RAILWAY CROSSINGS: ENCOUNTERS IN OTTOMAN LANDS

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RAILWAY CROSSINGS: ENCOUNTERS IN OTTOMAN LANDS

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Railway Crossings: Encounters in Ottoman Lands focuses on the production of railway spaces in western Anatolia during the second half of the 19th century, with an emphasis on how spatial practices were altered with the advent of railways in the region. Understanding the railroads as a cultural as well as a material phenomenon, this work approaches the western Anatolian railways through a series of interdisciplinary vignettes that juxtapose the histories of the built environment with histories of technology, archaeology, travel, and the senses.

In an effort to modernize its transportation infrastructure, the Ottoman government granted the first railway concessions in Anatolia to two British companies. The Izmir-Aydın and Izmir-Kasaba lines connected the port city of Izmir to the fertile river valleys of the Gediz, Küçük and Büyük Menderes rivers. The construction of railways was an intensely material act, requiring not only the laying of tracks and the construction of station buildings, but the alteration of a whole landscape. Beyond this physicality, the railroads were harbingers of new modes of interaction with space. They altered the commercial transportation networks of the region that had depended for centuries on camel caravans traveling along well-established but flexible pathways. People also found a new mobility in the train. In addition to the thousands of local inhabitants of the region, masses of tourists arrived to partake in the ready access to some of the best known ancient and Biblical places of archaeological significance. The railways incited new

archaeological explorations that expanded knowledge, and facilitated the acquisition of antiquities for museums, private collections and even as construction materials. Additionally, railroads brought with them novel sensory perceptions. From the moment when the first locomotive whistle was heard in Izmir to the illumination of the night with a thousand flickering lights in the celebration of Sultan Abdulaziz's visit to the city and its railway, a new and industrial sensorium was woven onto the existing sensory geography of the region. Thus, through such explorations, this dissertation foregrounds how the experiences of space were altered with the advent of railways in western Anatolia.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Prior to completing her doctoral degree at Cornell University in the history of architecture and urban development, Elvan Cobb obtained a master's degree in historic preservation from the University of Pennsylvania and a bachelor's degree in city and regional planning from the Middle East Technical University. In addition to serving as a teaching assistant at Cornell, she has taught classes at Syracuse University and at Koç University in İstanbul. She is an active participant in archaeological projects in Turkey, Armenia and Laos.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ORC: Ottoman Railway Company from Smyrna to Aidin (Izmir to Aydın)

SCR: Smyrna Cassaba Railway Company (Izmir to Kasaba)

BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi

TNA: The National Archives of the UK

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France

1 INTRODUCTION

The production of railway spaces in western Anatolia during the second half of the 19th century resulted in the alteration of a range of spatial practices in the region. Railways reformulated how space was experienced throughout the region both for the inhabitants of the region as well as for the new comers, whether they were railway engineers, archaeologists or tourists. Understanding the railroads as a cultural as well as a material phenomenon, this dissertation approaches the western Anatolian railways through a series of interdisciplinary vignettes that juxtapose the histories of the built environment with histories of technology, archaeology, travel, and the senses. These explorations all foreground the experiences of railway spaces.[1]

The Ottoman government, desirous of modernizing its transportation infrastructure but lacking the necessary resources of capital and expertise, granted the first railway concessions in Anatolia to British companies. The Ottoman Railway Company (ORC), which undertook the route from Izmir to Aydın, received its concession in 1856, at a moment when the British and Ottoman Empires were enjoying a period of good political relationships due to their alliance during the

[1] As Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith posit, it is necessary: "to show the cultural shaping of railway projects and to explore the ways in which railway projectors constructed not only networks of iron and steam but also new cultural systems. Those systems included grand 'central' stations, railway hotels, sleeper cars, and all manner of novel adjuncts to appeal to the nineteenth-century traveling publics." See, Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith, *Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 130.

Crimean War. Under the leadership of Rowland Macdonald Stephenson, the 'pioneer' of British railways in India, this company would connect the port city of Izmir with the valleys of the Cayster and the Meander rivers (Küçük and Büyük Menderes).[2] A second concession, granted in 1863 to Edward Price, would enable the construction of a line between Izmir and Kasaba, a large market town nestled in the Hermus (Gediz) river valley. This route was constructed by the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway (SCR), which was transferred to a French syndicate in 1894 and thus became known as the Société Ottomane du Chemin de fer de Smyrne-Cassaba et Prolongements (SCP). Both railways, the Izmir-Aydın and the Izmir-Kasaba lines, would extend further into Anatolia and connect to interior lines after the turn of the 20th century. As a reflection of British-Ottoman relations, the western Anatolian railways carried enormous political and economic implications and the fate of the railways would wax and wane according to the state of affairs between the two powers. (Figure 1.1)

The construction of railways was an intensely material act, requiring not only the laying of tracks and the construction of station buildings, but indeed the alteration of a whole landscape. The railway companies deviated riverbeds, quarried the land for sand and stones, and tunneled through mountain ranges to enable the particular movement of the train. Beyond this physicality, the railroads were harbingers of new modes of interaction with space. They altered the commercial transportation networks of the region that had depended for centuries on camel

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[2] Daniel Headrick calls Rowland Macdonald Stephenson as the pioneer of the Indian railway system. See, Daniel Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

caravans traveling along well-established but flexible pathways. While the competition between the camel and the train ultimately reached a compromise, it nonetheless dramatically impacted the lifeways of both the nomads and the peasants in the region. In addition to modifying the way products moved through the landscape, people also found a new mobility in the train and thousands took the rails. Masses of tourists arrived to partake in the ready access to some of the best known ancient and Biblical places of archeological significance. The railway's impact on archaeological sites went further and incited new archaeological explorations that expanded knowledge, and facilitated the acquisition of antiquities for museums, private collections and even as construction materials. Additionally, the railroads brought with them novel sensory experiences. From the moment when the first locomotive whistle was heard in Izmir to the illumination of the night with a thousand flickering lights in celebration of Sultan Abdulaziz's visit to the city, a new industrial sensorium was woven onto the existing sensory geography of the region.

Through investigations of each of these historical topics, this work explores the spatial and temporal practices that the new railroads engendered through the scripting of 'modern', industrial, expertise-dependent practices onto the landscape of western Anatolia. While extremely challenging given the nature of evidence, this work attempts to uncover the everyday, quotidian effects of the railways.

1.1 THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Both by design and by necessity, this work circumvents deep-rooted academic interest in individual architects, patrons and buildings, which form the usual subjects of histories of

architecture. The only architect we know by name working on the western Anatolian railways was John Turtle Wood, whose fame was established as the excavator of the ancient site of Ephesus. Similarly, the limited number of extant plans for stations, or other such 'works of art,' are typically signed by railway engineers and not by architects. Even the contracts with the Ottoman government focus solely on technical details such as slopes, gauges and level crossings, while lacking any mention of architectural details, stylistic or otherwise. Yet, infrastructural works, a seemingly mundane aspect of the built environment, not only require enormous sums of capital, high levels of expertise and a strong political will, but they also impact large geographies in ways that are prominent and long lasting. The railway companies consciously sculpted and morphed the land in ways observable and obfuscated. Therefore, infrastructural projects reshape the spatial aspects of place in unprecedented ways, and thus they should be afforded a place in the corpus of architectural histories and the histories of the built environment. By foregrounding the varied experiences of space, it is possible to avoid the objectification of architecture and the architect/patron and bring alternative modes of producing space into an exploration of the history of the built environment.

The thematic framework of this dissertation presents additional opportunities for the interdisciplinary exploration of railway spaces. From a study of the intersection between constructed and natural environments, to a digital humanities approach to the movement of people, the thematic nature of this work enables and indeed encourages alternative readings of railway spaces. Such a template can be adapted to explore the histories of spaces that typically

fall outside of the bounds of architectural histories such as infrastructural and engineering works.

Thus, this dissertation seeks to bring into conversation, following the ideas of Michel de Certeau, the everyday spatial tactics of ordinary beings over the strategies of planners, architects and politicians vis-à-vis the railways. While de Certeau's statement that 'space is a practiced place' is one of the underlying assumptions of this research, the political and economic implications of the early railways in the Ottoman Empire are inescapable and require a certain level of juxtaposing between the realms of the 'tacticians' and the 'strategists'.[3]

Other theorists also emphasize different modes of interaction with space. The Marxist theorist Henri Lefebvre's conceptual triad, where 'perceived', 'conceived' and 'lived' spaces form a spatiality, presents another valuable model.[4] Lefebvre goes on to create a second triad where his conceptual triad is translated into spatial terms as 'spatial practices', 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representation'.[5] His later work on *Rhythmnanalysis* brings the dimension of time into an exploration of space. His emphasis on rhythms is significant for this dissertation,

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[3] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, 117.

[4] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009.

[5] Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011, 81.

as few spatial phenomena are more rhythmical than a train traversing the landscape.[6] While Lefebvre cautions against equating movement and sequences of movement with rhythm, stating that "we tend to attribute to rhythms a mechanical overtone, brushing aside the organic aspects of rhythmed movements,"[7] his emphasis on the senses in understanding the rhythms of space fits exceptionally well with the chapters of this dissertation that deal with the sensory aspects of railways. Correspondingly, this work pays attention to impact of the railways on the rhythms of 'organic' beings, both human and nonhuman, while pursuing an understanding of the quotidian effects of the railways.

The postmodernist scholar Edward Soja calls Lefebvre's *Production of Space* "arguably the most important book ever written about the social and historical significance of human spatiality and the particular powers of the spatial imagination."[8] Soja then offers a triad of his own, based on Lafebvre's, that again acknowledges the different modes of interaction with space. His firstspace (more or less in line with Lefebvre's perceived spaces) is defined by the 'concrete materiality of spatial forms', his secondspace (corresponding to Lefebvre's conceived spaces) is the realm of ideas about space. His thirdspace, which Soja likens to Lefebvre's lived

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[6] The rhythm of the train is not only evident in its sounds and haptic effects but also as a repeating event that follows a time table.

[7] Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015, 6.

[8] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places* (Malden: Blackwell, 1996), 8.

spaces (as well as Foucault's 'hetorotopology'), is dialectical to his first- and secondspaces, and he describes it as "journeys to 'real-and-imagined' places".[9] For Soja, the clear emphasis lies in the thirdspace, as he posits "as means of combating the longstanding tendency to confine spatial knowledge to firstspace and secondspace epistemologies and their associated theorizations."[10] Soja's desire to find a balance between the materialities and the ideas about space with the lived experiences of space is especially valuable for this dissertation.

What de Certeau, Lefebvre and Soja have in common is their insistence on an alternative way of exploring space that goes beyond its material and mental aspects. While undoubtedly these are important aspects of spatiality, shifting the focus towards the experience of space is a valid and valuable, and indeed a necessary, addition to histories of space. Beyond the importance of this alternative mode of spatial exploration in history writing, for both Lefebvre and Soja, their triads were a way to break the 'tyranny of dichotomies'- what Soja calls 'thirding-as-othering.' This understanding has also proven valuable for exploring the topic of the western Anatolian railways, where it has been an easy shortcut to enter into categorizations such as 'West vs. 'East', 'modern' vs. 'ancient', 'urban' vs. 'rural'. The thirding, in this sense, forces our hand to explore the nuances of place-making.

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[9] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 11.

[10] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 74.

1.2 THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, MODERNIZING IMPULSES AND ANGLO-OTTOMAN RELATIONS VIS-À-VIS RAILWAYS

Writing a history of infrastructural projects within the Ottoman Empire, especially about the two earliest railways constructed by British entrepreneurs, brings with it certain scholarly challenges. Historians have long viewed Ottoman modernization efforts as a response to European models of industrialization and modernity; thus, scholars have approached Ottoman modernization projects, many of which were accomplished with foreign involvement, as solely European attempts at economic expansionism or colonialism. Recent research places emphasis on Ottoman agency, leading to more nuanced studies. Additionally, modernization efforts are often investigated from the perspective of a top-down centralized political system within the Empire. For example, Cem Emrence points out that "[e]ven the key history of reforms which was at the heart of the modernization narrative was covered via legislation attempts in Istanbul, leaving the larger question of state-society relations missing in the analysis. Pre-occupied with high politics in the capital, there was no room for a spatial perspective in the modernization analysis."[11] While this dissertation will not attempt to address Ottoman state-society relations in general, the advent of the railways in western Anatolia did have a spatial, on-the-ground impact that altered how people, both Ottoman and foreign, interacted with the land.

[11] Cem Emrence, *Remapping the Ottoman Middle East: modernity, imperial bureaucracy, and Islam* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 21.

Although not here the focus, the impact of state politics on the creation of such massive infrastructural projects remains historically important. Concessions granted for the construction and operation of railways within the Ottoman Empire oscillated among different European powers depending on their relationships with the Sublime Port in Istanbul at any given moment. This dissertation explores Ottoman agency in the production of railway spaces at a variety of junctures, including at the macro level, where the Ottoman Empire exercised its primary agency in the decisions about who would undertake modernizing projects in its territories. The railways, as perhaps the most extensive, expensive, and expertise-dependent of 19th-century modernization projects, reflected most clearly Ottoman priorities and political alliances. As early as 1977, Donald Quataert placed railway development within the Ottoman Empire somewhere between the 'industrial West' and 'exploited European imperial possessions', reflecting the Ottoman Empire's "less developed but nevertheless *politically independent* status."[12] [emphasis added]

These modernization projects, while beneficial to foreign interests in myriad ways, were also closely aligned with Ottoman schemes of modernization and therefore mutually desirable for all parties. A series of reform movements that punctuated Sultan Mahmud II's reign between 1808 and 1839 might be considered as the origin of Ottoman interest in railways. As part of his modernizing impulses, Mahmud II invited 'men of practical science' to the Ottoman Empire. Sir

[12] Donald Quataert, "Limited Revolution: The Impact of the Anatolian Railway on Turkish Transportation and the Provisioning of Istanbul, 1890–1908," *Business History Review* 51, no. 02 (1977).

William Fairbairn, with a reputation as a brilliant engineer, arrived in Istanbul as one of these men of practical science in 1839, just after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. Despite the unfortunate timing of Fairbairn's arrival, Mahmud's successor, Sultan Abdulmecid, continued to be a promoter of modernization in the Ottoman Empire, and would provide a sympathetic ear to Fairbairn and his contemporaries.[13] Fairbairn, in his communications with Ottoman officials, emphasized the potential benefits of railways for the Ottoman Empire. However, he notes that railways "appeared to [the Ottomans] inexplicable, if not entirely beyond their comprehension. They could not realise [sic] the idea of travelling at the rate of forty miles an hour, and doubted the correctness of the descriptions that reached them."[14]

`While the reaction Fairbain had received in 1839 was reportedly one of bewilderment, a decade and a half later, railways had traversed much of Europe and North America, and were closer both to the Ottoman borders and the Ottoman consciousness. Yakup Bektaş points out that Crimean War, beyond solidifying Anglo-Ottoman relationships, was also instrumental in materially introducing the railways to the Ottomans. During the war, the British had built a short rail connection between their camp at Sebastopol and their supply base at Balaklava. This eight-

[13] Abdulmecid would reign as the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the Tanzimat Era, launched with the Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi on November 3, 1839.

[14] Quoted in Yakup Bektaş, "The Imperial Ottoman Izmir-to-Aydın Railway: The British Experimental Line in Asia Minor," *Science, Technology and Industry in the Ottoman World*, 2000, 141.

mile line would play a significant role in igniting an Ottoman interest in railways and would open up British involvement in railway enterprises.[17]

According to an article published in *the Times,* "no result of the late war [in Crimea] has been more remarkable than the promptness with which the attention of English capitalists has been turned to the resources of the Turkish Empire."[18] By engaging in infrastructural projects like the construction of railways, British capital gained access to both the natural resources of the Ottoman Empire and to the means of transporting these resources abroad. Sean McMeekin observes that "as the traditional protector of Turkey against Napoleonic and then Russian encroachment, Great Britain seemed, at first glance, a natural candidate to develop the infrastructure of the Ottoman Empire."[19]

Sultan Abdulmecid held a profound interest in railways, expressing that one of his greatest wishes was to bring trains to the Ottoman Empire and only through his political will British railways could encroach into Ottoman space. In an address to the members of his administration on June 30, 1855, he emphasized the importance of railways for the development of the country and urged the establishment of companies to address this need.[20] Bektaş,

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[17] Bektaş, "The Imperial Ottoman Izmir-to-Aydın Railway," 141.

[18] The Times (London), February 20, 1857.

[19] Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad express the Ottoman Empire and Germany's bid for world power, 1898-1918* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 34.

