıhtım önümüzde uzayıp gidiyor; evet, İzmir'in harikası rıhtım; o İzmir ki, doğunun incisi ya da İzmirlilerin deyişiyle dünyanın incisi. Avrupalı İzmir…Levantenlerin burun kıvırdıkları Doğuya özgü kalabalıktan eser yok! Burada her şey modern, burada her şey "Avrupai": sokak taşları en zevksizlerinden, evlerince zevkli fakat monoton; kuzeydoğuya doğru başlayan köşkler, İzmir'in bulvarını oluşturan cadde boyunca ve bunların ayrılmaz parçası olan salon ve eğlence yerleriyle iç içe."*

[422] A.F.William Werry, 'Correspondance-A. Fred.k W. Werry, Architect and Contractor to Mr Boyce', 20 March 1893, WORK 10/52/3, NA.

[423] Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Garreth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 2003), 24–29.

on exploiting the land and people should not be looked at with rosy visions as "*the Paris of the East*" just because the "*vitriné*" of the city designed to look European.[424]

Behind this *"vitrine",* the city based on profit and exploitation was hiding diseases, infiltration methods, class differentiation, gentrification, segregation, and discrimination based on the superiority created by the colonisers and almost always had a conflict between groups of different interests. The beautification and glamorisation of a time when the city became extremely polarised both in the sociological and physical sense; the positioning of the Levant Quarter as having the *"most beautiful buildings"* as opposed to the *"ugly and filthy(!) Ottoman Quarters," and the idealisation of piecemeal profit-based* urban interventions around the Frank Quarter are problematic and Orientalizing in their nature and should not be fostered in urban histories.

To open a new window against this beautification, the problems brought by colonial modernism and its ways of operating in the city are discussed under ten narratives below, which I think will foster a different kind of history writing regarding the 19th-century modernisation of Smyrna.

The first seven narratives are based on spatial aspects of colonial setup. Colonial Railways, bourgeoise towns connected with these railways, factories attached to this system, ports connected to the railways and maritime labour, securing the healthy interface with hospitals, dissemination of disciplining the body with clocks, and fire station infrastructure to provide security for the investments. The last three are concerned with the results of the investments mentioned above, polarisation, spatial segregation, and marginalisation as characteristics of colonial modernisation in the process of integration into a capitalist world economy.

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[424] Many voices were buried in forming the so called "paradise". Not only the Ottoman subjects were the "otherized" but also the people whose spatial practices shaped the city were ignored from the texts; the seamen, the industrial worker, the missionaries, the service sector worker, the prostitutes and so on. Gayatri Spivak questions the possibility of making these layers of subalternity speak, as such Ranajit Guha and Edward Said. Spivak is cautious about the possibility of such a speak though, since there is lack of reference to their existence as opposed to the generations of –lets resemble to Levant Families documenting their "noble family trees" and "enterprises", "grand houses", "factories" and so on. But, can we give them a voice by reading the traces within the urban sphere and try to understand the ways they were manipulated through imperial plans?

4.3.1. *Railway Kingdom*: The Great Authority over Urban Space

"The railway and telegraph are not only of incalculable value as political instruments, but they are the pioneers of enlightenment and advancement: it is theirs to span the gulf which separates barbarism from civilisation; and this is an enviable lot, by whose exertions, the arts and industry, the capital and enterprise, the knowledge of humanity of Western Europe shall be familiarised and brought home to the dwellers in the East."[425]

Figure 62. Stephenson locomotive in Smyrna-Aydın Railway[426]

MacKenzie declares that few buildings represented the extraordinary combination of modernity and imperial rule's social and political ambitions better than railways.[427] Railways, post offices and telegraph establishments often symbolised modernity and imperial connectivity. [428] At the same time, church spires and clock towers around them imposed Western concepts of time and discipline in highly visible ways. Together with their clock towers, railways especially became emblems of modernity and imperial

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[425] William P. Andrew's quote in Yakup Bektaş, 'The Sultan's Messenger: Cultural Constructions of Ottoman Telegraphy, 1847-1880', *Technology and Culture* 41, no. 4 (2000): 669–96.

[426] 'Photograph- Smyrna-Aiden Railway Stephenson 4-4-0 Locomotive', 1862 1859, ZSPC 11/466, NA.

[427] John M. MacKenzie, *The British Empire Through Buildings: Structure, Function and Meaning*, 1st ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 150.

[428] MacKenzie, 213.

discipline.[429] MacKenzie also states these were the parts of the built environments of the *informal empires*, where commerce, personnel, and goods from the West infiltrated. These developments were often seen as a sign of their superiority, proving their cultural dominance and entitlement to govern those deemed incapable of achieving such grandeur. These structures became a gauge for human progress, a tool for spreading the message of civilising missions, and legitimising, promoting, and safeguarding the mission and its advocates. These technologies represented much more than the utilisation of modes of communication: they were symbols of European technological progress, *the principal ideology of the empire*.[430]

Military and governmental establishments could overshadow them in a colonial city. Yet, in semi-colonised urban spaces of the informal empire, as in Smyrna's Punta patch, their presence represented the core of economic dependency on a colonial power, around which new commercial centres were formed. The railways were the most essential institution of colonial mari-terrestrial space for the British Empire. The whole settlement and economic activity revolved around the railways. Hyde Clark stated that it operated under colonial modernism, fertilising enterprise toward a new future. The importance of the railways became twofold: exploitation of agriculture, industry and heritage while protecting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and dissemination of Western culture.

> *"To England more than any other power, it is of vital importance that the strength of Turkey should not so decline as to warrant those evil forebodings which tend inevitably to the adoption of a despairing and encroaching policy in the Levant. It is manifestly our business to deprecate such perverse or interested calculations and to encourage those fertilising enterprises which, like your railway, may help to infuse new vigour into the veins and sinews of Turkey."* [431]

On a consular confidential correspondence, it states "it is an essentially British interest that there should be railway communications established throughout Asiatic Turkey" and that "it should not fall into French or Franco-Russian hands. The report further notes that it is important "*it should be a sound financial undertaking, and should not require or expect any material support whatever from Her Majesty's Government.*"[432] This confidential correspondence of Ambassador White proves how the railway projects were related to the British Government even though they were privately funded. In another part of the report, the British Government's opinion is sought by saying that;

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[429]   MacKenzie, 143.
[430]   MacKenzie, 145.
[431]   Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 44.
[432]   'Confidential Correspondance by Ambassador W.A. White', February 1887, FO 881/5548, NA.

"Her Majesty's Government should call for such a preparatory scheme from our own Intelligence Department [Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı], ... to give valuable confidential advice as to what it is desirable for us to support, and what to eschew, with regard to these railways, after which the Foreign Office would have a basis enabling it to give specific instructions to this Embassy as the occasion might arise."[433]

The same report, dated 1888, notes that the situation in Turkey has changed and that "the game is up" since Persia slipped out of British hands to secure Mediterranean railway connections. Yet still, precautions must be taken against the absorption of Turkey by Russia, or at least delay it as much as possible. Suppose further British lines are to be constructed. In that case, there was a fear that the Ottoman Empire was a "backwards country with a backwards military", so if it could not defend itself and the British needed to support in its place, and if the war advanced in Russian terms, any British railway falling under Russian rule would be strategic instrument against Britain.[434]

James Whittall, a British subject residing in Smyrna, expressed sentiments that aligned with the colonialist aspirations of the railway project. He even went as far as proposing that the Ottoman Aegean coast could potentially be transformed into an English or German colony, provided these nations executed their strategies effectively. He wrote about how to accomplish this:

"the first and most important step is to make railways. They will be constructed, owned, and worked by Englishmen. They will be enormously profitable, and they will render productive provinces now uncultivated... The railway companies and the European colonies will become little republics."[435]

Another confidential report in 1895 notes that there used to be four British Railways in Turkey, but now only Smyrna Aydın remains a British enterprise. It further mentions no more enthusiastic investment in changing this situation. It also suggests that the disappearance of British interest in Turkey's railways was due to two leading causes. The first was the Ottoman Government's insistence on drawing the routes of the extension of railways on its own, causing harm to capitalist interests. The second is the difference between the British and other banking systems supporting these railways. The British bankers insisted on the British way of "*legitimate banking business*", deeming others as illegitimate in a superior tone and keeping the assets liquid as a form of secure investment. However, the French and Germans insisted on keeping the capital locked up. These two factors created a less desirable economic environment for British investors. Combined

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[433] 'Confidential Correspondance by Ambassador W.A. White'.
[434] 'Secret Correspondence by Henry Brackenbury from Intelligence Office', 7 September 1887, FO 881/5548, NA.
[435] Elvan Cobb, 'Railway Crossings: Encounters in Ottoman Lands', 113.

with the political instability in Anglo-Ottoman relations mentioned in Chapter II, the railways in Turkey lost their importance to the British.[436]

Even though the enthusiasm faded at the end of the 19th century, railway investors tried to obtain many concessions around Anatolia during its heyday in the early 1850s. The Smyrna-Aydın Railway line became the pioneer eventually. When the first interest sparked after the Crimean War, British Entrepreneurs Sir Joseph Paxton, Messrs Wythes, W. Jackson, and A.W. Rixon obtained the concessions for the first section of the railway line in 1856. These people had the concession of Bengali train projects as well at the same time, and both were operated later by Sir Rowland Macdonald Stephenson. Therefore, similar trans-imperial spaces and colonial aspects were created between Western Anatolia and India during the early years of colonial railways.
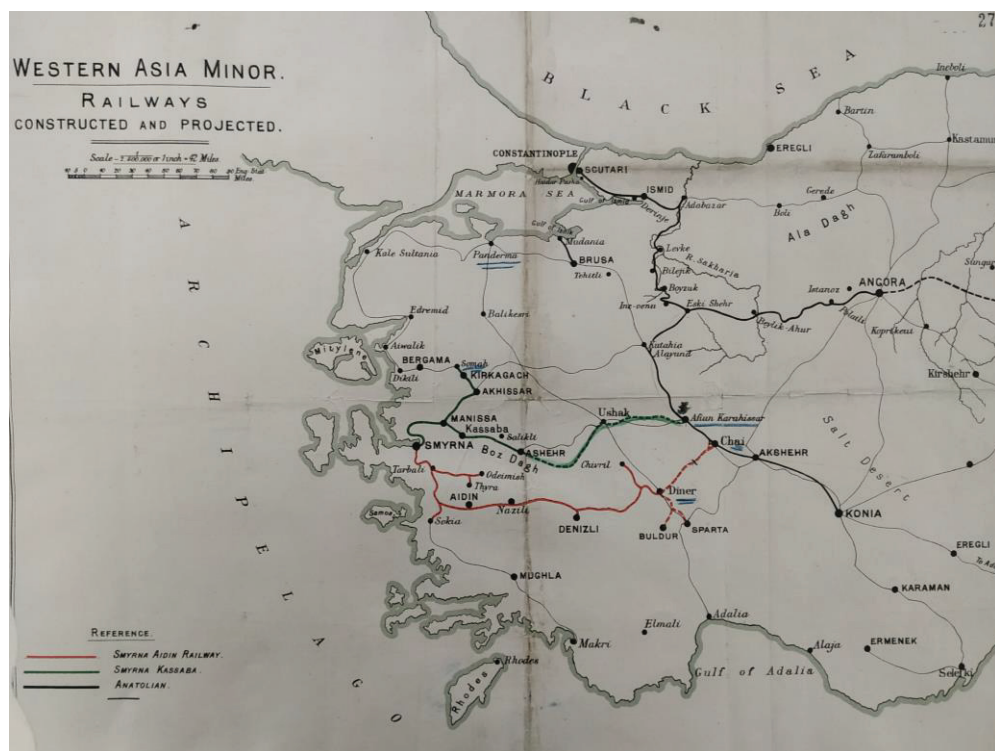
Figure 63. Smyrna Aydın and Cassaba Railways to connect the Persian Gulf, then to India[437]

The Smyrna Aydın project, as indicated by Hyde Clark, was based on exploiting the "***rich valley of the Cayster (Küçük Menderes), one of the finest and best-cultivated valleys in the world.***"[438] This was one of the two valleys mentioned in Chapter III. The

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[436]   'Confidential Report by Major Law', December 1895, FO 881/5548, NA.
[437]   'Western Asia Minor Railways Constructed and Projected'.
[438]   Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 8.

second railway project came in 1863, with the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway line, whose concession was obtained by another British entrepreneur, Edward Price. These railways were observed as the spearheading projects of modernity by British hands. Hyde Clark said they expected the railways to transform the built environment towards modern building techniques and materials. He declared that stone structures would increasingly replace wooden and brick buildings in Smyrna and Aydın along the railways. He expected a high demand for various building materials and tools in the next decade for new constructions and renovations in multiple locations due to the railway's development.[439] Clark also mentioned other aspects of the railway line for further cultural exploitation. The seven churches, Ephesus, Patmos, and other spiritual sites, will thereby be made accessible, he declares, even to the ladies! Apart from the touristic gaze, these excursions along the railway line which crosses Claros, Smyrna, Ephesus, Thyra, Magnesia ad Meandrum, Tralles, Samos, Mylasa, Alabanda, Alinda, Priene, Eunomus, Stratonicea, Philadelphia, Miletus, Aphrodisias, Laodicea, Tripolis, Hierapolis, Hypapa (Typaya), Blaundus, Chonos, is to be in service of the archaeological sites to be examined, reached out and exploited to *"enrich the museums of London and Paris".*[440]

ENGLISH PROTESTANT CHURCH AT BOUDJAH, SMYRNA.
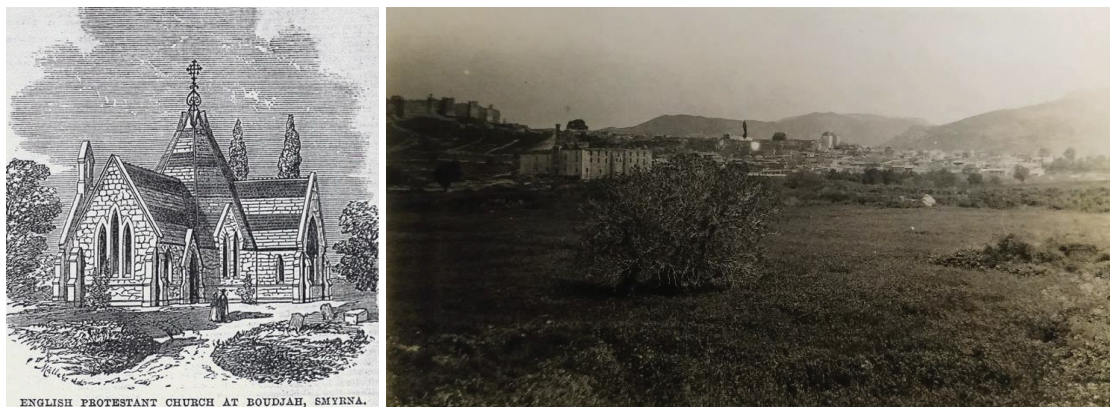
Figure 64. John Turtle Wood, who designed the Buca Evangelist Church as well, came as the engineer of the railway company and then[441], having discovered Ephesus during excursions for Çamlık and Ayasuluk, left his position and began excavations with a grant from the British Government. The items were transported via train line to ports and England. Cadoux Archive-Ephesus[442]

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[439] Clarke, 23–24.
[440] Clarke, 19.
[441] 'Canon Clarke Collection Photo Album of Africa - Buca Anglican Church - Originally Printed in Illustrated London News'.
[442] 'Cadoux Archive-Ephesus', 1900, MS. Cadoux Archive, Folder 108, OBL.

*"… creating fresh settlements in the wilderness, by pushing their railway lines into its pathless swamps and unexplored forests. For one, wherever my future sphere of action may be, I shall not lightly abandon the hopes I continue to cherish in favour of this interesting empire.… **Turkey needs, and Europe would demand**…"[443]*

As Stephenson mentioned above, the Ottoman Empire was seen as a needy empire with savage lands open to all kinds of exploitation. Britain, reflected as a European demander and modernising saviour, came to its rescue. Through such discourse, railways played a significant role in colonialism and imperialism. They were built in strategically important areas with valuable products, such as mining sites or agricultural regions. As mentioned by Çağlar Keyder, British capitalists were interested in producing products necessary for the global economy. For this purpose, one-third of the lands in Western Anatolia belonged to British entrepreneurs registered as "*Çiftlik*". The British either extracted minerals from these places or supported the cultivation of products such as cotton, valonea or liquorice, which were essential for British industries. However, transporting these grown products to the port of Smyrna was a significant obstacle. To overcome this challenge, the British created two main railway lines. The first was the Smyrna Aydın Railway, which started to be built in 1858, and the second was the Smyrna Cassaba Railway, which began in 1863. Although the Smyrna Cassaba railway could collect the products of its hinterland, the terminal building located in the city could not expand. Therefore, storage capacity was limited. Additionally, the terminal construction of the Cassaba railway in Basmane was not directly connected to any port service. Hence, the need to load products on animals and proceed on rugged roads to reach the port existed. Although many boulevard projects were proposed to connect the station with the newly built French port and Quay in 1876, none could be implemented. Moreover, storage capacity and expansion opportunities were limited since the port was built very close to the city. On the other hand, Punta railway station had the advantage of extensive lands with the opportunity to establish its maintenance workshops, telegraph, post office, offices, warehouses, and port. Hence, it was exempt from these transportation and storage-related issues. When this railway line was handed over to the French in 1893, it was already described in British documents as a line about to fail. For the British, this line was valuable and strategic only if it was connected with the Smyrna-Aydın railway and the pier of Punta station was turned into a port, as planned by Edward Purser.

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[443]   Rowland Macdonald Stephenson, *Railways in Turkey. Remarks upon the Practicability and Advantage of Railway Communication in European and Asiatic Turkey* (London: John Weale, 1859), 44.

A simple search in the National Archives of the UK would show the difference between the two railways in the eyes of the British Government. Smyrna-Cassaba Railway line would return with just ten folders, whereas Smyrna-Aydın Railway (ORC-Ottoman Railway Company) would return 92 folders. Even the Smyrna Seamen's Hospital would return 22 folders, twice the number the Cassaba Railway would return. In addition, a researcher will find out that most of the ten documents of the Cassaba Railway line were about the disputes on the destruction of railways during the Turkish War of Independence, unlike the Aydın railway folders going way back to its establishment.

The reason is simple. The British investors and the Foreign Office did not see the Cassaba Railway as a prosperous enterprise and a strategic asset unless connected to the Aydın line and Punta railway pier. ***Colonial modernity needed an ex-nihilo space to actualise itself in the mari-terrestrial interface.*** Without it, none of the railways would be strategic. The consular report on the railways in Western Anatolia summarises the situation of this railway in the eyes of the British Government and other British investors. The Smyrna-Cassaba system serves a fertile country that exports a considerable amount of produce from Smyrna during favourable seasons. In 1863, the Smyrna Cassaba Company built a 58 ¼ mile railway from Smyrna to Cassaba. They extended it to Alaşehir five years later, adding another 47 ½ miles. The government borrowed 500,000 l. and agreed to pay 7% interest and 1% amortisation. In 1888, the Company built a 57-mile-long branch from Magnesia to Soma for the government. By 1893, the Government owed the Company 2,207,584 l. The total length of the railway, including branches, was 165 ½ miles, and construction cost around 1,600,000 l. Despite no engineering challenges, the debt continued to grow.[444]

This railway station was between the Muslim and Armenian Quarters on the periphery of the old city centre. It was built as a modest two-storey building that blended with its surroundings. A common failure in the literature on Smyrna states that the current Basmane station was built with French influence in 1863 and remained as such. The British building built in the first place was not comparable with the Smyrna Aydın Railway terminus at Punta with its organisation and architecture. The French must have rebuilt or changed the appearance of this building after they bought the concession from the Ottoman Government. The black and white photo between the Lamec Saad plan and the cart postal view of the Basmane station below, showing the tracks and the south-

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[444] 'Correspondance-Turkey Report on the Railways in Asiatic Turkey. With 5 Maps. (Major Law)', 20 October 1895, FO 881/6698, NA.

eastern façade of the station dated 1900, proves that the 3rd floor was a later addition. The Cadoux Archive photo in the collage below, showing the arrival of Mustafa Kemal Paşa in 1922, offers the third-floor addition. An image from around 1900 from the tracks of this station also shows a two-storey building. Therefore, the iconic steep roof of the Basmane Station was a Republican design, including the large boulevard and square organisation in front of its main façade. So it is clear that the Punta terminus was favoured over the Basmane station due to its ability to connect sea and land transport, and therefore, was designed more prominently.

Figure 65. Left side top and bottom are Basmane Railway station plans[445], the Station's place on the Saad map[446], the Station building from the tracks as a two-storey building[447], Station building after the third floor added[448]

[445] 'İzmir-Kasaba Demiryolu Hattı Projesi, İzmir-Menemen Arası Bornova Bölümü Planları', 1860s-1870s, PLK.p. 1238, BOA.

[446] Saad, 'Plan de Smyrne / Lamec Saad ; Blumenau et Soeder | Gallica'.

[447] Taylan Zeybek, 'Osmanlı Devleti Döneminde İzmir'de Dokuma Sanayisi', accessed 21 March 2023, https://aktuelarkeoloji.com.tr/kategori/arkeoloji/osmanli-devleti-doneminde-izmir-de-dokuma-sanayisi.

[448] 'Basmane Train Station', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1900s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/basmane.htm.

Above: 1860s, Sekibiye Caddesi (Basmane Caddesi) before the Basmane station was erected.

Above: Definitely after 1894 and before 1922, since the caption states "prolongements" and the third story to the mid section was not yet built. The station resembles a medium scale house

Above: September 1922, "Awating the arrival of Mustafa Kemal at Basma Haneh Sta.", from the Cadoux Archive of Bodleian Library. The Station has the third floor.

Above: 1930s, station has a new high roof, additional left wing, square was not introduced yet

Above: 1930s, sBuildings demolished for the new square and boulevard, ground not constructed.

Above: 1930s, station has a new high roof, additional left wing, square was not introduced yet

Figure 66. Changes in Basmane station and its surrounding[449]

[449] From top left to bottom right; 'Basmane Civarı', *Eski Türkiye Fotoğrafları Arşivi* (blog), Early 1860s, https://www.eskiturkiye.net/tag/basmane/index.html; 'Basmane Train Station'; 'Cadoux Archive', 1900; 'Basmane Tren Garı', Kültür Envanteri, 1930s, https://kulturenvanteri.com/tr/yer/basmane-gari/izmir-basmane-gari/; 'Basmane Civarı'; 'İzmir Tarih - Basmane Garı. İzmir 1930', İzmir Tarih - Facebook, 1930, https://es-la.facebook.com/izmirtarih/photos/a.191343011071686/857036241169023/?type=3.

The report above also states that the total distance from Smyrna to the termini at Cassaba and Soma was relatively short, and camel caravans remain a competitive mode of transportation. ***The railway faces significant disadvantages, including its Smyrna terminus in the middle of town, its distance from the port, and its limited space.*** In 1891, the gross traffic receipts were 134,797 l.; in 1892, 138,679 l.; and in 1893, 141,948 l. The working expenses remained low, at about 41 per cent. However, these receipts did not compare favourably with the Aidin Company's. While extending the railway from Alaşehir to Uşak could increase revenues, it posed financial and engineering difficulties. Therefore, the report states that the Company made a wise decision in accepting an offer for the purchase of their property by the agency of the Ottoman Government to Mr. Nagelmachers, which passed into his hands in July 1894.[450]

As a result, the only remaining British railway was the Smyrna-Aydın Railway at the end of the 19th century. This line favoured its investors and the British Government since it had direct access to the maritime world and had its own ex-nihilo space to articulate every necessary means towards development, unlike the Cassaba Railway. As opposed to the common reference "***coal pier***" of the Aydın railway, the pier had extensive rights according to the archival material in the National Archives at Kew. In a letter dated March 4th, 1907, a dispute between the French Port and the railway company was discussed. It starts by stating that goods of any kind destined for the railway and for ***its clients*** (the critical emphasis is here as the industrial initiatives are the clients of the Ottoman Railway) can be landed directly at the Railway Pier and that there is no need for them to be conveyed to the Central Custom House at the centre, over a mile away, to be cleared.[451] The point is made upon the imports for the Gas Company (noted as British concern) based on the 5th article of the first agreement made between the Ottoman Empire and the British investors, which states as follows:

> *"The Company may also have a special **Quay** built in Smyrna at the line's terminus with its outbuildings to load and unload exclusively the **goods that must cross the line** and within the limits necessary for the service. The Government, for its part, will place customs officers at the railway station or on the (Railway) Quay in Smyrna and wherever else it deems necessary to check*

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[450] 'Correspondance-Turkey Report on the Railways in Asiatic Turkey. With 5 Maps. (Major Law)'.

[451] 'General Correspondance - From and To Smyrna', 1907, FO 195/2266, NA.

the goods transported by the Company and to collect customs duties without the consignors of these goods are subsequently obliged to pass them back through customs."[452]

"***The goods that must cross the line***" referred to the clients whose goods needed to use the railway, as in the case of, for example, Söke MacAndrews and Forbes liquorice factory. So, it is evident that, as opposed to the literature on Smyrna, the railway pier extending over time was not solely used to transport the coal for the railway itself. This was the little cheat point of the railway agreement if you analyse that almost every source from the hinterland needed the railway. This gave the Smyrna Aydın Railway a power that no other railway can obtain in Smyrna, *having a pier adjacent to the warehouses and station*.
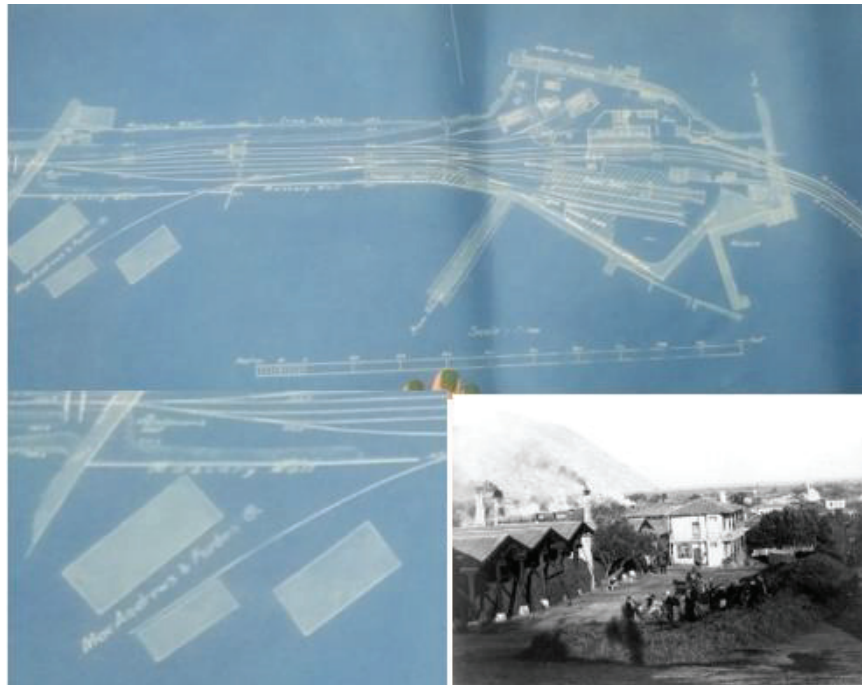
Figure 67. Aydın terminus and diversion line created for the MacAndrews and Forbes liquorice factory, black and white photo shows Söke branch.[453]

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452 Ibid. The original text is "*La Compagnie pourra aussi faire construire a Smyrna au terminus de la ligne un quai spécial avec ses dépendances pour y charger et décharger exclusivement les marchandises qui doivent traverser la ligne, et ce dans les limites nécessaires au service même. Le Gouvernement, de son côté placer des préposes de douane a la station ou au quai du chemin de fer à Smyrne et partout ailleurs ou il la jugera nécessaire pour vérifier les marchandises transportées par la Compagnie et pour en percevoir les droits de douane, sans que les consignataires de ces marchandises soient par la suite, obliges à les faire repasser par la douane.*"

453 Maps are from Alsancak Railway Museum, photograph obtained from Wakefield Liquorice Museum and Forbes Company currently operating in USA through e-mail correspondance.

Even though this advantage would not be used immediately at the beginning due to the Punta station being outside the old city centre, this area and the station transformed themselves, especially gaining their character at the end of the 19th century. The horizontal view analysis below conducted on different photos from different periods summarises the development of this area. As the first photos demonstrate, a European villa-like station was built in the middle of nowhere at the beginning. It had an entrance portico and was a rectangular building. A long masonry wall divided The pier area from the rest of the city. Behind this wall, the railway pier, warehouses, lodgings, and ateliers were built. On the other side of these establishments were the factories along the water, as required by the technology back then. The railway maintenance also required water sources, so Punta station was lucky. Cassaba Railway, for example, had to build its pier for this reason in Halkapınar, a very long way from its station. Towards the end of the 1860s, we see the soil covered in front of the Punta station, paved and organised as a square. In 1890s photographs, we see that the building was altered radically, divided into three quarters now organised around a semi-circle to embrace the square in front. The collonaded portico was removed, and a coffee house was opened looking towards the square. All these changes were under the jurisdiction of the Smyrna-Aydın Railway, and they had a very large settlement to be referred to as a "British town".
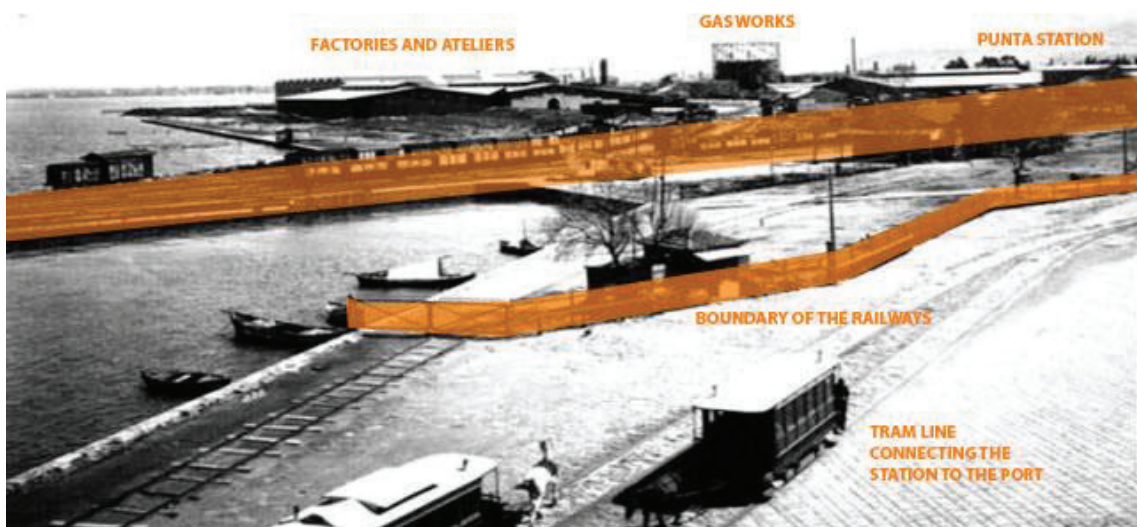
Figure 68. ORC pier[454]

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[454] 'Darağaç Neighbourhood', Levantine Heritage, 1900s,
http://www.levantineheritage.com/daragac.htm.
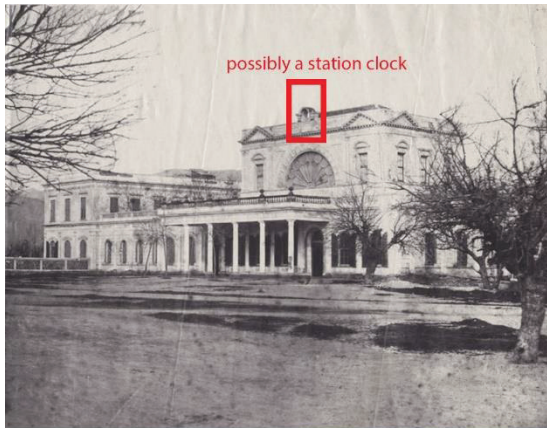
Left: 1860s, First phase of the construction, hospital wing is seen on the left side
Above: 1860s, the boulevard is organized as a square

Upper Left: 1890s, Second phase of the station, the facade adorned with a colonnaded entrance was demolished possibly for to emphasize the square with the arrival of the tram line, also the hospital wing was re-built and a cafe extending from the station in relation to the square was added.
Above: Stamp around 1908, Cafe on the square is active, the new mass built in place of the hospital wing is clearly seen.

Below Left: After 1923, when the tram line got cancelled, the square was re-organized.

Left: Railway boundary wall dividing alsancak into two separate quarters: factories in Halkapınar and public quare with amenities and living quarters in Punta.
Above: Possibly After 1884 and before 1890 tram line, the Clock Tower dominates the urban square, the Regie Ottomane is visible(1884) and at the end of the boulevard soon to be British Seamen's Hospital site ends the boulevard.

Figure 69. Punta Station's transformation over time[455]

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455 'Gare (Punta)-Album', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1860s-1910s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/gare.htm.

Figure 70. Punta Station Square today, by the author, 2022

This "British town" included many facilities. Railway stations served as powerful symbols of the infrastructure that held colonies together, showcasing the pride and capability of railway companies. Their significance extended beyond mere transportation, as they played a crucial role in global communications, particularly freight and mail handling. Along with dispatching and receiving trains on multiple tracks and platforms, larger stations provided travellers with a range of amenities, such as ticket and telegraph offices, resting and refreshment rooms, and waiting areas that reflected the social hierarchies of colonial societies. In major centres, railway headquarters could be housed in a separate building.[456] The Punta station and its settlement had all of these amenities included in its design. A Post Office was also established by the Aydın Railway because the foreigners constantly complained about the Ottoman language and alphabet used in the Ottoman Post Service as if they had to adjust to Western standards.[457] MacKenzie notes that these post offices in notable colonial and imperial cities were edifices that represented worldwide communication, linking the colonies and territories to the metropolis. They served as the empire's nervous system, uniting its political, military, cultural, commercial, press-related, and private operations. The military value of these post offices cannot be underestimated, as they enabled swift transmission of information about unrest and rebellion, prompting required measures as was proven beneficial in the Indian Revolt of 1857.[458]

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[456] MacKenzie, *The British Empire Through Buildings*, 149.
[457] Çınar Atay, *Tarih Içinde İzmir* (Tifset Basım ve Yayın Sanayii, 1978), 27.
[458] MacKenzie, *The British Empire Through Buildings*, 148.
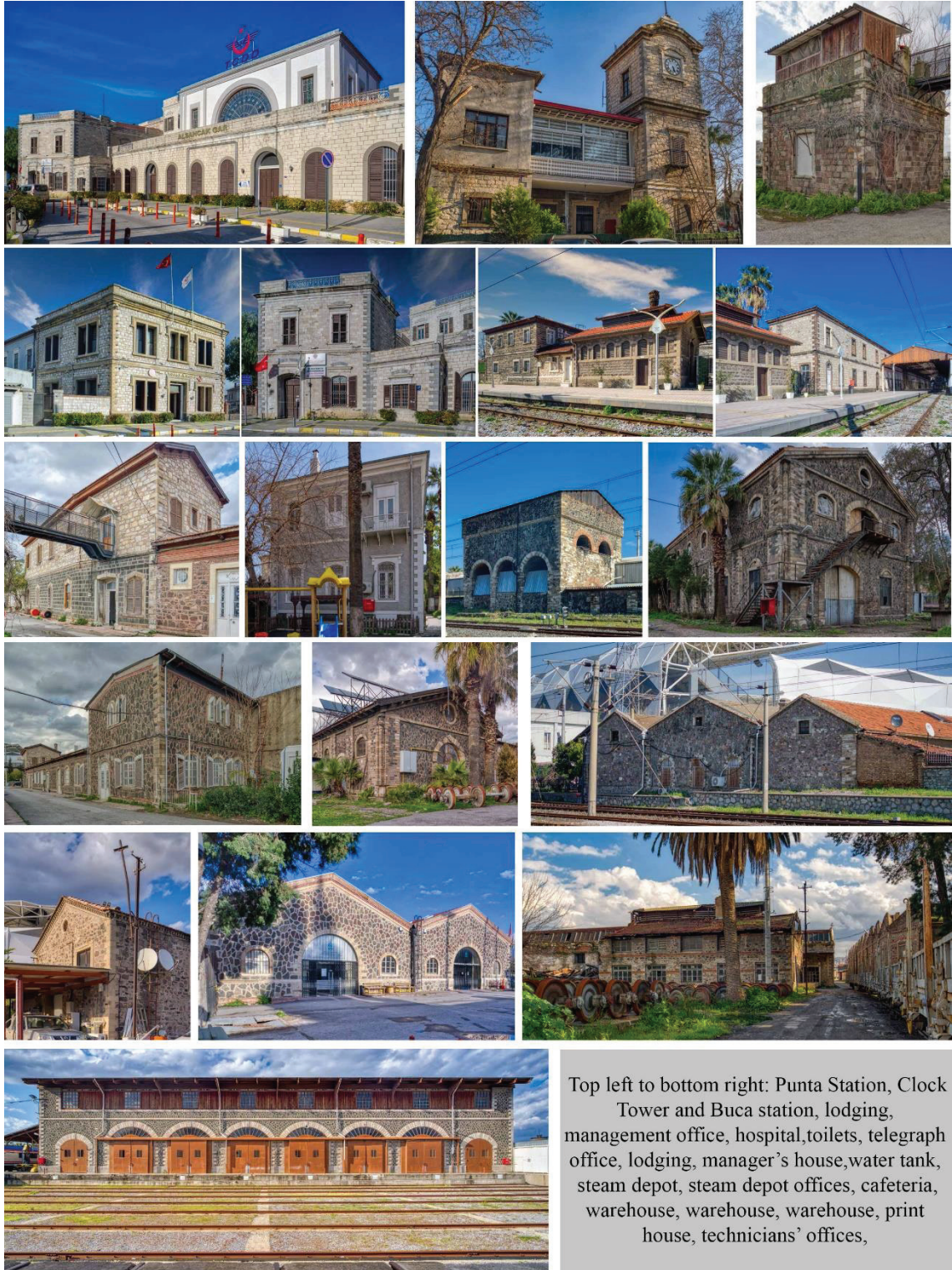
Top left to bottom right: Punta Station, Clock Tower and Buca station, lodging, management office, hospital,toilets, telegraph office, lodging, manager's house,water tank, steam depot, steam depot offices, cafeteria, warehouse, warehouse, warehouse, print house, technicians' offices,

Figure 71. Remaining buildings of the Smyrna Aydın Railway line in Punta, the ones around the port were demolished.[459]

[459] *İzmir Endüstriyel Miras Envanteri*, digital (İzmir Kalkınma Ajansı-İZKA), accessed 14 December 2023, https://izka.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/endustriyel-miras.pdf.

In light of the archival materials summarised above, it can be seen that the railways, like the Smyrna-Aydın line and stations over which the capitalist gentlemen had rights, were *railway kingdoms*. Not only did they have specific coverage around the sites the railway tracks crossed, but the mines nearby were primarily their rights to extract. Moreover, almost all the parcels around the stations, as was the case of the MacAndrews and Forbes warehouses and diversion lines provided by the Aydın Railway, especially in Punta Terminus, had been purchased during the planning phase by railway engineers. We know that most of these lands belonged to Edward Purser and his wife in Çamlık and around Punta Station, as they offered various land alternatives to the construction committees formed during the hospital and church construction. Two maps drawn summarise the situation here.

Figure 72. A plan prepared by Edward Purser to suggest a site for St John the Evangelist Church, showing Buca station and clock tower, railway manager's lodging, Shotton, Watkins, Walker, Andrus, and Giraud houses. Purser suggests the site adjacent to these houses dated 15 June 1898[460]

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[460] '1898 Map of the Region around the Anglican Church of St. John, Smyrna'.
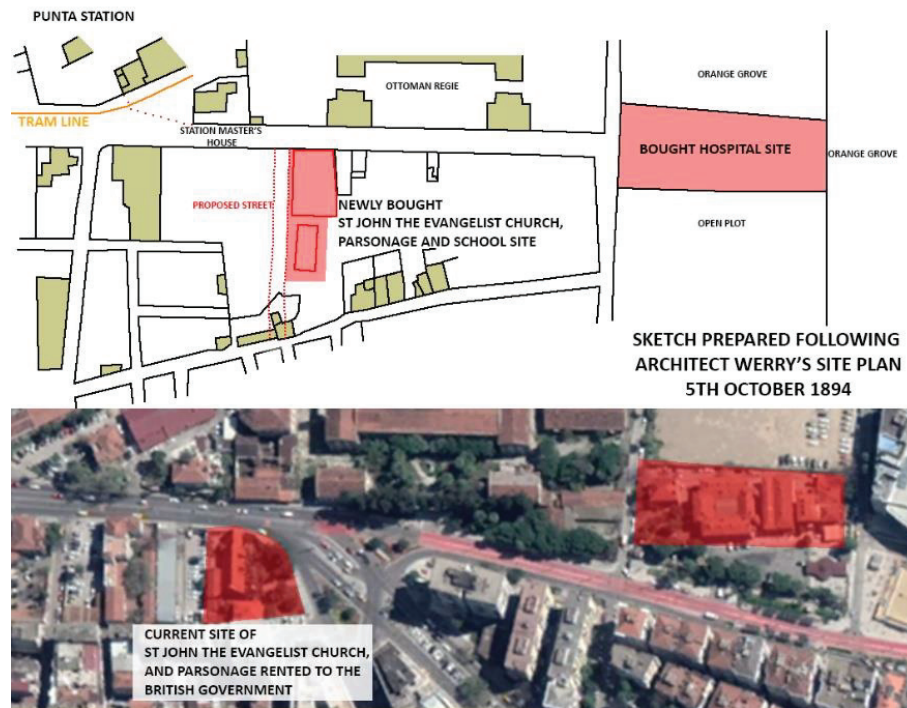
Figure 73. Re-drawn site plan of the St John Church, by the author. This site was selected because Purser required a very high amount for his area adjacent to the British Gas Factory.[461]

As mentioned previously, Purser owned many sites around the Punta mari-terrestrial interface and imposed Western standards and time on this urban sphere, as discussed in the upcoming chapter on the station clock. He and other wealthy British gentlemen wanted even higher authority by constructing a port around the railway pier and re-buying the Smyrna Cassaba Railway to connect with them after it was sold to the French competitors. Chris Horner forwarded that Edward Purser's efforts to persuade the Ottoman authorities and the London Board of the ORC (Smyrna Aydın Railway) to acquire the Casaba Railway and take the Quay Company under British possession were resisted. Purser was experienced in railway building, having worked on the English and Indian railways for almost a decade. He had ambitious plans to extend the railway into central Anatolia, linking up with German capital-funded railways and eventually reaching the Persian Gulf and India. Purser's diary contained calculations of the distances and costs involved in this undertaking, meaning that in addition to the consular correspondence and literature supporting the idea that the British aim in Western Anatolia was to have a direct connection to India. However, running a relatively small railroad that only transported

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461   'Correspondance-A.F.W.Werry - Architect'.

goods from the agricultural interior to Smyrna did not satisfy him. The Casaba Railway eventually linked up to the Anatolian Railway, to his dislike, and was granted extension concessions. As mentioned in Chapter II, this resulted from a loss of faith in Abdülhamid's side towards the British and the loss of the British Government's interest in railways connecting to India after their influence diminished in Persia around the same time. Purser negotiated with the Ottoman government to set aside their debts to the Aydın Railway in exchange for the Casaba Railway. The London Board was risk-averse and preferred to focus on increasing profits on the existing line, while the Ottoman Government favoured German capital over the British. According to his diary, the Quay Company's sale to other investors by the French Dussaud brothers was when Purser urged the London Board to bid.[462]

Another example of these multi-national dynamics in informal lands was the extension project for the Smrna-Aidin railway line to Lake Eğirdir to Lake Beyşehir and establishing the steamboat navigation in both lakes, which was forwarded to the embassy at Constantinople in 1913. Although the company had negotiated for the project from 1902 until 1906, it had always been opposed by the German-Anatolian Railway, which claimed the area as its sphere of influence. Not willing to accept any specific spheres of influence in Turkey, the Foreign Office supported the project to break German dominance. However, in 1913, the Turkish Government gave an Italian Syndicate the right to survey a line from Buldur to Adalia to the south of the existing Smyrna-Aidin railway. The British and the Italians reached an agreement in 1914, but with the outbreak of the war, they had to be left only as paper projects.[463] The British were able to build only a line to Eğridir Lake.

Even though the Smyrna Aydın Railway had the authority over its sphere of influence, it never achieved its ambitious plans. Just when they came to terms with the French Quay Company to demolish the port in Pasaport and plan a new one in the Punta Railway pier's area, WWI intermingled with their affairs, and this project was not realised until 1959 when the Turkish Republic built the current port of İzmir in Punta.

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[462] Information kindly provided by Chris Horner, from Purser's diaries.
[463] Mclean, 'Finance and "Informal Empire" Before the First World War'.

Figure 74. Ottoman Aydın Railway extension to Eğirdir Lake, showing the large area reserved for the company's exploitation in detail around the lake, 1906[464]

As a result, it can be seen that even though they started as a result of individual initiative when it was deemed politically necessary to consult the foreign office and the national intelligence agency in the planning of the railways, the management of these railways could be brought in by a foreign office official who was completely independent of the company, in fact, the railways and the post office, telegraph office, etc. It shows that all functions, such as schools, churches, hospitals and printing houses, could function as an extension of the British Empire. Here, personal enterprises are based on ambition, and their strategic importance depends on state interest, as when the British imperial administration considered the Smyrna Cassaba line less critical. For Britain, the empire was financed by gentleman capitalists through their investments. Cities, their ports and railways are therefore shaped in line with the British government's collusion and these entrepreneurs' interests. MacKenzie states that "*these buildings, therefore, encapsulated within them an imperial view from above and an opportunist perspective from below, providing opportunities to exploit such modernity by facilitating travel and speeding up journeys…*"[465]

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[464] 'Folios 486-492, Turkey Code 44, File 3707, Paper 26266. Sent by Foreign Office' (1 August 1906), FO 371/145/87, NA.

[465] MacKenzie, *The British Empire Through Buildings*, 146.

4.3.2. *Those Who Can Afford*: Bourgeoisie Town and Railway

The colonial space was the epitome of spatial segregation. The Europeans always preferred areas outside of the boundaries of where the natives lived. The distinction between these areas and the local settlements was because Western society tended to adopt an approach in central commercial districts to act like a local, which was shared with the city's inhabitants. In contrast, in suburban settlements, they were free to express their unique spatial structures directly and convey their belonging to a particular system and understanding.[466]

In this regard, just as Ramleh was developed in Alexandria or Civil lines established in Mumbai, Buca and Bornova were transformed in Smyrna. These were small villages near Smyrna before the mid-19th century. Throughout the second half of this century, the railways were instrumental in propelling the settlements of Bornova and Buca to prominence. The introduction of railways on the Smyrna-Aydin and Smyrna-Cassaba lines sparked growth in these communities, leading to significant changes in both the commercial and social aspects of life. Notably, Buca, where the Smyrna-Aydin railway line diverted to in 1860, and Bornova, along the Smyrna-Cassaba railway line diversion created in 1865, emerged as distinguished settlements along these routes. Settling in these suburbs was, of course, a privilege since transportation was not available to all classes during the 19th century. Hümeyra Birol Akkurt even mentions a wagon on the Smyrna-Bornova railway line that opened in 1865 *that only British-born Levantines and British people could use*.[467] This means the British did not even commute with other foreign nationals most of the time.

Hyde Clark stated that using the railway for a *daily commute was a privilege* not often enjoyed by the working classes during the 19th century. He notes that Buca, Bornova, and Seydiköy were the summer residences of Smyrna notables frequented by the rich simply because transportation was difficult and costly. However, he advocated that, in time, places with train stations would be preferred and frequented by all ranks of society. Yet, he dismisses the fact that the long working hours of the working classes would never favour sites outside of the industrial area, even if they could one day afford

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[466] Hümeyra Birol Akkurt, '19. Yüzyil Batililaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca Levanten Köşkleri Mekansal Kimliğinin İrdelenmesi' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, İzmir, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2004), 9.

[467] Birol Akkurt, 47.

the daily commute. On the other hand, the merchant could go from his summer residence to the centre more comfortably than before.[468]

There were two reasons for the British to settle away from the centre. The provision of property rights to foreigners was the first contributing factor to the growth of these settlements and the rise in population in the Levant. With this newfound right, many European merchants gravitated towards the vast lands in Bornova and Buca settlements, which were uncharted. These prosperous Western settlers, including Whittall, Giraud, Forbes, La Fontaine, Goud, and Paterson, bought large plots in these areas, an opportunity not available in the centre. The second reason was that they sought refuge from the humid and hot climate conditions, plague epidemics, and civil unrest.[469] Stephen Sheaffe quotes;

"By the beginning of the 19th century, Smyrna was a dirty, foul-smelling and diseased ravaged town with a population of about 100,000 people. Household sewage and waste were thrown onto the main Street to be washed away in the next downpour. As a trading centre, it attracted vermin-infested ships and disease-ridden sailors from around the world. The plague regularly ravaged it, and then, in 1809, this dreaded disease forced Charlton to rent the house in the village of Bornova. Many foreigners build country houses in the hills behind the city, a sufficient distance to commute, if not daily, at least weekly. They also owned a house in the centre of town, near their business premises, but their family residents were in the surrounding hills."[470]

In the latter half of the 19th century, the use of these settlements underwent significant changes. Bornova and Buca emerged as the primary living spaces where the foreign community showcased their European identity. Consequently, the housing characteristics of these settlements also transformed, with new spatial structures and local architectural features following the European style.[471] De Jongh, Forbes, and Rees families built their residences in Buca around the railway station. Paterson, Whittall, La Fontaine, Giraud, Maltass, Edwards, and Wilkinson families had their family residences in Bornova. In addition to their mansions with extensive gardens, the British investors established churches, schools, social clubs and many other social infrastructures, changing the built environment of these suburbs as well.[472]

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[468]   Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 11.
[469]   Birol Akkurt, '19. Yüzyil Batililaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca', 55.
[470]   Stephen W. Sheaffe, *Three Gold Seals and a Silver Spoon: Geneaology of Immigrant Ancestors* (Whittall Family Archive, 2011).
[471]   Birol Akkurt, '19. Yüzyil Batililaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca', 58.
[472]   Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.

Figure 75. Fig.1 Edward Purser with one of his horses in Paradiso race court-kindly provided by Chris Horner, Fig. 2-7-8 showing class distinctions and fences at Paradiso race courts,[473] Fig.3 Forbes Mansion postcard view,[474] Fig.4-5-6 Views of Buca Anglican church and Levantine houses-by the author

473 'Spartali Family Archive Gallery', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1900s-1920s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/spartali-archive.html.
474 Erol Şaşmaz, 'Forbes Köşkü', Tarihi Mekanlar Kişisel Ansiklopedi Erol Şaşmaz, 1910s, https://www.erolsasmaz.com/?oku=764.

2019

WHITTALL ANGLICAN CHURCH

1910S

BORNOVA STATION ROAD

1910S

BORNOVA WHITTALL MANSION

To Bornova

Caravan Bridge Road

To Buca

To Cassaba

Cordelio

Industrial Zone

Cassaba Railway Pier

Aydın Railway Pier

Punta

British Consulate

British Seamen's Rest

Port

Basmane

Caravan Bridge

Pagus

Meles

Settlement Area in City Centre

To Aydın

To Urla

1912
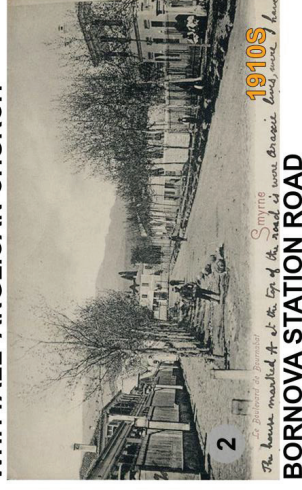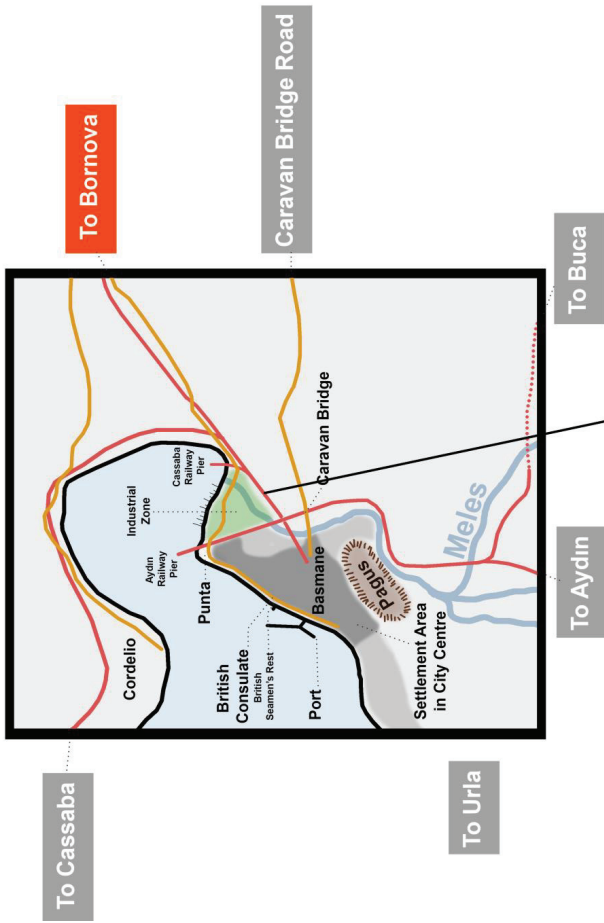
RAILWAY LINE CONNECTING BASMANE TO BORNOVA

Figure 76. Fig.1 Mary Magdelene Church in Bornova,[475] Fig.2 Bornova railway road,[476] Fig.4 Whittall Mansion in Bornova,[477] Fig.4 Smyrna-Bornova suburban line map[478]

[475] Şaşmaz, 'St. Mary Magdalene Anglikan Kilisesi-Bornova'.
[476] 'Whittall Family Photo Album', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1910s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/whittall2.htm.
[477] Nedim Sönmez, 'The Big House of Bornova', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1910s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/bighous.htm.
[478] 'Burunabad-İzmir Demiryolu Planı. (Fr.)', 1885, PLK.p. 3967, BOA.

Both Buca and Bornova had their local Anglican churches. Charlton Whittall, as a conservative Protestant and English nationalist, constructed the inaugural Anglican Church in Bornova, known as St. Mary Magdalena. This act of generosity was bestowed upon the Bornova Protestant community in 1857 as a gift. In addition to the church, Whittall also established a Nun School to educate nuns for service within the church.[479] Buca also had All Saints Church, built with the significant contribution of the Paterson family in 1838, but the current church was built in 1865.[480] It was published in Illustrated London News on May 4, 1867, with an attached text:

> *"We present an Illustration of the new church at Boudjah, a suburban village of Smyrna, which is, as our readers know, the most important commercial city and port of Asiatic Turkey. Its erection does much credit to the zeal of the English and other Protestants of Smyrna… As the **first Protestant Church built in that ancient seat of Christianity where the apostle John resided and preached, and Polycarp suffered martyrdom, there is a peculiar interest attached to this structure**… Any subscriptions paid into the London branch of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, to the credit of the Boudjah Church Building Fund, would be thankfully acknowledged."*[481]

According to Rauf Beyru, Buca earned the nickname of "British village" following the advent of railways due to the significant number of railway company workers residing there. Conversely, Bornova was dubbed a "French village" despite the presence of British Levantines like the Whittall family, owing to the settlement of a large French community after the French Revolution of 1789.[482] In both of these settlements, the British introduced British pastime activities. Since 1867, Levantines began to purchase extensive lands that they could use for sports activities. Football, running, golf and tennis competitions were held on these lands, and nature walks, which the British society was extremely fond of, were mainly carried out. In Bornova, which was known primarily for its extensive golf areas, the English Sports Club was established in the 1880s under the auspices of M.Jan Baptist Giraud, a British merchant of French origin, and the golf facilities and tennis courts of this club served the people of the settlement for many years. The race track, built in 1856 under the leadership of the Whittall and Rees families, was opened to use with a horse race held in honour of Sultan Abdülaziz in 1863.[483] For this purpose, a hippodrome was built in Paradiso (Şirinyer), becoming a massive activity for the British Community. Chris Horner provided that Purser was a founding member

479 Geoffrey Whittall, *Early Whittalls and Related Families by Geoffrey Whittall*, ed. John W. Whittall (Leichester: Matador, 2012), 75.
480 Birol Akkurt, '19. Yüzyil Batililaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca', 101..
481 'New Protestant Church in Smyrna', *Illustrated London News*, 4 May 1867.
482 Beyru, *19. Yüzyılda İzmir Kenti*, 130–33.
483 Birol Akkurt, '19. Yüzyil Batililaşma Kesitinde, Bornova ve Buca', 73.

and central figure in the horse racing at Smyrna and raced his own horses. On the big race days, he also arranged extra trains to take Smyrniots to the races and back home.[484] This was such a huge event that when Bishop Douglas from the Church of England visited Smyrna, his photos included the races.