[20] Arif Kolay, *İzmir-Kasaba ve Uzantısı Demiryolu Hatları*, Diss., Marmara Universitesi, 2011, XIX.

quoting from *the Times*, states that the Ottoman Empire was "resolved to address itself directly to the experiences and capital of Europe,"[21] but also determined to keep oversight under the Sublime Porte.

The declaration of the *Islahat Fermanı*, the Ottoman reform edict of 1856, also underscored the Ottoman willingness to depend on European investments for the development of the country. Part of the edict stated that "steps shall also be taken for the formation of roads and canals to increase the facilities of communication and increase the sources of the wealth of the country. Everything that can impede commerce or agriculture shall be abolished. To accomplish these objects means shall be sought to profit by the science, the art, and the funds of Europe, and thus gradually to execute them."[22]

Indeed, following the Crimean War and the *Islahat Fermanı*, British entrepreneurs received several ambitious railway concessions from the Ottoman Empire, including the Euphrates Valley Railway, the Danube Railway, and most significantly for this work, the Izmir and Aydın Railway.[23] While many of the other projects did not come to fruition, the Izmir and Aydın Railway became one of the major British investments in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the

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[21] Quoted in Bektaş, "The Imperial Ottoman Izmir-to-Aydın Railway," 141.

[22] Translation of the Islahat Fermanı of February 18, 1856. Boğaziçi University, Atatürk Institute of Modern Turkish History.

[23] The Times (London), February 20, 1857. Also important was a concession for the construction of telegraph lines from Istanbul to Bagdad and Alexandria. Related to the Euphrates Valley Railway, see Francis Rawdon Chesney, *Report on the Euphrates Valley Railway* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1857).

Izmir-Aydın railway, the British also executed the building of the Köstence-Boğazköy (Konstanca-Chernavoda), Rusçuk-Varna (1861), Izmir-Kasaba (1863), and Mersin-Adana (1883) railways.[24]

Until 1872, railway related issues were under the purview of the *Turuk and Maabir Idaresi* of the *Nafia Nezareti* (the Office of Roads and Passages of the Ministry of Public Works). However, the proliferation of railway enterprises, British and otherwise, necessitated the formation of another administrative unit. On September 24, 1872, the *Demiryollar Idaresi* (Office of Railways) was formed and Mirliva Fevzi Pasha became its first director.[25] Shortly after, Abdulhamid II took the Ottoman throne on August 31, 1876 and changed the direction of the Empire with new strategies. Railways would also be affected by the Hamidian policies vis-à-vis modernization and foreign relations.

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[24] The concession for the Köstence line was also given in 1856 and this line would be the first to be completed within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Also, noteworthy is the construction of the Alexandria-Cairo railway. The concession for the Alexandria-Cairo line was given to Robert Stephenson in 1851. (Robert Stephenson should not to be mistaken with Rowland Macdonald Stephenson, who was the chairman of the railway company between Izmir and Aydın.) Also, see, Bülent Bilmez, "European Investments in the Ottoman Railways, 1850-1914," in *Across the Borders: Financing the World's Railways in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Ralf Roth and Günter Dinhobl (Ashgate, 2008), Table 13.1.

[25] Kolay, *İzmir-Kasaba ve Uzantısı Demiryolu Hatları,* 79.

1.3 BRIEF HISTORY OF WESTERN ANATOLIAN RAILWAYS

1.3.1 OTTOMAN RAILWAY COMPANY FROM IZMIR TO AYDIN

On September 23, 1856, following the Crimean War and admission of the Ottoman Empire to the Concert of Europe,[29] the Ottoman government entered into an agreement for the construction of a railway between Izmir (Smyrna) and Aydın (Güzelhisar) with Robert Wilkin. Robert Wilkin represented a group of British entrepreneurs including Sir Joseph Paxton, Georges Wythes, William Jackson and Augustus William Rixon.[30] The company they formed would be known as the Ottoman Railway Company (ORC).

Rowland Macdonald Stephenson served as the company's chairman during its formative years.[31] While he initially approached the Ottoman government with a grand scheme for advancing his goal of creating an overland route to Britain's most prized colony in India, ultimately the Izmir-Aydın railway was the only railway he constructed in the Ottoman Empire. Thomas Jackson became the first contractor of the railroad. Jackson had been involved in a variety of major infrastructural works, including along the East India Railway. His interactions

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[29] Turan Kayaoglu, *Legal Imperialism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[30] Convention du Chemin de Fer Ottoman de Smyrne à Aidin de sa Majesté impériale le Sultan, 23 Septembre 1856 (23 Moharem 1272) (Constantinople: Impr. et lithographie centrales, 1874).

[31] Macdonald Rowland Stephenson was instrumental in the establishment of railways in India and a long-time proponent of an overland route to India.

with Stephenson during the construction of the East India Railway must have been instrumental in his selection as the contractor for railway construction between Izmir and Aydın[32]

The Ottoman Railway Company's 1856 concession granted them the right to construct a railway between Izmir and Aydın, following an approximate route through Seydiköy, Oglanes, Trianda, Torbalı, and the Güme (Cuma) Dağı range. (Figure 1.2) Although a more precise route would be left to a later decision, both the Ottoman Railway Company and the Ottoman government planned for the railway to pass through the Cuma Dağı range with a tunnel. The company planned to construct stations at important locations and a special quay at the Izmir terminus for loading and unloading the goods carried by the railway. The goal was to finish the entire project in four years.

The Ottoman government agreed to allow the company access to all government owned land, coal mines and forests along the railway gratuitously. The Sublime Porte also promised to arbitrate any conflicts that arose during the acquisition of privately owned lands and mines needed for the operations of the railway. The government assigned imperial commissaries to oversee the affairs of the company and to facilitate the company's communications with Istanbul.

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[32] *Reports from Committees: thirteen volumes*, vol. XIV, London: House of Commons, 1858, 259.

Most importantly for the company, the Ottoman government guaranteed a six percent return on capital investment, not to exceed £1,200,000 in total.[33] Additionally, the Ottoman government agreed to divide the railway into three sections and accepted to pay the guarantee upon the completion of each section. The government granted a monopoly for the Izmir to Aydın route, preventing any other railway lines from competing either directly or indirectly with the ORC without first obtaining the company's consent. The company, on the other hand, would not extend the railway and its contiguous branch lines beyond the limits laid down in this agreement without the prior consent of the Ottoman government.

Unfortunately for the company, the initial years of construction were marred by a series of unfortunate events. Starting with the company's contractor Thomas Jackson's bankruptcy and the inefficiency of its first chief engineer George Meredith, Ottoman Railway Company would encounter many difficulties in its early years. However, a new contractor, Thomas Russell Crampton and a new chief engineer Edward Purser, would see the construction of the railway to its eventual successful conclusion.

Over the years, the company would receive several concessions from the Ottoman government. The first one of these, dated March 23, 1861, resulted from the company's inability to complete previous works on time, including due to their struggle to tunnel through the Cuma

[33] In other words, if the company could not recoup its investment at that percentage on an annual basis, the Ottoman government would make up the difference.

Dağı range at the selected location of Selatin. The company, according to the articles of this concession, chose to alter the route towards the Ephesus Pass and to a three-year extension.[34] When it became obvious that the company would not be able to finish the construction of the railway by its new deadline despite its decision to abandon the tunnel and deviate its route towards the Ephesus Pass, a new concession was signed on June 21, 1863.[35] According to this new agreement, another extension of thirty months was granted to the company. Additionally, the Ottoman government agreed to increase the cap on the company's capital to £1,784,000 from the earlier cap of £1,200,000.[36]

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[34] This 1861 concession granted the company four extra years to complete the works if they remained on the existing trace through the Selatin Dağı. If the company chose to abandon the tunnel works and alter its course towards the Ephesus Pass, the Ottoman government would allow them three extra years. Furthermore, in order to alleviate the financial challenges of the company, the Ottoman government gave its consent for the ORC to sell debentures (bonds) in an amount of £250,000. The company chose to alter the route towards the Ephesus Pass and thus agreed to a three-year extension. See, Convention du chemin de fer ottoman de Smyrne à Aidin de sa Majesté impériale le Sultan, 23 Septembre 1856 (23 Moharem 1272), Constantinople: Impr. et lithographie centrales, 1874.

[35] Thomas Russell Crampton, the Company's second contractor after the bankrupt Thomas Jackson, negotiated this concession acting on behalf of the company's directors with the Ottoman ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Public Works. This contract went into effect shortly after Abdulaziz's visit to the railway line in Izmir, explored further in Chapter 7.

[36] Upon the completion of the line in July of 1866, the company and the Ottoman government entered into another agreement, signed on October 1, 1866. The Ottoman government, with this new convention, agreed to an annual guarantee of up to £112,000. However, as a result of the Ottoman government's dissatisfaction with some of the works, this 1866 concession stipulated the completion of several important elements on the line within two months. If these essential works were not completed by the company, the Ottoman government would withhold the payment of the guarantee until the works were completed to their satisfaction. While the government did not set a deadline, this 1866 convention also stipulated the replacement of all temporary elements such as wooden bridges,

After the conclusion of the line to Aydın in 1866, the first major branching of the Aydın railway materialized with a line towards Buca (Boudja). On 5th of March 1870, the Ottoman government gave permission to Edward Purser, acting on behalf of the Aydın railway, to form a separate company for the sole purpose of constructing a branch line to Buca from the Paradise Station (today Şirinyer).[37] This line to Buca, as well as the Bornova branch of the Kasaba railway, would become important generators of suburbia in Izmir. After the opening of these branch lines, both Buca and Bornova, already containing the residences and mansions of the wealthy foreign residents of the city, would emerge as genuine suburbs, enabling daily commutes to the city center.

In a September 1874 company report, the directors informed their shareholders that extensions to Denizli (further along the Meander Valley), as well as to Ödemiş (along the Cayster Valley) were under consideration in İstanbul.[38] However, it would take several more years for the Ottoman government to grant any extensions to the line. At last, during a July 4-16

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along the line. The company, with this agreement, bound itself to the 'cahier de charges' that was established between the Ottoman government and the Smyrna-Cassaba (Izmir-Kasaba) railway. (See below.)

[37] T.908, BOA. This line was to be completed within two years. While the concession was nominatively given to this newly-founded company, it was stated within the contract that the ORC was to maintain and operate the new branch line with its own resources and would operate two trains each way between Buca and Izmir. Thus, the newly founded company was the responsibility of the Ottoman Railway Company. This branch line opened to traffic in September of the same year.

[38] Mihill Slaughter, *Railway Intelligence*, 1875, vol. 18 (London: Published by the Author, January 1875), 241.

convention with the Ottoman government in 1879,[39] the company was allowed to extend the railway to Sarayköy along the Meander Valley and add a branch from Torbalı towards Tire along the Cayster Valley.[40] One of the most important aspects of this concession was a shift from the Ottoman guarantee of invested capital.[41]

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[39] The timing of this concession was soon after the British aided the Ottomans in negotiating peace with the Russians after the 1878 Russian advance to San Stefano. At this opportune moment, Sir Macdonald Stephenson would again bring up his project to construct an overland route to the Persian Gulf, which had not found success in the 1850-60s.

[40] D.10721.10, BOA.

[41] "Ottoman Railway," Morning Post (London), June 5, 1878. According to this newspaper article, as the new financial arrangements were rather complicated, the general manager of the company, Edward Purser, was asked to travel to London in order to attend the meeting of the shareholders to answer any questions. The chairman of the company presiding over the meeting explained that "the difficulties in obtaining cash payment of the guarantee from the Ottoman government were great." The complicated financial arrangement was explained as such: "The company undertakes to work the entire system at the fixed rate of 5 per cent. of the gross receipts. The Imperial Government undertakes to pay the company the sums in arrear which are due to it from accumulation of guaranteed interest, as well as the sums which shall be due in future in the guarantee account, conformably with the following article: 'As existing circumstances do not permit the Imperial Government to pay immediately in cash the sums due to the Aidin Railway Company, in virtue of the pre-existing conventions, and of which the total up to 1st January, 1878, amounts to 23,730,394 piastres, these sums will be converted into mandats, negotiable and transferable, bearing 6 per cent. interest, and falling due for payment at dates spread equally over six years, beginning from the date of the delivery of the firman of this new concession." According to another article, published in Leeds Mercury on June 5, 1878, the amount that the formerly agreed guarantee of 112,000 was going to be reduced to 34,000. Additionally, the Ottoman government would pay the monies due to the company in installments, thus negating the company's need to raise additional financial resources for the construction of the extensions. When questioned, Purser emphasized that "the convention did not involve the raising of any fresh capital. The company undertook to make the lines and the Government undertook to pay their debts. If they did not do so the company would not make the lines."

The Sarayköy line, enabled by the 1879 concession, opened in 1882 and immediately proved to be profitable, supporting the belief that extending the line along the Meander Valley would bring greater profits.[42] The same 1879 convention also granted the company permission to construct a branch line between Torbali and Tire.[43] The branch line to Tire enabled the company to have easier access to the products of the Cayster Valley.

The company would have to wait another nine years before any additional extensions and branches would be granted. An agreement signed between the company and the Ottoman government on April 30, 1888, allowed the company not only to extend their line further along the Meander Valley to Dinar but also several additional branch lines.[44] (Figure 1.3) This concession might be considered a reconciliation prize for the ORC.[45] When this concession was granted to the ORC, Deutsche Bank was negotiating a contract with the Ottoman Empire to

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[42] Edward Fitzgerald Law, *Report by Major Law on railways in Asiatic Turkey* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1896), 10-11. Also see, Y.A.HUS.170.141, BOA.

[43] A.DVN.MKL.17.5, BOA.

[44] According to İ.DH.1110.86932, BOA, the ORC reached Dinar in October 1889 and the line's official opening was announced in Istanbul soon after, in November. According to another document from the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives, T.908, one of these branches, between Çatal and Ödemiş, extended the railway further into the Cayster Valley. This branch would open in December of 1888 and make the products of this valley even more easily accessible.

[45] SCR would similarly receive a concession in 1888 that would enable them to extend their railway north to Soma.

extend the Istanbul-Izmit line to Ankara and to take over the existing line between Istanbul's Haydarpaşa Station and Izmit.[46]

With this concession, a branch line connecting Çivril to Sütlaç was constructed.[47] Sütlaç was a market town nestled in the alluvial plain of the Upper Meander Valley. With this line, the Ottoman Railway Company would come within striking distance of the carpet producing region of Uşak. Uşak carpets were extremely popular luxury items in Europe and access to this production zone was a matter of competition between the Izmir-Kasaba and Izmir-Aydın lines. The extension to Çivril would provide an advantage to the Ottoman Railway Company, albeit temporarily.[48] An article published in a Chicago paper on 'Smyrna Carpets' explains the situation: "These carpets come to Smyrna principally by two routes; the first from Oushak to Alashier, the terminal station of the Cassaba Railway, a distance from Oushak of twenty-four

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[46] Murat Özyüksel, *The Hejaz railway and the Ottoman empire: modernity, industrialisation and Ottoman decline* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 20. Özyüksel points out that in 1888, Wilhelm II was enthroned in Germany and started to lead a more expansionist foreign policy unlike his predecessor. Coupled with the Ottoman skepticism towards the British and the French, this led to an immediate and extensive involvement of the Germans in Ottoman railways. According to Özyüksel: "Germans, who had not had a single kilometer of railway in the Ottoman Empire until 1888, acquired the concession of a 2,000-km railway network by 1890." (20-21)

[47] Y.A.HUS.232.16, BOA. According to this document, the line was completed in December of 1889 and the Ottoman government gave its consent to its operations in January of 1890.

[48] Following the sale of the Kasaba line to a French syndicate in 1894, the line would be extended further east, giving this company an upper hand in the competition for Uşak carpets.

hours by camel, and the other from Oushak to Chivril, the last station on the Sutledj branch of the Aidin line, which is distant from Oushak only six hours."[49]

While with this 1888 agreement the company had gained rights to extend its lines and make new branches,[50] the agreement was only reached through compromise with the Ottoman government. According to a later company report, this compromise involved the "abandonment of our guarantees and the postponement until the termination of our concession of the payment of a sum of 650,000 (an agreed figure for a much larger amount) then due to our company."[51] The company report also noted that "notwithstanding this great loss of capital our company struggled on, obtaining from time to time leave to make extensions of our lines, and we had reached a prosperous and promising condition when the German enterprise first penetrated into the territories served by us."[52]

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[49] "Real Smyrna Carpets," Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago), July 27, 1890.