Figure 77. Bishop Douglas visits the Mediterranean and Smyrna horse races at Paradiso, 1904-1928[485]

As previously stated, during the 19th and early 20th centuries, British families had the freedom to live outside the crowded and bustling city centre in the more spacious and tranquil suburbs. Not only did they choose to separate themselves from what they considered inferior social classes, but they also created distinct areas for their residential and recreational activities. This allowed them to enjoy a standard of living to their liking and demonstrate their social status through their homes and leisure pursuits. In this way, colonial modernisation spread outside the city centre with the expanded area of Western cultural norms, Western standard times, Western sports and entertainment, and Western architectural forms referred to as "modern", which are still part of the characteristics of these suburbs today.[486]

The travellers observed this lifestyle as the most carefree of its kind. This was such a contrast with the burden of the workers living in the industrial area around Darağaç and the fluxabitants –seamen and prostitutes which will be discussed in further headlines.

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[484]   Information kindly provided by Chris Horner, obtained from Purser's diaries.
[485]   John Albert Douglas, 'Church of England Archive - Douglas Collection - Smyrna Race Courses', 1904, Douglas 76, ff. 75-375, LPL.
[486]   Paradiso (Şirinyer) is famous for its horse races and Bornova is famous with its large Levantine houses today.

4.3.3. *Factories All Over the Place*: Tales of Exploitation from the Hinterland

Figure 78. Mr Smith in MacAndrews and Forbes Factory in Söke[487]

*"...with agriculture and commerce; more than the richness of the soil and the **well-known superior intelligence of the Christian over the Mahometan races** mainly contributed to that improvement, therefore the now daily increasing means of instruction so largely availed by the Christians but unbeeded by the Turks _ the facility of communication with more civilised nations by steam, and the introduction of Railways will probably do more for the general good of the Country, even under the present faulty system, than the introduction of new measures which the Turks cannot or will not understand, and I may add, having neither the desire nor capacity for carrying out."*[488]

The British gentlemen thought that the "Mahometan races" could not grasp the importance of the agricultural and natural sources under their possessions. To modernise the farm system and related industries, they believed that the penetration of the West was a must. They were slowly establishing their business in the centre, Smyrna, but for a long time, they could not operate their industries. Their enterprises had to be started their operations in the hinterland first due to the opposition of *"loncas"* (guilds) in cities. Kurmuş gives the example of the Abbott family, who owned a muslin dyeing and printing factory with advanced techniques, which was closed upon the complaints of local

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[487] Obtained via e-mail from MacAndrews and Forbes Archive and Wakefield Liquorice Museum.
[488] 'Ottoman Empire: Correspondence with Consul Charles Blunt, Report on Smyrna; Vice Consul Guido Dominique Vedova, Smyrna', 1860, FO 78/1533, NA.

producers who were members of guilds. The boxes produced by the guilds operated by the fig and raisin box workshops had low quality and, thus, did not meet the requirements of Western investors. ***Anything which did not meet the Western standards had to be replaced by modernisation acts.*** Due to the difficulties the British investors encountered in the city, they had first to infiltrate the hinterland where the guilds were not strong, establishing their industries there and transporting their products to Smyrna for shipping to "the West".[489]

It is in these hinterland settlements, growing and prospering as parts of the foreign capital investments and networks, British entrepreneurs owned about 81 factories, including the famous Gas Works in Alsancak, the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers' weaving mills in Manisa, Aydın and Nazilli within a total of 9 factories in Western Anatolia, MacAndrews and Forbes' liquorice factories in Aydın, Söke and Kuşadası (which should be considered together with their manganese, chromium and lignite mines); 16 mechanical ateliers and more than 65 mines operating including Hasançavuşlar manganese mines near Tire, J.W. Wilkinson's Ödemiş-Cinlikaya antimony mines, and E.F.Abbott's 24 emery mines and so on.

An archival document explained why the Turks were less inclined to pursue industrial and agricultural work in the hinterland. The document stated that the Muslim population had suffered a decline over the years, mainly due to wars and a steady decrease in the male population. During wartime, the Ottoman Government only appointed Turkish men, and upon returning from service, soldiers often struggled to manage their lands and ended up selling them to Christians. As a result, a British reporter noted a significant increase in agricultural production. The report also highlighted that Turkish villagers faced more oppression than their Christian counterparts, which hindered their success in various ways.[490]

It was common practice for British investors to purchase uncultivated lands in the Turkish hinterland where a valuable mine had been discovered and registered as a "Çiftlik". These investors would often oversee the construction of necessary infrastructure to facilitate the extraction, smelting, storage, land transportation, and shipping of goods from quays located in the hinterland - as was the case with Göcek Paterson wharf. Paterson's success was due in part to the extensive surveys of the Mediterranean conducted by the British Navy in the 1840s. Through careful land surveys,

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[489]   Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 95.
[490]   'Consul Charles Blunt - Report on Smyrna'.

they uncovered a lucrative mining opportunity that continued to operate until the 1960s. Although railways had not yet been established, the British proposed lines connecting to Antalya, though these plans were ultimately not realised.

Figure 79. From top left to bottom right, Göcek Paterson Mines from Sıtkı Koçman documentary, Akyaka Maden İskelesi, göcek shaft-1, Göcek shaft-2, Ortaca Olukderesi Paterson chrome mines, Yanıklar Paterson chrome mines, photos by the author-2019

Despite his significant impact on the built environment of Western Anatolia, there is surprisingly scant information available about the life and work of Stanley Paterson. Paterson began his career in mining during the 1880s and continued working in the Fethiye region until the 1960s, playing a key role in the early career of Sıtkı Koçman. My understanding of Paterson's career is primarily based on a few readings, but I have also drawn on local sources, including the histories of the villages in Fethiye. It was fascinating to discover that the majority of mine sites mentioned in the area are still in operation and that locals can recognise and describe the way to these ruins during site visits. Additionally, many of the former mining ports have been transformed into popular tourist destinations such as Çalış Beach, Ekincik Marina, and Akyaka Maden İskelesi. I was particularly intrigued to learn that Paterson owned extensive chrome mines and utilised tram lines to transport the chrome from various mines, including Yanıklar and Ortaca, to wharves such as Çavuşburnu, Çalış-Şat, Maden İskelesi in Akyaka, Ekincik, and Göcek, despite the lack of railway connections. In the 1980s, certain regions were designated as tourist destinations, and to facilitate this, the government discontinued

mining activities. Notably, Britons such as Edward Vetil, Ernest Abbot, Whittal, Hadkinson, and the White family owned several mines in Western Anatolia. The National Archives in the UK house extensive records of correspondences requesting mining rights, particularly those near railway lines.

Smyrna Aydın railway had its own mineral district covering the coal fields at Sokia and Nazlu Bazar, and one of the finest iron formations in the world, silver lead, silver, copper and antimony, and the formation of the Saladin range and with river beds indicating the existence of gold.[491] These mountains also provided quarries of marble, building stone, and limestone for raising building constructions in cities. The railway line was proposed to have the power to enable new establishments to be formed along its branches. Clarke declared;

> *"The mere capability of carrying heavy machinery for the establishment of factories in the interior enables the railway to assist such undertakings, but in a country where capital is scarce, the railway company can and will do more than it would be called upon in Europe, for it is worthwhile to carry up at a low rate all machinery, which will be employed in reproduction, all fuel, and all raw materials at low cost. In some cases, the company can afford to grant free passes to engineers, mining surveyors, miners and mechanics engaged in new investigations or the formation of new works. At the beginning of such undertakings, capital is wanting, and encouragement is precious. In contrast, such assistance brings its own reward in the annuity or yearly revenue income created for the company. Regarding roads and bridges, the company can contribute the surveys, plans, inspections by its engineers, stone, limestone, sand, and the conveyance of workmen already for the railway operations."*[492]

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[491]   Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 20.
[492]   Clarke, 25.
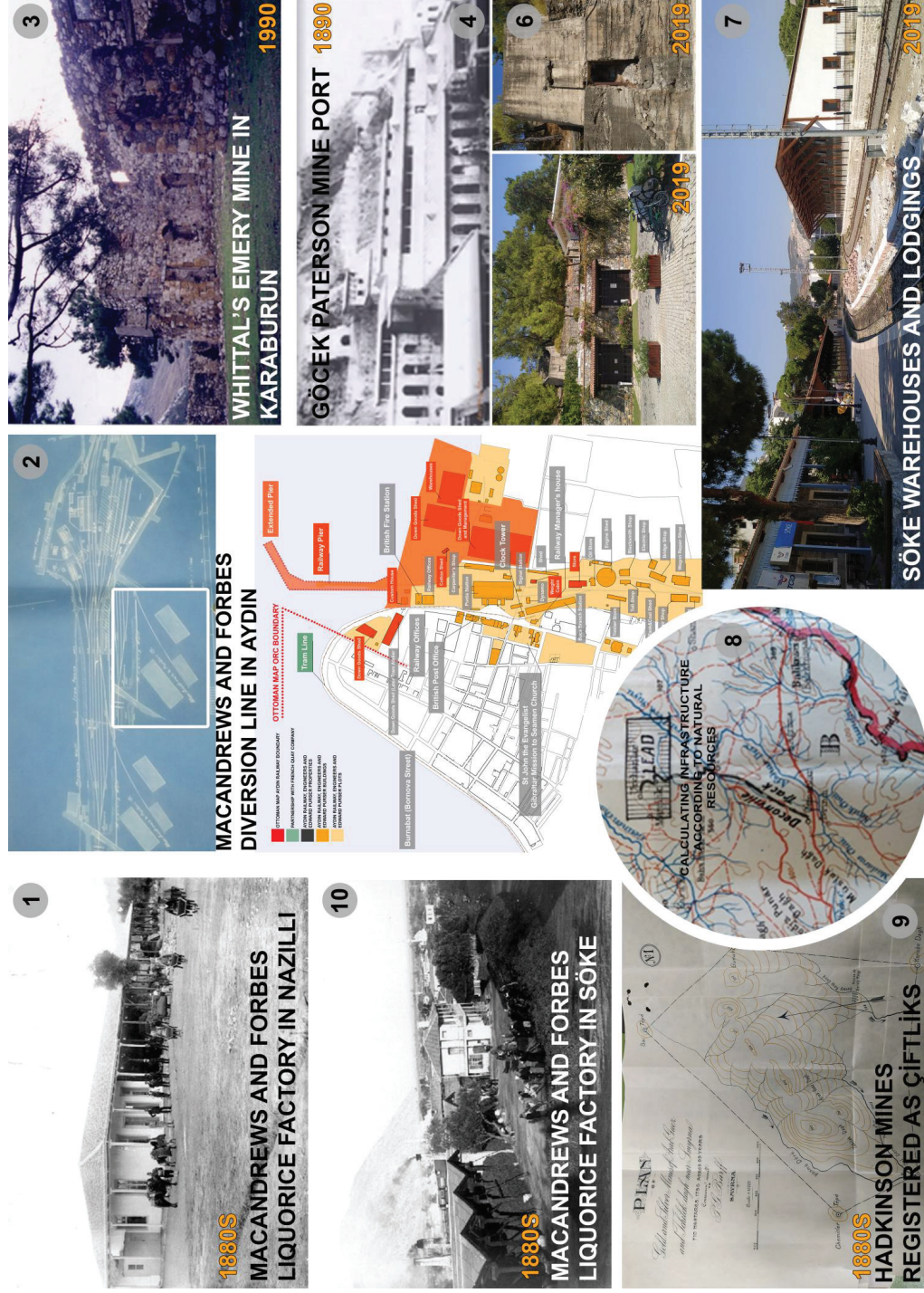
Figure 80. Fig.1 and 10 Showing MacAndrews&Forbes liquorice Factories[493] Fig.2 Blueprints of ORC[494], Fig.3 Whittall's Mercury mine in Karaburun,[495] Fig.4[496] Paterson mine in Karaburun,[495] Fig.5-6 Göcek port today-by the author, Fig.7 Söke warehouses-by the author, Fig.8 Infrastructural projects to exploit natural resources[497]Fig.9 Hadkinson mines as one of many çiftliks[498]

493   Obtained from MacAndrews and Forbes in America via e-mail.

494   Obtained from the Alsancak Railway Museum.

495   'Relicts of the Mercury Mine in Karaburun', accessed 22 August 2020, http://www.levantineheritage.com/mine.htm.

496   *Sıtkı Koçman Belgeseli*, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iL52E6OHDsA.

497   'British Delegation, Correspondence and Papers Relating to Middle East (Political)' (1919), FO 608/102. NA.

498   'Concessions in Turkey; Includes Printed Copies of Reports on Gold and Silver Mines of Arap-Geuz-Dagh and Tchilek-Dagh (near Smyrna), 1905 and 1910'; ; 1919, FO 608/115/2, NA.

Limeworks, brick and tile fields, quarries, sand and gravel pits are projected to be opened, and investors such as Messrs Baltazzi, Alberti, Hutchinson, etc., were expected to be able to get into profitable trade for selling these sources. The Smyrna Aydın Railway company offered places for such works (thus the warehouses) so that the products could be loaded from here, yards so that the products could be sold here and lowered prices. It also stated its willingness to provide the capital needed at the beginning of investments in the interior, where suitable conditions and money are scarce.[499] Some of these mines and other extracts needed large depots before their transportation to Smyrna. Such warehouses, offices, and guest houses can be seen in Söke and Nazilli stations today. They were mainly storage houses for the liquorice bales of the MacAndrews and Forbes company, which was once located on Forbes Street and facing the now-empty plot of the former factory.

Figure 81. Nazilli, another station for the MacAndrews and Forbes liquorice, also has large warehouses, performing as cafes today.[500]

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499   Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 24.
500   'Hangar Cafe', *Nazilli Müteahhitler Derneği*, accessed 26 July 2023, https://namder.org/etkinlik/dernek-tanisma-yemegi.

Figure 82. The street where once the Söke Forbes liquorice factory was located is still called Forbes Street and possesses a special place in the urban memory of its citizens, by the author, 2019

Figure 83. Levantine quarters in Punta, showing the office of the MacAndrews and Forbes liquorice company[501]

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[501] 'Cadoux Archive-MacAndrews and Forbes Company Building', 1900, MS. Cadoux Archive, Folder 108, OBL.

Figure 84. Guest houses of the Söke station and warehouses from Söke station, recently renovated by the author, 2019

Clarke states that the mountains he mentioned before also provided the railway line with horses, mules, asses, camels, buffaloes, kine, sheep and goats; with wool, hides, furs, horns, hoofs, cheese from sheep and goats' milk, and some butter from buffalo's and cow's milk; with timber, fuel, charcoal, valonea, gallnuts, gums, scammony, bark, honey and wax, are other forest products. Once the railway line was established, it was advocated to have the capacity to find new markets for all these goods and to develop the trade of milk, cream, fresh butter, meat, poultry, eggs, game, sawn timber, apples, pears quinces, strawberries, dry and green fodder, vegetables, potatoes, chestnuts, nuts. Kemer, Develekeui, Kayass, and Turbalu provided the large Smyrna population and the ships in its harbour with dairy, garden and farm produce.[502] It is known from the Ottoman Archival maps and the Levantine Heritage website that these relatively minor and underdeveloped areas house many "çiftlik"s of wealthy gentlemen, either extracting precious minerals in secret or dealing with farming. Clarke points out that these gentlemen will most benefit from this railway line.

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[502] Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 23.

"Ismael Pasha, Messrs Baltazzi, Mr Williamson and other large proprietors are looking forward earnestly to the opportunity of turning their resources to account. The existing agriculture and passenger traffic from a large number of villages, chiflicks, mills, and Yoorook hamlets in the district is considerable, and cultivation has extended since the commencement of the railway works, but the effect must be great when even the Yoorook which is now two days journey distant from Smyrna will be within two hours, and its fresh produce will be collected at the door daily."[503]

The railway was advertised as beneficial for Smyrna's other suburbs, such as Baindir, Tireh, Odemish, Scalanova and Aidin. "Develikeui connection makes Samos seven hours of journey from Smyrna port, Tireh (sheet anchor of the railway line) line can make a reasonable paying line and a good junction point for its towns and for branches of Aydın line and the coalfields of Scala Nova (Kuşadası), Tireh-Baindir-Odemish and Burgeh produces excellent goods to be transported since they own flour or oil mills, wine presses, tanneries, rope makers, silk production centres, grain, wheat, barley, sesame, beans, tobacco, oil, figs, grapes, raisins, wine, gallnuts, melons, fruits, wax, hemp, rope, cattle, poultry, wool, furs, hides, bark, timber, marble etc.[504] According to the book, these goods were carried to Scalanova and transported to Smyrna by vessels from there.

In summary, all the conditions above emphasised the critical role played by the Smyrna Aydın Railway in integrating Western Anatolia into the world economy, just as Orhan Kurmuş's research did. The railway system facilitated the exploitation of the agricultural and factory industries, laying the foundation for the Ottoman Empire's capitalist development under imperialism. Kurmuş notes that this investment was unprecedented in Ottoman Turkey and provided the necessary conditions for the growth of capitalism in Western Anatolia. Despite being aware of the Ottoman subject's unfortunate circumstances due to ongoing wars, the British hailed the technical expertise and effectiveness of this colonial exploitation system, viewing it as a sign of the superiority of the British Empire over the supposedly "ignorant and backward" eastern nations.[505]

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[503]   Clarke, 12.
[504]   Clarke, 14.
[505]   Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*, 47.

4.3.4. *Clockwise City*: It's Industry O'clock with Edward Purser

"[the] Clock tower was the usual symbol of imperial discipline."[506]

Figure 85. Punta Railway Station clock, St. Agia Photini Clock, a town clock in Frank Street[507]

As a mischievous invention, the Clock was one of the most substantial objects in imperial discourse in the organisation of colonial space. As Avner Wishnitzer states, the **temporality of modernity** was a universalised and naturalised ideological construct, especially useful for colonial discourse. MacKenzie also notes that the clock represented the imperial discipline.

Organising daily life according to the clock in the modernising world separated *the advanced* from *the primitive* during the long 19th century. The Eastern nations, such as Turks, were subordinated by saying that they were "indifferent to time" or "lacking a sense of time", notions often associated with their culture's backwardness.[508] Wishnitzer explains this phenomenon by quoting author John Foster Fraser saying,

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506 MacKenzie, *The British Empire Through Buildings*, 150.
507 In order; 'Gare (Punta)-Album'; 'Archive Views of the Former Orthodox Cathedral of Agia Fotini of Smyrna', 1890s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/ayafotini.htm; 'Frank Street of Smyrna', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1900s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/frankst.htm.
508 Avner Wishnitzer, *Alaturka Saatleri Ayarlama: Geç Osmanlı'da Zaman ve Toplum* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2019), 2.

"There or thereabouts is sufficiently good for the Turk. The very fact that the Turks are satisfied with a method of recording time which cannot be sure unless all watches are changed every day **shows that they have missed one of the essentials of what we call 'Civilization'.***"*[509]

As can be understood from Fraser's words, time, and relatedly the clock, was efficiently utilised by orientalising Western writers to lock the East to a "static past" while placing the West in an ***"ever progressive present"***. This hegemonic discourse in Europe denied the existence of *"others"* in the present, thus justifying the claims of European dominance as the advanced form of civilisation and its share of "duty" in elevating those stuck in the past.

East, on the other hand, seemed to have accepted this understanding of modernity by calculating how far they were behind the West.[510] What the Ottoman Government saw as consultation for technological information and modernisation must have enhanced the West's view of its superiority. A look into the Great Exhibition of 1851 pavilions comparatively exemplifies this temporal positioning of two nations. While the Ottoman Empire showcased its "Oriental Carpets" and other traditional crafts, Britain exhibited all their progress in the "Machines in Motion" Pavilion. Imagine a visitor experiencing the temporal and spatial aspects of these two pavilions in Crystal Palace, considered *"progressive"*. The so-called "Eastern"/" Oriental" pavilions within this place were outsiders of the current "modern" time. Diabolically, they were inside and outside at the same time.
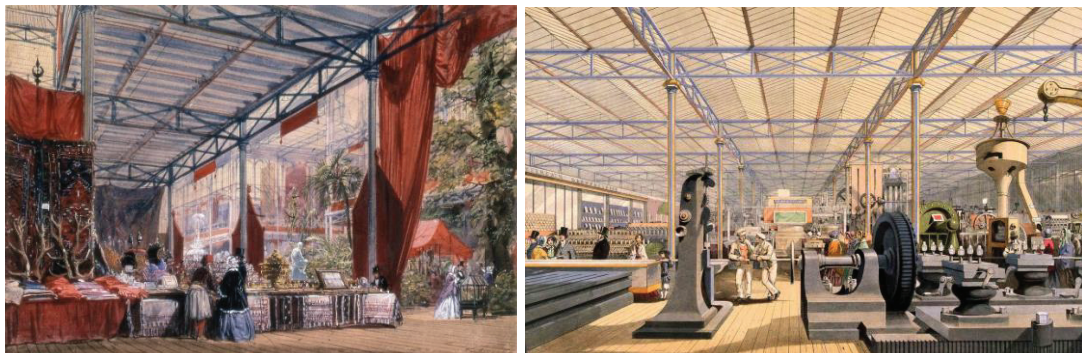
Figure 86. Ottoman Pavilion with Oriental Carpets versus Britain's Machines in Motion Pavilion in Crystal Palace, 1851[511]

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[509]   Wishnitzer, 2.
[510]   Wishnitzer, 5.
[511]   'Interior of the Great Exhibition', 1851, SC/GL/PR/W2/HYD/EXH/p5406505, LMA.

The ordering power of clocks, of course, precedes the time-based inventions of the 19th century. David Rooney claims that "for thousands of years, time has been harnessed, politicised and weaponised. With clocks, the elites wield power, make money, govern citizens, and control lives."*512* From its erection, the clock starts to exercise power on crowds to live accordingly. The experience of a clock was not only visual upon its erection but auditory experience as well. Together with the towering impact, the sound started to impose power and order on the public. As Rooney continues to explain his point in Chinese market drums and bells, he states that people would get up when night clepsydra (water clock) ran out, and drums announced it to the public. When the day clepsydra ran out, it would mean it was the end of work, and people could go and have a "free" time.[513] These announcements through bells and drums also marked curfews, and those who would not obey would be severely punished, making the clocks punishment objects for those rebellions when they did not follow the power's rules. That is why they were among the ***ordering infrastructure*** of cities.

Like Chinese market bells, the bell towers of churches ordered the daily lives of Christian societies and the minarets, announcing the daily prayer times according to local clocks, did the same for Muslim communities around the globe. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the word clock originates from different European words meaning bell, cloche, glocke, and klocka; it remains connected with auditory memory. Many bell towers received mechanical clocks to dominate their quarters and their auditory rule visually.

The bell tower of St. Photini in Smyrna was one such example among the other three clocks of Smyrna. A dominating bell tower dating back to the 18th century, it received clocks on all its four facades to enable everyone in the city ten years before the infamous clock tower of Sultan Abdülhamid. Today, it is the symbol of the city.

Combined with the railways, the first large-scale invention of the Industrial Revolution requiring precision in time, clocks and their bells became relatively secular buildings. Their bells did not announce prayer times but regular standardised intervals within the defined day to have the most precise transportation service. As can be understood from the diary entries of Edward Purser, the chief engineer of the ORC, timekeeping was of utmost importance. He was obsessively checking and adjusting the clock, recording how many seconds off it was. It's typical of the diary entries for 40 years

[512]   David Rooney, *About Time: A History of Civilization in Twelve Clocks* (Dublin: Penguin Random House, 2022), 6.

[513]   Rooney, 17.

of timekeeping… He was always connected to the clocks and watches around the city, and naturally, was constantly checking to ensure the trains were running on schedule and making notes when they were not. He was generally well versed with measurement as well. He had a good deal of equipment he consulted most days to check and record wind speeds, barometric pressure, rainfall and earthquakes. This was partly to have records to help guide rail traffic, but it went well beyond that. His meteorological tables were printed and sent to various scientific institutes. Purser was a son-in-law of Robert Mallet, one of the early British seismologists, and he also kept records of earthquakes in Turkey. He was an amateur astronomer, observing transits of Venus and Polaris, for example, and recording the results.[514] Suppose one ever finds themselves in the Clockmaker's Exhibition at the Science Museum of London. In that case, s/he will see that Purser was the material form of his era, as portrayed by the curation of this exhibition.

The railways operated on strict timekeeping, and in a world like the Ottoman Empire, where time was under the authority of the "imam", things were not as easy as they needed to be. The language, the numbers, the concept of time, and punctuality differed, whereas Purser wanted to dictate his own. A small sectional analysis would provide a better understanding of this situation. As the analysis below shows, Frank Street, indicated in yellow, was located within the Frank Quarter, and suddenly, next to the aforementioned St. Photini Church, the street name changed to Mahmudiye Caddesi, which continued to connect one of the most important mosques, the Hisar Camii, and its *"muvakkithane"* in Smyrna.

Muvakkithanes were observatories where time and celestial movements were calculated and shared with the public, and not surprisingly, they were generally built adjacent to mosques. Not all of them had a public clock visible, but the Hisar Camii Muvakkithanesi had a clock on its façade facing towards its square. It was probably added to the mosque quarters during the second half of the 19th century when clocks started appearing in public squares. Because there were no Ottoman clock manufacturers, European clockmakers built such clocks, and Ottoman numbers were printed for the market upon request. When a clock was made for the Ottoman market, it would have Ottoman numbers, as on the Hisar Mosque's muvakkithane clock; when its aimed audience was the European population, as in the case of Punta Station, the clock would have Latin numbers.

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[514] Information regarding Purser obtained from his descendant, Chris Horner, through series of e-mails.

ORIGINAL CLOCK FROM LONDON

STATION CLOCK, TOWN CLOCK, MUVAKKITHANE CLOCK, PHOTINI CLOCK SJOWN ON SAAD MAP
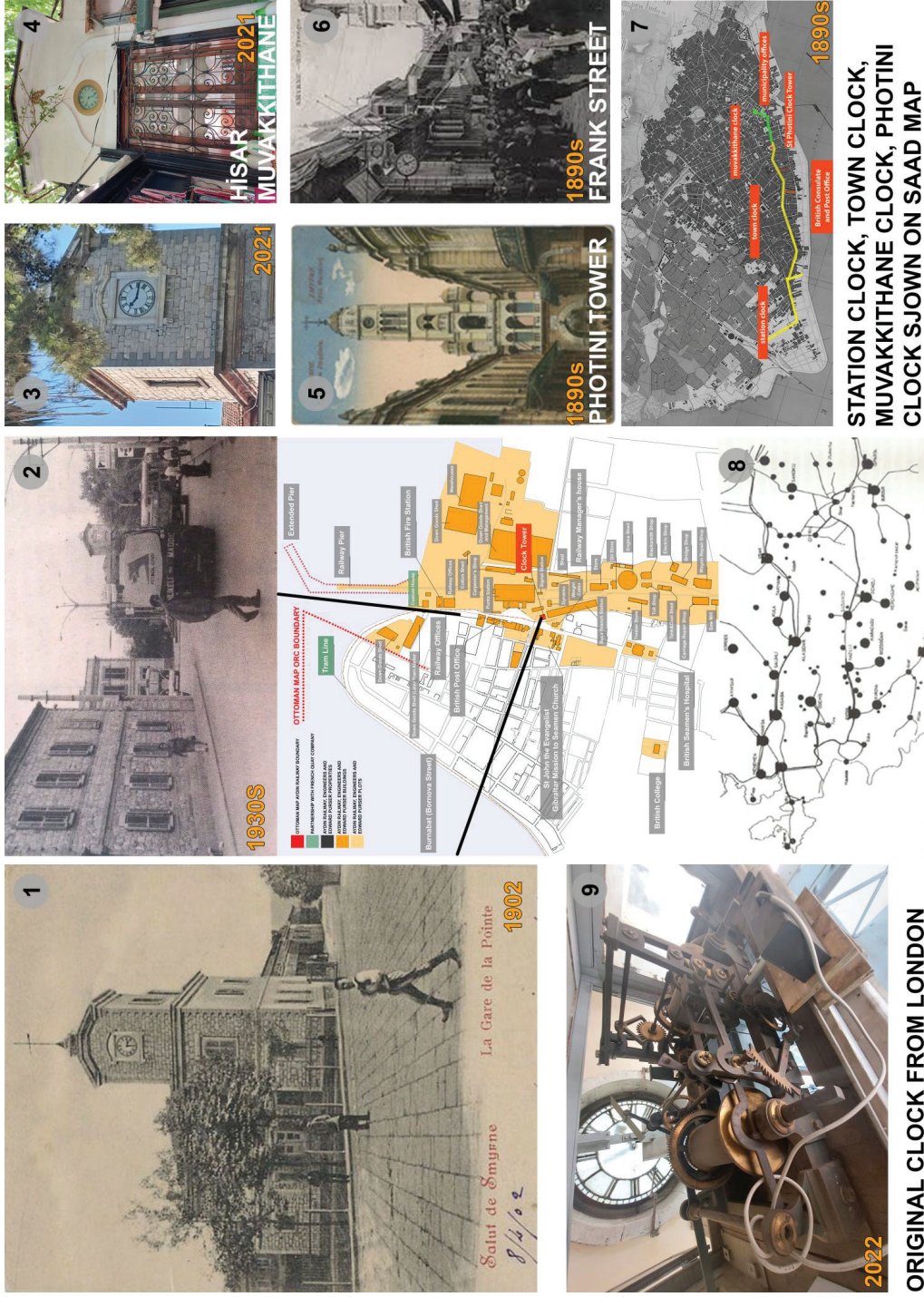
Figure 87. Fig.1 Station Clock;[515] Fig.2 From ORC Pier to Station Clock;[516] Fig.3-9 Station Clock, Fig.4 Hisar Muvakkithane clock -by the author, Fig.5 Agia Photini Clock Tower,[517] Public clock on Frank Street, [518]Fig.7 Route created on Saad map by the author, showing the route from the ORC clock to Hisar Camii Muvakkithanesi;[519] Fig.8 British War Office,[520] Fig.9 Interior of the ORC Station clock-by the author

515 'Gare (Punta)-Album'.
516 'Alsancak Garı', *Facebook-İzmir Tarih*, 1930s, https://www.facebook.com/izmirtarih/posts/alsancak-gar%C4%B1-1990-y%C4%B1l%C4%B1/116117621408356/.
517 'General Views of Smyrna', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1900s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/smyrna.htm.
518 'Frank Street of Smyrna'.
519 Yellow is for the Frank Street, purple represents a sudden break of European street names and start of Mahmudiye Street. Green represents the Hisar Mosque, the town clock represents the Xenopoulos shop.
520 İlhan Tekeli, 'Ege Bölgesinde Yerleşme Sisteminin 19. Yüzyıldaki Dönüşümü', *Ege Mimarlık*, no. 3–4 (1992): 78–83.

So, if we were to walk the route from the ORC railway station to Hisar Mosque in the 1880s, we would first see a clock with Latin numerals and arrive at the end of a clock with Ottoman numerals, marking changes within the urban sphere to dive into. With the importance given to the clock towers towards the 20th century, the *muvakkithanes* lost their significance in the urban sphere.[521] It was not that the Muslim world did not enhance its time calculations and astronomical observations. It was, probably, the superiority established by accepting the "advanced West", giving way to the dominance of the "Western standard time". Keeping up with the "modern world" and its fast-paced market moving around the European clock needed the acceptance of the "world system".

There would also be another clock between these two clocks above that Edward Purser continuously writes about in his journal as the "town clock". The following diary sequence gives us a clear view of the importance of timekeeping in an industrialising city where people needed more access to time to be "punctual" every day. It was a value embedded in the factory system and industrial production where efficient use of time was required for the utmost gain.

> *Oct. 9, 1881: "Wrote to Frodsham about clock for town."*[522]
> *Dec. 15, 1882: "Got new clock for town well fixed in own office and started, to get correct adjustments with chronometer."*
> *Dec. 22, 1882: "With Mr. Lawson and looked at several sites in Frank Street for new clock."*
> *Dec. 29, 1882: "Wrote to Frodsham sending Mr. Lawson's payment for new clock."*
> *Jan. 11, 1883: "Into town walking and took note of rate of clock."*
> *(The **Xenopoulos shop was selected because it was the most frequented shop in the city**.)*
> *Dec. 22, 1882 diary entry. "With Mr. Lawson and looked at several sites in Frank Street*
> *for new clock — considered Xenopolos' the best."*
> *December 17: "Went on with adjustment of clock (new) — favorable."*
> *(December 8, 1882 entry indicates Mr. Lawson is an employee of the Smyrna branch of the Ottoman Bank Corp. Since Lawson is the one paying Frodsham's, this may be helpful information.)*
> *December 19, 1882: "Continued adjustment of new clock — very satisfied."*
> *December 20, 1882: "Got the clock today to 2 seconds slower rate than Chronometer per diem — Chronometer about 3.25 seconds fast — so very satisfied."*
> *December 24, 1882: "Rate of new clock slower than Chronometer 1.7 seconds per diem."*
> *December 26, 1882: "Mr. Lawson called and looked at clock for town and was satisfied — to send me means to remit this week."*
> *January 2, 1883: "Settled for the back board of the Clock — shape, etc."*
> *January 4, 1883: "Inspected backing of clock and afterwards into town and showed Spiro the place where it was to be put up and explained." [Spiro is a skilled workman/employee of ORC]*
> *January 9, 1883: "Into town to see arrangements for clock, satisfactory — walked both ways."*
> *January 10, 1883: "Taking new clock down in own office and putting it up at Xenopolos shop — satisfactory and started again but not showing the correct time yet."*[523]

521   Tülay Zorlu, 'Salnamelere Göre Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi Muvakkithaneleri', *Belleten* 78, no. 283 (1 December 2014): 907–30, https://doi.org/10.37879/belleten.2014.907.

522   Charles Frodsham, London, firm founded in 1834, a premier clockmaker, from 1854 Her Majesty's keeper of the clocks at Buckingham Palace. The firm representative today, Richard Stenning, is the provider of many valuable notes on this chapter together with David Rooney and the Clockmakers Museum London.

523   All the diary entries were kindly provided by Chris Horner.

Purser was a fascinating individual with an impressive knowledge of science. Rating refers to timing (adjusting) a clock, watch, or chronometer and verifying that it maintains a consistent pace (rate). In simpler terms, does it gain or lose the same amount of time each day? Due to factors like temperature or positional error (in the case of a watch), no timepiece can keep perfect time. An instrument with an error of 10 seconds per day is considered to have a reasonable but "wide" rate. Conversely, an instrument with a "close" rate performs well and has a minimal deviation from true running. Regulators and chronometers, being well-crafted and stationary by design, are typically capable of maintaining close rates. Pocket watches and wristwatches were not produced as such. Turret clocks faced the challenge of enduring harsh weather and operating large hands, resulting in their accuracy falling between that of smaller watches. When a clock was referred to as the "town clock" and placed in a highly trafficked shop, it was intended for the townspeople to utilise it as a reference point for correcting their own timepieces, both at home and at work. This was a customary practice during the 18th and 19th centuries. That is why there is a possibility that Charles Frodsham's clock was indeed a ***regulator.*** The name regulator obviously meant that this clock would be more precise than the rest, ordering the others.

A regulating clock was also the regulator for public life. Installation of such a clock would mean that people could now be more punctual in their free time and working hours. The exploitation system connecting the factories and fields to caravans and railways to the ports wanted punctuality and, eventually, more profit. There was even a system within 19th-century factories to ban workers from carrying clocks so that the factory managers could adjust the factory clock to make workers work longer shifts without being noticed. The system wanted more, but eventually, all was regulated towards the end of the 19th century, and many people started keeping the correct time on their own. To enable equality under power in this matter, public clocks gained importance. They symbolised the controlling infrastructure, but at the same time, they provided justice. Their position, scale, material and origin contributed to their image.

Considering the Hisar muvakkithanesi and Station clock, they both aimed to regulate and dominate their respective squares. Their orientation was clear by not having any other clocks on other facades. On the other hand, the later clocks in the city had clocks on all their facades because they acquired different types of urban presence and authority. They aimed to dominate the whole city and represent their communities' pride and power. The symbol clock tower of Abdülhamid celebrated the 25th anniversary of his accession

to the throne. In contrast, the St Photini Church's clock tower was observed as a guide for the port and the pride of the Greek Community. When the latter was demolished, the Greek people leaving the city built its copies in different towns around Greece.

Figure 88. Muvakkithane of Hisar Mosque is indicated in red, with the clock facing the square.[524]

The Punta station clock was aimed at being seen by the people arriving via tram from the port, by the ships arriving at the station port, the passengers using the train, people who were working for the postal and telegraphic service, people going to work in the other side of this railway and so on. It did not aim at the rest of the city. Its position on the plan indicates that it was designed to embrace the station square.

Since establishing ***the railways always meant the introduction of the timetable*** as was used in England, ***a "railway clock"*** was a must to keep order. This was simply because the industry and trade connecting the ports and railways of the empire were working around the clock for the efficiency the industrial revolution required. Timetables were everything around the area influenced by the railways. It was no longer enough to be aware of the time for your village if that village was integrated into the new world economy. Therefore, the system and the portable clocks, devised during the 18th century by the British Navy, were adapted to be used in every British-owned station during the 19th century. Eventually, they were all in connection to the "London Times*".*

When the first railway lines were introduced in Smyrna, it was a grand change in the urban tissue but a subtle difference from the clockwork at the beginning. A tiny clock was introduced on the façade of the Punta Railway station, but its influence was much more significant than its size. As soon as the railway was introduced, it separated the littoral space of the old and newly forming centre of Punta from the Bay of Bornova, and

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[524]   'Plan d'assurance de Smyrne (Smyrna) ; Turquie'.

the clock was in the middle between the living quarters and the industrial region where the factories would be located in Halkapınar. A clock tower was constructed adjacent to the manager's house around 1876, and the clock with the roof was removed from the station, changing the arrangement of the façade. The Buca branch building was added next to it, thus the small recess from the road forming a small square for the clock. People arriving in Smyrna saw the station clock, people working for the railway looked up to the clock, communicated via telegraph to convey the clock and adjustments to other stations, and people living around the area worked on the *"Western Clock" instead of the old centre.*

In his book "*Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Features Decolonial Options*", Walter Mignolo argues that the colonisation of space and time were the two pillars of Western civilisation, installing the logic of coloniality by colonising its own past (and stored it as its tradition), the Enlightenment invented Greenwich, remapping the logic of coloniality and colonising space, with Greenwich as the zero point of global time."[525]

The concept of time introduced with the railways within colonial capitalist societies was intricate and constantly evolving. Capitalist temporality was crisis-prone and arrhythmic at times, always facing opposition but never all-encompassing. This temporal imposition was differentiated, conflicting, and irregular across both space and time. The imposition of capitalist time-consciousness was observable in places of social production, such as educational institutions in the case of British college or the school for railway workers, where these workers were subjected to efficient production standards based on clock-time precision.

There existed two types of time in Smyrna, then: the "concrete" time referred to temporal rhythms and processes embedded in the production of commodities for their use-value. In contrast, the "abstract" time was the quantified measurement of labour power expended for capitalist production. [526] The transition from pre-capitalist to such capitalist temporality profoundly impacted social timescapes, ultimately leading to the social construction of a different reality in Smyrna.

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[525] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity* (London: Duke University Press, 2011), 22.

[526] Jonathan Martineau, *Time, Capitalism and Alienation: A Socio-Historical Inquiry into the Making of Modern Time* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 48.

4.3.5. *Ports of Industry*: Spatialization of Maritime Labour and the City of Sea-farers

"In the port of Amsterdam there are sailors who drink
And who drink and drink again, and who drink again
They drink to health, Amsterdam whores
From Hamburg or elsewhere
Finally they drink to the ladies who give them their pretty bodies
who give them their virtue for a gold coin…"[527]

Figure 89. A quayside departure – the young man has just been 'pressed' into joining a ship headed for the colonies.[528]

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[527]   Jacques Brel song, originally in French. From *Olympia*, 1964.
"Dans le port d'Amsterdam
Y'a des marins qui boivent
Et qui boivent et reboivent
Et qui reboivent encore
Ils boivent à la santé
Des putains d'Amsterdam
D'Hambourg ou d'ailleurs
Enfin ils boivent aux dames
Qui leur donnent leur joli corps
Qui leur donnent leur vertu"

[528]   'A Quayside Departure – the Young Man Has Just Been "Pressed" into Joining a Ship Headed for the Colonies', Migration Museum, accessed 9 January 2023, https://www.migrationmuseum.org/human-cargo/.

The most important actors for which the colonial space was articulated were the "seamen". ***The merchant seamen made the British Empire possible***. Their experiences and production of space go largely unnoticed and understudied in current literature, even though the Mari-terrestrial colonial interface is primarily designed to accommodate them, or their presence affects the colonial port cities to a great extent.

As aforementioned, Bilsel notes that the Western merchants settled after the Levant Company's dissolution and decided to make Izmir an international port and trade centre.[529] Following Bilsel's description of the development of the city in the aftermath of this decision and the building of the Quay, which was completed in 1876, it is not surprising to witness the developments about the existence of seamen and naval officers from then on in and around Punta, as new active actors in the city. Before the establishment of the Quay, Bilsel explains that the unloading and loading of the ships used to be carried out at anchor further away from the shore. At the anchor point, small boats would collect the goods to and from the shoreline. Therefore, seamen would usually be away from the urban space. With the completion of the second phase of the port in 1876, the number of seamen entering the urban space must have arisen significantly. Moreover, the rising volume of trade entails the rise in the frequency of the ships visiting Smyrna, and the number of itinerant workers rises accordingly as well.

Cana Bilsel also states that, in addition to the Port construction, the tramway was built to carry goods from the port to the train station in Punta, and upon the development of the Halkapınar (through Darağaç) area as an industrial quarter, the tram was prolonged beyond the Punta Station. Also, the "Church Building Committee Book", written during the construction of St John the Evangelist around 1895 till 1900, states that the tram was consciously built to foster development in the Punta region and with the connection established between the trade port to the Ottoman Railway Pier via a tram line and a promenade enabled these visitors and mobile workers to roam in the urban space a lot more than before. This dynamic transforms the area between these two urban nodes into what Manikarnika Dutta refers to, by quoting Stan Hugill's terminology, as a kind of "sailor town*"*. A sailor town was;

> "a ***liminal urban space*** *for both mobile and sedentary seamen, notorious for their squalor and disorderly nature. The distinctive features of these spaces were health and sanitation problems,*

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[529]   Bilsel, 'XVII. Yüzyıldan XX. Yüzyıla İzmir'.

dynamic relationships between various racial and occupational groups, and the urban and maritime elite's constant effort to segregate them from the more respectable areas of the city."[530]

According to Funda Adıtatar's analysis, the chaotic behaviour of seafarers elicited a distinctly Victorian and British reaction to organise a system to represent British seamen as good moral examples. Industrialisation, Adıtatar argues, brought about not just technological advancements but also societal changes and challenges related to production and consumption patterns. Such issues, however, were not unique to industrialised nations alone. As the pioneering industrialised nation, England sought to impose social transformations on its territories in regions such as China, South America, and the Ottoman Empire, where it held economic sway. This understanding was not claimed as "***colonisation***" but "***civilisation***" (civilisation) to the world through Victorian missionaries, envisioning the Christian way of life. The organisations that started in the churches began to become a political power that could direct the political and social issues of the country and be a balancing factor in domestic politics. These religious entities, as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), had a function that could be described as the new "***evangelical imperialism***" in the unofficial empire of the British Kingdom. Missionary works were not solely about Christianity, as Adıtatar gives the example of David Livingstone, one of the most prominent representatives of missionary activities, who has been operating in Africa for many years with many professional identities such as a clergyman, doctor, explorer, and philologist, stated that he aimed to find a way to open British trade and civilisation to Africa. This was the aggressive Messianic outlook, and it was not just about commerce, civilisation, and Christianity but about *free trade and free labour.* [531] As an extension to such notions, Smyrna Seamen's Home was established by two ladies, Miss Grimston and Miss Green Armitage, who then was replaced by Miss Haworth, in the footsteps of Aggie Weston to create good moral examples out of disorderly seamen. The British always preferred converting anyone to believe in anything by simply being an example.

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[530]   Dutta, 'Cholera, British Seamen'.
[531]   Funda Adıtatar, 'Smyrna Rest: Anadolu'da Protestan Rum Misyonunun Yeniden Doğuşu', *FSM İlmi Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi*, no. 18 (2 December 2021): 1–32, https://doi.org/10.16947/fsmia.1050257.

*"The English in Virginia never developed the missionary style their Catholic opponents did in Mexico or Canada. The reason for this difference was that the English believed it would not be necessary since they felt sure they could convert the Indians **by example**."*[532]

Aggie was a woman with strong Victorian morals and was highly concerned with the moral life of Naval students in Plymouth. She saw that there was no non-alcoholic social space for them and thus established a non-alcoholic bar and home feel for sailors. These Sailors' Homes became a common feature of all major ports of the British Empire. Queen Victoria then granted Aggie the "Dame of Empire" title. Established in 1878, the Smyrna Rest, different from some other of these establishments, was financed by both American and British Protestants in its later years. It was deliberately established near the new port along Birinci Kordon, which was Smyrna's "Sin City", where much drinking and prostitution happened that attracted the sailors.

The Missionaries would distribute brochures in various languages to entice arriving sailors to a welcoming environment where they could partake in meals and coffee, peruse newspapers, write letters to loved ones, and attend Mass. This act served as a means of maintaining a colonial system of information that aimed to alleviate separation anxieties resulting from prolonged periods of distance from home, which could, in turn, negatively impact the "British image."[533] In "*Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood: 1636-1952*", this Rest was proudly mentioned as a British Institution that started to act like a church for the seamen near the trade port since St John the Evangelist was a little far away from it.[534] In March of 1887, the local Greek Orthodox population attacked the Rest, which the British Consulate fiercely protected. The governor of Smyrna closed the Rest down in December of the same year, fearing the consequences. He declared that if the establishment wanted to continue, they needed to relocate or give up the "***Evangelical Hall***" to avoid further conflicts with the local Greek Orthodox population. However, the hall couldn't obtain a licence due to the area's abundance of alcohol-based cafes and bars. Despite this setback, with the support of the British Consulate, the Rest reopened and operated with its Evangelical Hall until 1922.[535]

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[532] McDaid, 'Justification: How the Elizabethans Explained Their Invasions of Ireland and Virginia', 66.
[533] Adıtatar, 'Smyrna Rest', 2 December 2021.
[534] Simpson, Donald. *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*. London Metropolitan Archive: Unpublished, 1952. Reference number: RS 3261611
[535] Adıtatar, 'Smyrna Rest', 2 December 2021.

Makarnika Dutta has intense research on the informal process of colonial penetration through seamen's perspective in Calcutta under British rule and writes about the same process that Adıtatar mentions in civilising the ***underdeveloped other***. For both writers, such **missions were enterprises of preparatory cultural and political interventions for imperial penetration.** In her paper *"The Sailor's Home and Moral Regulation of White European Seamen in 19th Century India",* Dutta focuses on the Victorian notions of purity and the link between a sanitary body and a moral mind based on sailors. She states that temperance and hygiene were necessary for representing Britishness as a way to good and fair rule. The paper on the sanitary developments of the Ionian Islands also points out a similar situation where good sanitary establishment fostered good associations towards British domination. Dutta quotes Norman Chevers, Principal of the Calcutta Medical College, who was a major temperance advocate and one of the most important medical authors in the British Empire, who said that the Sailors' Home was "*surrounded with drinking shops of vilest description"* and situated in the "*centre of about the worst atmosphere discoverable in this unsavoury city*".[536] This part of the city was very similar to Smyrna's promenade, so there was also an established Seamen's Rest to control the sailor's and merchant seamen's morals. This rest was controlled by a committee which was also giving a certificate of character to seamen, recommending them to avoid local grog shops and prostitutes. This letter of recommendation enabled them to find lodging in Sailors' Homes in other port cities. One had to follow the expected norms of behaviour to receive this character certificate. A necessary condition was the observation of temperance—such relations connected all British-influenced ports, whether under formal or informal control.

In addition to the Seamen's Rest, spiritual well-being was fostered by missionary churches around the British Empire. In Smyrna, the oldest institution preserved for the Seamen was the church of the late Levant Company, built in 1630. It is known from the government archives that the previous church within the Levant Company Quarters was a rectangular space without the essence of a church, as stated in Frank Mowatt's letter dating to **31 October 1890 written to the Office of Works.**

> **"***From such information as My Lords can obtain, **the Chapel is a long room of unecclesiastical appearance** externally, the demolition of which is necessary for carrying out the plans for a new Consulate, but They are expecting to hear further on this point from the Office of Works, one of whose Surveyors will visit Smyrna in November. If it were possible to leave the present Chapel*

536   Dutta, 'The Sailors' Home and Moral Regulation'.

*standing without interfering with the new buildings, and the British Residents at Smyrna were prepared to maintain it wholly at their own cost, My Lords would offer no objection to such an arrangement. But, as stated in Their letter of the 9th ultimo, **They do not feel justified in sanctioning any further or fresh charge on public funds for Church accommodation at Smyrna…***"[537]

In 1890, the British Government decided to demolish this existing Consular complex, which was the gift of the Levant Company to the H.M. Government, including the Consular Chapel, probably the only Anglican place of worship within the trading centre of Smyrna. The British Government did not want to build any chapel in its place. Still, since the complex was the gift of the dissolved Levant Company and the British residents were about to be separated from their long-established place of worship, they stated this agreement. The then Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar, William Edward Collins, supported the British Colony at Smyrna since the church belonged to the Diocese of Gibraltar. Upon this pressure, the British Government declared that the community should raise money for it. Bishop Collins contributed to that with the highest amount of donation, and thus, he has a memorial hall at St John the Evangelist Church, built in 1899. "*The reason for Bishop Sandford's anxiety about maintaining the chaplaincy at Smyrna was the **number of sailors who visited the port**. The spiritual and material well-being of merchant seamen was a cause dear to his heart, and the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen, founded in 1882…*"[538] During the absence of church service, the British went to the Dutch chapel. When the local community built St. John the Evangelist Church, the Dutch chaplain performed in this building until a British chaplain was appointed because the families of Bornova refused their chaplain to serve in the centre.[539] The potential transmission of infectious diseases from seamen to the British families of Bornava must have been the reason for such unwillingness.

Since the British Government was reluctant to pay, Bishop Collins and the Church Building Committee of the local British merchants comprised Edward Purser, Revd F. Wilson, and Mr I. Bliss, Mr A.F.W.Werry, Mr G. Perrin, Mr Maines, Mr Partriges, Mr E. Whittall on behalf of A.O. Whittall and Mr E. Keyser, and later U.C. Paterson, S. La Fontaine.[540]

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[537] 'Correspondance', 13 June 1894, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[538] Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 83.
[539] 'Correspondance', 13 June 1894, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[540] Purser, 'Church Building Committee Minutes- General Meeting'.

1 1902

Salut de Smyrne
La Gare de la Pointe

2 1930S

3 2021

4 2021

HİSAR
MUVAKKİTHANE

5 1890s
PHOTINI TOWER

6 1890s
FRANK STREET

7 1890s

STATION CLOCK, TOWN CLOCK,
MUVAKKİTHANE CLOCK, PHOTINI
CLOCK SHOWN ON SAAD MAP

8

9 2022

ORIGINAL CLOCK FROM LONDON

Figure 90. Fig.1-7 Showing St John the Evangelist Church built for the railway workers (designed by engineer S.Watkins) and British seamen under the Mission to Seamen (Gibraltar)-by the author, Fig.2 Bornova Street,[541] Fig.3 Shows the Seamen's Rest established to prevent moral corruption in British Seamen overseas,[542] Fig.4 Entrance of the British Seamen's Hospital facing the Railway Boulevard leading to the Punta station square-by the author, Fig.5 Showing the interior of the church in 1904,[543] Fig.6 Previous chapel shown in old Levant Company Quarter in Frank Quarter-drawn by the ORC engineer S. Watkins,[544]

541   Erhan Çamlıbel, 'Bornova Sokağı - Alsancak Mahallesi', Pinterest, 1890s, https://tr.pinterest.com/pin/615867317771330835/.
542   Funda Adıtatar, 'Smyrna Rest', Levantine Heritage Foundation, 1890s, http://www.levantineheritage.com/note134.htm.
543   Alfred Hitch Ellis, 'Turkey - Letters on the Building and Consecration of St. John's Church, Smyrna', 1904, F. Temple 22, f. 348, LPL.
544   Watkins, 'British Consulate in Smyrna by S. Watkins'.

First, the old hospital site near the Levant Quarter was suggested, but objections to the old hospital site arose. The principal reasons were the locality's noisiness, the seamen's difficulty in finding the place, and the unfitness of the ground from an architectural point of view. Then, the Punta Railway Station site was considered since it had many vital advantages, as the tramway service placed the Punta area within everyone's reach.

For the style of the building, neo-Gothic, which was often associated with good Christian morals in the Victorian world, was selected. Edward Purser noted in the building committee book that Mr Werry, the architect, submitted two designs, one Gothic with a Tower and another in Ottoman style with the tower. These were discussed, and it is resolved that Mr Werry will prepare the necessary plans for the aforesaid site with the church in the Gothic style for submission to the authorities by the H.B.M. Embassy. The final plans were drawn and implemented by S. Watkins. The masonry of the Church Building commenced on October 19th, 1898, and railway tracks were utilised in its construction. In 1900, the building became available to seamen. Reports state that the seamen would be taken from their ships and welcomed in St John the Evangelist Church and later taken on a cultural expedition to Ephesus through British Railways.[545] So, the moral and physical well-being of the seamen was secured through modern institutions in port cities to enable the creation of the "*model seamen*", which happened to be British.

In conclusion, the role of seamen in the spatialisation of maritime labour in colonial cities cannot be overlooked. Their presence and experiences significantly shaped these cities and the mari-terrestrial colonial interface. Establishing ports and transportation infrastructure in these cities brought seamen into the urban space and created liminal urban spaces known as sailor towns. These areas were characterised by health and sanitation problems, dynamic relationships between various racial and occupational groups, and the constant effort of the urban and maritime elite to segregate them from the more respectable areas of the city. The response of Victorian Britain to organise a system to represent British seamen as good moral examples in other colonial ports was an organisation that started in the churches and spread to mission homes as Seamen's Rests. These missionary works were not just about commerce, civilisation, and Christianity but about free trade and free labour, which fostered the gentlemanly capitalist empire in the long run.

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[545] Simpson, Donald. *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*. London Metropolitan Archive: Unpublished, 1952. Reference number: RS 3261611

4.3.6. *Public Health and Superiority*: Spatial Approaches to Urban Sanitation and Hospitals

"I know of no work more interesting and romantic than Medical Missions. Certainly, it is an endeavour to follow the divine example of Jesus and His disciplines. "Who preached the Kingdom of God and healed the sick." In our case, the ordinary interest which attaches to Medical Missions is enhanced by the fact that we have day by day flocking around us the descendants of those who came to the Great Physician for healing...[546]

Figure 91. The Hundred Guilder print; Christ standing in a rocky landscape preaching to a crowd of sick
people[547]

Following the railways, churches and industrial establishments, the hospital was the most important institution of the colonial space organisation. Even though writers such as Sibel Zandi Sayek wrote about the two-mile-long waterfront promenade of Smyrna where *"attractive buildings gave a new façade to the city"* with *"communal institutions such as churches, mosques, synagogues, schools, and hospitals"* exhibiting

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[546] Prinski Scott, *The Story of Smyrna Medical Mission in Connection with the Church of Scotland*, 5.

[547] Rembrandt, 'The Hundred Guilder Print', The British Museum, 1648, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_F-4-154.

the "wealth of an emerging class of patrons"[548], the hospitals exhibited not only the wealth but also poverty in that they served the destitute travellers, whether their illness being cholera or syphilis that they caught at their previous port or in a night affair in İkinci Kordon, where the majority of the brothels were established as an extension of port developments. There were also less fortunate members of port cities, as minorities towards whom medical missionaries established hospitals towards a secure and healthy Mediterranean. The sanitary situations of these people were often depicted as a mess, and the notion of "Good Christian" was employed to elevate these people to a "higher/modern/civilised West" through medical expertise.

> *"The **medical profession acquired dominance over colonial urban landscapes from the latter years of the nineteenth century**…At a time when European empires were at their most expansive and assertive, there was a spate of laws and rules sanctioning the draconian health measures, giving the medical profession an unprecedented authority in public life. Doctors became all-purpose experts, authorities on matters as diverse as 'native affairs' and town planning, and were recruited as military advisers, impromptu diplomats, geologists and pioneer anthropologists. If sanitary experts were the new 'specialists of space'(in Foucault's words), then the colonial urban landscape offered wide scope for their endeavours."[549]*

The 19th century saw significant advancements in transportation, leading to a massive influx of people worldwide, with a significant impact on urban populations. Historically, cities with ports were already susceptible to epidemics due to the convergence of a mobile community of merchants, sailors, and travellers. However, the introduction of maritime steam-liners and railway lines that crossed international borders in the 19th century took the spread of infectious diseases to a global scale. During its transformation, Smyrna was home to a diverse population of Muslims, Greek and Armenian Orthodox Christians, and Jews, as well as colonial merchants from Venetian, French, Dutch, and British origins. This multi-ethnic and multilingual community created a complex sociocultural and economic environment facilitating the city's integration into the global capitalist economy. However, during times of epidemics, each group responded differently. Muslims typically continued their daily lives, while non-Muslim members of colonial communities often left the city centre for the suburbs of Buca and Bornova, connected by the new railway lines—those who could not leave opted for voluntary quarantine. Smyrna's hospitals also reflected the city's diverse community, with each ethno-religious group having their own hospital. Unfortunately, during epidemics,

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[548] Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 115.
[549] Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, 48.

victims were buried quickly in or near these hospital enclaves, contaminating them and making them vulnerable to urban interventions.