[50] As reported in *Financial Times* on September 26, 1889, the company voted to construct a branch line from Balatcık to Söke in their meeting held in September of 1889. According to DH.MKT.1802.1 and Y.A.HUS.241.74, BOA, this branch opened in January of 1891 as the Ottoman government was urging the company to hasten the completion of the line due to floods affecting the area. The surrounding villages that had been inundated by the floods, and therefore boats needed to be sent from Izmir to Söke. A document in T.908, BOA reports that another small branch was constructed to Denizli. The main route of the railway had skipped Denizli despite its importance and this connection, less than 6 miles in length between Goncalı along the main line and Denizli, would connect the city to the railway network by March of 1891.

[51] "The Ottoman Railway," Times (London), March 28, 1917, 12.

[52] ibid.

As mentioned previously, after the Germans received their first railway concession to extend the rail line from Izmit to Ankara in 1888, they became the most active foreign player in Ottoman railways. From an 1893 agreement with the Ottoman government, the Germans obtained the right to extend their line from Afyon to Konya, bringing them into close proximity with the western Anatolian railways. This concession was given to the Germans against the heavy opposition of the British, who attributed the German success to "the forceful diplomacy of those who represented the German Government."[53]

However, this encroachment of the German railways into western Anatolia would also curtail the hopes of the Ottoman Railway Company for the future. The company had always wanted to extend its lines further inland and they even dreamed of one day materializing the British ambition to construct a railway that would connect Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf with Europe. This sentiment, advanced by the company's first chairperson Stephenson, was ultimately dashed by the construction of the Anatolian Railway:

> The dream of the promoters of a future extension to the Euphrates Valley has definitely vanished, owing to the advance of the Anatolian Railway to Konia. This dream was a very natural one, for the route taken by the Smyrna-Aidin line followed the ancient caravan route by which the famous cities of Asia Minor conducted their commerce with the interior.[54]

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[53] ibid.

[54] Henry Philip Picot, *Railways in Western Asia (London: Central Asian Society, 1904), 9.* The Times reported on March 28, 1917 a similar sentiment when they included the following sentiment of the company's directors: "we had before frequently made for permission to construct (without any guarantee) an extension of our lines to Tchai [Çay] and Konia [Konya], with the hope on our part of

In 1904, the company, which had given up its hopes for extensions to Konya or Çay, this time requested an extension towards Isparta and Burdur. However, this request, like many before, was refused by the government.[56] A year later, in 1905, the company applied to the Ottoman government for an extension, this time to Eğirdir.[57] While this request was also declined initially, the company did at last receive a concession to extend their line to the shores of the Eğirdir Lake later that year. With this extension eastwards towards Eğirdir Lake, a distance of 140 kilometers, the OCR was hoping to "serve the prosperous towns round the famous fishing lake of Eğirdir. At the conclusion of the construction, the company proposed to "organize a lake steamboat service under the Ottoman flag, which it is stated, would do much to develop local industry, and would feed the traffic of the new line."[58] However, the Ottoman government would not consent to the further extension of the railway. The station on the shore of Eğirdir Lake would be the final stop along this line. With the commencement of World War I, the politics of railway operations within the Ottoman Empire prevented further work and construction by British firms.

While the topic of the western Anatolian railways during World War I and its aftermath is outside the scope of this dissertation and requires an in-depth study of its own, a very brief

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ultimately prolonging our system in the direction of Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, and thus opening up again the road over which since ancient times traders and travelers had found their shortest and best way to Mesopotamia and India."

[56] BEO.2286.171378, BOA.

[57] BEO.2598.194805; BEO.2594.194481, BOA.

[58] Financial Times (London), October 31, 1905.

account of what transpired must be provided here to conclude the story of the British railway enterprise in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. World War I was declared in August 1914, a few short years after the opening of the line to Eğirdir, and altered the political landscape of western Anatolia dramatically. (Figure 1.4) With the start of the war, the Ottoman government put an embargo on the export of grain, which had an immediate effect on the company's profits. This, added to the almost complete 'cessation of maritime traffic to and from the port of Smyrna' due to war, signaled the beginning of challenging times for the company.[59] Shortly after, in November 1914, the Ottoman government seized the railway.

The company directors stated that "the Turks seized the line and for five years we got nothing from it and could do nothing to it."[60] Following the Armistice of 1918, through which the Ottoman Empire was dissolved, the company regained control of the line and "found that there was a good deal of stuff to be carried back from the interior, and for a time [the company] did quite satisfactorily."[61] However, in 1919, the Allied Forces decided that western Anatolia should pass into the hands of the Greeks. With this move, a large geographical area where the Ottoman Railway Company had laid its tracks was transferred to the Greeks and the company again lost the control of a significant portion of its line. The company reported in 1920 that

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[59] "Ottoman Railway," *Financial Times* (London), Sept 30, 1914, 4.

[60] "Ottoman Railway from Smyrna To Aidin." *Times* (London), March 20, 1920.

[61] ibid.

> at the present moment we have only got possession of about one-third of the line, a small part of the main line near Smyrna, and also the two branches -Tireh and Odemish- and even in the bit of line we do hold, the conditions of working are far from easy…food is very dear, and malaria is very prevalent. There have been raids on the line, damages have been done, bridges have been blown up, one train has been derailed, and during these occurrences 24 members of our own staff have been killed.[62]

The directors went on further to report that very little cultivation was taking place in the Greek territories and thus, even if they got the line back, the prospects did not look bright. "On the other hand, we hear that in the part of the country occupied by the Turks the sowing has been very considerable and the weather favourable. If that is the case, we may anticipate that when we do get possession of the line again there will be plenty for us to carry."[63] However, the war years had taken a great toll on the materiality of the railway and great repairs and improvements were necessary. But, as the chairman of the company stated, the company "must wait until the country has settled down and the line is once more in our possession."[64]

In the aftermath of World War I and the Turkish War of Independence, the whole of Anatolia became part of a new Turkish Republic, which would purchase the railway in 1934 in an effort to nationalize its transportation infrastructure. At last, with a connection from Karakuyu (slightly east of Dinar), the lines of the former Ottoman Railway Company would be linked to a now-nationalized railway network in central Anatolia. The section of the line between Karakuyu and Eğirdir eventually became dormant as it was extraneous to the national rail network.

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[62] Ibid.

[63] ibid.

[64] ibid.

1.3.2 THE SMYRNA-CASSABA RAILWAY COMPANY AND ITS EXTENSIONS

Antoine Edwards, the proprietor of Izmir's prominent newspaper *L'Impartial*, submitted the earliest request to construct a railway between Izmir and Kasaba on September 10, 1856. According to Edwards' scheme, a railway would extend from Izmir to Kasaba and thence to Uşak. A separate branch from Kasaba would connect to Manisa and this line would later extend northwards to Istanbul. Soon after, in April of 1857, Robert Wilkin, acting on behalf of the Ottoman Railway Company, submitted a competing request to construct a line from Izmir to Manisa. In 1859, the Ottoman government selected Edwards' proposal over the ORC's and granted Edwards the concession to build an extensive network that would connect Üsküdar to Izmit; Izmit to Eskişehir; Eskişehir to Sivas and Eskişehir to Izmir. Ultimately, however, Edwards transferred his rights for the construction of these lines, with the Izmir-Kasaba line going to Edward Price on June 19, 1863.[65]

A new concession for the construction of a railway route between Izmir and the inland market town of Kasaba (modern Turgutlu) was signed with Edward Price on July 4, 1863. An addition was made to the agreement later the same year allowing Price to construct a branch to Bornova. Edward Price, along with other prominent British businessmen founded a new entity, the Smyrna Cassaba Railway Company (SCR) to undertake the work of the railway construction and its subsequent operation.

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[65] The remainder of the railway rights were transferred to James Landon. See, Kolay, *İzmir-Kasaba ve Uzantısı Demiryolu Hatları*, 2011, 41-42.

Details of the concession given to the SCR demonstrate that the Ottoman government had gained valuable experience during the implementation of the earlier contract with the Ottoman Railway Company from Izmir to Aydın, stipulating certain criteria to help prevent the challenges experienced in materializing the earlier line. Therefore, it is valuable to examine some of the differences between the concession given in 1856 to the ORC and the one given to the SCR in 1863. In its contract with the SCR, the Ottoman government continued to honor the scheme of guarantees on investment, but the amounts differed from the guarantees given to the ORC.[66] Additionally, unlike the Aydın line, which was divided into three sections, the Ottoman government declared that it would only be liable to pay the guarantee after the completion of the whole line to Kasaba.[67]

According to the 'cahier de charges', which accompanied the official contract, the company was to construct a line following an approximate route from Izmir through Menemen, Manisa and Kasaba within four years, with stipulations of a well-defined timeline and periodic

[66] In brief, for the SCR, the Ottoman government guaranteed a 5% annual return on capital expenses with a cap of £800,000 in investments. However, the differences in the financial arrangements were in the numbers: the Aydın line's initial contract had guaranteed a 6% return on £1,200,000 in investments.

[67] A.DVN.MKL.36.1, BOA. Another important difference of this concession was the dual nature of its contract. Unlike the lengthy concession granted for the Aydın line, the Kasaba line's convention document was short and mainly outlined the financial issues related to the enterprise. It was, however, accompanied by a 'cahier de charges', a document containing 'specifications' for the requirements of the railroad construction.

deliverables.[68] The inclusion of very detailed timelines and the schemes for deliverables suggests that the Ottoman government was trying to avoid the delays experienced during the early years of construction of the Aydın line.

The specifications also included a plethora of technical details as to the general construction principles of the railway. Starting with the thorny issue of land expropriations, the Kasaba railway company was not only required to purchase the lands necessary for the construction of the railway but also had to purchase the areas necessary for the restoration of rerouted roads and diverted waterways. However, undeveloped land belonging to the government would be given to the railway gratuitously. Specifications stipulated that while only a single track needed to be laid, except for the siding (evacuation) stations that would allow a

[68] Since, there was a lot of uncertainty about the exact route of the railway at the initial signing of the contract, the Ottoman government provided the company with a timeline. Within a period of four months from the signing of the concession, the company was required to present the general route of railway to the Ottoman government. This route was to be both most suitable to the topography of the region and one that served the general interests of the Ottoman Empire best. This itinerary was to be delivered with a plan of the route at 1/100000 scale. They also had to deliver a profile drawing of the railway as well as a report estimating the total cost of the undertaking and justifying the selected route. The government, for its part, would have four months to review the itinerary presented by the company. At the end of that period, if the government had not yet acted, the Company could continue its work and consider the project approved. Following the approval of the general itinerary, the company was to submit to the government detailed plans for the finalized route at 1/10,000 scale. The timeline for these plans was stipulated as well. The company was to submit a detailed plan for at least a 22.5 km section of the railway (or 30,000 archines) every three months. These plans were to include the position of the parking and siding (evacuation) stations, as well as the places of loading and unloading. Along with these plans, the company was also to provide a profile drawing of the railway axis, a number of cross-sections including the typical track profile, a table of slopes and ramps, types for the most important 'works of art', and a cost estimate.

second train to pass, sufficient width of land had to be expropriated for a second track. All the 'works of art' were to be executed in such a way that they would lend themselves to the eventual laying of a second track by an inexpensive transformation and without noticeable disruption of the operations of the railway. The Ottoman government, while eager to establish the initial rail connection between Izmir and the inland areas that would be accessed by the Kasaba route, nonetheless displayed a concern for the future expansion of railway traffic, which is evident in this stipulation and thus required the railway company to purchase larger tracts of land than were initially necessary.

Another indication that the Ottoman government was interested in establishing a more developed network is evident in the clause they included regarding the railway gauges: the width of the track between the inner edges of the rails, in other words, its gauge, was to be the same as that of the Aydın line, set at 1.435 meters or 1.93 archines. This desire for conformity signals a desire for an eventual connection between the western Anatolian railways. This standardization in railway gauge would ultimately be necessary in order to create connectivity between all individually operated rail lines.[69]

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[69] Beyond these, the cahier de charges included a magnitude of technical details. For example, the maximum inclination of ramps was fixed at an incline of 1/100. When two slopes inclining to opposite directions needed to follow each other, a horizontal stretch of at least 100 meters was needed. The company was to build a sufficient number of siding stations (gares d'évitement) and the distance between these stations was not to exceed 30,000 archines or 22,500 meters. When the railway needed cross roads, which would be necessary for local traffic, the rail line was to pass as far as possible above or below these roads with viaducts. When these viaducts could not be constructed without significant expense, the company could build level crossings as long as such level crossings

The environmental impact of railway construction had become evident for the Ottoman administrators during the construction of the Aydın railway. According to the British consular reports, that construction had on numerous occasions interrupted the water supply of Izmir, therefore the agreement with SCR included a high level of attention to environmental variables. For example, the company was obliged to restore and insure at its own expense the drainage of all waters whose course was suspended or modified by the works.[70]

Unlike the railway to Aydın, the Cassaba Railway was constructed with great alacrity, resulting in a great deal of commentary in the periodicals of the time. One newspaper article claimed that within the four years allocated for the construction of this railway, not only could they build the initially planned line but, if given permission, they could also build an extension all the way to Alasehir, further inland along the Gediz river valley.[71] Another news article, published

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would not cause undue disruption to the road traffic. When such crossings were built, the rails were not to create a projection or a depression on the surface of the road that might hinder the passage of carts. Moreover, the railway was to be fenced in a way that would block the passage of humans and animals. These articles of the specifications demonstrate the Ottoman government's concern for safety of its subjects as well as their desire not to disrupt existing transportation networks in the region.

[70] Bridges were to be constructed at any river, canal, and watercourse having at least 7.5 meters or 10 archines in width between the parapets for two lanes and 4.5 meters or 6 archines for one lane.

[71] Takvim-I Vakayi (Istanbul), 772. "Izmir'den Kasaba'ya derdest inşa olan demiryolun… bu gidişle bütün hattın ikmali şöyle dursun ruhsat buyrulduğu halde belki Alaşehir'e kadar dahi temdit…imal ve inşa kılınacağı…" (as transcribed by Kolay, *İzmir-Kasaba ve Uzantısı Demiryolu Hatları,* 27)

in *Tasvir-I Efkar* eight months after the initiation of construction, states that the production of the railway proceeded 'hayliden hayli' (more than more).[72]

The line was completed up to Menemen by June 1865 and a month later, the company started operating trains on this section. By October 1865, the line reached Manisa. The railway ultimately reached Kasaba in December of 1866, ahead of schedule and was opened for use on January 23, 1866.[73] According to information presented at the half-yearly meeting of the company in April 1866, passenger receipts from the first week of its operations, ending on January 28, 1866, amounted to £533.[74] The carriage of goods commenced on the 18th of March, 1866 and brought in an extra £200 during its first week. According to the directors, by the end of March, the passenger traffic had already reached their estimates and was continuing to increase. As regards to the goods traffic, the directors hoped that "when the existing carrying trade was diverted [from camels to trains], as it would shortly be, from the road to the railway and developed, the receipts from the goods traffic would also be fully equal to the revenue which was expected from that source."[75]

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[72] Tasvir-I Efkar (Istanbul), 24 Cemaziyelahir 1281.

[73] The Times (London), April 19, 1866.

[74] The total cost of the railway was carried out with a share capital of 520,000£ and with 280,000£ of preference shares. In December 1864, the directors had also authorized a loan of 130,000£ to create and issue bonds bearing an interest of 8%, repayable in five years. They also kept in reserve 130,000£ of the preference shares to fund the bonds as they reached maturity.

[75] The Times (London), April 19, 1866.

The earnings of the company were, of course, dependent on the diversion of the goods traffic in the region from camels to railways.[76] In the half-yearly meeting of the company, held on May 2, 1867, the chairman of the company, Mr. Larking, observed that "the camel drivers were gradually finding it impossible to compete with the railway, some of them were bringing goods to the company's stations, and it was believed that the camel owners would find it more profitable to bring the produce from the interior to the railway stations than to carry it the whole way to Smyrna."[77] In regards to the Ottoman government's guarantee, it was also observed that "the traffic was improving, and as the profit of working increased there would be so much less to be paid by the Government to the company under the guarantee of £40,000 a year."[78] The company would eventually exceed this amount and not require any guarantee payments from the Ottoman government.[79]

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[76] According to *The Times (London), May 3, 1867*, the line had been transferred from the responsibility of its contractor Edward Price to the Smyrna Cassaba Railway but the line remained under Price's management on January 1st, 1867. The Ottoman government also signed off on the line, marking it as complete and thus agreeing to pay the annual guarantee of 5% on investment. This would mean that the Ottoman government would pay up to 40,000£ per annum to make up any shortcoming in the earnings of the company.

[77] The Times (London), May 3, 1867.

[78] Ibid.