In Smyrna's colonial landscape, two British-funded hospitals operated. The first was the Beaconsfield Jewish Mission Hospital, named after the British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli. The Mission was a branch of the operations of the Jewish Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland and was supported by contributions from congregations, Sabbath schools, and *individual friends*.[550] Dr. Levi Prinski Scott established this hospital in Smyrna around 1882. His book depicting these years of establishment can be examined to reveal the process of "*creation of the other*" in colonial discourse. He attempted to explain the backwardness of the native people, often citing the disabilities under which missionaries laboured to preach to the women, who were not using the same spaces as men. Dr Scott removed partitions between beds to create more space and perceived it as a move to fix the assumed backwardness, allowing women to be on equal footing with men and listen to the discourses on spiritual matters.[551] All efforts in his lines throughout the book were to establish **Christianity as an equalising force and as the mediator of peace in chaotic lands**, and Christ's occupation as the Physician to heal was the source of it.

The doctor was an Israelite himself and was ready to serve the poor in need without a fee. It seemed as if the whole population outside the European Christians were sinful people in this heretic land who now had the chance to meet their saviour, the superior Christian.[552]

With his success in Smyrna, he returned home in 1885 summer and attended countless public speeches to raise interest in Jewish Missions. It was stated that Mrs Muir, wife of the previous minister of St. Stephen's of Edinburgh, raised a thousand pounds for a permanent Mission House in Smyrna to be given to the doctor to found a memorial to the late Earl of Beaconsfield, Disraeli –"*a distinguished son of Israel"*, due to his association with "*somewhere in the East*". For them, Smyrna occupied so much of Disraeli's thoughts.[553] The permanent site bought consisted of "*a large house in the Rue de Meles of the Armenian Quarter"*. Upon completing the formal paper, he was prepared to build by getting a Government permit, and he was fortunate enough to secure a

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[550] Prinski Scott, *The Story of Smyrna Medical Mission in Connection with the Church of Scotland*, 6.
[551] Prinski Scott, 23.
[552] Prinski Scott, 19.
[553] Prinski Scott, 26.

"Christian gentleman", Mr. George Perrin, to undertake the building. According to his designs, the hospital had a square-shaped layout with a main building and two wings. The central part boasted a spacious hall accommodating more than a hundred people. The walls were adorned with pictures and plants and painted Hebrew texts. The right wing had an upstairs ward and a laundry area, while the left had a male ward, servants' quarters, and a kitchen. The women's ward, dispensary, and bathroom were on one side of the hall. The Mission House was located in the garden area, with plenty of space for future expansion.*554*

The second hospital was the British Seamen's Hospital in the European Quarter. Manikarnika Dutta, in "*Cholera, Maritime Anxieties and British Seamen in Calcutta 1830-1890*", shows how Seamen's and Naval hospitals, in different contexts, enabled imperial penetration and hegemonic discourse over the underdeveloped other. It was believed that ***effective health administration and control of global diseases improved Britain's reputation as a good colonial administration.***[555] Therefore, the spread of infectious diseases through trade, and thus seamen, became one of the major concerns of the 19th century. The National Archives has many booklets and books aimed at regulating the spread of diseases. It should be noted that according to the dates of these documents, 1866-1867, respectively, it is understood that the concern towards the living and hygienic conditions of the seamen and mercantile marine was not under consideration before the 19th century. The early developments, such as the small hospital of the Levant Company converted from a house in Smyrna, were established towards the end of the 18th century. Still, their development and architectural concerns became a topic of research and literature after the second half of the 19th century. The person producing these booklets in the archives was Harry Leach, who was the resident medical officer of the hospital ship Dreadnought in England and, more importantly, for the context of this thesis, he was the civil surgeon of military transports and **medical inspector to railways in Turkey**.

Leach states that the major inquiry into seamen's working and living conditions came from the merchants of Liverpool. Understandably, they were in a dense relationship with the rest of the world through trade and industry. He exclaimed;

> " the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854 is a maze of clauses and amendments, abused alike by ship-owner, master, mate and seamen as absurd, useless, and obstructive…[the measures] relating to the provisions, health, and accommodation of seamen, fail.. [fever and scurvy] exists in our ocean-going ships, and venereal diseases in both… During the past 2 years, more than two hundred

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554 Prinski Scott, 31.
555 Dutta, 'Cholera, British Seamen'.

cases of scurvy have entered hospitals in this port alone, and many more are known to have been treated in the Sailors' Homes…"[556]

As the report states, the seamen were at the most critical point of catching and spreading the aforementioned diseases, except scurvy, which occurs due to Vitamin C deficiency due to not having access to fresh fruit on ships. However, from the scurvy quote, we understand that apart from the established British hospitals, Sailors' Home institutions provided care for the destitute seamen during sickness. They were probably curing the seamen in the absence of a hospital nearby. In the case of Smyrna, we know that medical treatment was not a part of the Sailors' Home mentioned in the previous headline.

Just like Smyrna, Dutta notes that Calcutta was a ***disease entrepot***, an infectious gateway, besides being the modern façade of the East to the West. When there was the transmissibility of cholera, which was the main illness in tropical lands from one body to another on a ship, the British government implemented sanitary regulations on the prophylactic ***virtues of a disciplined life***: diet, hygiene and comfortable living conditions for seamen. In case of outbreaks, the British first quarantined the ships with cholera for up to 60 days; however, the organic cargo spoiled during this period. In addition to having a major trade failure, it also led to a shortage of food on the ships. Because this cycle was destroying the profits of merchant seamen, they opposed this system and opted for sanitary measures to keep urban spaces clean and prevent contagion. Thus, the 1840s witnessed the sanitary reform of public spaces and a humanitarian interest in the welfare of seamen. Dedicated to the seamen, the British Seamen's Hospitals in Smyrna and Constantinople were the most visible markers of British imperial interests in Ottoman cities to secure the Mediterranean trade through new sanitary reforms.[557]

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[556] 'Medical Notes and Reports by Dr Harry Leach' (Booklets, 1860s-1870s), COL/SJ/12/023, LMA.

[557] *"You have drawn our attention to the fact that while Government provide a Hospital at Smyrna, they do not do so at other Mediterranean ports with the exception of Constantinople."* 'Correspondence-Hospital in Smyrna', 13 June 1894, WORK10/52/3, NA.

1887

THE STORY OF SMYRNA MEDICAL MISSION IN CONNECTION WITH The Church of Scotland

EDINBURGH: R & R CLARK

PRICE SIXPENCE

3

BEACONSFIELD MISSION HOSPITAL TO JEWS

5

1887

The building on the left is the Hospital, and that on the right of the picture is the the dwelling-house. The trees in the garden are the gift of friends. The picture has been drawn and engraved from a sketch by Miss Elfrida Constant, Smyrna.

4

To Bornova

Caravan Bridge Road

To Buca

To Aydin

To Urla

To Cassaba

Caravan Bridge

Meles

To Cassaba

Cordelio

Punta

British Consulate

British Seamen's Rest

Port

Basmane

Settlement Area in City Centre

Industrial Zone

Cassaba Railway Pier

Aydin Railway Pier

Extended Pier

Railway Pier

British Fire Station

Clock Tower

Railway Manager's house

OTTOMAN MAP ORC BOUNDARY

Tram Line

Railway Offices

Railway Post Office

British Post Office

St John's Evangelia Seamen Chu.

Ghizlar Mission

Burnabat (Bornova Street)

British College

British Seamen's Hospital

HARRY LEACH BOOKS ON EPIDEMIC DISEASES SPREAD THROUGH MARITIME TRADE

1836-37

1919

RAILWAY PIER

PUNTA RAILWAY STATION

HOSPITAL REGION

PLAGUE HOSPITAL

BASMAHANE RAILWAY STATION

NEW PORT

SMYRNA. 1836-37 SURVEY WITH 1901 RAILWAY ADDITIONS

1919 MAP

PORT
RAILWAY
HOSPITALS
RAILWAY STATION

NEW BRITISH SEAMEN'S HOSPITAL

OLDER SEAMEN'S HOSPITAL SITE

BRITISH INVESTMENTS
PORT
RAILWAY
HOSPITALS
CEMETERIES

1

2

1876

LAMEC SAAD MAP

HOSPITAL QUARTER

7

1867

THE SHIP CAPTAIN'S MEDICAL GUIDE

HARRY LEACH

REPORT ON THE HYGIENIC CONDITION OF THE MERCANTILE MARINE

PREVENTABLE DISEASES

MERCHANT SEAMEN

LAST EPIDEMIC OF CHOLERA IN TURKEY

HARRY LEACH

6

PLAN DE SMYRNE LAMEC SAAD

Figure 92. Fig.1-2 Shift of British-owned functions to Punta[558] Fig.3 and Fig.5 Book of Dr Levi Prinski Scott during his Mission to Jews in Smyrna and depiction of the Hospital[559] Fig.4. Christ depicted as a healer[560]Fig.7. Hospital quarter in Saad plan[561] The pamphlets and books by Harry Leach[562]

558 'Gulf of Smyrna, by Captain R. Copeland and Others 1836-7. Admiralty Chart 1523. With Additions in 1882'; 'Smyrna. 8 Inches to One Mile. To Accompany "Handbook of Asia Minor" Volume II- CB 847b.Naval Staff'.
559 Prinski Scott, *The Story of Smyrna Medical Mission in Connection with the Church of Scotland.*
560 Rembrandt, 'The Hundred Guilder Print'.
561 Saad, 'Plan de Smyrne / Lamec Saad; Blumenau et Soeder | Gallica'.
562 'Medical Notes and Reports by Dr Harry Leach'.
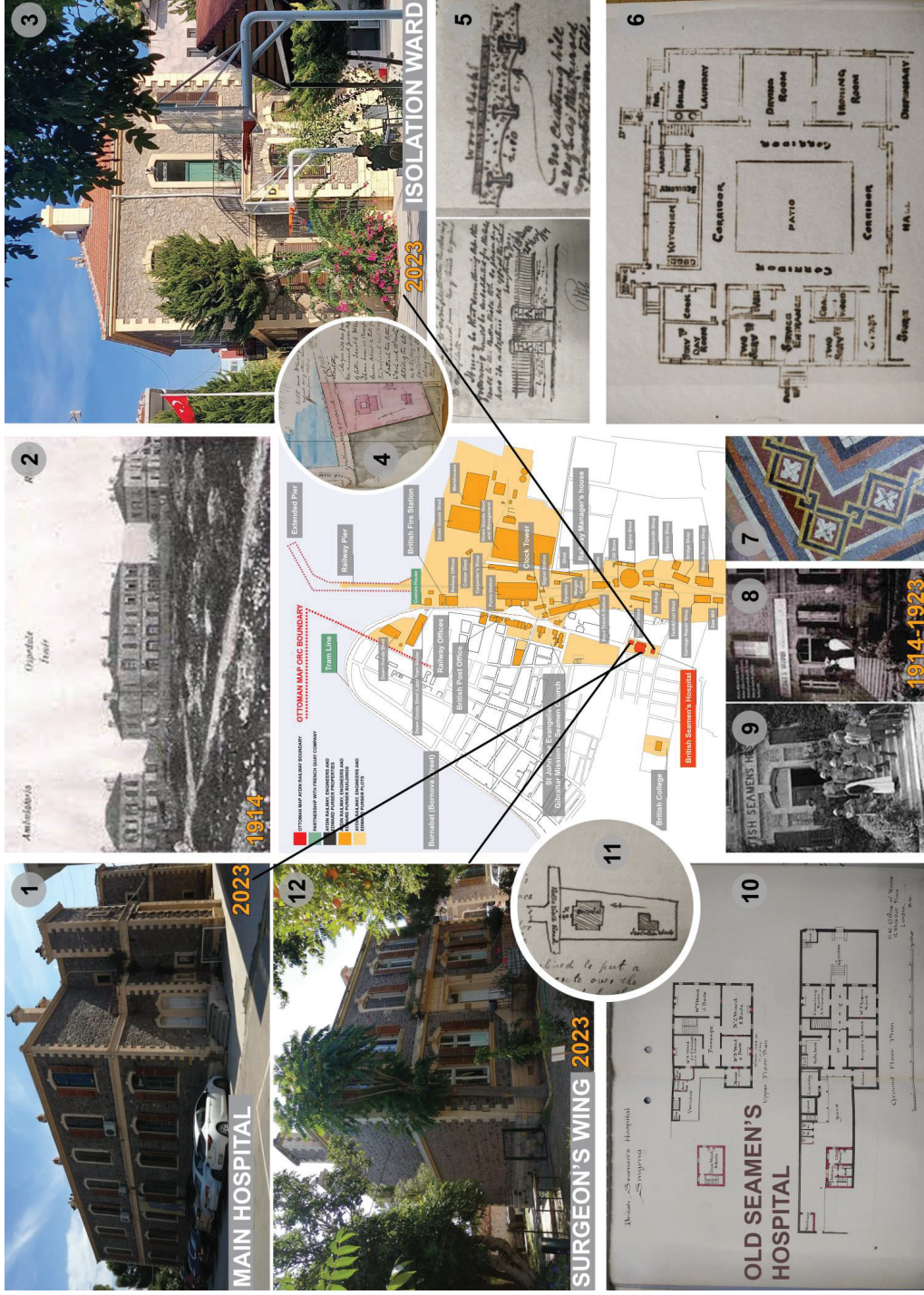
Figure 93. Fig.1-3-12 Showing the Hospital today-by the author, Fig.2 Seamen's Hospital between two World Wars in use by the Italians,[563] Fig.4 Site proposed by Edward Purser,[564] Fig.5-6-10-11 are construction details from Office of Works,[565] Fig.7-8-9 Shows Seamen's Hospital in use during different periods and material details brought from England[566]

563 'Former British Seaman's Hospital Punta', Levantine Heritage Foundation, Between WWI and WWII, http://levantineheritage.com/seamans-hospital.html.
564 'Correspondence, October 5, 1894', 1894, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
565 'Purchase of Site and Erection of Hospital'.
566 'Former British Seaman's Hospital Punta'.

The Levant Company built the first British Seamen's Hospital in Smyrna in 1816.[567] When the company dissolved in 1825, the hospital was given as a gift to the British government.[568] The operation in this building continued until 1891 but ultimately failed to expand and was shut down.[569] However, it was decided that the complete removal of the institution was too risky. Given the importance of Mediterranean trade and seamen's vulnerability during epidemics, having a new hospital was deemed essential.

Consequently, in September 1891, plans were drafted to include an infectious disease ward above the current mortuary.[570] During 1892, there was an outbreak of smallpox and cholera in Smyrna, which caused the British Foreign Office to reconsider the spread of infection from neighbouring hospitals within the existing area during epidemics.[571] After devoting a year to combatting these crucial outbreaks, the Ottoman government went further by appointing a dedicated Sanitary Commissioner and a local Sanitary Board on November 19, 1892. This move granted them the authority to prohibit any unsanitary conditions found on streets or residences and any hospital ward expansions as of December 1892.[572] Syrian-born British architect living in Smyrna, Albert Frederick William Werry (1839–1906), was commissioned to undertake the new hospital work in March 1893. There were two proposed sites: a building on the old site or a site outside the city centre next to the British Gas Factory, belonging to the railway manager Edward Purser. [573]

The British government controlled overseas projects, even from a distance. Therefore, when the Smyrna-Aydın Railway Company proposed to the British government that the new hospital be built on a plot next to the British-owned railway station at Punta, they sent an inspector.[574] Upon establishing the station in 1858, this location, situated on the outskirts of the bustling city centre, was envisioned as a promising investment opportunity for potential developers. The company further anticipated the possibility of neighbouring hospitals acquiring adjacent land plots.[575]

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[567] The British Seamen's Hospital was founded in England in the 17th century.
Conrad Hepworth Dixon, 'Seamen and the Law: An Examination of the Impact of Legislation on the British Merchant Seamen's Lot, 1588-1918' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University College London, 1981), 18–19.
[568] 'Correspondence-1924-British Hospital in Smyrna', 2 April 1924, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[569] 'Correspondence-1891-British Hospital in Smyrna', 12 September 1891, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[570] 'Correspondence-1892-British Hospital in Smyrna', 9 November 1892, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[571] 'Correspondence December 18, 1893', 1893, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[572] 'Correspondence, December 1, 1892', 1892, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[573] 'Correspondence, March 20, 1893', 1893, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[574] 'Correspondence, June 23, 1893', 1893, 23, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[575] 'Correspondence December 18, 1893'.

Even though the inspector deemed the old centre as very unhealthy and suggested the outside of the centre plot, the head surgeon of the hospital strongly opposed this swampy neighbourhood (on the other side of Punta Terminus), which was conducive to malaria.[576] Hence, a location across the railroad, which Werry characterised as secluded, hygienic, and equipped with ample potable water for drinking and sanitation, was ultimately selected.[577] This site was purchased in October 1894, and construction began.[578] Based on lessons learned from past outbreaks, a design prioritised a hospital building, infirmary, and infectious ward surrounded by an extensive garden. This decision was made after careful consideration and research to ensure the most effective and sound sanitary approach to healthcare facilities. The above map of Smyrna from 1919 shows that other hospitals were relocated to separate parts of the city as well, at considerable distances from one another, so as not to form an unhealthy cluster of medical facilities that could facilitate rather than curb the spread of disease. In this sense, the British Seamen's Hospital was the first to leave the old, unhealthy city centre to be established in what the British called the "new centre".
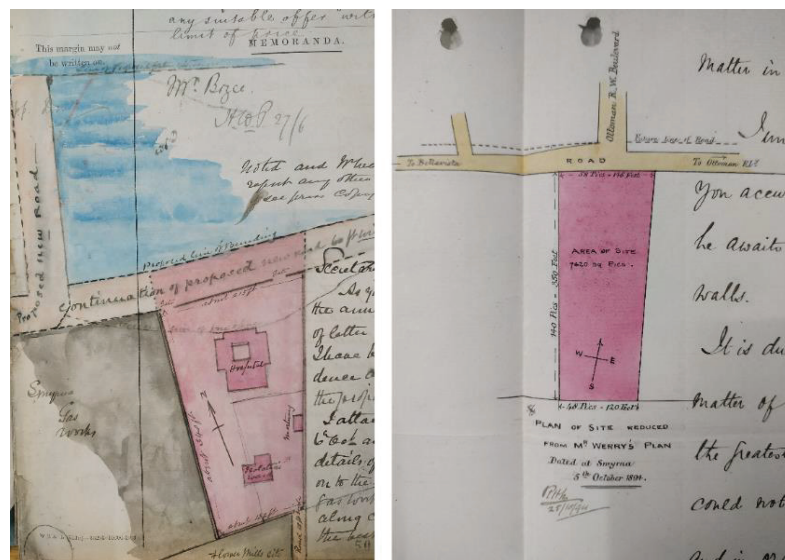
Figure 94. The first photo shows the plot next to the British Gas Company, owned by Edward Purser. The second photo shows the site at the end of the Railway Boulevard road.[579]

[576] 'Correspondence, January 2, 1894', 1894, WORK 10/52/3, NA.
[577] 'Correspondence, October 5, 1894'.
[578] Ibid.
[579] 'Correspondence, October 5, 1894'.

To summarise, Smyrna's incorporation into the 19th-century global market caught the city off guard. While the advanced transportation systems enabled the city to keep up with industrial production, it struggled to handle the influx of people that came with trade expansion. The smallpox and cholera outbreaks in 1892 exposed the inadequate health and sanitation infrastructure, particularly during serious disease outbreaks. Following these incidents, relocating the British Seamen's Hospital demonstrated a shift towards prioritising a healthier urban environment over financial gain and a greater awareness of the significance of sanitary urban spaces.

The hospital's rebuilding was a tribute to the mercantile marine who contributed to Britain's informal empire and was seen as a step forward to the Ottoman Empire's modernisation. The relocation of the hospital from the congested city centre and the consequent dissolution of the hospital cluster ushered in a new era in public health. The planning of hospital quarters and the architecture of the new hospital were based on medical expertise, putting an end to practices like burying the deceased on hospital grounds. Instead, extensive analysis of soil and water conditions was required, and separate wards for infectious diseases were constructed.

As the extension of colonial rule, the port cities that made the British Empire necessitated sanitary regulation of seamen's living conditions and drinking habits in the eyes of the imperialists. The idea of seamen's well-being and the "lower classes" observed as the "others" was considered very modern. ***A clean and healthy waterfront was essential to prevent diseases in the sanitary urban space.*** The unhealthy city was marginalised as a pathological space; the European disgust for filth created a context for the colonial state to regulate spaces and communities.[580] ***Sanitary engineering, then, became a colonial act.***[581]

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[580]   Dutta, 'Cholera, British Seamen'.
[581]   Ibid.

4.3.7. *Must Protect the Precious:* Smyrna Fire Brigade and a Tiny Little Flag

*"To Fire brigade…to which we would like to call your serious attention, believing that the extent of **British Interests** requiring a thorough service of Fire Protection will not fail to draw your prompt support in ameliorating certain matters…"[582]*

The fire station is a specific institution that merely finds its place in the literature on the organisation of colonial space. As the opening quote suggests, this institution's aim was to safeguard British interests in Smyrna and primarily served the European Quarters, as seen in the service map from the City of London Archives below.

Daniel Hood states that the Indian Army always had European officers for Indian troops, and the Calcutta Police and fire brigade had the same setup.[583] This was also valid for Smyrna; the officers of the Smyrna Fire Brigade were all Europeans and predominantly British, whereas the workers were of local non-Muslim inhabitants if we analyse the names under their early photographs. Only in the 1910 members list can we see Turks as officers. Of course, the main aim of these investors was to prevent any damage to trade, as was the case with the hospitals, churches, schools and railways.

"I have no doubt, gentlemen, that you will highly appreciate the statistics prepared by our indefatigable Secretary. The Companies which we have the honour to represent, I am sure, will find in these tables information of great importance. They will at glance, be able to see the nature of those risks which have and have not caused loses during the past year… I hope I will convince them that the insurance of strictly commercial risks such as opium, valonea, grain, dried fruit, cotton, tobacco, liquorice roots has been lucrative, and has entailed little or no loss."[584]

The Fire Brigade was established in 1875 as a joint enterprise of many existing insurance companies. It is known that the Sun Insurance Company initiating the fire brigade had already been operating since 1863 in Smyrna. In a letter written by L.A. Arlaud on 8th May 1906, it is stated that the institution and its contributors have no interest in providing a complete fire brigade to the general public in Smyrna, that the establishment is towards the subscribed companies, such as Imperial, Sun, Lancashire,

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[582] 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893' (Sun Insurance Office London, 1884), CLC/B/192/B/021/MS24716/002, LMA.

[583] Daniel W.T. Wood, 'The Fire Problem: Social Responsibility for Fire in the British Empire, 1817–1919' (Boston, Boston College Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences Graduate School, 2020), 128.

[584] 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 4, 1899- 1904' (Sun Insurance Office London, 1899), CLC/B/192/B/021/MS24716/004, LMA.

London Assurance, Manchester, North British and Mercantile, Scottish Union and Mercantile, Guardian, Northern, Royal-MacAndrews and Forbes, Liverpool &London &Globe British companies, as well as other European establishments of Assicurazioni Generali, Aachen &Munich, Baloise, Phénix Autrichien, Prussian Nationale, Union de Paris etc. Despite such a variety of different European companies, Sun Insurance correspondences always stated their purpose as securing *British interests*. They required "*measures to be taken to* **secure for the Fire Brigade the protection of the British Government** *and a freedom to act entirely independent of Local Authorities.*"[585]

Figure 95. Fire Brigade members, none of them Turkish, dated 1886[586]

[585] Richard Rose, 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893 - Letter by Richard Rose' (Sun Insurance Office London, 1884), CLC/B/192/B/021/MS24716/002, LMA.
[586] 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893'.

*"To give this Brigade also an **outward appearance thoroughly English**, Mr Cumberbatch, British Consul, authorised the various companies to fly the English flag on the tower mentioned above, and it may be interesting to remark that the local authorities then in office found no objection to this step seeing that this establishment was kept up at the expense of foreigners and was by treaties then in force and right of privileges enjoyed by Europeans."*[587]

Imagine arriving as a sailor in Smyrna, seeing the British flag on towers around Punta, British railways, a British church, a British hospital, and a British post office. What would your impression be? The addition of the flag solidified the aforementioned "***imagined spatial and visual continuity***" to enhance the idea that the British Empire influenced every corner of the world and that the extension of the empire continued to exist overseas in the "subject's" mind. For the British imperialists, a flag was never just a flag, and it was often associated with fire stations in the colonies of Britain, such as Northern Ireland. Bryan emphasises that the Union flag flew from police stations, fire stations, other services, and Protestant churches, symbolising site creation and identity politics.[588] Today, when you visit Northern Ireland, you will see all the unionists have flags in front of their houses, whereas few Irish people hang the Irish flag outside celebrations.

It was and has been a symbol to justify colonial presence.

A report from the archival material shows that when the governor changed in Smyrna in 1889, he wanted the British flag removed. Consul Reade "strongly interposed," and the authorities abandoned the idea.[589] In a letter dated 1897, on the Llyod's Telegraph Station in Dardanelles (Çanakkale), it is stated that in 1897, the Turkish Authorities forbade any flags except Turkish flags to be flown anywhere within Turkish dominions. The below photo of the Dardanelles signal station shows the British flag of the period, which cannot be seen in detail on the Smyrna Fire Station tower.[590]

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[587] Rose, 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893 - Letter by Richard Rose'.
[588] Brian Dominic and Gillian McIntosh, 'Symbols: Sites of Creation and Contest in Northern Ireland', *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 25, no. 2 (2005): 127–37.
[589] Rose, 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893 - Letter by Richard Rose'.
[590] Ibid.
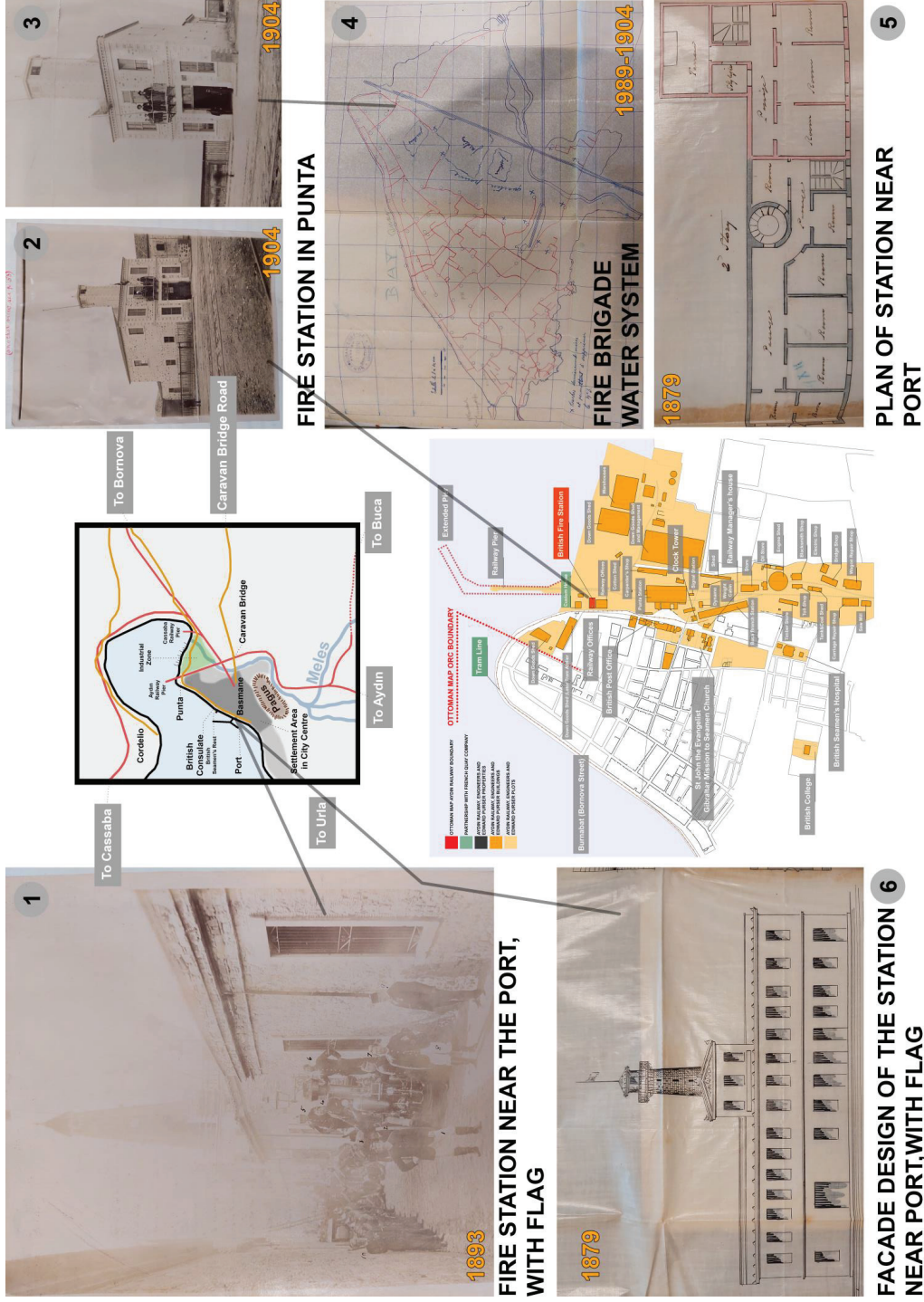
Figure 96. Fire Brigade analysis by the author, Fig.1 Fire Station Tower in Rue Parallel near the Port with a flag in 1893, Fig.2-3 Punta Station[591], Fig.4 Fire station water supply service map[592], Fig.5-6 Plan for main quarters in 1879, with the flag post to be seen from the ships arriving at the port[593]

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591 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893'.
592 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 4, 1899- 1904'.
593 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893'.

The chief station of this fire brigade was erected on St. George Street, near the Church of St. George. The street was located adjacent to Rue Parallél and had the advantage of leading brigades to Frank Street and the Quay to the East, to bazaars to the South, to the Armenian and St Dhimitri Quarter and the other Greek quarters and the Punta to the north. All of these leading streets were notably paved in a modern way, which was of great importance for the brigades in times of emergency. It was stated that before establishing the modern fire protection service and insurance in Smyrna, the town had no protection against fire.

Upon careful analysis of the station photos, plans and its location within the Smyrna urban landscape, it becomes apparent that the tower was purposefully constructed to serve as a lookout for fires. However, what makes it particularly intriguing is the flagpole situated at its top. This tower was a distinct feature among the surrounding buildings in the Pasaport port of Smyrna, and its design ensured that every ship arriving in Smyrna could spot the British flag.

Another intriguing point about these plans, and many others in the same book the company documented, is that there were many details about the built environment. Hüseyin Akbulut notes that these drawings were exceptionally professional and to-scale compared to the sketch-like drawings in Constantinople.[594] Insurance companies had to distinguish between high-risk and low-risk structures to maintain their presence in the market and sustain their operations. As such, the production of plans was of utmost importance to them. Akbulut claims the railway engineer S.Watkins' 1881 plan as the earliest example of fire insurance mapping, surpassing the famous British cartographer Charles Goad's Fire Insurance plans of Smyrna in 1904 for 23 years. However, the detailed maps of Sun Insurance dated 1879 are even earlier than Watkins' maps.[595] The below plan of Saman Iskelesi with detailed façades of surrounding buildings is one of these examples. Moreover, compared to Watkins' and Goad's maps, these plans are very detailed, showing the interiors, waterways, and facades of the buildings included in the plans.

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[594] Hüseyin Akbulut, 'Cumhuriyet Dönemine Kadar Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sigortacılık' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İktisat Anabilim Dalı, 2014), 266.

[595] Akbulut, 269–70.
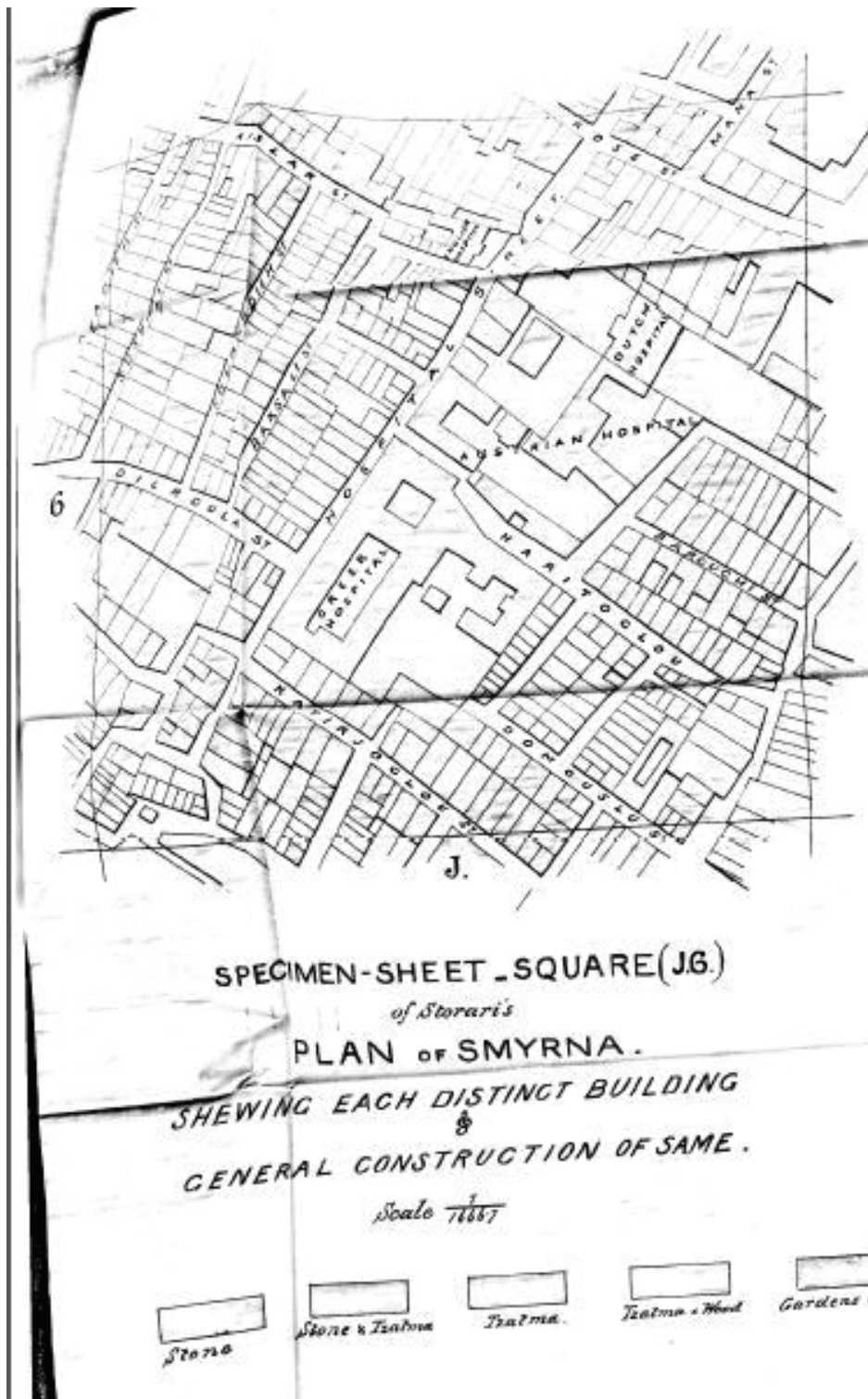
Figure 97. Watkins plan, 1881[596]

596   Akbulut, 269.
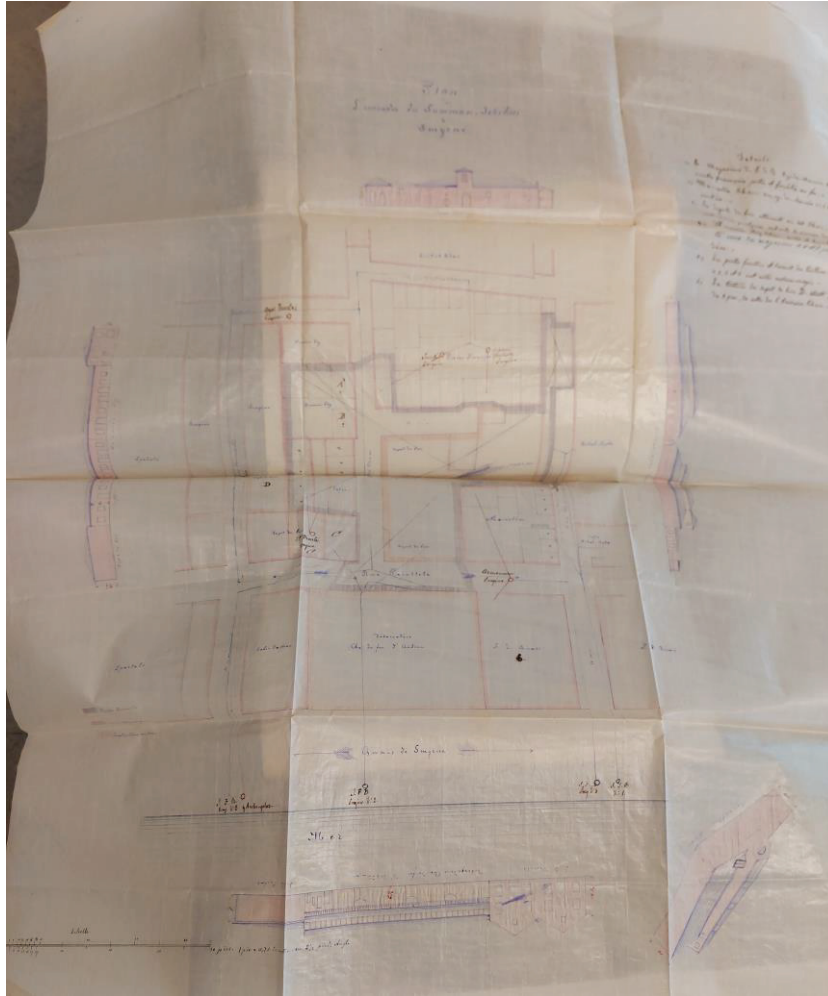
Figure 98. Plan of Saman İskelesi showing waterways, facades, and plans of buildings, 1879, by Sun Insurance Fire Brigade[597]
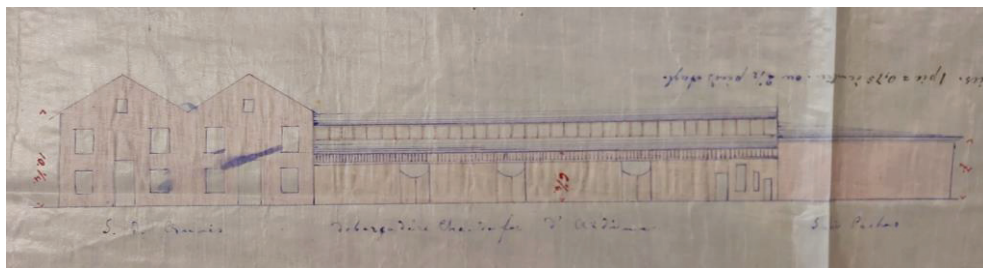
Figure 99. Detail from the Saman İskelesi map, "debarcadere chemin de fer d'Aydın" refers to Smyrna Aydın Railway Warehouses in Pasaport Port.[598]

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[597] 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893'.
[598] 'Smyrna Fire Brigade Book Number 2 1884-1893'.
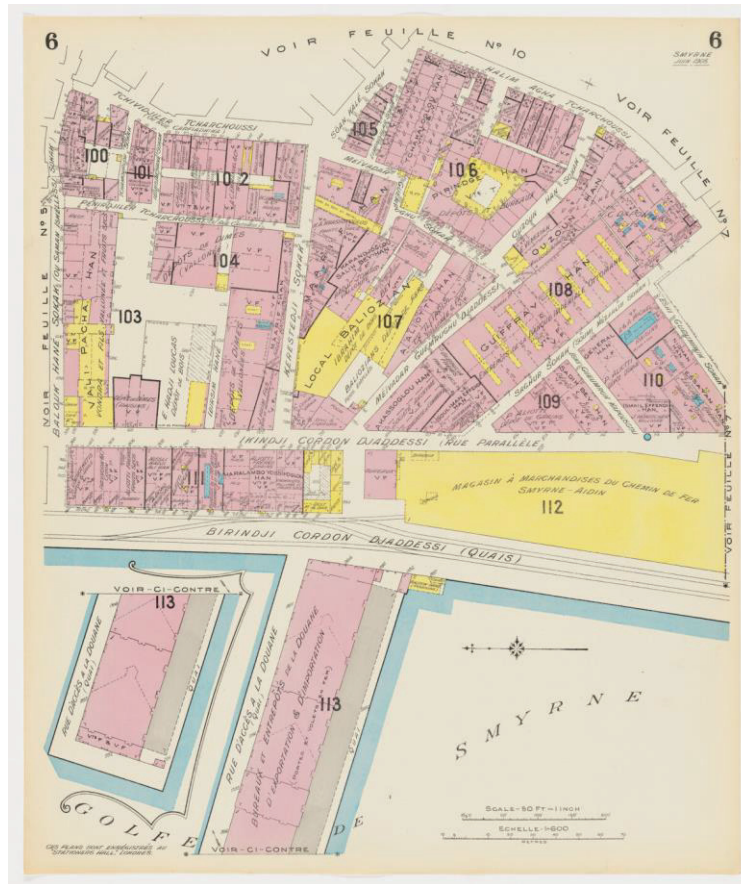
Figure 100. Goad Map including the Saman İskelesi area, 1905[599]

The pioneering efforts of the British Sun Insurance company were instrumental in the establishment of Smyrna's modern fire brigade and the development of detailed cartographic information. Even though collaborating with other European insurance companies, the company prioritised British interests in its correspondence and persisted in being represented by the British flag through the British Consulate.

The way this company plans the zones is much more detailed than the Watkins Goad maps. However, no plan for the city in general was found in the archives. As can be understood from their insistence on the flag, Sun Insurance's main focus was to protect investments in British interests in the colonial order, and thus, had no interest in expanding its operations to the whole city. On the other hand, establishing a fire brigade branch in Punta during the late 1800s suggests that expanding the operations for a growing European sector of the city was in their interest. This observation also indicates

[599] Charles Edward Goad, *Plan d'assurance de Smyrne. Turquie. No: 6.*, 1905, 63-59 cm, 1905, APLGDSMYR06, SALT Research, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/123854.

that the Punta area was starting to flourish as a growing hub. It appears that Smyrna Aydin Railway, as a fire insurance subscriber, allocated a parcel of land to construct a fire brigade building on the Punta terminal pier. The accompanying images show an empty flagpole on the front of this building. It is likely that this flagpole once flew the British flag before the Ottoman government instituted a flag ban.

From the entrance of Punta Terminal Boulevard, the fire brigade with the British flag, the Anglican church, British Post and Telegraph offices, and offices of British engineers, all equipped with modern technology, must have been giving the impression of a quaint English town. Through the strategic placement of the fire brigade at the entrance of the boulevard, it appears that modern public investments have successfully achieved the desired spatial and visual continuity often seen in colonial lands.

4.3.8. *The Polarized City*: Conflicts of Integration in Smyrna

Nahide Şimşir notes that while writing the history of Smyrna, two different worlds had to be considered. One is the world of the Turks, and the other is the world of the European merchants.[600] This was revealed to be the truth after analysing Smyrna in alignment with the port-city models in the literature.

The city of Smyrna's integration into the global capitalist world economy was mainly visible in the triangular area from the old city centre to the Smyrna-Aydın station, which was located in Punta and later bounded by the Cassaba line. This division was so distinct that the two centres had separate municipalities. Implementing modern infrastructure such as gas, electricity, railways, trams, new hygiene practices, and port construction did not always begin in the second municipality district. Still, it was limited to this area at times. As Mark Crinson points out, the modernisation efforts by European merchants led to centralisation, while the lives of Muslims and other local communities were increasingly marginalised.[601] This differentiation is evident in the regional division of the Smyrna Municipality, established in 1874 following the law mandating the creation of municipalities in Ottoman province cities in 1871.[602]

Interestingly, the establishment of the first municipality predates this date by seven years. According to Hyde Clarke, Smyrna's city planning did not consider the needs of minibuses and wagons, which made it necessary to establish an institution like the Pera municipality under the guidance of British and other European leaders.[603] The first attempt to create such an institution was made in 1867 by European merchants, particularly those who owned public works companies, including British entrepreneurs. The municipality was established in 1868 but operated for a short period. [604] This brings us back to Lewis Mumford's insightful question in the thesis's introduction: How can a city be built in harmony with the disparate efforts of thousands of people with competing interests who follow no other law but their own desires?[605]

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[600]   Nahide Şimşir, *İzmir Şehri Araştırmaları*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Post Yayın Dağıtım, 2017), 35.
[601]   *Empire Building*, 157.
[602]   Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
[603]   Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 10.
[604]   Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
[605]   Mumford, *The City in History*, 469.

The initial municipality, founded by concessionaires whose primary interests were their own, ultimately lacked consistency. Despite the abolition of regional distinctions in Smyrna's two municipalities in 1891, the Frank area, included in the second municipal quarter, remained privileged due to the first municipality's stakeholders who dominated urban planning services. For example, when Antoine Edwards, an Englishman, was granted the gas lighting concession in 1862, it only illuminated the European Quarter. It wasn't until 1902 that a second British company was granted the privilege to illuminate the whole city, with general illumination even not being available until 1908.[606]

The integration issue in Smyrna extended beyond just two municipal districts - even the European Quarter faced similar problems due to fragmented initiatives. The Smyrna Aydın railway line, the city's first, created a clear divide between the east and west, intended to separate workers and factories from the city centre and to fulfil the British desire to access the sea. As Nedim Atilla noted based on Çınar Atay's notes in "*Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e İzmir Planları*", the British strategically extended their railways to reach the sea. Although plans were made to build a port station and port, the Ottoman Administration prohibited their construction.[607] Despite this, the British were able to construct a railway pier and allow their customers to use it, a practice that continued for years. This situation created complications that have had lasting effects on the city's development.

The Cassaba railway line, the second British-chartered railway with significant involvement from the Ottoman government, had its terminal in the old city centre, ahead of the caravan bridge. However, this presented a challenge as the line could not transport its products directly to any port. The boulevard connecting the Basmane terminus to the Pasaport port today was not built until after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Without such a boulevard, animals carrying cargo bales faced difficulties going to the port, which was built in Pasaport in 1876, via indirect routes.

The British obtained the concession for the construction of this port in 1867. Still, due to their bankruptcy, it was given to French investors, becoming the most significant investment of the rival French in Smyrna.[608] The British archives are full of objections to the taxes imposed on shipments after the construction of this French port and the Quay, as they had previously sent them from the Punta pier and Ottoman customs. The only

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[606] Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.
[607] Atilla, *İzmir Demiryolları*, 61–62.
[608] Bilsel, 'Modern Bir Akdeniz Metropolüne Doğru'.

solution was to build a new port in Punta for the British investors, and they worked hard for it over the years. In the absence of such construction, the integration problem between transportation modes was attempted to be solved by transporting certain cargoes between Pasaport Port and Punta Port and terminus by a freight tram operated at night.[609] While the Passport Port could handle conventional cargo, Punta also had industrial cranes, and thus, a considerable advantage for industrial goods and machinery in the first place.

Figure 101. Port of Smyrna, from Varyant, Cadoux Archive[610]

Figure 102. Port of Smyrna, the Quayside,Cadoux Archive[611]

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[609]   Bilsel.
[610]   'Cadoux Archive', 1900.
[611]   'Cadoux Archive'.

1 1910

To Cassaba

BELLA VISTA

CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE OTTOMANE

PORT D'ABRI NORD

BOURSE

DOUANE

PORT D'ABRI SUD

CASSABA

BASMAN STATION

BOULEVARD PROJECT CORRECTED ON 1919 MAP

To Bornova

Caravan Bridge Road

1910

CAMELS INSIDE A KHAN

To Buca

To Aydın

To Urla

Cordelio

Industrial Zone

Aydın Railway Pier

Cassaba Railway Pier

Punta

British Consulate

British Seamen's Rest

Port

Basmane

Pagos

Settlement Area in City Centre

Caravan Bridge

Meles

1880s

TRAM CARRYING GOODS FROM PORT TO PUNTA PIER

MAP IN PIECES PROJECT BY VITALIS 1910

1910

BELLA VISTA

BASMANE STATION

CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE OTTOMANE

PORT D'ABRI NORD

BOURSE

DOUANE

PORT D'ABRI SUD

CASSABA

1890s

CAMELS ON TRAM LINE

1890s

GOODS ON QUAYSIDE AND TRAMLINE

1870s

MUNICIPAL DISTRICT 2

MUNICIPAL DISTRICT 1

TWO MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES

Figure 103.   Fig.1 Boulevard project juxtaposed on an existing plan[612], Fig.2 A view from caravan khan and, Fig.3 Tram carrying load from French Port to ORC[613] Fig.4 Camels on tram line, [614]Fig.5 A view from the French Port[615] Fig.6 Municipal Separation[616]Fig.7 Boulevard lines as shown from the correspondence, combined from pieces in bad condition[617]

612   'Correspondance-Smyrna Boulevard Plan' (1910), FO 195/2360, NA. Juxtaposed on 'Gulf of Smyrna, by Captain R. Copeland and Others 1836-7. Admiralty Chart 1523. With Additions in 1882'.
613   'Cadoux Archive', 1900.
614   Achilleas Chatziconstantinou, 'The Smyrna Quay: The History of a Symbol', The National Herald, 24 September 2022, https://www.thenationalherald.com/the-smyrna-quay-the-history-of-a-symbol/.
615   'Quais de Smyrne [c 1867-c 1914] Album 406', 1890s, EAP644/1/39, BL.
616   Zandi-Sayek, *Ottoman İzmir*, 99.
617   'Correspondance-Smyrna Boulevard Plan'.

All these railway-port disputes were tried to be overcome with the boulevard project commissioned by the Ottoman government to Polycarp Vitalis in 1910. Our understanding of this project comes from a plan sketch and accompanying letter sent by the British consul of Smyrna during this period. The boulevards depicted in the distorted sketch are reconstructed and presented below. The letter indicates that the Ottoman government had proposed this initiative and sought investors to obtain concessions and financing. The map was forwarded to the Foreign Office to notify British capitalists who may be interested in participating in this investment opportunity.[618]
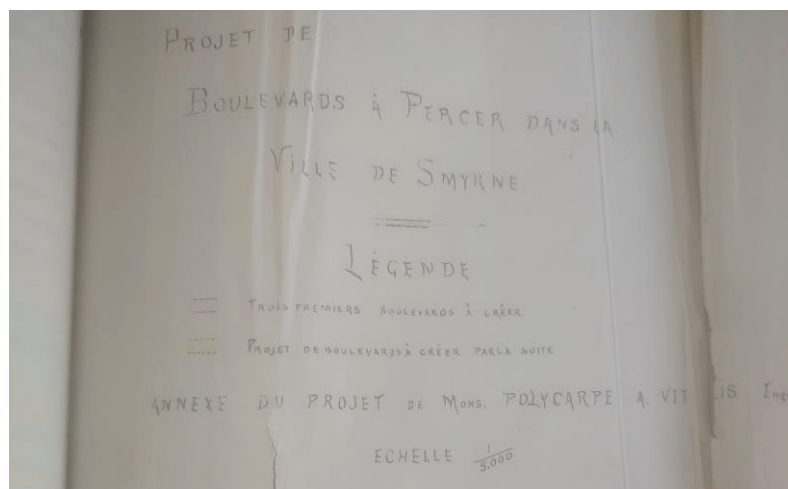
Figure 104. Boulevard Project prepared by the Ottoman Empire's engineer Polycarp Vitalis in 1910, the title reads as "Projet de Boulevard Percer Dans le Ville de Smyrne"[619]

According to archival documents, it appears that this project in question did not come to fruition due to several factors. Firstly, due to political instability, the Ottoman lands lost their appeal as a safe and lucrative investment opportunity for British investors in London. Secondly, the Anatolian overland routes could no longer connect England to India or any other Eastern lands the British would desire now that Iran fell out of the dominant British sphere of influence. Additionally, the Smyrna-Aydın railway took a self-interested stance, prioritising its own needs over collaboration with the Smyrna-Cassaba line to address the intersection problem they had created in the city. Consequently, the two railways persisted as two separate endeavours.[620]

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[618] 'Correspondance-Smyrna Boulevard Plan'.
[619] 'Correspondance-Smyrna Boulevard Plan'.
[620] 'Secret Correspondence by Henry Brackenbury from Intelligence Office'.

Each capitalist investing group only favoured its own initiatives and did not come to common terms with each other. Only in 1911 did the British Smyrna Aydın Railway and the French Quay Company make a pact to overcome the growing pressure of goods transportation and new shipping technology, as an Ottoman archival material shows. They agreed that the port in Passport should be demolished and a joint port constructed in Punta Railway Pier's place.[621] However, this project was never realised as the tensions of WWI started, blurring the city's future.
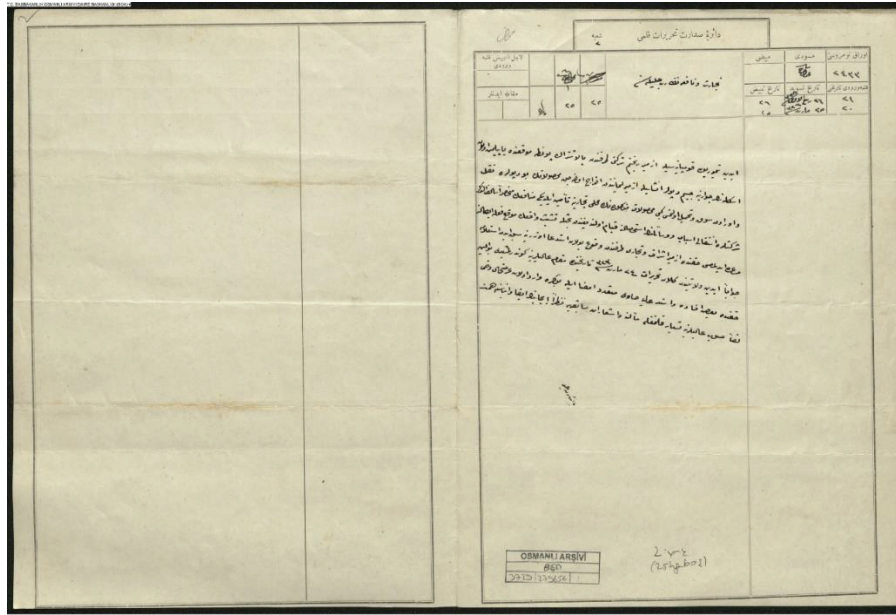
Figure 105. Aydın Demiryolu Kumpanyası ile İzmir Rıhtım Şirketi tarafından müştereken Punta mevkiinde yapılmış olan iskelenin civarına rıhtım ve yollar inşasıyla İzmir limanından ihrac olunacak mahsulatın bu depolara nakil ve oradan sevk ve tahmil olunması gibi mahsulatın mahalli tüccarana temin eylediği menafie dair. (Ticaret Nafia; 226329) 1910/11[622]

The modernising interventions of British investors in the 1860s resulted in a city that was divided, categorised, and marked by conflicts due to the lack of a common unifying project or holistic initiatives like the Boulevard project during the city's integration into the capitalist world economy. The capitalist gentlemen who advocated "modernising" projects at the beginning bequeathed the Turkish Republic a highly conflict-ridden urban space to be dealt with for over 100 years to come.

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[621] Aydın Demiryolu Kumpanyası Ile İzmir Rıhtım Şirketi Tarafından Müştereken Punta Mevkiinde Yapılmış Olan Iskelenin Civarına Rıhtım ve Yollar Inşasıyla İzmir Limanından Ihrac Olunacak Mahsulatın Bu Depolara Nakil ve Oradan Sevk ve Tahmil Olunması Gibi Mahsulatın Mahalli Tüccarana Temin Eylediği Menafie Dair. (Ticaret Nafia; 226329)', 1910, 3729 - 279659, BOA.

[622] 'Aydın Demiryolu Kumpanyası Ile İzmir Rıhtım Şirketi'.