[79] With a news item published in the Times on Oct 28, 1869, the company informed the British public that the Ottoman government had agreed to a change in the contract. According to the original concession, the company was bound to give to the Ottoman government any net earning beyond their 5% guarantee. However, the company appealed to the Ottoman government, stating that they were forced to raise part of their capital at a high rate of interest, and asking that "no repayment of the advances should be required until the net earnings of the line exceeded 7 per cent on the entire

Unfortunately for Edward Price, the economic downturn that led to the Panic of 1866 in Britain hit the company hard. Price, hopeful about the project's prospects, had invested a large portion of his personal fortune in the enterprise. The Panic of 1866 especially affected railway shares negatively in England and thus it was not possible for Price to trade any of his shares in the company, forcing him to borrow capital at an unfavorably high interest rate. His obituary notes that "although he ultimately succeeded in getting rid of all his liabilities, the efforts he made for that purpose, and the anxiety he experienced whilst the indebtedness remained, were so great as to undermine his strong constitution which eventually gave way, and he died on 31st of March, 1871, of a complaint of the heart brought on by the constant anxiety under which he laboured."[80] After the death of Edward Price, Samuel Bayliss assumed the general management of the Smyrna-Casaba Railway Company.

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capital, or 56,000, instead of the 5 per cent, or 40,000 a year, as guaranteed." The favorable response of the Ottoman government was attributed to the company's success. According to the Ottoman Minister of Public Works "this decision has been taken in especial consideration of the excellent administration of the railway since its opening, and the Government hopes that the company will continue to justify in the future the favor of which it is now the object, by continuing to manage the line with a judicious economy, and in giving every respect even still greater satisfaction to the public interests." (The Railway News and Joint Stock Journal, vol. 13 (London, 1870), 325.) This new advantage also prompted the company to pursue the extension of the line further inland to Alaşehir with greater enthusiasm.

[80] "Edward Price," Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Edward_Price_(1805-1871)

The idea of an extension to Alaşehir as well as an extension of the Bornova branch was put forth as early as 1865, however it would take several years before the extension to Alaşehir extension could be materialized.[81] In December of 1872, the Ottoman government at last granted a concession to extend the line. This new contract brought changes to the financial structure of the Izmir-Kasaba railway company as predicted in the negotiations that had taken place two years earlier. According to this new agreement, signed by Samuel Bayliss on behalf of the company and the estate of Edward Price, the extension to Alaşehir was to be constructed with funding from the Ottoman government.[82] Afterwards, the line would be transferred to the sole ownership of the Ottoman government.

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[81] According to the initial proposal, Edward Price was to build this extension on his own. However, as the rights for extensions belonged to the company rather than Price, first the company had to agree to transfer its rights to extend the railway to Alasehir to Edward Price. In February 1866, Price received the official approval of the company to seek a concession from the Ottoman government to construct the extensions, which were soon granted by the Sublime Porte. While Price soon commenced construction, financial troubles that came along with the Panic of 1866 (see above) prevented the continuation of the works. The Levant Herald reported in November of 1870 that the Company and the Ottoman government came to an agreement that would eventually result in the purchase of the company by the Ottoman government. According to this agreement, the Ottoman government would pay for the extension of the line to Alaşehir. The company would continue to operate and collect profits from the whole line including the extension for sixteen years. At the termination of this period, the Ottoman government would own the company for the cost of constructing the extension to Alaşehir while the company would enjoy the benefits from the extended line for another sixteen years. (Reported in Slaughter*, Railway intelligence*. However, due to the Franco-Prussian War and the death of Grand Vezier Ali Pasha, this scheme was put on hold.

[82] A.}DVN.MKL.36.1.52, BOA. According to this agreement, the average kilometric price for the railway was determine as 125,000 francs. However, if the contractor completed the line earlier, there would be a bonus of 1,000 francs for each month gained. The government would pay the contractor in

The construction of the extension was entrusted to Samuel Bayliss as a contractor. This meant that Bayliss would need to resign from his duties as the manager of the Cassaba railway to become the contractor of the extension. While Bayliss expected to accomplish the works in 18 months,[83] the contract allowed for two years for the completion of the line. In a separate document, signed solely with Bayliss, technical details of the line were laid out.[84] One major difference in the details about the line to be constructed by Bayliss was the inclusion of specifications for station buildings. Up to this time, neither the concession of the Aydın line nor the specifications of the Kasaba line included many details about the stations. Article 6 of the 1872 concession stipulated that eight stations were to be constructed and the contractor was responsible for submitting a plan describing the materials and provisions to be employed.[85]

The construction of the line between Kasaba and Alaşehir started in March of 1873 with more than 300 workmen. The chief engineer of Aydın province, Margosyan Efendi, was assigned as the chief inspector with the help of Huşufeski Efendi, the former commissariat of the Varna

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installments according to the amount of work completed. The company would then enjoy the benefits of this extended line for 16 years (32 semesters as it is defined in the contract).

83 The Morning Post (London), January 20, 1873.

84 While the line between Izmir to Kasaba was constructed as a whole segment for government-guarantee purposes, the extension to Alaşehir was divided into two: Kasaba to Salihli and Salihli to Alaşehir. Additionally, while the technical details provided in this document are in line with the specifications provided for the initial section, the language differs slightly as Bayliss was now considered to be working for the Ottoman government as a contractor.

85 A.}DVN.MKL.36.1.52, BOA.

railway. The only alteration to the original plan was for the section between Ahmetli and Urganlı. As the initially selected route was prone to flooding, Bayliss appealed to the Ottoman government to shift the railway route slightly. While the new line was approximately 300 meters longer, the benefits from the shift were deemed significant and the Nafia Vekaleti approved the change on June 15, 1873.[86]

In October 1874, London newspapers announced that the line to Alaşehir was complete and would be opened to traffic shortly after a government inspection.[87] However, disagreements between the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company and the government resulted in delays.[88] In the end, it was agreed that the official opening of the line would take place in March 1875. The governor of Aydın, Ahmed Rasim Bey, and other Ottoman officials traveled to Alaşehir for the opening of the line, who participated in the event along with local dignitaries and the residents of the region. Afterwards, these local audiences wrote a letter to the Sublime Porte, expressing their gratitude.[89]

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[86] T.807.128, BOA.

[87] Slaughter, *Railway intelligence*, vol. 18, 252. The Ottoman government, upon Bayliss' request, formed a commission to inspect the line and despite some shortcomings, the line was deemed satisfactory. The next step was the transfer of the line to the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company to commence operations.

[88] These disagreements originated from the transfer of the line to the company and the payment of dues from the government to the company.

[89] To see the full text of the letter, see Kolay, *İzmir-Kasaba ve Uzantısı Demiryolu Hatları*, 75.

With the opening of the line to Alaşehir, the company hoped that their desire to extend the line further inland to the carpet producing regions of Uşak would soon be realized.[90] While this hope did not materialize, they were nonetheless allowed a further extension of the line, but in a northerly direction. In 1888, a new agreement was negotiated by the company's chairman William Clarence Watson who had traveled to Istanbul for this purpose. While Watson took the credit for arbitrating with the Ottoman government, Henry Kemp, the chief engineer and general manager of the company, signed the actual contract. Kemp would also be responsible from the construction of the line.

With this new agreement, the company was given the rights to construct and operate a railway between Manisa and Soma, a distance of 92 kilometers.[91] Similar to the Alaşehir line, the allowed time for the construction of the extension to Soma was determined as two years following the approval of plans and was to be constructed in three sections. First from Manisa to Akhisar, second from Akhisar to Kırkağaç and third from Kırkağaç to Soma.[92] The cost of

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[90] The Morning Post (London), October 26, 1876. As reported in this article of the Morning Post, during the 1876 general meeting of the company in London, the chairman of the company R. P. Harding expressed the advantages of such an extension: "They [the company], however, still wanted the extension Oushac [Uşak]… certainly most desirable at the present moment. If they [the Ottoman government] should recognize the necessity, it was hoped that they would co-operate with the company in making the extension to Oushac [Uşak], and then onto Cornia [Konya], which would be as great an advantage to them as to the company."

[91] A}.DVN.MKL.30.6. 9 Ramazan 1305, BOA. Also see, "The Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), 23 Oct. 1888.

[92] Law, *Report by Major Law on Railways in Asiatic Turkey,* 10-11.

construction was fixed at 125,000 francs per kilometer including the rolling stock.[93] The company was also aware of potential benefits of this new development.[94]

An important clause incorporated into this 1888 addressed the issue of antiquities and works of art that were discovered during the construction of the railways, indicating a rising awareness and interest. While the contract stated that such finds discovered during the works were to be subject to the regulations governing the matter, the company was to be exempted from the formality of applying and obtaining authorization for any searches they might perform. (See Chapter 5 to read more about the connections between archeology and railway building.)

The company decided that for the construction of this segment, they would not employ a contractor. Rather, they decided to undertake the construction themselves. Financing of the line would come from debentures up to £500,000. As it was relevant to anyone subscribing to these debentures, the company also clarified that according to their previous agreements "the Imperial Ottoman Government [had] the right to take the working of the line into its own hands at any time after the 13th March 1891, on giving one year's previous notice to the Company; this right is, however, conditional on the Government having previously paid to the Company in cash

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[93] A}.DVN.MKL.36.1, BOA.

[94] "The Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), 23 Oct. 1888. In this report published in *Financial Times*, additional benefits of the new contract were summarized as such: "the preferential right during the next five years to build and work three other extensions through well-populated and busy districts, a grant of all State lands required for the line without cost, the permission to import free of all duty the materials necessary for the first establishment of the railway, and the right to cut all wood and timber required for the works from the State forests."

and in their entirety all its debts to the Company, which [would] include the amount of the existing Debentures and of the present issue."[95]

In conformity with the company's history, the works of the extension started with great alacrity and by April 1889, the company had already made significant progress. According to a report to the company by Henry Kemp: "the permanent surveying, staking out and levelling was commenced on October 12, 1888. The first sod was turned by H.E. Chakir Pacha, the Mutassarif of Magnesia, on November 23rd, 1888."[96] While the works had started with a great deal of speed, two events reportedly delayed the completion of the works. One was a delay in the shippment of materials from England. The other was an outbreak of dengue fever. According to the company's chairman, the illness was transferred to the region from Egypt and had affected the works of the railway severely: "I believe every member of Mr. Kemp's staff has been laid up by this fever, and the workmen have suffered severely. At one period the ordinary working of the railway was carried on with difficulty owing to so many of the heads of departments being ill with it."[97] Despite these challenges, the line opened to traffic in April of 1890 after an Ottoman commission declared it satisfactory.

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[95] "Smyrna and Cassaba Railway Company, Limited," Financial Times (London), November 8, 1888.

[96] Financial Times (London), April 26, 1889.

[97] Financial Times (London), Nov 1, 1889. If the disease was accurately identified as dengue fever and indeed transferred from Egypt, it is perhaps another example that the quicker pace of movement between places not only enabled the experts and materials but also diseases to be brought to western Anatolian railways.

Around this time, shareholders of the company started to feel anxious that the Ottoman government would exercise their right to assume ownership of the company.[98] The chairman addressed the issue stating that: "a years notice had to be given, but no notice had been received, and he thought if notice were received the company would be paid very well for its property indeed."[99]

Unfortunately for the company, the following year brought on a draught and "the branch line from Magnesia to Soma…found nothing to carry."[100] Lack of business, both due to the failure of the harvest and due to associated reduction in passanger traffic, brought the anxieties of the company to the forefront. The next year, on the other hand, the company experienced an exponantial growth in their receipts, proving the profitability of the line when the environmental factors coopareted. The company reported that "owing to the good harvest in the district traversed the traffic receipts have almost doubled, the gross total being 103,320, against only 53,285 for the corresponding period of last year. This is a pretty hard record to beat even for an American railway."[101] However, these ups and downs in company's prospects also underscored the mercurial nature of operating this railway.

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[98] The Ottoman government would become eligible to take over the ownership of the line in March of 1891.

[99] Financial Times (London), April 29, 1890.

[100] Financial Times (London), April 28, 1891.

[101] "The past half-year has been a very successful one for the Smyma and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), 12 Jan. 1892. The comparison to American railways is again a reflection of the

The apparent profitability of the line as well its availability for purchase by the Ottoman government after the expiration of the company's agreement in March 1891 meant that prospective investors in Ottoman railways started to show interest in the Smyrna Cassaba Railway. Financial Times reported in October of 1892 that a group of French investors associated with Georges Nagelmackers, the founder of Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits, was initiating a conversation to purchase the Smyrna Cassaba Railway. Nagelmackers had received a concession from the Ottoman government to construct a line between Bandırma and Konya, "but the route did not adopt itself to connection with the Cassaba and Smyrna system."[102] As a way to solve this dilemma, Nagelmackers and his associates, including Banque de Paris and the Comptoir National d'Escompte, had approached the SCR with an offer of 39 million francs, subject to government approval. Upon such approval, Nagelmackers would provide the funds to complete the system connecting it to Bandırma and to Afyon-Karahisar.[103]

The company's reasons for considering this offer might be found in the report of their ordinary half-yearly meeting where the chairman of the company reported that "the result of

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globalized nature of railway enterprises in the 19th century. Not only engineers and ideas traveled from one remote part of the world to another to lay tracks but also information about their profitability. Railway investor learned of the news about railways in far-flung corners of the earth as fast as the communications networks of the time allowed.

[102] "M. Nagelmackers and the Group of French Capitalists Associated with Him Have Been Nibbling for a Long Time around the Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), 25 Oct. 1892.

[103] "M. Nagelmackers and the Group of French Capitalists Associated with Him Have Been Nibbling for a Long Time around the Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), 25 Oct. 1892.

the half-year's working was unsatisfactory, and the Board had no desire to put an unduly favourable construction on the facts." [104] In regard to the potential sale of the line, he added that "whenever offers were made to the directors in a definite shape, and if they considered them to be satisfactory, and when the Ottoman government had given its assent, then the shareholders would be called together and the proposals submitted to them."[105]

Despite the initial lack of an agreement between the companies, on February 10/22, 1893, the Ottoman government entered into an agreement with George Nagelmackers, giving him and his associates the right of exploitation of the Izmir-Kasaba-Alaşehir, Izmir-Manisa-Soma and Izmir-Bornova lines, a total of 266 kilometers. Nagelmackers, with this agreement, also agreed to construct a line connecting Alaşehir to Afyon-Karahisar, a further distance of 247 kilometers. While these were favorable terms, they all depended on Nagelmackers delivering the shares of the Smyrna Cassaba Railway Company to the Ottoman government within six months of the agreement.[106] When this obligation was met, Nagelmackers would be given the right to exploit the entire line for a duration of 99 years.[107]

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[104] "Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London),1 Nov. 1892.

[105] ibid.

[106] A}.DVN.MKL.36.1, BOA.

[107] Afterwards, the line was to pass to the Ottoman government free of any encumbrances. From the transfer of the line from the British company, Nagelmakers had six months to complete the plans for the extension and a year to undertake the actual construction of the first 100 kiliometers on the line once these plans were approved. While the whole construction to Afyon had to be completed within six years, it was understood that the last stretch to Afyon would only be delivered after the Eskişehir-

However, the SCR claimed that the Ottoman government owed them 2,134,223, for which they were holding the railway as security against their claims. When the Ottoman government disputed this number, however, the company acknowledged the potential difficulty in forcing the Ottoman government to pay the sum. The fact that the Ottoman government had already entered into an agreement with Nagelmackers further complicated the situation. After four months of negotiations between Nagelmackers and the company, a proposal was put forth to the shareholders.[108]

Afyon line (constructed by the German-backed Société du Chemin de fer Ottoman d'Anatolie) was in operation.

[108] "Smyrna & Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), June 22, 1893 and "The Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Standard (London), June 22, 1893. According to these newspaper accounts, According to this proposal "a new company be formed to undertake the concession as a whole, paying the old company an annuity of 88,400 for 99 years, which shall be a first charge on the annuity of 92,400 granted by the Government for the same period; that the existing debenture debt of the old company shall further be guaranteed on the existing line, rolling stock and equipment…; and that the old company shall, in return for these advantages, give to the Imperial Ottoman Government the required discharge." However, quickly a committee was formed and voiced several objections to this scheme. Most importantly, the committee felt that the new company that was to be formed and domiciled in Istanbul could lead to great hazards to current shareholders. The committee stated that "The Bondholders and Shareholders of the Railway now hold Securities of an English Company which is under the protection of the British Government in the event of any complications arising abroad, and under the protection of the English Courts of Law for the due enforcement of the just rights inter se of the members of the Company. The Committee view with great misgiving a proposal that the Bondholders and Shareholders should had over the Railway to a Turkish Company controlled by foreign interests, and practically substitute Securities of a Turkish Company for those which they now hold and which are under their control."

The company held an extraordinary meeting on June 30, 1893 to evaluate the proposal by Nagelmackers. During this meeting, the company's chairman, Ottiwell Charles Waterfield, provided a synopsis of their line. According to Waterfield, their lines were confined to the watershed of one river valley, that of Gediz. The products they carried were solely agricultural, and as such their business depended entirely on the climatic conditions that affected agricultural production, putting the company at a precarious position. If the company could extend their lines further to Balıkesir or to Afyon-Karahisar, this would lead to a more varied landscape and thus more varied products, freeing the company of the environmental conditions of one single river valley. However, the necessary capital for such an undertaking was not feasible at that point in time. Moreover, their competition had gained further advantages. Their main competitor, the Aydın line, had recently extended their line north to Çivril, "with the result that it tapped this company's line and gravely minimized their future. That line was nearer the rich plateau of the East than this company were, and cattle trains coming from that country, laden with grain, &c., were inevitably attracted to the nearer station."[109] While Waterfield addressed the criticisms that had arisen regarding this proposal, the scheme was rejected by a majority of the shareholders.[110]

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[109] "Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), 1 July 1893.

[110] ibid. Mainly, he pointed out that "the prospect to substitute an Ottoman for an English company might at first sight be startling, but he very strongly suspected that it would be a still greater surprise to some of those present to learn that not only were the German Company (referring to the backed German-backed Société du Chemin de fer Ottoman d'Anatolie, which was constructing the line between

According to a new scheme, the new 'syndicate' offered the Smyrna Cassaba Railway Company, £1,410,000 for the line and offered to allow the shareholders to participate in the new company. While the resolution did not initially pass initially, it was eventually accepted.[111] Through a further change in the arrangements, the company accepted £26,000 more in lieu of the rights to participate in the new company.[112] In a meeting held in October 1895, Waterfield informed the shareholders that he had received a total of £1,447,654 for the railway including the £1,436,000 for the sale and some outstanding items.[113]

The newly formed company, known as the Société Ottomane du Chemin de fer de Smyrne-Cassaba et Prolongements (SCRP), took over the operations of the railway with the promise to commence expanding eastwards toward Afyon-Karahisar, and with a kilometric guarantee from the Ottoman government in the amount of 18,700 francs.[114] The first section of the railway, to Uşak was opened in the fall of 1897. By reaching Uşak, the railway finally arrived

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Balikesir-Afyon-Konya) and the Aidin Company, to which he had referred, Ottoman companies, but that all new railways, without exception, were also...Ottoman companies."

[111] "Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Sunday Times (London), 15 Apr. 1894.

[112] "It is Somewhat Difficult to Judge of the Merits of the Modification of the Original Scheme for Sale of Their Property Which is Now Being Submitted to the Share Holders of the Smyrna and Cassaba Railway Company," Financial Times (London), 18 June 1894, 2. The company accepted this additional money, as this would benefit all shareholders and not only the ones who were prepared to speculate in the newly formed company.

[113] "Smyrna and Cassaba Railway," Financial Times (London), 18 Oct. 1895.

[114] Le Yıldız / L'étoile Orientale (Paris), 21 March 1893.

at the carpet producing region, whose carpets were famous abroad as 'Smyrna (or Turkey) carpets'.[115] This would also significantly affect the receipts of the Aydın railway[116]

Line would open to Afyon-Karahisar later in 1897.[117] While the company approached the Ottoman government, with a document dated January 21, 1898 for a connection between their line and the Anatolian Railway Company (later the Bagdad Railway), a connection would not be materialized immediately.[118] The lack of a connection between these two important lines would lead to an interesting situation where this provincial Anatolian town would end up with two railway stations where passengers and merchandise had to be transported either on foot or with animals. According to Ellsworth Huntington:

> For years the Baghdad Railway has had no connection with the French line to Smyrna. The two stations at Afion Kara Hissar [sic] were a mile and a half apart, and the government would not allow them to be connected ostensibly because the building of the extra two kilometers of line would add a trifle to the kilometric guarantee paid by the state. Five years ago the railroads undertook to build the connecting link without permission. They built it and the line was promptly torn up by the government. So for five years more all traffic from the interior of the plateau to Smyrna was subjected to the great delay and expense of transfer by wagons at Kara Hissar. Under the new regime, the line has once more been built, and since the spring of 1909 has been in operation. The real cause of the former opposition of the government was probably the desire to

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[115] Société de géoqraphie de Lille, Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Lille, vol. 29-30 (Lille), 170.

[116] OCR had gained easier access to the Uşak market with their branch line to Çivril, but had now lost that advantage.

[117] Édouard Marbeau and Georges Demanche, eds., *Revue francaise de l'etranger et des colonies et Exploration*, vol. 23 (Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1898), 123.

[118] Y.PRK.TNF.5.73, BOA.

> concentrate all trade at Constantinople. Smyrna is the natural outlet for the greater part of Asia Minor, and there can be no doubt that the new arrangement will increase its trade at the expense of Constantinople.[119]

Once connected, through these two lines, it was possible to travel via railway, albeit circuitously, between Istanbul and Izmir. As Huntington points out above, the connection between the Anatolian Railway Company and SCRP were not favored during the reign of Abdulhamid II to the point that the government pulled up already laid tracks connecting the two lines. Following the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 and with the regime change that came with it, however, the connection was able to find support in Istanbul.

On behalf of the SCRP, Sallandrouze de Lamornaix signed an additional agreement with the Ottoman government on 17/30 July 1910. This agreement gave the company further rights to extend the railway from Soma to Bandırma, which would bring the railway to a close proximity of Istanbul across the Marmara Sea and upon its completion, form the most efficient route between Izmir and Istanbul.[120] The construction of a port facility in Bandırma would expedite this process. Like the Aydın line, the Turkish Republic would purchase this railway in 1934.

1.4 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP ON THE WESTERN ANATOLIAN RAILWAYS

Despite the transformative impact of the western Anatolian railways, both on western Anatolia and on the Ottoman Empire in general, their importance has been overshadowed in

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[119] Ellsworth Huntington, "Railroads in Asia Minor," Bulletin of the American Geographical Society 41, no. 11 (November 1909), 692.

[120] A.DVN.MKL.47.12, BOA.

scholarship by later railways projects, namely the Berlin-Baghdad and Hijaz Railways.[121] The western Anatolian railways are often mentioned very briefly in general publications dealing with Ottoman railways. And while a few works have explored the line from Izmir to Aydın, only one solely focuses on the Kasaba route. Furthermore, the comprehensive academic studies of the Aydın line are several decades old, while more recent studies, including a few articles and master's theses, deal only with limited aspects of the railway. A growing interest in exploring the histories of infrastructural projects in the Ottoman Empire, will no doubt eventually result in additional studies of the western Anatolian railways.

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[121] For example, for the Baghdad railway, see Peter Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman railways: art, empire, and infrastructure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Edward Earle, *Turkey, the great powers, and the Bagdad Railway: a study in imperialism* (New York: Macmillan, 1923) Sean McMeekin, *The Berlin-Baghdad express: the Ottoman Empire and Germanys bid for world power* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012); Jonathan S. McMurray, *Distant Ties: Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and the construction of the Baghdad Railway, 1903-1918* (Praeger, 2001); Murat Özyüksel, *The Berlin-Baghdad Railway and the Ottoman Empire: industrialization, Imperial Germany and the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).

For the Hejaz railway, see M. Metin. Hülagü, *Bir Umudun Inşası Hicaz Demiryolu* (İstanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2008); Recep Kürekli, "Hicaz Demiryolu'nun Akdeniz'e Açılişı ile Yaşayan Sosyo-Ekonomik Dönüşüm: Hayfa Kazası Örneği," *International Journal of History Studies*, no. Middle East Special Issue (2010); Jacob M. Landau and Muḥammad 'Ārif Ibn Ahmad Munayyir, *The Hejaz railway and the Muslim pilgrimage: a case of Ottoman political propaganda* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971); James Nicholson, *The Hejaz Railway*, (London: Stacey International, 2005); William Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1980); William L. Ochsenwald, "The Financing of the Hijaz Railroad," *Die Welt des Islams* 14, no. 1/4 (1973); Murat Özyüksel, *The Hejaz railway and the Ottoman empire: modernity, industrialisation and Ottoman decline* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014).

The Ottoman Railway Company, responsible for building the line from Izmir to Aydın, was the very first railway enterprise in Ottoman Anatolia. Its economic and political importance was one subject of Orhan Kurmuş's dissertation at the University of London, entitled *The Role of British capital in the economic development of Western Anatolia 1850-1913.*[122] In 1974, Kurmuş published this research as a book in Turkish with the title of *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye girişi* (Imperialism's Entry to Turkey).[123] Kurmuş's dissertation and book provide one of the most comprehensive studies of the Izmir-Aydın railway. His thoroughly researched history, depending almost exclusively on British sources, has opened several avenues for further exploration.

Francisco Javier Valenzuela's 1975 master's thesis from University of Texas examined the early difficulties encountered in the construction of the Izmir-Aydın railway. This aspect of the railway will be reinvestigated in this dissertation in the chapter *Managing an Improbability.* Contrary to Valenzuela, who proposed that the main challenge facing the Ottoman Railway Company was undercapitalization, this dissertation finds that technical and labor issues were much more important.[124]

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[122] Orhan Kurmuş, "The Role of British Capital in The Economic Development Of Western Anatolia 1850-1913" Ph.D. Diss., University of London, 1974.

[123] Orhan Kurmuş, *Emperyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi,* Istanbul: Bilim Yayınları, 1974.

[124] Francisco Javier Valenzuela, "The Construction of The Smyrna-Aidin Railway In Southwestern Anatolia, 1856-1866," Thesis, University of Texas, 1975.

Ali Ayıldız's dissertation from Marmara University in Istanbul, *Izmir-Aydın Demiryolu* (Izmir-Aydın Railroad), also focuses on the socio-economic implications of this railway.[125] While covering the same topic as Kurmuş' book, Akyıldız's addition of documents originating from the Ottoman bureaucracy and his knowledge of Ottoman history makes his work especially valuable and adds an Ottoman perspective to the historiography. Akyıldız later incorporates his dissertation work to his book *Anka'nın Sonbaharı*, published in 2005.[126]

Ali Satan's *Osmanlı'nın Demiryolu Çağına Girişi* (Ottoman's Entry to the Railroad Age) provides a very brief look at the general outlines of the Izmir-Aydın railway.[127] Fahrettin Emrah Köşgeroğlu's master's thesis from 2005, *An Approach for Conservation of Railway Heritage: Assessing and Experiencing Izmir*, examines the Izmir-Aydın railway for its potential for historic preservation.[128]

Scholarship dealing with the general development of railways in the Ottoman Empire usually touch upon the lines in western Anatolia. Examples of such books and theses include

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[125] Ali Akyıldız, "İzmir-Aydın Demiryolu," Thesis, Marmara University, 1987.

[126] Ali Akyıldız, *Anka'nın sonbaharı: Osmanlıda iktisadî modernleşme ve uluslararası sermaye*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005.

[127] Ali Satan, "Osmanlı'nın Demiryolu Çağına Girişi", in *Osmanlıda Ulaşım* repr., Istanbu: Çamlıca Yayınevi, 2012.

[128] Fahrettin Emrah Köşgeroğlu, "An Approach for Conservation of Railway Heritage: Assessing and Experiencing Izmir," Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2005.

Yaqub Karkar's *Railway Development in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1914*;[129] Philip Ernest Schoenberg's *The Evolution of Transport in Turkey (Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor) under Ottoman Rule, 1856-1918*;[130] Necla Geyikdağı's *Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire: International Trade and Relations in the Late Nineteenth Century;*[131] Sena Bayraktaroğlu's 1995 master's thesis, *Development of Railways in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*;[132] Peter Mentzel's *Transportation Technology and Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, 1800–1923*;[133] and Sedef Akgüngör, et. al.'s 2011 article, *The Effect of Railway Expansion on Population in Turkey, 1856–2000*.[134]

Each of these books and theses approach the railway enterprises in western Anatolia from political and economic perspectives. A spatial approach to the railways in the Ottoman Empire has been mostly lacking, with only a few short studies examining the western Anatolian

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[129] Yaqub Nasif Karkar, *Railway Development in The Ottoman Empire, 1856-1914*, 1985.

[130] Philip Ernest Schoenberg, "The Evolution of Transport In Turkey (Eastern Thrace And Asia Minor) Under Ottoman Rule, 1856–1918," *Middle Eastern Studies* 13, no. 3 (1977): 359-372.

[131] V. Necla Geyikdağı, *Foreign Investment In The Ottoman Empire*, London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011.

[132] Sena Bayraktaroğlu, "Development of Railways in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey," Master's Thesis, 1995.

[133] Peter Mentzel, *Transportation Technology And Imperialism In The Ottoman Empire, 1800-1923*, Washington D.C., 2006.

[134] Sedef Akgüngör et al., "The Effect Of Railway Expansion On Population In Turkey, 1856–2000", *Journal Of Interdisciplinary History* 42, no. 1 (2011): 135-157, doi:10.1162/jinh_a_00208.

railways from this perspective. Vildan Okyay's 1981 article, *Batı Anadolu Bölgesinde Ulaşım Sistemindeki Değişikiğin Merkezler Kademelenmesi Üzerindeki Etkieri (1844-1914),*[136] examines the effects of railways on urban development from the perspective of urban rankings. Mehmet Akif Ceylan's *Manisa-Uşak Demiryolu Ulaşımının Yerleşme Üzerine Etkileri* (Effects of the Manisa-Uşak Railway Transportation on Settlement),[137] similarly looks at the expansions of towns and cities according to railway connections. Yakub Bektaş's short book chapter, *The Imperial Ottoman Izmir to Aydın Railway: The British Experimental Line in Asia Minor*,[138] provides a science and technology studies perspective and adds a welcome discussion on the origins of British involvement in Ottoman railway building.

While the Ottoman Railway Company from Izmir to Aydın has garnered some scholarly attention as demonstrated by the sample of citations provided above, studies on the Kasaba railway are even fewer. Perhaps the most important work on this route is Arif Kolay's 2011 dissertation from Marmara University that chronicles the history of the railway based on sources from the Ottoman Archives.[139] Sadiye Tutsak's *Batı Anadolu'nun Ulaşım Meselesinde Uşak-Izmir*

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[136] Vildan Okyay, "Batı Anadolu Bölgesinde Ulaşım Sistemindeki Değişikiğin Merkezler Kademelenmesi Üzerindeki Etkieri (1844-1914)", *ODTU Gelişme Dergisi* 8 (1981): 649-682.

[137] Mehmet Akif Ceylan, "Manisa-Uşak Demiryolu Ulaşımının Yerleşme Üzerine Etkileri", *Eastern Geographical Review* 23.

[138] Yakup Bektaş, "The Imperial Ottoman Izmir-to-Aydın Railway: The British Experimental Line in Asia Minor," *Science, Technology and Industry in the Ottoman World*, 2000.

[139] Arif Kolay, *İzmir-Kasaba ve Uzantısı Demiryolu Hatları*, Diss., Marmara Universitesi, 2011.

Yolu Yapım Çalışmaları is another important source; however, the main topic of this article is the road to Uşak, so the railway only occupies a small portion of the study.[140] The limited nature of the works on the Kasaba railway is likely a result of the abovementioned dependence on British sources. While the Aydın railway was considered significant, and often mentioned and discussed in British diplomatic and consular correspondences, the Kasaba railway was generally ignored by British diplomats. British newspapers covered the Kasaba railway in a limited manner, especially during the turbulent years leading to its transfer to the French syndicate in 1894. Ottoman sources, on the other hand, provides a great deal of knowledge regarding this second line and its company, yet the story is fragmentary and more challenging to patch together than the more easily accessible narrative of the Aydın line, perhaps explaining the limited scholarly production on the topic.[141]

Originating from an architectural history lineage, Peter Christensen's recent book, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure*, provides a spatial exploration of German-built railways in the Ottoman Empire. Production of the western Anatolian railways preceded these major German constructions by several decades. The intervening period witnessed important political and economic shifts within the Ottoman

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[140] Sadiye Tutsak, "Batı Anadolu'Nun Ulaşım Meselesinde Uşak-İzmir Yolu Yapım Çalışmaları", *Tarih Incelemeleri Dergisi* no. 1 (2014): 301-326.

[141] Sources regarding the Kasaba line are mainly contained within the T dossiers, where the documents relating to the railway development in the Ottoman Empire are gathered but only catalogued according to dates.

Empire. As such, the production of these two separate railway networks was the culmination of two different but associated and sequent milieus. Additionally, this work and Christensen's also offer different methodological approaches to railway projects within the Ottoman Empire, though both engage with space. While Christensen presents a fascinating and multi-faceted reading of German-constructed railways that focuses, in his own words, on 'geopolitics, multiculturalism and expertise', this work, on the other hand, places the experiences of space at the center.