4.3.9. *Dividing Neighbourhoods*: Two Sides of One Line

As explained in the previous chapter, the colonial city was characterised by colonial-indigenous dualism, while the capitalist city was characterised by class differentiation as a determining factor of spatial pattern.[623] While Smyrna's ethnicity/religion-based boundaries were porous before the 1850s, the introduction of the strict dividing line of the Smyrna-Aydın railway in Punta dictated a strict separation of European quarters and industrial zones.
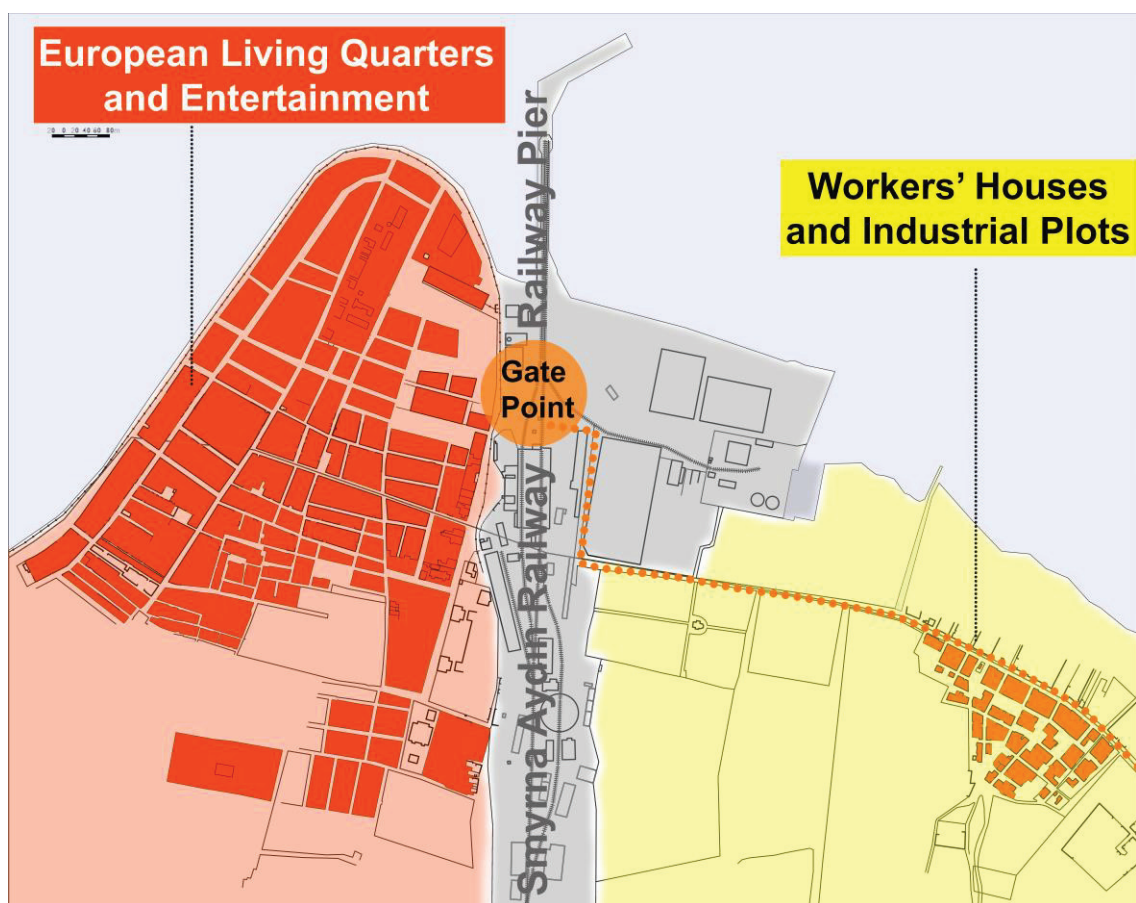
Figure 106. Punta Station Area, divided by the railway lines, analysis on a map prepared by the author

As a city between these dynamics, Smyrna had European Quarters separated from the local communities, which had the commercial street "Frank Street". This street was locked at night due to security concerns; however, there were no district separations

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[623] Farooqui, 'Urban Development in a Colonial Situation: Early Nineteenth Century Bombay'.

during the day when one wandered among the different ethnic quarters in the city until the 19th century. Smyrna was later divided into two with the introduction of the Smyrna-Aydın railway line extending from the hinterland to the inner harbour zone, which introduced the class-based divide to the city for the first time. Unlike loose ethnicity-based neighbourhood thresholds, this line was a vast and imposing divider between the industrial zone with workers' houses and the wealthy European quarters. Even the terminus building dividing these two spheres faced towards the European quarters instead of facing the harbour zone, which would have made the threshold loose.

MacKenzie explains, in "*The British Empire through Buildings: Structure, Function and Meaning*", that during the planning of urban colonial areas, white gentlemen insisted on a separation between the residential areas of the working population and their zones. This separation was sometimes literal, occurring on **the other side of the railway tracks** as railways were laid through colonial/semi-colonial towns and cities. Just like rail systems around the globe, imperial railways were shaped by the new technologies that emerged in the 19th century. These technologies included the worldwide postal and telegraph systems and the advent of railways and their accompanying infrastructure, including stations, engine sheds, workshops, and freight yards. In a way, these areas almost created "railway towns" within their locales. Additionally, railway employment spurred the creation of suburbs to house the influx of workers needed to maintain and operate the rail systems, influencing the layout of towns.[624], especially around the Mediterranean. To quote Sakis Gekas;

> *"The dots in the **British Mediterranean were connected at three levels**; the first was the 'top' level of British administration and colonial officials... The second level of connection was the exchange of goods and, to a lesser extent, capital between British-ruled or influenced Mediterranean ports (in colonies or independent states); a third level of connection was the **mobility of people** within Mediterranean ports. This level of connection is reflected not only in the **mobility of merchants but also in the mobility of sailors, masons and other craftsmen, as well as itinerant and seasonal migrant labour, including women working as prostitutes**, and has only recently been acknowledged as a neglected Mediterranean story."*[625]

The academic writing often forgets this part of Smyrna, a part which makes it a claimed "port city". The majority of the scholarly publishing focuses on the gentlemanly class, the Levantine families, the millets, upper-class entertainment centres, factories, the Western façade of Smyrna, its buzzing port, and its being the "Paris of the East", which are of course, contributing to its port-nature, but not limited to it. To understand a port-

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[624]   MacKenzie, *The British Empire Through Buildings*, 184.
[625]   Gekas, 'Colonial Migrants'.

city, we need to understand the less written parts of them, the non-elite history, the histories of the subaltern as well as how their existence shaped the city, how governments responded to their existence by either supporting, elevating or resisting, preventing, and how "their cosmopolitanism" differed from the others. As Donald Quataert has stated, historians of the Ottoman Empire have, with more stubbornness than in other areas of study, avoided covering non-elitist history, such as a history of labour, the peasantry, the urban poor, enslaved people or the marginalised.[626] Thomas Gallant also noted that *"one of the problems confronting historians who study the men and women who dwelt on the dark side of society is the sources. People from this sector of society did not leave behind documents, such as letters, diaries and memoirs."[627]*

Malte Fuhrman is among the few writers focusing on this less-represented side of an industrialising- modern port city. He quotes common depictions of Smyrna as;

> *"Here [on Smyrna's Quay], everything is modern, "European"…In the extension of the Quay towards the southwest, directly behind the steamers' pier, the international character of the port city goes hand-in-hand with that of the metropolis: sailors' bars of the most suspect kind with exuberant names, 'birrarias', kitchens, café′s, third- or fourth-rate hotels, all hodgepodge intertwined and filled with the indefinable smell of tar and fish, which has greeted us from the start – this is the favourite promenade of the Smyrniotes . . . As a maritime city, Smyrna, of course, witnesses a constant influx of female singers, Bohemian Ladies' Orchestras, etc. The latter dominate here, as they animate all the quays from Smyrna to Alexandria and Calcutta."[628]*

This is regrettable, Fuhrman notes, because the music halls, birahanes, cafes, and also the brothels were among the first institutions where, potentially, a considerable proportion of the city public were confronted with 'Europe', ***not in its abstract form as principles of governance and politics, but as an everyday culture*** that the population could personally experience and consume, and shape according to their own needs and desires. Bars, brothels, and cafes and the people frequenting them certainly provided important hubs for an entire species of intercultural encounters that have largely escaped academic attention.[629]

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[626] Malte Fuhrmann, 'Down and out on the Quays of İzmir: "European" Musicians, Innkeepers, and Prostitutes in the Ottoman Port-Cities', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24, no. 2 (December 2009): 169–85, https://doi.org/10.1080/09518960903488030.

[627] Thomas Gallant, 'Tales from the Dark Side: Transnational Migration, the Underworld and the 'Other' Greeks of the Diaspora', in *Greek Diaspora and Migration Since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*, ed. Dēmētrēs Tziovas (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 17–30.

[628] Fuhrmann, 'Down and out on the Quays of İzmir: "European" Musicians, Innkeepers, and Prostitutes in the Ottoman Port-Cities'.

[629] Fuhrmann, 170.

"...Europeanised elites of Smyrna flocked to was not the theatre, but the luxurious clubs. Entrance to membership of transnational clubs like Club des Chasseurs, the Cercle de Smyrne, or the Cercle des Europeéns was deemed the pinnacle of social success – indeed, of Europeanness." [630]

Associational activity was a product of modernity, as in the form of sporting clubs, gentlemanly clubs and so on in port cities. Spaces of modernity brought different ethnic and religious groups under the same roof in clubs, bars and brothels. Why, then, have only these European clubs been the subject of "cosmopolitan Smyrna" but not the bars and brothels? Why should cosmopolitanism be the exclusive privilege of an elite group of merchants and intellectuals? Others existed as sailors, prostitutes, and itinerant workers who all shared "other cosmopolitanism", the people in transit.[631]

The colonial encounter combined the both in reality. It was fostered by the British entrepreneurs as imperial agents and local populations as well as in-between populations of migrants who moved within imperial regions or settled in one of the British Mediterranean posts to make the holistic picture of the maritime empire. Maps hide this colonial modernity's "unpresentable" sides in globalising and industrialising cities. These parts were labelled as "dark" to be included in the cartographic representations of cities, as in the case of brothel neighbourhoods or spaces of lower classes, which were usually located at the intersection of transportation routes and serving the ports and railways especially. Their *everyday practices*, such as going to work, to school, to the post office, and leaving certain areas after the shifts are over to nightlife, legal or illegal at times, shape the city and the formation of urban armatures within the city.

With just a single line drawn to connect the hinterland goods to its port, the Smyrna Aydın Railway line became the *limit of representability* in the majority of the maps of 19th-century Smyrna. Only one map in the National Archives of the UK represents the plots of Darağaç working-class neighbourhood and beyond.

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[630] Malte Fuhrmann, *Port Cities of the Eastern Mediterranean: Urban Culture in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 81, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108769716.

[631] Gekas, 'Colonial Migrants'.

THE CITY OF SMYRNA

This map is an attempt to show the
approximate appearance of the city before
1922; no claim of absolute accuracy is made,
since of four maps consulted, no two were
alike.

1. Church of St John.   5. St Veneranda.
2. British Consulate.   6. Barracks (Crimean
3. Old Hospital   Hospital)
          Cemetery.   7. Military Cemetery.
4. Armenian Cathedral. 8. New Cemetery.
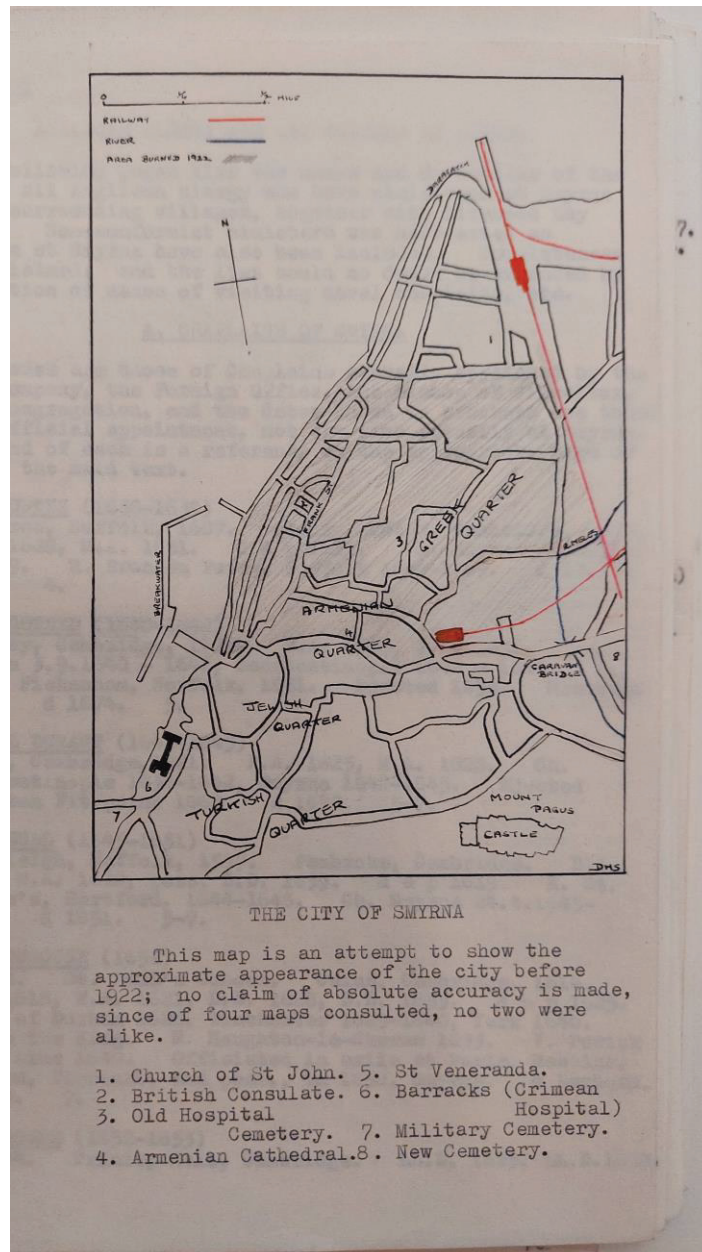
Figure 107. The border of representability is marked with red on a London Metropolitan Archive book.[632]

The break in the linear barrier for workers was a dirt road accessed through the garden gate opening, rather than a street. Despite a toll bridge road connecting to Bornova at the end of this transition area, photographs taken from the railway pier captured a sense that there was no world beyond this barrier. When a building block from this area was proposed as an alternative in the construction documents of the Seaman Hospital in 1892, it was deemed unsuitable due to its unhealthy and malaria-prone conditions. Surprisingly,

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[632]   Simpson, *Anglican Church Life in Smyrna and Its Neighbourhood 1636-1952*, 138.

the workers living in this area did not elicit the same concerns. The predominantly Greek workers established neighbourhoods and built churches and schools in the area. As a result, brothels and their employees, which had been present in the region for a long time, were banished to Kemer station, the intersection of 2 railways, under the disguise of ethical concerns.

In the Seamen's Hospital proposal plans, Edward Purser had proposed a passage that would connect the Quay Promenade to the area to end the promenade at the hospital building to be constructed before the gas factory. However, the gas company's allocated pier area, despite never having been built, would have impeded the progress of the promenade development towards the industrial side where the workers' houses were established. In the unlikely event of this scenario unfolding, the resulting public space would only be as developed as British investment would allow and could potentially face blockades by land and sea until permission to use the Railway plots was granted. Regrettably, due to the self-righteous attitude of the Smyrna Aydin company discussed in earlier chapters, any prospects for collaboration appeared bleak throughout the 19th century.

The distinction between maritime and terrestrial ownership was carried over to the Turkish Republic. Unfortunately, this created integration issues due to differences in ownership status between sea and land parcels, resulting in a lack of projects to foresee qualified public spaces for many years. Additionally, integration of the Alsancak region, where the Punta Station is located, with the Port moved to this region in 1959 and its surrounding areas was also impeded. Aerial photographs demonstrate that while the area has changed, it has not fully transformed to surpass this separation.

As previously stated by James Whittall, there was indeed a colonial perspective and self-interest for the Smyrna Aydin Railways. As a result, during Smryna's integration into the capitalist world economy, the British gentlemen's projects in Punta determined the front and back of a line on lands owned by the Smyrna Aydın Railway. This imposed a colonial class distinction on the city's built environment for many years, as crossing the threshold was linked to the unconditional acceptance of the railway's conditions for any proposed project of its time.

Although the early plans of the Republic developed projects to transform this border, the sociocultural and spatial separation created remains in the city's British colonial patch.
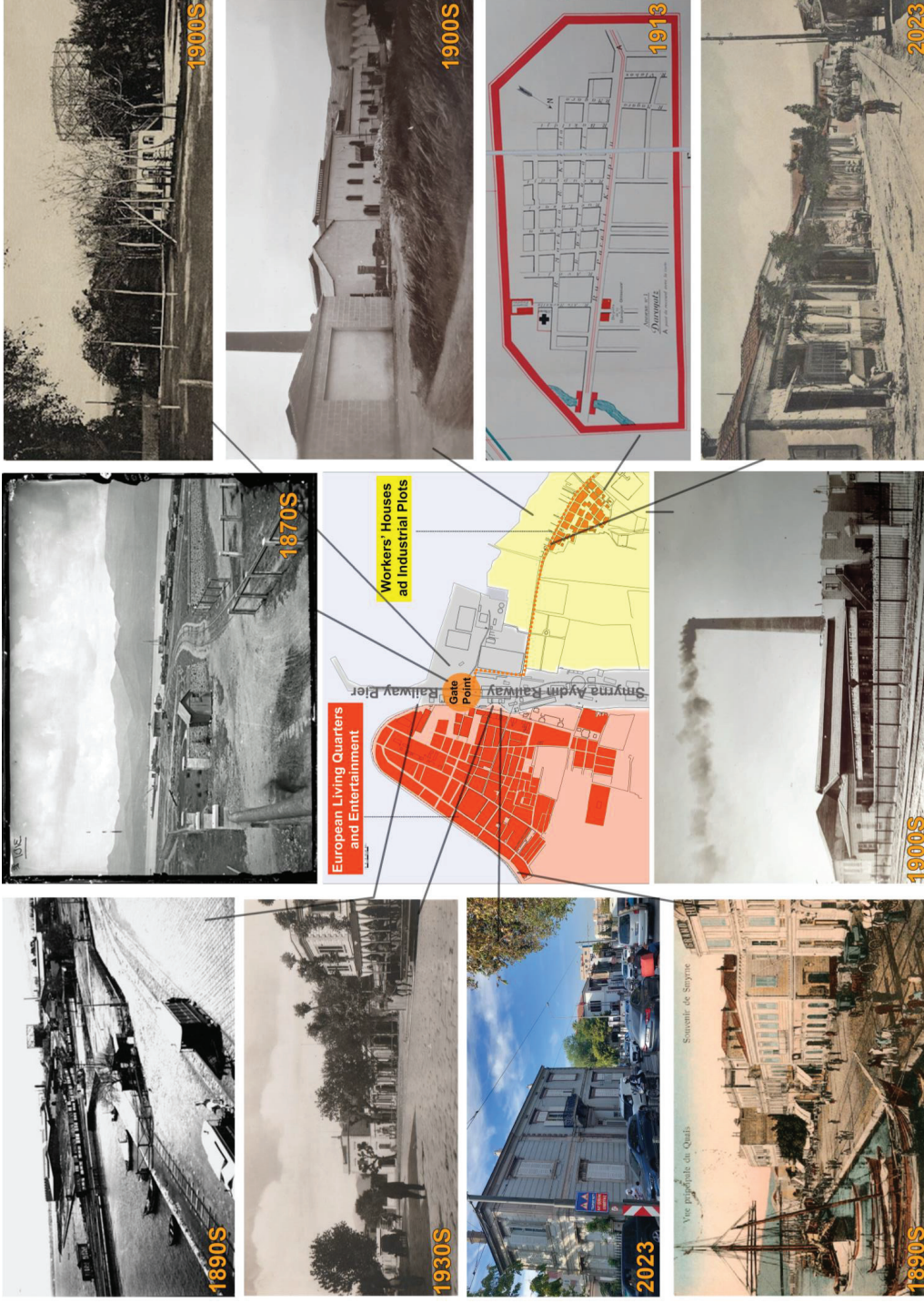
Figure 108. Fig.1[633]-2[634] Views showing the small gateway within the ORC boundary wall separating two spheres used by the workers to go to Darağaç, Fig.3-4-6-7[635] Views from Factories and workers' houses, Fig.5 Darağaç Neighbourhood in 1913 Map[636] Fig.8 Port of Smyrna, Fig.9 One of the ORC lodgings-by the author 2023, Fig.10 Railway square with cars and tram[637]

633 'Darağaç Neighbourhood'.
634 'British School at Athens: J.T. Wood's Ephesus through the Lens of Corporal J. Trotman: Archive Images in the BSA SPHS Collection', accessed 27 January 2023, https://www.bsa.ac.uk/2019/11/04/j-t-woods-ephesus-through-the-lens-corporal-j-trotman-archive-images-in-the-bsa-sphs-collection/.
635 'General Views of Smyrna'; 'Mahalle – Darağaç', 1904, https://www.daragac.com/mahalle/; 'Spartali Family Archive Gallery'.
636 'Plan of Smyrna. 1:1,800. "Eleutherondakes", Athens'.
637 'Gare (Punta)-Album'.

4.3.10. *Marginalized in the Maritime City*: Prostitution in Port Cities and First-Ever Gentrification in Smyrna

> *"After the **commencement of Tanzimat in 1838, prostitution** became more widespread in the city (Constantinople), and especially in the neighbourhoods of Pera, Galata and Beyoğlu – exactly the same working-class areas where much of the crime discussed above took place. .... **No port city in the eastern Mediterranean was without its red light district,** and there was a constant movement of women among them".* [638]

> *"The **drunken sailor** affected international policies on clinics that treated venereal disease, and international conventions affected the availability of care in his port of call."* [639]

One aspect of port cities that has been relatively understudied is the increase in prostitution and nightlife that often occurs during the process of integrating into the global economy. These activities tend to cluster around the intersection of newly introduced modern transportation modes of trade, particularly where maritime and terrestrial trade routes converge. Smyrna, a bustling city during the 19th century, was a popular destination for merchants, sailors, and soldiers, thus providing the ideal conditions for such activities to thrive. As Liat Kozma's words in the opening quote stated, Smyrna was not without its own red light district as an Eastern Mediterranean port city.

Historically, it is well-documented that from the onset of the Levant Company in 1580, British sailors could not be with women of their own nationality due to restrictions on bringing their families to the Levant. Additionally, Ottoman Law enforced the death penalty for any interaction between foreigners and Muslim women. Consequently, young British merchants and sailors sought physical companionship in establishments such as taverns and brothels in the Galata and Smyrna port areas.[640]

Even though one of the main features of growing port areas was prostitution, the names of these places are not mentioned on maps and guides, and their structures are unknown. ***Prostitution is not easy to trace*** if you are not in Pompeii.[641] Amanda Dewitt emphasises that all of the hospitality businesses, such as inns, taverns, and brothels, were located to gather customers near the entrances to the port towns where travellers,

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[638] Gallant, 'Tales from the Dark Side', 24.

[639] Liat Kozma, *Global Women, Colonial Ports* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2017), 2.

[640] Laidlaw, 'Giriş ve Levant Kumpanyası'nın Geçmişi', 207.

[641] Pompeii had a unique way of welcoming sailors with no knowledge of their language. As they knew the sailors would search for a brothel, they had phallus carved paving stones to direct them to the location along the streets.

merchants, and sailors frequent as the Punta region where land transport met the maritime world. Others clustered around main thoroughfares, such as the Kemer caravan bridge area, to raise their visibility for potential customers.[642]

Although it is far from the paradise image of Smyrna, which is brightly described as the Paris of the East, prostitution was also a reality of the city's image. This hypocrisy was inherent in all social systems in Smyrna. Prostitution venues were places where young men from every community learned about sexuality, but these communities placed great importance on their daughters of marriageable age being virgins. [643] The Christian, Jewish or Muslim inhabitants of Smyrna were all part of this undescribed world in one way or another.

The children born out of all of these members of different ethnicities were marked as impure and "*bastards*"[644] contradictory to the so-advocated "*cosmopolitan paradise*". The paradise, as it seems, only valued hybrids as long as their wealthy parents had intercourse within wedlock. The orphanages and illegitimate children were as much of the characteristics of port cities as the wealthy merchant families, but they, of course, go unnoticed as they did not produce texts, as Spivak asks;

"Can the subaltern speak?"[645]

Many voices were buried in forming the so-called "paradise". Not only the Ottoman subjects were the "*other-ised*", but also the people whose spatial practices shaped the city were ignored from the texts: the seamen, the industrial worker, the service sector worker, the prostitutes and so on. Gayatri Spivak questions the possibility of making these layers of subalternity speak, and so do Ranajit Guha and Edward Said. Spivak is cautious about the possibility of such a speech, though, since there is a lack of reference to their existence as opposed to the generations of –let's resemble Levant Families documenting their "*noble family trees*" and "*enterprises*", "*grand houses*", "*factories*" and so on.

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642 Amanda M.M. Devitt, 'Sites of the Sex Trade: Spatial Analysis and Prostitution at Pompeii' (Unpublished MScThesis, McMaster University, 2014), 88–91, https://macsphere.mcmaster.ca/bitstream/11375/15995/1/Sites%20of%20the%20Sex%20Trade%20-%20thesis.pdf.

643 Hervé Georgelin, 'Evlilik Dışı Cinsel İlişkiler', in *Smyrna'nın Sonu*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Birzamanlar Yayıncılık, 2008), 161–66.

644 Georgelin.

645 Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak'.
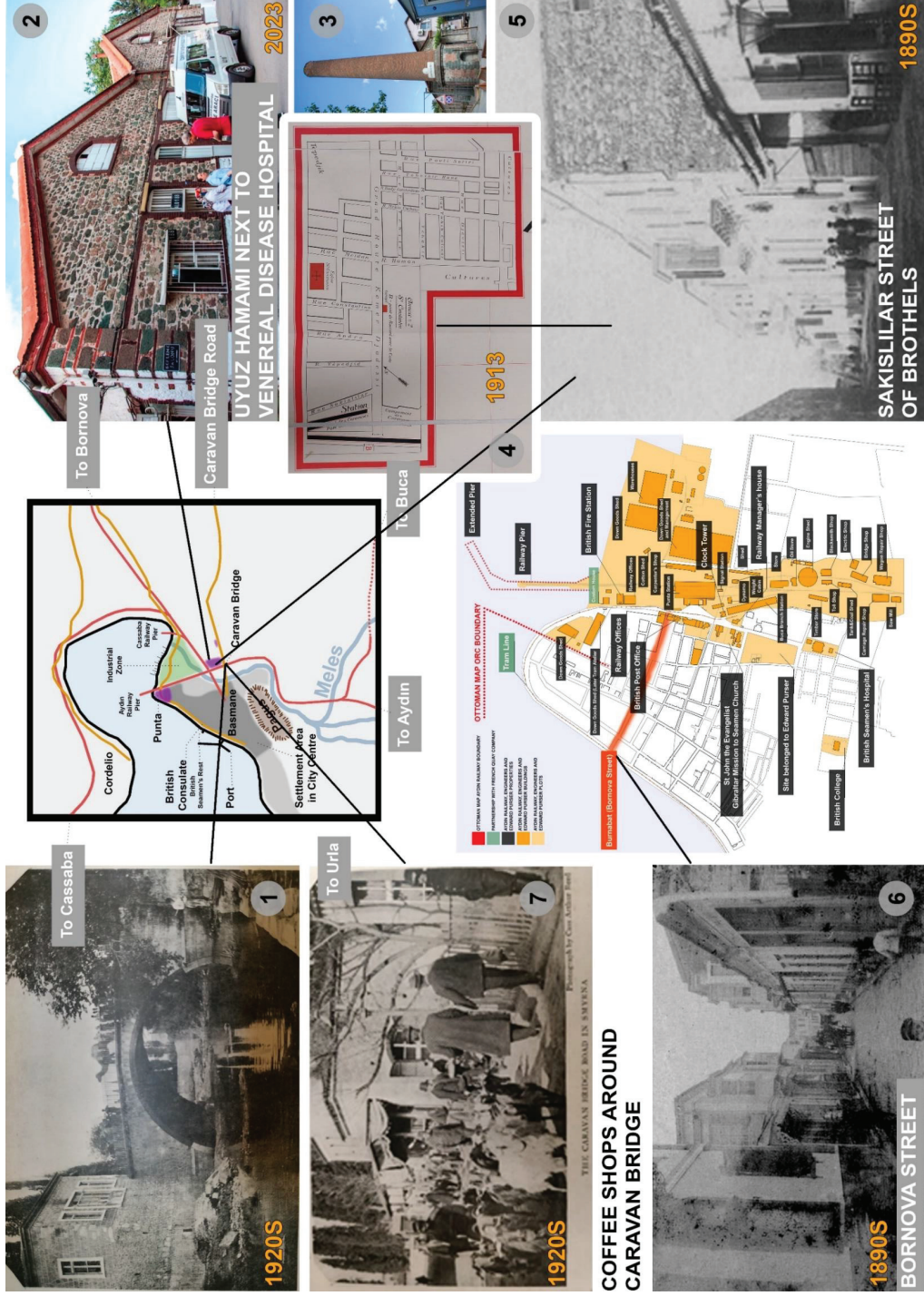
Figure 109. Fig.1 and Fig. 7. Views of Caravan Bridge and its surroundings dominated by male population[646], Fig. 2-3 Showing Scabies Bath near Venereal Disease Hospital,[647] Fig.4 Sakıslılar Street on 1913 Bon Map shown adjacent to Kemer train station[648] Fig.5 Showing Sakıslılar Street[649], Fig.6 Showing Bornova Street near Punta train station[650]

646 'Cadoux Archive-News Articles', 1900s-1930s, MS. Cadoux Archive, Folder 108, OBL.
647 Mustafa Gürelli, 'Tepecik Uyuz Hamamı', accessed 23 November 2021, https://tarihgezisi.com/ozel-mekanlar/tepecik-uyuz-hamami-yenisehir-izmir/.
648 'Plan of Smyrna. 1:1,800. "Eleutherondakes", Athens'.
649 'Cadoux Archive', 1900.
650 Çamlıbel, 'Bornova Sokağı - Alsancak Mahallesi'.