1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THIS DISSERTATION

One of the main goals of this work has been to bring an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the built environment by foregrounding the varied experiences of space. As such, the chapters of this dissertation, aside from the introduction and conclusion, revolve around a variety of thematic issues that emerge as relevant to the spatial history of railways in western Anatolia.

Managing an Improbability is the first thematic chapter of this dissertation and provides a detailed look at the construction activities of the Ottoman Railway Company during its early years. Grounded in science and technology studies, this chapter examines the mishaps of the Ottoman Railway Company, from allegations of land speculation and financial mismanagement, to engineering ineptness during the construction of the line from Izmir to Aydın. The history of the less eventful Izmir-Kasaba line provides a comparative case study. This chapter's analysis enables us to examine the challenges faced by both railway companies during the early years of

construction. The responses to these challenges crystallize the agency of the Ottoman state in the production of railway spaces in Anatolia.

Networks of Railway Space situates the construction of the western Anatolian railways between local and global networks. While the global circulation of capital, expertise and materials was essential for the construction of the railways, local resources, personnel and know-how were similarly vital. In the second part of the chapter, John Norton Hewitt's experience as a railway supervisor working at the Ephesus Pass provides a case study of the dialectic between the local and the global. At the same time, Hewitt's diaries and letters help elucidate the everyday experiences at a railway construction site in the Ottoman Empire from an outsider's point of view.

Cultures of Movement explores how railways altered the practices of movement through western Anatolia. In three main sections, this chapter explores the movement of goods and the movement of people through the region before and after the railways. While highlighting the shifts engendered by the railway, this section also underscores the varying effect of the railways on different groups. For example, following an initial phase of dissent, a competitive but symbiotic relationship was developed between the camel caravans and the railway companies. The emergent group of tourists, whose experiences were mediated through guidebooks, on the other hand, came to depend on the railways. They moved by the train where one interacted with the landscapes of western Anatolia through the panoramas offered via the train window. By utilizing the statistics filed with the Sublime Porte regarding passenger traffic, this chapter also

attempts to understand the mobility provided by the railway to the masses who left no written records.

The richness of the inland river valleys of western Anatolia, now accessible by railway, stemmed not only from their mineral and agricultural products, but also from their ancient histories recorded by Herodotus, Strabo, and the New Testament. The large-scale railway projects - modern in any sense of the word - embodied an unprecedented and jarring juxtaposition with the ancient landscapes of Anatolia. Moreover, the writings of outsiders who visited the region often reflect a general dissonance between imagined expectations of the Ottoman Empire and the realities observed on the ground. Colored through orientalist stereotypes, the touristic experiences often failed to mediate the juxtaposition of the signifiers of modernity, the ancient sites, and the contemporary inhabitants of the landscape, who fit into neither an ancient nor a modern category within the touristic gaze. *Mixing Time: Ancient-Modern Intersections,* therefore, explores the Ottoman railway's impact on perceptions of the ancient and contemporary landscape of western Turkey, including the role of railways in the archaeological explorations of sites such as Ephesus and Sardis.

Sensory Geographies seeks to examine the sensory perceptions of railways that constitute an important element in unraveling a burgeoning space-based dialectic between technology and people within this Ottoman context. This chapter utilizes evidence available in official documents, such as company reports and furniture inventories, to understand the materiality of sensory elements. A primary focus includes the sounds and lights of railway operations, both incidental and intentional.

Making Place: Celebrations aims to understand how ceremonies were deployed by company and government officials to establish a place for the railways within the Western Anatolian landscapes. This chapter examines events ranging from the turning of the first clod of earth to the visit of Sultan Abdulaziz. Certain commonalities among the events, such as an intentional use of the historical landscape of the region, multisensorial elements, and a hybridity in languages and customs, emerge as themes in understanding the role of these events as place-making mechanisms.

1.6 NOTE ON ARCHIVES

This dissertation makes use of materials from several archives. However, most of the materials originated from the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives) in Istanbul and the British National Archives in London. The Ottoman Archives provided me with a great variety of documents dealing with the political and economic aspects of the railways, including concession documents, communications between the company and various Ottoman ministries, and periodic company reports. Other materials found in the Ottoman archives shed light on the human effects of the railways, such as by recording public complaints. I have especially benefited from my examination of the 'T Dossiers'. These boxes of uncatalogued documents relating to the railways in the Ottoman Empire yielded a plethora of interesting items such as advertisements, imperial firmans, and even lists of railway necessities imported from Britain, including doorknobs and bells for station buildings.

The Consular Reports and Communications of British diplomats stationed in Izmir and Istanbul are located in the British National Archives, and have been essential in the initial

formulation of this dissertation. While each consul's interest in the railway enterprises of the region differed greatly,[142] these reports and communications provide first person observations of these undertakings. British diplomats approached these railways as 'British' projects that reflected on their and their country's reputations. Despite the fact that they were, at times, intensely critical of the actions taken by the railway companies internally, outwardly they protected the interests of the companies to the best of their abilities.

Ottoman period newspapers, found at such archives as SALT Research, the Atatürk Kitaplığı, and the Ahmet Priştina Kent Arşivi, provide a human perspective on the railways. I have frequented these archives, both online and in person, to access Ottoman periodicals such as the *Journal de Constantinople, the Levant Herald, Le Turquie*, and *Hizmet*. The British Library is the sole repository of the *Smyrna Mail*, which was published in Izmir between 1862-1864, the most important years of railway construction.

Vital sources were also found in unexpected archives, such as the diary of John Norton Hewitt, a supervisor of the Aydın railway. This source is in the Lincolnshire Archives in the UK, whereas an 1875 photography album of the Kasaba-Alaşehir railway by Samuel Bayliss can be found at the Getty in Los Angeles. The British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Princeton Architectural Archives were all especially instrumental in the exploration of the interstices between the western Anatolian railways and the archaeology of the region.

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[142] For example, while Consul Charles Blunt penned extensive narratives relating to railway construction, Consul Robert William Cumberbatch only informed Istanbul and London that the railways had reached their final destinations in Aydın and Kasaba after the fact with a brief note lacking in any detail.

1.7 NOTE ON SOURCES

This dissertation makes extensive use of a wide-variety of documents, from contracts between governments to excavation records. Each type of document comes with its own challenges. For example, the concessions granted to the railway companies can be lengthy tomes of minutia and locating salient information has often proven difficult. Other contracts between the Ottoman state and the railways companies include amendments, extensions and other related alterations that tend to be difficult to follow. This provides a challenge when attempting to form a comprehensive picture from such agreements, especially when the results of the agreements did not materialize and these might be altered several times during negotiations.

In both the Ottoman and British governmental records, it is also not always possible to follow an issue to its conclusion. This inability to locate follow-up documents may relate to archival issues or to the absence of such documents in the first place. In either case, these lacunas in the archival record open the possibility of multiple interpretations.

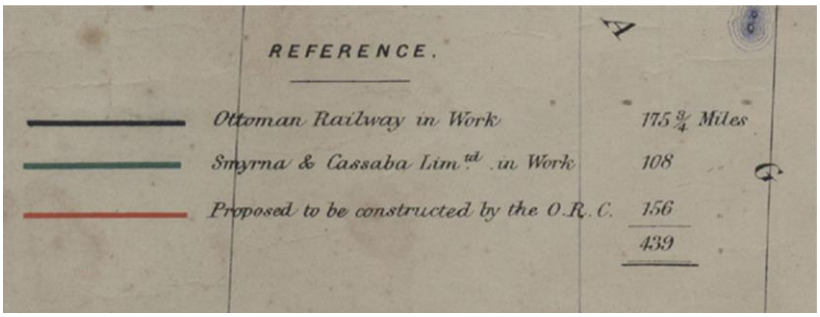
The newspapers of the time provide day-to-day information on the railways and as such are important resources for understanding the railways' effects on daily lives. However, newspaper accounts tend to be biased and subjective historical sources. Moreover, the opinions reflected in their pages only represent certain segments of the population, typically including people who are well-educated and conversant in foreign languages. Despite these shortcomings, however, newspapers are a valuable resource in understanding the quotidian effects of the railways. Wherever possible, newspaper accounts have been used in juxtaposition with either

other newspaper accounts offering alternate perspectives or with other documents validating or negating the newspaper accounts to temper their subjectivity.

Travel accounts, similarly, offer a subjective reality. Specific travel accounts employed within this work, especially those of European and American travelers to the Ottoman Empire, were typically colored by orientalist attitudes. Filtering through these stereotypes to reach a true understanding of the impact of railways have not always been simple. However, in this case, juxtaposing the stereotypes of the Ottomans with the observations of the railways has also provided an alternative angle of exploration.

Figure 1.1 *Map of western Anatolia with its rail network.*

Source: *HRT.1744, BOA.*



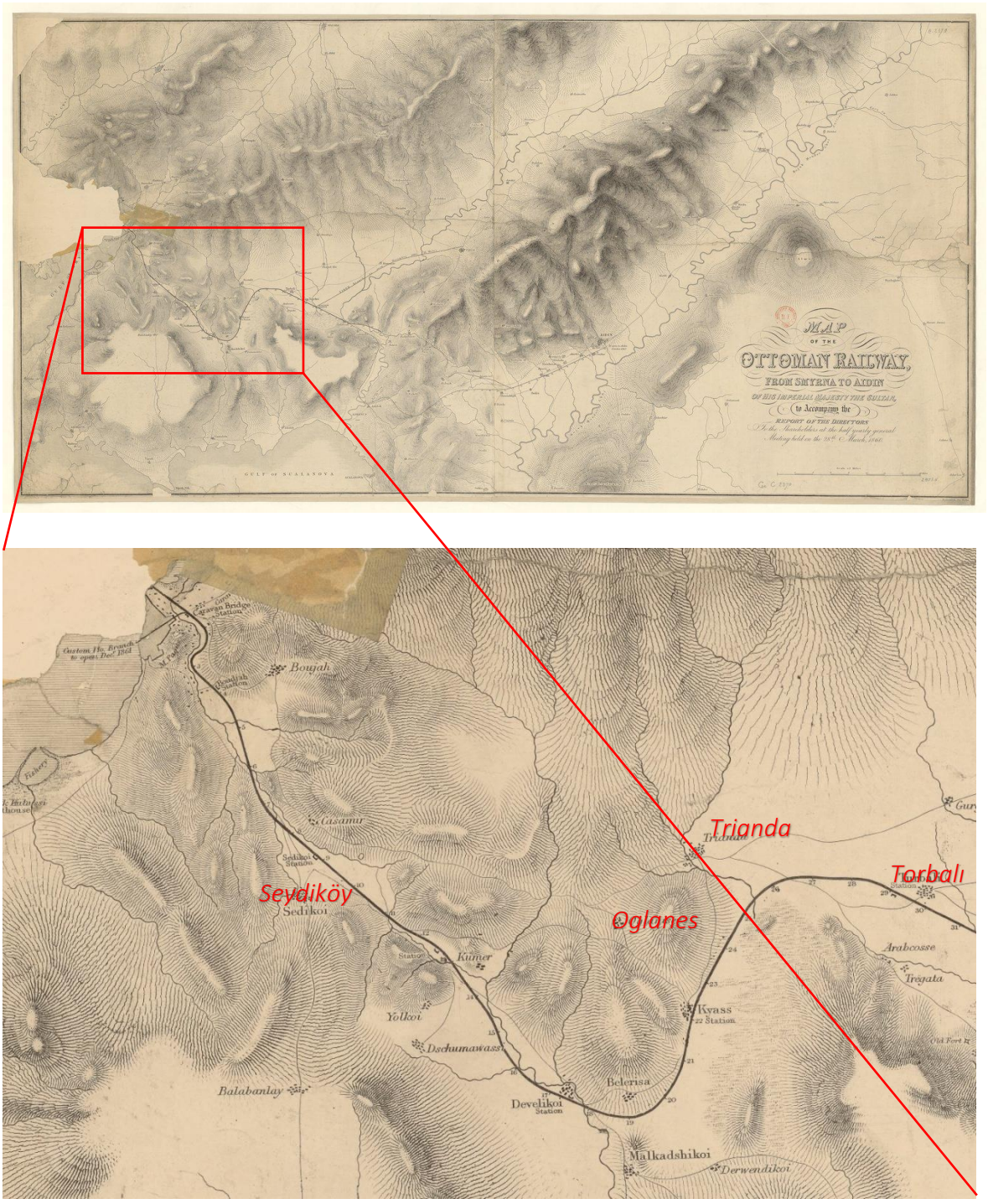


Figure 1.2 *Map of the Ottoman railway from Smyrna to Aidin to accompany the report of the directors to the shareholders at the half yearly general meeting held on the 28th March 1860.*

Source *GE C-2370, Département Cartes et Plans, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth

Figure 1.3 *"Map of S.W. Portion of Asia Minor: shewing the railways already constructed and these proposed to be constructed by the Ottoman railway Cº (Smyrna-Aidin) by James Wyld."*

Source *AT1200000TR001 / BO9992764, Bibliothèque Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth.*

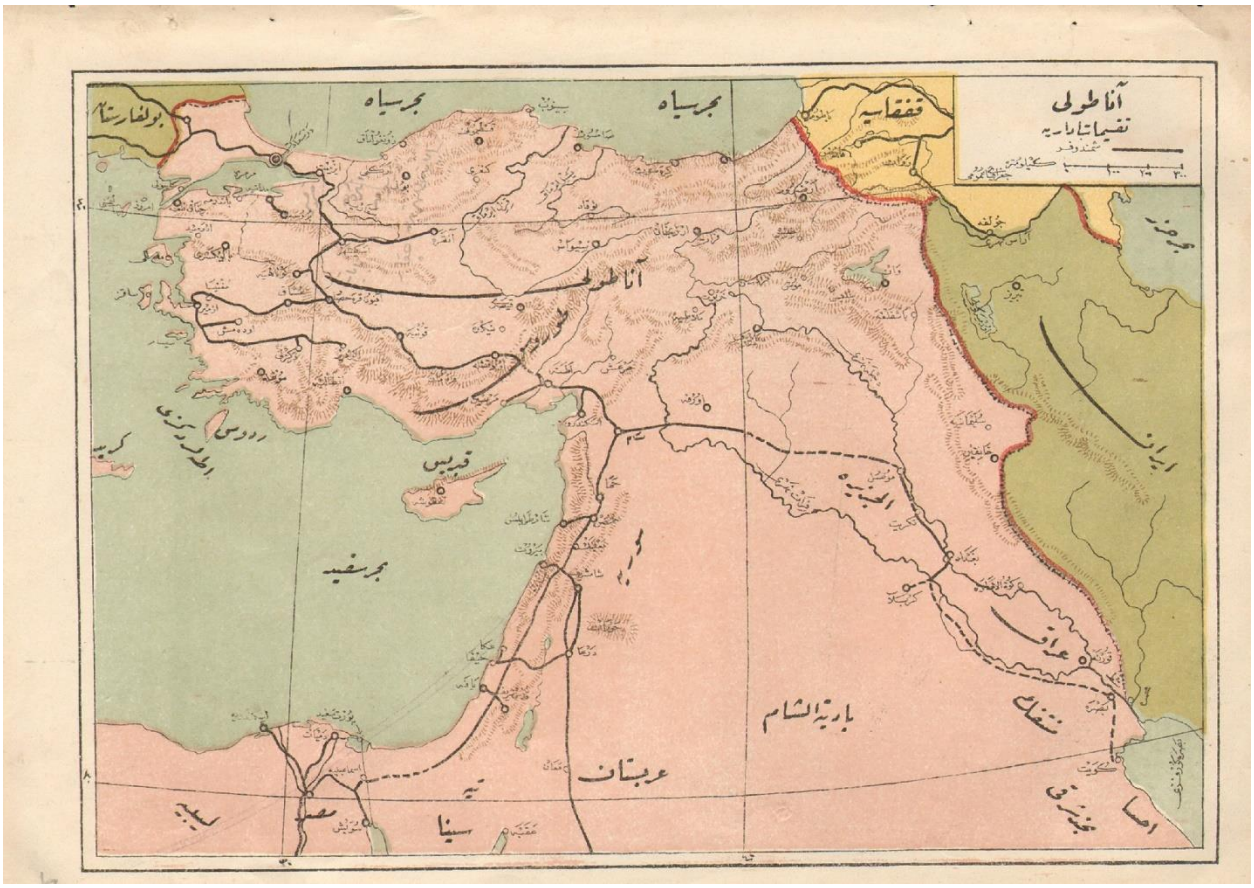


Figure 1.4 *Map showing the Ottoman rail network on the eve of World War I.*

Source *Htr_Gec_00063. Atatürk Kitaplığı. (Via the Afternoon Map: http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2013/02/trains-and-telegrams.html)*

Figure 1.5 *Bridge over Gediz. Note the camels, cattle and other pack animals in the river.*

Source *Trains of Turkey.*

2 MANAGING AN IMPROBABILITY

In the middle of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was in the throes of a modernization movement that encompassed sectors ranging from administration to education to public works. While the Ottoman state was highly motivated to implement such modernization projects, it had neither the expertise nor the capital. Therefore, turning to foreign expertise and to foreign capital through concessions became a common practice. Railways, as large-scale infrastructural works, required enormous sums of capital and high levels of expertise. A combination of good political relationships with the British Empire and an understood high level of British experience with railway construction caused the Ottoman government to turn to the British for the construction of the Empire's earliest railways.

As it has been already presented in greater detail, Ottoman government gave the very first railroad concession to a group of British entrepreneurs, who planned to connect the port city of Izmir to the provincial market town of Aydın, thereby linking the fertile Western Anatolian interior with this important port. The early years of construction of this very first railway in Ottoman Anatolia by the Ottoman Railway Company, however, would witness the failure of both British expertise and British capital, leading even to a diminishment of the British reputation. The Ottoman and British publics alike would be drawn into allegations of mismanagement, land speculation and overall corruption, all topics occupying pages of contemporary newspapers.

The reactions of the Ottoman government to the challenges experienced by the Ottoman Railway Company illuminate the agency of the Ottoman state in the creation of a railway system in Anatolia and tempers the discourse on British technological supremacy. The railway

enterprises of the mid-19th century Ottoman Empire had multilateral channels of agency and power. Thus, we should examine these infrastructure works through a 'symmetrical treatment'.[159] While it is undeniable that colonial ambitions were at play in the creation of these railways, the Ottoman Empire, as a sovereign state, wielded an enormous amount of power in the formulation of the railway projects in its lands.

There were especially two categories of problems the company faced. This chapter first looks at issues with the taking of the land for railway construction, which resulted in wide-spread commentary from the public. Then, the chapter shifts its focus to the technological and financial mishaps experienced by the company, which put the Ottoman state in direct conflict with the OCR. Both the problems of land expropriation as well as the engineering and financial challenges crystalize the important role played by the Ottoman state.

2.1 LAND ACQUISITION AND SPECULATION

2.1.1 LAND SPECULATION

One of the first aspects of the railroad to enter the contemporary public discourse was the locating of the path and the nodes of the railway. Certain properties in close proximity to the railways foreseeably saw an increase in monetary value. Yet, being near the railway could also mean the loss of livelihood if land was taken from a family or family group, particularly if that

[159] See, for example, Daniel Headrick, *Tools of Empire*. In this work Headrick examines technologies that led to eventual colonization of parts of Asia and Africa. His attention to the failures as well as eventual successes illuminates the processes of technological development and the agencies that were deployed for such developments.

land had been the sole source of income. Moreover, the determination of the railway trace was a relatively subjective affair. While the topography of the area and other environmental and economic considerations played a role, the exact path of the railway was open to the discretion of the company.

While this flexibility might have occasionally manifested itself in unethical land speculation, the Ottoman Railway Company was also subjected to potentially undue criticism. Several newspaper accounts suggest that land speculation played a role in the selection of important nodes for the railway. Unfortunately, the evidence for wrongdoing is unclear and the historical record includes conflicting narratives, in both periodicals and official reports. While the veracity of the negative news accounts is uncertain, they do reflect a skeptical view of the ORC's dealings by articulating the misgivings of certain segments of the population towards the company.

On February 16, 1857, the *Journal de Constantinople's* Smyrna correspondent reported that the location of the future railway terminus of the Ottoman Railway Company was occupying the attention of the Izmir public. (Figure 2.1) Two locations were under consideration: one at the Point, a marshy area north of the town, and the other at the edge of the 'Turkish city,' an allusion to neighborhoods of mainly the Muslim populations.[160] According to the newspaper's

[160] While the exclusivity of neighborhoods defined around religious and ethnic identities have been challenged, several of the 19th-century sources define the area on the slopes of Kadifekale (Mt. Pagus) as the Turkish, i.e. Muslim, quarter of the city. George Rollerston, in his *Report on Smyrna* (1856), for example, defines the Turkish quarter as beginning "at the south-eastern extremity of the town, and

correspondent, the location abutting the Turkish quarters of the city already had many of the amenities that the railway would require, such as hangars, shops, and warehouses. On the other hand, the Point location was a 'desert' where everything would need to be constructed from scratch. Furthermore, the shallowness of the bay at the Point would prevent large ships from approaching, necessitating pier construction and docks for embarking and disembarking merchandise. Moreover, it would be necessary to employ the most expensive means of sheltering this part of the Point from the threats of the sea itself by modifying the marshes into solid ground. The correspondent also pointed out that the prevalent malarial fevers (due to the marshes) made the Point a very unhealthy part of the city for four months of the year. Thus, according to this newspaper account, the company would have to sacrifice the health of its employees if they selected this location.

Since there were so many perceived advantages to the location near the Turkish town and so little at the Point, the correspondent suggested that, selecting the Point location would ultimately only benefit a group of speculators who hoped to profit from the construction of the terminus at the Point. If the location closer to the Turkish town was chosen, these speculators would see their "golden dreams vanish, but, on the other hand, the Turkish, Greek, and Jewish

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stretches along the bank of hills forming it south-eastern boundary. The Turks have built their houses tier after tier up the hill side until in some places they seem to be placed as it were on shelves ranged along the face of a perpendicular embankment. They seem to have tacitly recognized by their choice of locality their unfitness for maritime pursuits they have clung to the hill side and relinquished the water edge to more energetic and enterprising races." See George Rolleston, *Report on Smyrna*, 1856, 8.

districts take on a value, the working class acquires ease, and a whole population is not sacrificed to the interests of three or four speculators."[161]

In the end, despite such sentiments, the company made the decision to construct its terminus at the Point. Another article published in *Journal de Constantinople,* probably by the same commentator evaluated this decision as such: "the speculators of land found the world too small to satisfy their glutton appetites, the Point district was an Eldorado, a California; every inch of land was disputed and paid for by the weight of gold."[162]

Hyde Clarke, the representative of the company to the Ottoman government, on the other hand, explained the locational selection by stating that "at Smyrna the terminus was in the first instance established at the Point. Because, as the traffic was at that time less confidently understood, the expense of penetrating into the heart of the city was by the engineer sought to be avoided, while the opportunity was obtained of establishing a more sheltered port."[163] Clarke also acknowledged the eventual necessity to open a branch line into the city. These would,

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[161] Journal de Constantinople, February 16, 1857.

[162] Journal de Constantinople, April 30, 1857. Also see, Richard White, *Railroaded: the Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2012).

[163] Hyde Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna and Aidin Railway, its Position and Prospects*, by Hyde Clarke (Constantinople: Koehler Brothers, 1861), 8.

however, in Clarke's opinion, depend on the decisions taken by the anticipated railway to Manisa (the Kasaba line).[164]

Two years later the allegations of land speculation had not subsided. According to *Journal de Constantinople*'s Izmir correspondent,[165] the engineers, who were not content to take only the land to be crossed by the railway, also took possession of additional neighboring lands under incomprehensible pretexts. The correspondent elaborated that the engineers had even given in to speculation, and had purchased lands around the Paradise Station in the hopes of creating a village there.[166]

Certain areas surrounding Izmir experienced an exponential growth due to their proximity to the railway. While it is difficult to determine the motives of the railway company in their land use decisions, the accounts quoted above present highly divergent views regarding company's actions, suggesting an ongoing skepticism of the practices of the Ottoman Railway Company.

2.1.2 IRREGULARITIES IN LAND ACQUISITION

After the exact trace of the railway was established, the acquisition of large strips of land for the construction of the railway was the obvious and major next step in the construction of the railway. According to the initial concession granted to the Ottoman Railway Company in

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[164] Clarke, The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway, 8.

[165] As the articles published in the Journal de Constantinople appear without by lines, it is difficult to know if the same correspondent is reporting or another.

[166] Journal de Constantinople, April 30, 1859.

1856, the Ottoman government would give to the company, free of cost, any land necessary for the railway construction that was currently owned by the Ottoman state. On the other hand, the company would need to purchase any privately-owned lands and other immovables along the path of the railway. Private land acquisition would proceed according to a newly passed *Law of Expropriations*, with a commission setup to determine property value.[167]

The Ottoman government passed this Law of Expropriation earlier in 1856 in order to accommodate this railway and other anticipated infrastructural projects.[168] The *Journal de Constantinople* published the *Law of Expropriation* in its entirety to inform the public. This law stated that all land, fields, houses and other immovables could be expropriated, with just compensation, for projects of public utility such as railways, enlargement of roads, and embellishment and sanitation of towns. The new legislation included separate mechanisms for the application of the law according to the location of the expropriation. If the affected properties were in the provinces, first a commission would be formed. This commission would include one member appointed by the *şer'i şerif* [religious law], one by the *meclis* [similar to a city council] of the place and if *vakıf* [religious endowment] properties were involved, one by the *evkaf* administration. This commission, with the help of other experts, would determine the extent and the situation of the properties and make a decision about their value. The document prepared by the commission would then be transmitted to the governor of the province, who in

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[167] İzmir Demiryolu'na dair mukavelename. A.}DVN.MKL.74.1, BOA.

[168] Journal de Constantinople, April 27, 1856.

turn would inform the central authorities in Istanbul. After all these steps, the transfer of properties would be legalized with a *vezirial* [ministerial] order. In the event that the owner refused the compensation offered to him and would not consent to the expropriation of his/her property, since expropriations were only to take place for public interest, his objections would be disregarded. The value determined by the commission would be paid to the owner and the property would be transferred.[169]

The path of the railway and the necessary properties to be expropriated were taken into account even in unrelated land sales. For example, in 1858, railway commissary Colonel Reşad Bey was sent to the vicinity of the Selatin Mountain where the Ottoman government was auctioning a large tract of state-owned land. Reşad Bey was tasked with determining the boundaries of the land so that the new owner would have no future claims from the railway company.[170] As the state-owned land was to be given to the company free of charge but private property had to be purchased, the determination of the boundaries was important to prevent a future dispute and land that might be needed by the railway company needed to be left out of the public auction.

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[169] "Loi", Journal de Constantinople, April 27, 1856. Also see, Nur Isik Demirakin, "Expropriation as a Modernizing Tool in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: The Case of Cemeteries in Beyoglu," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 18, no. 1 (2012):1-15 and Huri Islamoğlu, "Politics of Administering Property: Law and Statistics in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in *Constituting Modernity: Private Property in the East and West*, ed. Huri Islamoğlu London: I.B. Tauris, 2004, 276-321.

[170] Journal de Constantinople. October 20, 1858.

However, even in the early days of land appropriation and despite the detailed processes put forth as elaborated above, newspapers started to report about the irregularities in the expropriation of land. While the letter of the law for the expropriation of land assigned a high regard for property ownership, its application was full of pitfalls, seemingly both for property owners and for the company. Both sides are represented as victims in varying statements. According to one account, for example, because the application of the law was not monitored diligently by the government, the property owners were "at the mercy of the agents of the Railway Company, who have abused too much."[171] Even though there was a commission formed to arbitrate land disputes, it was perceived as insufficient. While there were some property owners whose positions allowed them to take their claims to higher authorities, sometimes all the way to Istanbul, as indicated both in consular reports as well as in newspaper accounts, such actions caused property owners "fresh expenses, innumerable troubles".[172]

Instances of property owners carrying their complaints to Istanbul do indeed exits. For example, a complaint was filed with the government that the railway company had unnecessarily taken the property belonging to Sadi Bey near the location of the railway terminus at the Point.[173] Hoca Neset, similarly, filed a complaint that more land than necessary was taken by the

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[171] Journal de Constantinople, April 30, 1859.

[172] Journal de Constantinople. April 30, 1859.

[173] ŞD.3168.22, BOA.

company and that the price offered for his property was less than the market value.[174] In 1859, Mr. Agaton, an Armenian banker, complained that his private property was violated by the company- structures have been built without remuneration on his land and a large amount of timber was cut from his property. Failing to receive a satisfactory settlement locally, Agaton carried his complaints to Istanbul, eventually receiving a *vizirial* (ministerial) order for the settlement of the issue.[175] While Mr. Agaton's case as well others present us with examples of the company's encroachments to private property and an unwillingness to settle disputes, it also represents the ability and agency of individuals to carry their claims to higher authorities despite the challenges of such actions.

Opposing views to the company taking advantage of property owners also emerged in the presses of both the Ottoman Empire and in England. *The Times*, for example, reported a completely different sentiment when it stated that: "The proprietors soon found out that railways increase the value of property around them, and exorbitant demands were the consequence."[176] About the same time, *Journal de Constantinople* reported that since the commencement of the railway, several land speculators have been roaming the city and its vicinity, increasing the pretensions of the property owners and buying property was almost

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[174] A.}MKT.NZD.349.75, BOA.

[175] Charles Blunt to Henry Bulwer, September 6, 1859, 503-509.

[176] The Times (London, England), Mar 09, 1858.

impossible if one did not want to pay exorbitant sums.[177] It was suggested that not only, the Izmir-Aydın railway "was given a special and very fair law of appropriation" but the government also stepped in to reign these 'exorbitant demands' by threatening to enforce the law more strictly.[178]

While the 1856 Law of Expropriation, assumed land ownership as a right, the history of land ownership in the Ottoman Empire is complex and in certain ways illuminates the reasons behind local hesitancy or inability to contest the actions of the Ottoman Railway Company. Property rights and laws regulating them have been fluid throughout the Ottoman history, formulated through *sharia* and *kanun.* However, as Michael Nizri posits, at all times, these emphasized the authority of the state and the ruler in making decisions on the rights to property. These rights, where given, "did not entail absolute claims over a certain property. Rather, they described differentiated and particularistic claims of revenue and subsistence."[179] For example, state owned lands could be cultivated by peasants while their tax revenues were

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[177] Journal de Constantinople. April 21, 1858.

[178] The Times (London, England), Mar 09, 1858.

[179] Michael Nizri, "Defining Village Boundaries at the Time of the Introduction of the Malikane System: The Struggle of the Ottoman State for Reaffirming Ownership of the Land," in Schull, Kent F., M. Safa Saracoglu, and Robert W. Zens, eds. *Law and Legality in the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey,* University of Indiana Press, 2016, 44.

collected by others. Moreover, the application of the laws and regulations, in other words, their practice, varied radically across the Empire.[180]

It is possible to understand the Ottoman system until the mid-19th century as bifurcated, where two separate groups enjoyed rights over the land and its products.[181] With the passage of the 1858 Land Law, these two tiers collapsed "into one another to create a single right to both land and surplus that over time came to be regarded as much the same as the right to individual private property."[182] The 1858 Land Law and its application had a myriad of ramifications. Perhaps most significantly this new law led to the solidification of claims to land determined by possession and the centralization of the mechanisms that governed such rights-migrating them to the central authority in Istanbul from local law givers. Therefore, taking of the land for the railways coincided with a very fluid moment in how property rights were determined and governed in the Ottoman Empire. It is not, therefore, beyond expectation that many were not

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[180] See for example, Yücel Terzibaşoğlu, "'A Very Important Requirement of Social Life': Privatisation of Land, Criminalisation of Custom, and Land Disputes in Nineteenth-Century Anatolia," in Les Acteurs des Transformations Foncieres Autour de la Mediterranee aux XIXe Siecle, eds. Vanessa Gueno and Didier Guignard, Paris: Editions Karthala, 2013.

[181] Tosun Arıcanlı and Mara Thomas, 1994, "Sidestepping Capitalism: on the Ottoman Road to Elsewhere," Journal of Historical Sociology. 7, no. 1: 25-48. Tosun and Thomas's approach also discussed in Roger Owen, "Introduction," in New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East, eds. Roger Owen and Martin Bunton, Cambridge, Mass: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 2000.

[182] Roger Owen, "Introduction," in New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East, eds. Roger Owen and Martin Bunton, Cambridge, Mass: Distributed for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University by Harvard University Press, 2000. Xii.

able pursue their rights vis-à-vis property as these rights, at that moment, resembled a quagmire. However, from the records of the Ottoman state as mentioned earlier, we know that others managed to maneuver within this new system and contested the actions of the Ottoman Railway Company.[183]

To the detriment of the railway companies, the 1858 Ottoman Land Law also granted "rights of compensation to holders of *miri* [state-owned] land confiscated for public use."[184] This meant that even though the Ottoman government had agreed to give state -owned lands for free to the railway companies, when such lands had been in constant and uncontested use at the time of land appropriations for the railway, the new law treated them as privately owned property and granted the long-term users of state-owned land full compensation.