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There are depictions of an Elite-Smyrna as in the words of Basma Zerouali, who draws attention to cultural practices imported from the "West" by the "Frank". Zerouali mentions that inspired by the social circles that influenced the rise of bourgeois classes in Europe, the first meeting places in Smyrna opened their doors in the 1770s, and these were generally in places where commercial relations were maintained; the interior of the Frankish quarter and the docks that were renovated and enlarged after 1875. At the end of the 19th century, Zerouaili claims that these clubs summarised all of the cultural practices imported from Europe, ranging from high society balls and concerts to tennis or cricket.[651] However, something else was imported as "Frank" as in *"Frenk Uyuzu"* (**Syphilis**), which was also called *Frengi* – simply a type of venereal disease - which had never existed before and that was carried to the Ottoman lands by the Frank. Syphilis was unknown to Smyrna until British sailors arrived from Portsmouth during the Crimean War.[652] Ayşen Müderrisoğlu Esiner and Simge Sarçın have an important paper on the subject of port cities and their capacity to spread such venereal diseases. They state that, following the Crimean War, there were many soldiers in Constantinople and Smyrna, and the first cases of syphilis started to emerge. Therefore, the Ottoman Government decided that prostitution should be under governmental control and allowed the first brothels to operate in 1856 in Galata, where the majority of the residents were non-Muslims. Following this, many brothels started to be established, especially in port cities. However, Syphilis, in its epidemic form, began to be seen regionally for the first time in Smyrna in 1889 and 1890. Later, in 1893, 1901, 1902, and 1904, the disease continued to be an epidemic in the city. It saw a rise, especially at the beginning of the 20th century, when entertainment and prostitution increased.

The main source for the spread of syphilis in the city was the Greek brothels. The most famous Greek brothels during this period were the businesses of *Maison Doree* and *Madam Eme*. There were brothels described as luxurious on the street leading from the Ottoman Post Office in the Second Kordon to the vicinity of Cafe Costi. Second-class brothels operated in settlements around Punta (Alsancak Station), where maritime traffic

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651   Basma Zerouali, 'Sanat ve Eğlence Kavşağı', in *İzmir 1830-1930 Unutulmuş Bir Kent Mi? Bir Osmanlı Limanından Hatıralar*, ed. Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016), 161–82.

652   Kalliope Pavli, 'Smyrna/İzmir Not Only Frank Street; A Little More About Smyrna', no. 6 (March 2019): 11–23. Quote from; William Acton and Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, 'On the Rarity and Mildness of Syphilis Among the Belgian Troops Quartered at Brussels as Compared with Its Prevalence and Severity Among the Foot-Guards in London', *Medical Times & Gazette*, 1860.

met the railway station, Mersinli and Bayraklı. There were primarily third-class brothels in Kemer, where the railway station and caravan bridge intersected.[653] Prostitution, then, seemed like an outcome of the conjunction of the different worlds with the railways during the 19th century.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs (Dahiliye Nezareti) attempted to move these brothels to a more suitable neighbourhood because these places were busy trade-wise, and the people started to settle in the area and were dissatisfied.[654] The construction of temples, schools and graveyards around Punta also raised more concerns towards 1889. However, the owners of these brothels objected to the Ministry of Internal Affairs' keeping their businesses in their old homes because this situation was against the personal freedom and inviolability of residence and place of the Kanun-i Esasi. Upon these objections, the Ministry of Internal Affairs referred the matter to the Council of State. The mandate prepared by the Council of State Property in 1889 stated that these brothels near the temples, schools and cemeteries around Punta station should be removed from there and transferred to another place. Due to the existence of these brothels, people advocated that being close to the temples would adversely affect the performance of rituals, and the closeness to the schools would adversely affect the moral aspects of the children studying in these schools. In addition, shopkeepers complained that people did not come to shop because of the brothels there.[655] In line with the decision taken, it was provisioned to close the secret public places, such as around the Second Kordon and between the Punta neighbourhoods, and to transfer these businesses to the ***Sakızlar District (Kemer Station)*** outside the city where ***71 brothels and 280 prostitutes resided***.[656] However, the brothels

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[653]   Simge Sarçın and Ayşen Müderrisoğlu Esiner, 'Frengi Hastalığının İzmir'de Ortaya Çıkışı ve Şehirdeki Umumhaneler', *Journal of Turkish Studies* 15, no. 4 (2020): 753–63, https://doi.org/10.7827/turkishstudies.43822.

[654]   Documents include; 'İzmir'de Önceden Açılmış Olan Umumhanelerin Polis Nizamnamesi'ne Uygun Olarak Kaldırılması ve Bunlar Için Münasip Mahaller Gösterilmesi Gerektiği', 17 February 1327, DH.MKT. 2763 - 52, BOA., 'İzmir'in En Işlek Ticaret Merkezi Olan İkinci Kordon ve Osmanlı Postahanesi Civarıyla Maltızlar Mahallesi'nde Açılmış Olan ve Ahalinin Hoşnutsuzluğuna Sebeb Olan Umumhanelerin Kapatılması Hususunda Icra Olunacak Muamelenin Bildirilmesi', 18 January 1327, DH.MKT. 2735 - 84, BOA. 'İzmir'in İkinci Kordonu'nda ve Osmanlı Postahanesi Civarı Ile Maltızlar Mahallesi'nde Bulunan Umumhanelerin Kapatılması', 10 February 1327, ŞD. 1434 - 4, BOA.

[655]   *"İkinci ve Üçüncü Kordon cihetlerindeki mevcut umumhanelerin bir kaçında hatta Roko (Roka) Kârhanesi'nde Kedi namında bir umumhane sahibesi ile civarındaki Taşçılar mevkiinde Estasiye'nin umumhanesinde bir takım genç çocuklar bulundurularak türlü türlü efal-ı gayr-ı layıka ve şenia vukua gelmektedir. Hariçten gelecek olan ecanibin ilk nazarda tesadüf edecekleri işbu umumhaneler ve çirkin manzaralar olacağından İzmir şehri için bunun hakikaten şeyn olduğu muhtac-ı izah değildir."* Sarçın and Müderrisoğlu Esiner, 'Frengi Hastalığının İzmir'de Ortaya Çıkışı'.

[656]   Sarçın and Müderrisoğlu Esiner, 758.

run by the women named "Cat" and "Estasiye" still did not move to the Sakızlar location and continued to operate. Such brothels continued to be harassed by different complaints to the government, saying that such institutions would be the first thing when people arrived at Smyrna, and this should be avoided for the sake of urban image.[657]

Upon the decision to make Sakızlar District a brothel area, Emraz-ı Zühreviye Hospital (Syphilis Hospital) was opened in Tepecik District in 1908 to treat prostitutes with syphilis.[658] The name of the hospital changed later on to Eşrefpaşa Hastanesi of today. The relocation of brothels on the other side of the two railway crossings was the first gentrification in Smyrna. The otherness of this area was first initiated by the Smyrna Aydın railway line, in a very colonial act to separate working classes from the European quarters and central trade facilities, only to be later enhanced by its junction with the Cassaba Railway around Caravan Bridge (Kemer) district. The legal brothels are still located in this area of the city, preserving the socio-spatial division created by the intervention of the colonial railway lines.

[657]   Sarçın and Müderrisoğlu Esiner, 759.
[658]   Mehmet Karayaman, *20. Yüzyılın Ilk Yarısında İzmir'de Sağlık* (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2008), 105.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Figure 110. Awaiting the arrival of Mustapha Kemal at Basma Haneh Station. September 1922[659]

"*Demir ağlarla ördük anayurdu dört baştan*"[660]

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[659] 'Cadoux Archive', September 1922, MS. Cadoux Archive, Folder 108, OBL.
[660] Can be translated as "*We wove the motherland with iron nets from all four corners." With iron nets referring to the railway lines.* It is a famous line from the Tenth Anniversary Anthem, an anthem written in 1933 for the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey. Its lyrics were written by Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel and Behçet Kemal Çağlar, and its composition was composed by Cemal Reşit Rey.

Smyrna was freed from Greek occupation backed by the British Government on 9th September 1922 by the troops of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The famous fire of 1922, lasting from 13th to 22nd September, followed this, causing a large part of Smyrna to burn down. The results of this fire have always been referred to as the "end of cosmopolitan" Smyrna.

During its early years, the Turkish Republic faced the crucial task of reviving the city, now called İzmir, and boosting its economy. This involved commissioning new city plans from architects like Danger and Prost and, subsequently, Le Corbusier. The rebuilding process drew inspiration from Western civilisation to create a modern society. Unlike before, the government spearheaded this initiative by directly engaging with urban planners rather than relying on private individuals or foreign capital to drive modernisation.[661] Furthermore, during 1934 and 1935, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish Republic, took an important step to bring the Smyrna-Kasaba and Smyrna-Aydın railway companies under state control. The primary objective behind this decision was to prevent these companies from prioritising profit over the modernisation and development of the railway infrastructure. Ataturk wanted to ensure that the railway lines were managed under current operational conditions and that their maintenance and expansion were carried out with the country's best interests in mind.[662] The reason for this was the refusal of the British investors to accept the Turkish Republic's proposal to lower the tariffs imposed on local products during the tumultuous period of the 1929 Great Depression. This proposal aimed to stabilise the economy and ensure its sustainability; however, the British did not want to jeopardise their financial gains.[663] For the Turkish Republic, this highlighted the importance of owning the power to transport its products.

It was, therefore, crucial to start to question the existence of colonial presence from the railways and their mari-terrestrial interfaces since they were seen as the extraordinary combination of colonial modernity and imperial rule's social and political representation before nationalisation. They eventually were transformed to be part of the

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[661] Further readings by Cana Bilsel include; Bilsel, 'Ideology and Urbanism During the Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for İzmir and Scenarios of Modernization'; Bilsel; Bilsel, 'İzmir'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kent Planlaması (1923- 1965): 20. Yüzyıl Kentsel Mirası Ve Kamusal Mekânlar'; Bilsel, '19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İzmir'de Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler ve Kent Mekânının Başkalaşımı'.

[662] İsmail Yıldırım, 'Atatürk Dönemi Demiryolu Politikasına Bir Bakış', *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* XII (1996): 387–96.

[663] Tekeli, 'Açılış Konuşması'.

representative of national pride, combined with the new railway establishments, to erase its former semi-colonial connotations.

5.1.   Reading of a Residual Semi-Colonial Interface

As the smoke cleared on the morning of September 14, 1922, only a handful of structures emerged from the ashes of the Great Smyrna Fire. Among them were the Smyrna Aydin railway campus and its engineering offices, the British post office, the British telegraph office, the British Seamen's Hospital, the British fire brigade, and the Anglican Church. It was an interesting scene indeed, as these buildings stood as solemn witnesses to the devastation wrought by the flames, as a residue of a once semi-colonized space bequeathed to the Turkish Republic with the conflicts they created in the urban scene.

The objective of this study was to investigate, through this residue, the evolution of Smyrna's modernisation in the context of Britain's informal empire, of which the Ottoman Empire is thought to be part by British historians like Robinson &Gallagher, P.J. Cain, Anthony Hopkins, and John Darwin, and Ottoman economic historians such as Orhan Kurmuş, Çağlar Keyder, and Reşat Kasaba.[664] To achieve this, the study analysed new archival material and applied the post-colonial perspectives of Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Hilde Heynen, Alex Bremner, Robert Home and Anthony King on colonial modernism and "modernities" in space and how the British bridgeheads were developed under the disguise of a helping hand of modernisation.

The study aimed to explore the relationship between colonial modernity, as defined by Anibal Quiano and Hilde Heynen, and the production of space in Smyrna during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Specifically, Çağlar Keyder's definition of Smyrna as a peripheralised area without official colonisation raised the question of whether colonised urban spaces can exist without official colonisation. Through analysis,

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[664] The sources include: Gallagher and Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade'; Hopkins and Cain, 'The Gentlemanly Order, 1850-1914'; Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-2015*; John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830-1970*, 1st ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*; Kurmuş, 'The Role of British Capital'; Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi*; Keyder, *Toplumsal Tarih Çalışmaları*; Kasaba, 'Treaties and Friendships: British Imperialism'.

it became clear that British colonisation did not have clear antecedents to occupation and that many semi-colonies were colonised after British merchants had already transformed their urban centres and hinterlands. Alexandria is a prime example, occupied in 1882 following years of transformation via British capital. This confirms the existence of colonial urban space in areas that were peripheralised by Britain without being colonised. Therefore, it is possible to discuss colonial urban space in areas Britain peripheralised without colonising, highlighting a gap in urban histories concerning imperialism and colonialism in the British Empire and the late Ottoman Empire.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the British had two critical objectives during this process. Firstly, they aimed to exploit the hinterlands by establishing overland routes to India through railways. Secondly, they sought to secure Mediterranean ports and routes against diseases and disasters to prevent interruptions to trade. In Smyrna, we can see the spaces oriented towards these objectives and the results of their undertaking. The Smryna Aydın Railway marked the beginning of this effort, although Katarina Galani claimed that the Levant Company had a Tudor penetration policy. The Levant Company quarters were the starting point of their presence, and their functions formed the locus of identity for British merchants and investors for the next 400 years. However, it should be noted that the Levant Company was established 20 years before the East India Company. Therefore, the objective of reaching India and securing its ways came later. As Dussel explained, the main goal was to reach out to the then-centre of the world economy, revolving around the Mediterranean, literally **Medi-Terra**, *the sea in the middle of the earth*, mainly surrounded by the Ottoman Empire on its eastern territories.

The Anglo-Ottoman relations were divided into five distinct periods, each with its own unique characteristics. The **first period spanned from 1580 to 1825**, marked by the presence of the Levant Company. The **second period, from 1825 to 1855**, saw the dissolution of the Levant Company and the implementation of various Ottoman Government modernisation acts, namely the Tanzimat Reforms. This period ended with the Crimean War in 1855, during which the British earned the trust of the Ottoman Sultan. **Spanning from 1855 to 1878, the third period** witnessed a significant increase in British trade and infrastructural projects due to the existing political security. The Ottoman Government, desiring modernisation, sought guidance from the British, who considered themselves a "superior" civilisation with a duty to lead the Ottomans. However, this was a form of domination based on the discursive constructions of superiority and inferiority. The British aimed to be seen as models of advanced civilisation, and their urban

investments and spatial articulations, such as sanitation, were intended to be viewed as good colonial rule rather than intrusive. They were subtle, particularly within the confines of informal empires, and attempted to serve as an example to be admired rather than as an oppressive military force. However, at the end of the third period, beginning with what the British called the "Bulgarian Atrocities" in 1878, the British began to believe that the Ottomans were incapable of modernisation. On the other side of the coin, the Ottoman Sultan at the time, Abdülhamid, began to develop anti-British sentiments because every time they engaged in any political affairs, the British acquired lands from the Ottomans. This peaked with the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. **During this fourth period, from 1878 to 1909,** Abdülhamid believed that the British wanted to establish a Mandate from Smyrna to Konya, where he would retain power in a limited area. As a result, he made it difficult for British investors to gain more control around Smyrna. When the British purchased the Quay of Smyrna from the French in 1886, he immediately invalidated it on the same night. Furthermore, he finally gave the operation rights of the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway, one of the two British Railways, to the French. Despite this period causing a lack of investment interest in London, the British merchants constructed the new Consulate, the new Seamen's Hospital, St. John the Evangelist Church, and new facilities of the Punta Station during this period. Interestingly, the Foreign Office also supported investments through the Ottoman Bank. This demonstrates the financial power of British families, as they provided the most significant sum compared to the small grants from the British Government and their desire to maintain their investments under the guise of Levant Company's 400-year legacy. Moreover, the increased inclusion of the Foreign Office in supporting the merchants indicates the possibility that the British Government was seeking more influence in the area. In the following **fifth period, 1909-1923**, turbulent years disabled the finally reached agreement between the French Quay Company and the Smyrna Aydın Railway (ORC) Company to build a new port in Punta as they were unable to solve having two areas of shipment without proper railway connections, in the aftermath of V. Mehmet's ascension to the throne following Abdülhamid. The end of this period was marked by the 1922 fire in Smyrna, which occurred following the war. This fire demolished many merchant investments in the areas where the foreigners lived and transformed the mari-terrestrial interface in Smyrna. Interestingly, the British establishments during the 4th period were saved from the fire, except the Consulate, which was still in the old Levant Company Quarters close to the densely packed city centre. It is also important to stress that British investors like

Whittalls and the Patersons never left Smyrna, unlike many other foreigners forced to leave, and continued their operations and investments until the 1960s.

After conducting a comparative analysis of port city models, Middle Eastern port city models, and British colonial port cities and railway town models, it was discovered that Smyrna did not quite fit into the general port city and Middle Eastern port city models. However, similarities were found between Smyrna and British colonial port city models and railway towns. It is worth mentioning that the Smyrna Aydın Railway was one of the early examples of British colonial railways. It is because of the salvation from the fire we can read the remnants of this railway patch, as Appadurai refers to remnants of colonial presence in the city. It is a patch, once attempted to create an efficient mari-terrestrial interface where colonial modernism could articulate itself. It was an *ex-nihilo* space, a creation of the British merchant mind of the 19th century. The port and city interface was questioned to understand this ex-nihilo space creation in areas where the British wanted to establish bridgeheads/ trade colonies/ spheres of influence. This meant that the principles of colonial modernism, established using the railways, were developed and tested in Indian cities and Smyrna around the same period by the same actor, Sir Rowland MacDonald Stephenson, who envisioned the Turkish, Indian and Chinese railway projects. Moreover, the first concessions belonged to the same group of investors: Sir Joseph Paxton, Messrs Wythes, W. Jackson, and A.W. Rixon. The Oxbridge and Harrow School background, gentleman's club ties and social backgrounds gave the merchant seamen and mercantile navy power to decide what was best for the British Empire regarding overseas investments. These investors, combined with the collaboration of local non-Muslim men in cities like Smyrna, made Britain's informal empire. Eventually, the principles developed during the early years of the second half of the 19th century following the Indian Mutiny of 1857 were applied to create port and railway towns in Western African British colonies at the beginning of the 20th century. The separationist and interventionist nature of the railways as the epitome of informal rule echoed in every British zone of influence. All of the cities British Empire established different forms of control have ten things in common: the railway station creating the new city centre and creating its kingdom; railway lines separating the European/British from the local inhabitants, railway and the industry workers in the process of integration to the capitalist world economy, and in this way the changing nature of the urban space from colonial to capitalist city; connecting factories to railway lines and railway lines to ports for direct exportation of goods from the hinterland (export dominated trade); the

disciplining of the body and soul of these working classes via different disciplinary institutions and the clock; providing sanitary governance as a colonial act; a network of spaces for British seamen to put them into shape to be of "good moral models" in towns; securing the continuity of trade through urban investments as hospitals, insurance companies and fire stations; marginalisation of certain groups through urban infrastructural projects and railways; polarised cities and finally alternative centres as opposed to the "downgraded filthy traditional centre". These resulted from the conflict-ridden colonial space, existing as patches in today's cities.

Smyrna is exceptional in observing these conflicts and remnants of a semi-colonial presence today. Alexandria demolished its mari-terrestrial railway terminus building around Sidi El Gabbari adjacent to Western Harbour. Western African cities and Cyprus also have either demolished or partially altered their port-railway relations. On the other hand, despite many revisionary plans prepared over the 100 years since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the line drawn by MacDonald Stephenson and his engineers, the surrounding railway town, its clock tower, the railway church (St John the Evangelist Church today still part of Gibraltar Mission to British Seamen), the British Seamen's Hospital, the British post office, British engineer's offices facing the railway square and the terminus, the extending line of the railway pier towards the Punta station are all still stand visible as part of an era in the form of a patch today.

5.2.   What the Future Folds

"We are moving from inflection to inclusion in a subject, as if from virtual to the real, inflection defining the fold, but inclusion defining the soul or the subject, that is, what envelops the fold, its final cause and its completed act."[665]

Folds of space, movement and time considerably altered the mari-terrestrial interface around the Punta Railway Station (today Alsancak) and Darağaç industrial zones since Edward Purser's and other British families' ambitious organisation of space. Many things changed, but some things never changed. The station was left eerily abandoned for an extended period until its renovation in the 2000s, then became a space next to İzban (İzmir Banlieu Train station). However, it currently piqued interest with

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[665]   Giles Deleuze, *The Fold Leibniz and the Baroque*, trans. Tom Conley (London: The Athlone Press, 1993), 23.

Refik Anadol's Renaissance Dreams Exhibition from 28th October to 5th November 2023. I can, as a person born and raised in İzmir, claim that many people living in İzmir saw the interior of what was once the spacious waiting room of the station for the first time during this exhibition. Since the opening of İzban, more people started to frequent the station square, but rarely do people go inside. It is also a rare event to even walk past the station and take a walk into the Darağaç industrial heritage zone. The abandoned buildings and the socio-spatial boundaries still prevail in the area, even after 165 years.
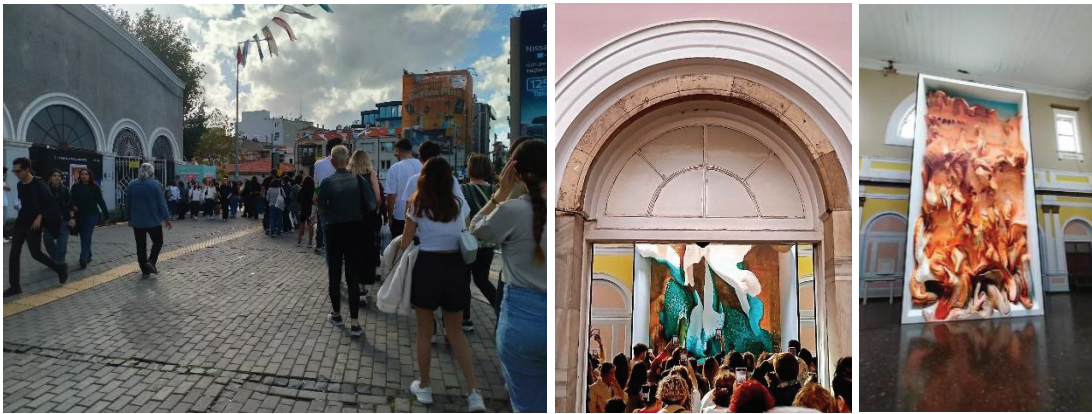
Figure 111. Visitors waiting in line to see Refik Anadol's exhibition inside the Punta station, from the entrance of the railway square and Anadol's art in the main hall.[666]

Over the last 20 years, many architectural and urban planning studios from different universities started to problematise this spatial division created by the British engineers of the 19th century. However, the socio-spatial thresholds created by such a massive intervention and strict cut are difficult to surpass. The 1925 plan and the following 1959, 1976, 1989,2003 master plans by the municipality could not change the strict intervention of the Smyrna Aydın Railway line even though they all projected specific visions. The region's urban development and construction pressures have led to a new transformation process, which has been the subject of various planning studies. The area, including the Punta terminus, was declared a "Special Project Area." However, the area presents obstacles with its complex land-ownership statuses, ranging from individuals to municipalities, with its actors having significant investments in the port area and industrial heritage sites, which can be analysed in further dissertations. In such

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[666] Kindly provided by Ece Güleç.

a complex environment, negotiation is not easy. Transforming the planned area requires substantial investments and time. Currently, a "Creative Industries Zone" that focuses on creativity, innovation, and technology is being discussed to revitalise the immediate hinterland of the port area as an alternative development model.

According to İZKA, the planning studies in the region date back to 1925. Danger-Prost plan established the settlement pattern of Alsancak following the devastating fire of 1922 as part of the city plan. Although the plan proposed relocating the Smyrna Aydın railway line and placing the terminus in the southern part of the city, this was never carried out. The Darağacı region was designated for industrial use, and the port was planned to be built there. This portion of the project was completed, and due to the inadequacy of the Passport Port, the Alsancak Port was constructed and began operating in 1959.[667] While scholars such as Cana Bilsel and Eylem Şimşek, as well as the İzmir Development Agency (İzka) website, have previously asserted that the Turkish Republic was responsible for this project, recent archival discoveries within the scope of this thesis indicate that plans to demolish the Pasaport port and construct a shared French-British port in the Punta region were already in motion as early as 1911. This proves that building the port in the Pasaport area was a dead-end project to begin with, as there was very little room for expansion while the city's vitrine was laid adjacent to the port construction. As explained by Matteo Venosa and Rosario Pavia, based on their analyses around Italian port cities, once the mari-terrestrial interface separated from the city and started having multiple stakeholders, the rejuvenation of these areas became complicated. As mentioned in the introduction, there are even discussions about moving the port to another place since the existing site cannot keep up with current advancements in shipping technology and tonnage, a very similar situation to 19th-century Smyrna. The lack of adequate unitary legal structure and holistic policy towards the city-port interface is the city's main problem while claiming to be a "port city". Different ownership statuses around the region make it even more difficult to reach one. For example, the merchants wished to deepen the port area instead of moving it outside the city because new technology in shipbuilding created ships for even deeper harbour areas. Currently, the project is being advertised as the rejuvenating act towards a healthier gulf while, in reality, serving the new maritime technology required by the city's merchants. There are also discussions to sell the İzmir

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667 Korhan Mangır, 'İzmir Liman Arkası Bölgesi'nin Dünü, Bugünü ve Geleceği – Kalkınma Güncesi', 2021, https://kalkinmaguncesi.izka.org.tr/index.php/2021/08/23/izmir-liman-arkasi-bolgesinin-dunu-bugunu-ve-gelecegi/.

port, which the TCDD has been operating since 1935 as the extension of the Smyrna-Aydın Railway line, to Arab investors, which received an enormous backlash from the İzmir Municipality and locals. This current discussion makes this thesis timely and relevant to reveal how destructive it is to hand the power to foreign merchants and also to investors who disregard the interests of the local populace to articulate the city's urban space and wealth generator functions, which will eventually cause more conflicts to occur in the urban space.

Adnan Kaplan notes a significant problem with the process of all the visions mentioned above towards new projects to solve the problems of the Punta port area. He states that the geographical data and history of the region have had limited impact on the current planning processes. Plans and studies on the historical data of the area and its surroundings remain essentially raw data and do not guide decisions in the master zoning planning process. They are also not being decisive in land use decisions and the development of physical strategies.[668] Today, Alsancak and the immediate hinterland of the port are further separated due to the tram line and traffic restrictions, despite efforts towards integration.

The lack of integration of history into the mari-terrestrial interface between sea and land around Punta and the traffic junction and socio-spatial segregation between the literal "front" and "back" of the railway tracks still prevails today. The strict cut still presents its patch-like divisionary nature; Darağaç is still less frequented and walked part of the city where abandoned derelict factories of the 19th-century rest; Kemer district, where the brothels once removed from the "centre" and abolished to the "outside" is still an area with the "outside the city" character assessed to it. Can these socio-spatial barriers be eradicated entirely, or will they persist as increasingly divisive elements in the urban landscape, serving as reminders of a partially colonised past? Recognising colonial space is the first step, but we shall never know what *the future folds*.

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[668] Ahmet Erdik and Adnan Kaplan, 'İzmir Liman Bölgesinde Proje Yarışmasından Nazım İmar Planına Dönüşüm Sorunu', *Ege Coğrafya Dergisi* 18, no. 1–2 (2009): 49–58.

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