2.1.3 IZMIR-KASABA RAILWAY IN COMPARISON

The Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company, whose concession was granted in 1863, was subject to the same regulations as the Ottoman Railway Company in terms of land acquisition. However, one small change in the regulations enabled the faster processing of the acquisitions by negating the need to get approval for the expropriations from Istanbul. Henceforth, the governor's office in Izmir was given the authority to be the final decision maker on this matter.[185]

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[183] For additional examples of disputes, see HR.ID.1191.43-53, BOA.

[184] Gabriel Baer, "Land Tenure in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1800-1950," in the Economic History of the Middle East: 1800-1914, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966, 85.

[185] Tasvir-i Efkar (Istanbul), 16 Muharrem 1280.

The reactions to the taking of land for the Kasaba railway also suggests that both the Ottoman government and the railway companies had learned from the earlier experience. As such, the expropriations for the Kasaba railway took place without the public outcry that had tainted the early land acquisition processes associated with the Aydın railway. An examination of the expropriations for the Izmir-Kasaba railway exposes the dynamics of the land expropriation practices as they were implemented in western Anatolia.

Samuel Bayliss, the general manager of the Kasaba line, in a communication with the Imperial Commissary Colonel Reşad Bey, describes the proceedings of two meetings of the commission of expropriation that took place during the Ramadan of 1865. Bayliss recounts that while the commission was able to settle some small claims without much ado, the second meeting when the question of several houses was put on the table was a challenging one. Houses, identified with numerals 48, 49, and 50, located within the area where the terminus of the railway was to be constructed in Basmane, had been formerly appraised and a price was determined to everyone's satisfaction- except the owners of the houses. (Figure 2.2) If the house owners continued to refuse a settlement, in alignment with the letter of the law outlined in the previous section, the price determined by the Commission was to be deposited in the government coffers. While the company had assumed the matter resolved, Commission members had 'concerted with each other' and decided to ask for a new estimate prepared by an expert, who would assess the value the properties as if they were 'new'. Bayliss wrote to Colonel Reşad that if the Commission members wanted to act on such an 'absurd principle' that the company could not proceed seriously and they might have to refer the matter to Istanbul.

Returning to his personal feelings on the matter, Bayliss writes: "I see from your second letter that you have had a fever, I hope it will be a passing one, but it is nothing in comparison with the fever which the expropriation of houses gives me, which I hope will also be transitory."[186] Bayliss's letter not only demonstrates the inner working of the expropriation committee but also the daily challenges of estimating the values of a variety of properties.

However, this was a challenge that the railway companies, the expropriation committee as well as the public whose properties were being taken had to engage in and it had to be accomplished at a large scale. Expropriation maps prepared for the Izmir-Kasaba railway attest to the extensive nature of this undertaking. For instance, the borders of the area that needed to be expropriated just for the construction of the terminus at Basmane was 29 dönüms and 1116 pics.[187] (Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3) As mentioned above, in addition to the land, several structures had to be also purchased. From their footprints and the limited information provided, while some of these structures resemble commercial or public buildings, some (like the aforementioned properties 48, 49, and 50) are clearly residential buildings.

Other maps provide further information about the expropriations, such as the names of owners in addition to the amount of land that was taken. Through an examination of these confiscation maps, it is possible to get a glimpse of the individuals that the railway affected. This,

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[186] T.793.42, BOA.

[187] This equaled just over 7 acres. A dönüm was 1600 pics. See Haim Gerber, The social origins of the modern Middle East (New York: ACLS History E-Book Project, 2005), 70.

albeit incomplete and somewhat inaccurate, view suggests that people belonging to different groups of the Ottoman Empire as well as of differing economic statuses were impacted by railway construction.

For instance, Property Plan 61 shows that portions of lands belonging to people with names such as Hadji Hamza Memet (#1011; 6d 1200p), Hamzadeli Husseinogloo (#1012-13; 2d 846p), Hassan Bashiogloo Ibram (#1014; 4d 1256p) were expropriated. Their names suggest that they might be of Muslim origin. (Figure 2.4) Property Plan No. 63, on the other hand, indicates that three adjacent properties near the town of Çobanisa belonged Yanaco Leoni (#1052; 936p), Georghi Leoni (#1053; 1d 466p), Antoni Leoni (#1054; 1d 1296p) most likely belonging to the members of a single-family group. Their names also suggest that they are likely non-Muslim. Similarly, two adjacent properties were expropriated from Bulgarogloo Nicholi (#1057; 1d 44p) and Bulgarogloo Gheorghi (#1058; 480p). Bulgarogloo, or Bulgaroğlu, meaning son of the Bulgarian, might provide a clue to the origins of the family. Again, like the Leonis, their names are an indication of a non-Muslim, most likely Jewish, identity. While assigning identity solely based on names might be highly inaccurate, their names might be the only record we have of these people and for most of them, we can only speculate how the railway affected their lives. (Figure 2.5)

The multitude of property owners displayed on each of these property plans suggests that most land in western Anatolia was owned in small tracts. Reşat Kasaba confirms that this

pattern of small land holdings, usually defined as less than 8 hectares, was characteristic of western Anatolia during the second half of the 19th century.[188]

In the property plans, it is also observable that largest tracks of land were confiscated from the Karaosmanogloo (Karaosmanoğlu) family. Just on Property Plan 63, portions of three tracts, numbered 1028, 1029 and 1041, totaling to an area of 19 dönüms and 1041 pics were taken from the Karaosmanoğlu family while other confiscations, partially enumerated above, were much smaller. (Figure 2.5) Unlike the other families noted on these maps, Karaosmanoğlus are well-known in Ottoman history. During the 18th century, Ottoman Empire implemented a tax-farming (*malikhane*) system. Local notables (*ayan*), acting as the tax collectors gained unprecedented powers within the Empire. Karaosmanoğlu family was among the most successful of these local elite families in the Empire and had gained tax-collecting privileges in the provinces of Saruhan and Aydın. Karen Barkey attributes their rise to power to their ability to form "a strong network of relationships with every level of the society and made their fortunes as government tax collectors and tax farmers of the wealthy central state grandees and estate owners."[189] Part of their fortune, also according to Barkey, came from commerce and through taxes they imposed on products from this region and sold to the west.

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[188] Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman empire and the world economy: the nineteenth century*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988, 62.

[189] Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: the Ottomans in comparative perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

In the beginning of the 19th century, central Ottoman government was able to undermine the power gathered by the *ayans* and the *malikhane* system was officially abandoned. This led to large scale confiscation of the *ayan* properties and *corvée* labor was banned. Kasaba notes that "in western Anatolia, some of the land that was thus freed from the control of local ayan became the property of peasant households in small parcels."[190] The Property Plans related to the land expropriation for the Kasaba railway indicates that while the lands of the *ayan* were confiscated by the state when the *malikhane* system was abandoned, Karaosmanoğlus continued to be large land holders in the region.[191]

While the property plans mentioned above provide locational information on land ownership in western Anatolia, they provide an incomplete view of the expropriations as only a handful of them are accessible in the Ottoman archives. Another piece of evidence relating to the extension of the Kasaba line to Alaşehir complements these earlier expropriation maps prepared for the initial construction phase to Kasaba. An 1874 register, with the title of *Reference to Cadastral Plans of the Extension Railway from Kasaba to Ala Scheir*, lists all the properties expropriated for railway construction purposes. Names of each land owner and the amount of land taken, as well as the numerical identifiers of the properties were duly noted.

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[190] Kasaba, 64.

[191] Karosmanoğlu family continues to be a large land holder in the region.

According to this register, 1191 dönüms and 858 arşıns[192] of land from 291 parcels were expropriated.[193] (Figure 2.6) While it is impossible to determine whether other properties beyond what is listed in this register was confiscated for the extension of the Kasaba railway to Alaşehir, it is at least obvious that confiscation of land was a serious business that occupied the minds of railway builders. The fact that so many land owners were affected by the railway construction also meant that properties of numerous peasants were diminished and many times the properties were divided spatially by the railway. For example, property belonging to Horpesma binti Agob (Horpesma, daughter of Agob) and Damyan Hatun, near the railway station in Kasaba, were divided into two during the extension of the railway to Alaşehir, decreasing the value of their property. Additionally, their trees were damaged. Therefore, these two women found their way within the Ottoman bureaucracy to demand reparations from the company.[194] Ottoman women were able to not only own property but could represent themselves in courts. The actions of Horpesma and Damyan Hatun point to an instance when women exercised their rights vis-à-vis property ownership and legal protection. While it is no surprise that people were not always pleased with railway construction, their ability to reach the highest echelons of Ottoman government demonstrates their agency in responding to the hardships caused by the railway.

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[192] Ottoman unit of measurement, approximately 27 inches long.

[193] PLK.p.5170, BOA.

[194] ŞD.24.1181, BOA.

2.2 ENGINEERING MISHAPS

The aforementioned property belonging to Mr. Agaton was located at a pivotal location where the company's indiscretions in respecting private property would coincide with one of their major engineering. The original construction plans of the Izmir-Aydın railway traced a route that would encounter environmental challenges at two locations. The first was a few miles from the city, in the Valley of St. Anne, where several cuttings in the form of significant earthworks, would be required. The second was even a more major challenge, and involved the passage into the Valley of the Meander through a formidable mountain range at a location called Selatin, where Mr. Agaton's property was located. This barrier was going to require the construction of a two-mile long tunnel that the company had to eventually abandon. The engineering failures experienced in the early days of railway construction would greatly challenge the position of the British as 'experts' in railway construction and their eventual need for clemency from the Ottoman government would also establish the tone of railway construction in western Anatolia.

2.2.1 THROUGH ST. ANNE'S VALLEY

On June 24, 1857, *Journal de Constantinople* reported that the Ottoman Railway Company's chief engineer, George Meredith was about to embark on his journey to Smyrna. Meredith was travelling on a company-chartered vessel also carrying approximately hundred skilled workmen and the necessary equipment for railway construction.[195] By the beginning of

[195] Journal de Constantinople, June 24, 1857.

1858, the works had commenced on the western edge of Izmir, at the Caravan Bridge, the ancient gateway to the city, towards the first necessary cutting in St. Anne's Valley. (Figure 2.7) The stones derived from the cuttings in St. Anne's Valley were to be utilized as fill to raise the path between the Caravan Bridge and the Point terminus on the Izmir Bay, consisting of low lying fields and gardens. In order to accomplish this task of removing and transporting stones between construction zones, rails were brought and a locomotive was shortly expected.[196] A few months later, George Meredith, the chief engineer, reported that part of the first section was ballasted and rails were laid for two miles. A temporary wharf was also constructed for landing construction materials and two locomotives were already working on the line.[197]

A year later, George Meredith reported that all energies of the company had continued to be confined to the first section of the railway through the St. Anne's Valley, where two thirds of the earthworks were completed. About ten miles of line was ready to receive the permanent way. Even though the corner stone for the Point terminus was laid by Lord Stratford on October 30, 1858 (see Chapter 7), due to the rainy season, no further progress had been made in its construction for several months. While Meredith's tone was unalarming, if one read between the lines, it becomes obvious that not much was achieved during the initial year of construction for the railway. A following statement signaled that the Company was indeed experiencing setbacks causing delays: "The contractor has prosecuted the works with satisfactory energy, but the

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[196] The Times (London, England), Tuesday, Mar 09, 1858.

[197] From the annual meeting of the company. The Times (London, England), Tuesday, Sep 28, 1858

delay, occasioned principally by the landslip [experienced at one of the cuttings in St. Anne's Valley] and partly by the rainy season, has prevented him having the works in so forward a state as anticipated. An extraordinary exertion and a large increase of plant will be required to complete and open the line for traffic to Ephesus by Autumn of this year."[198] The *Journal de Constantinople* provided further details, reporting that the aforementioned landslip had occurred near Karakapı, where the Company had cut through a rock in order to avoid a detour. As the earth underneath the cutting was weak, the abundance of the rain waters had caused a landslide, obscuring the cutting.[199]

While included in the half-yearly report of the company, the misgivings of George Meredith as well as the severity of the landslip, were glossed over at the half-yearly meeting of the company. Of course, the landslip and the damage caused by it were well-known in London. The chairman of the Company, Macdonald Stephenson, reported that contractor had been working diligently to overcome the setback caused by the unfortunate incident. A letter from Izmir regarding the event was read out loud to the shareholders in order to corroborate the positive picture painted by the Company's directors: "I have the most gratifying news to send to-day, the account of the railway being laid through No.12 cutting [where the landslip had

[198] The Times (London, England), Monday, Mar 28, 1859.

[199] Journal de Constantinople. 24 November 1858.

occurred]. This was done yesterday about 11 o'clock, amid great demonstrations of delight on the part of the workmen, and 12 waggons [sic] passed through the cutting."[200]

Following the particularly slow process of the initial construction phase that was derailed further by the landslip, the company suffered yet another setback. The company's initial contractor, Thomas Jackson, voided his contract with the Izmir-Aydın railway company. The directors of the company had chosen to place the entirety of the works under a single contract due to the fact that the enterprise was to be undertaken at a great distance from England and would therefore be difficult to supervise. Jackson had provided the company with the best proposal, and thus he was entrusted with the construction of the railway in its entirety. While Jackson had started the works with great vigor, difficulties in his other enterprises as well as the challenges he encountered in Izmir caused him to abandon his contract with the company, resulting in him sustaining a loss estimated at forty thousand pounds.[201] While Jackson was struggling with his business challenges, the operations of the company suffered from lack of oversight from the directors and shareholders of the company located in London as well as due to the incapacity of its first chief engineer, George Meredith.

The landslip, while portrayed as a natural disaster, was just an indication of the failure of engineering calculations as the rainy winters of the region was a common and the railway was obviously not being constructed to withstand the climate and the topography of the area. While

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[200] The Times (London, England), Thursday, Mar 31, 1859.

[201] Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway,* 6.

the cuttings had required a certain amount of earthworks, they were far from being great feats of engineering.

The directors of the company in London seem to have turned a blind eye to the slowness of progress and inability to extend the line even through a rather unchallenging terrain. According to a later newspaper account published in *the Times*, the directors were informed of the unsatisfactory state of construction but had not attempted to rectify the situation. They might even be culpable of whitewashing the less than desirable progress. This attitude was manifest in, for example, how the consequences of the landslip were portrayed during the meeting of the Company.

According to the 1856 concession given by the Ottoman government, the company was to complete the entire line to Aydın by the September of 1860. However, when Jackson voided his contract in 1859, the line had not even reached the Selatin mountain where the major engineering work of the railway was to take place. As the deadline of completing the works had approached and upon the continuance of slow progress, Sir Macdonald Stephenson, the chairman of the Company, felt the need to travel to Izmir and "much of that against which he stopped his ears has been brought home to him through the medium of his eyes."[202]

[202] The Times (London, England), Wednesday, Feb 29, 1860..

Confounded by the state of the works, Stephenson suspended all construction, fired the chief engineer of the company, George Meredith.[203]

Heavy winter rains of 1860 again damaged much of what little was constructed. The British Consul in Izmir, Charles Blunt summarized the situation as such: "of the six Bridges, only one now remains intact: the largest has been carried away by a mountain torrent, not a vestige of it remains, and the other four are so much injured, that they must be rebuilt. Several of the embankment levels have also been carried away, and from eight to ten miles of rails, more than six feet under water!"[204]

For the construction of the docks, while some piles had already been driven into Izmir Bay, they were all honeycombed by the 'worms' under water. Moreover, while these piles had been driven for at least twenty feet, the divers and pile drivers had yet to find a solid bottom. A wharf, considered temporary, was constructed but it did not look that solid under the weight of a five-ton ballast wagon, therefore it was impossible for it to carry the weight of a locomotive weighing more than twenty tons.[205]

These disastrous early years of construction also came with a heavy price tag. Despite the fact that the company had already gone through 350,000£, there was not one yard of

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[203] Charles Blunt to Lord John Russell. FO78/1533, June 9, 1860. 215-223, TNA. Also see, Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 7-8.

[204] Charles Blunt to John Russell, March 24, 1860, FO78/1533,142, TNA.

[205] Charles Blunt to John Russell, June 9, 1860, FO78/1533, 219, TNA.

permanent way or a station building completed, and no progress was made on the Selatin Tunnel. If the company hoped to recoup its money, simply more money had to be raised, the company's operations had to be reorganized and the construction needed to be completed to the satisfaction of the Ottoman government.[206] Unfortunately, due to all their missteps, there was very little public confidence left in the company.

The need for extraordinary sums of money was/is a reality in large-scale construction projects. As David Harvey posits in his study of 19th-century Paris, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, large-scale transformation of the built environment depended on the financial backing of bankers and the reorganization of France's finance system. He notes that "[t]here could, evidently, be no modernity without assembling the speculative capital to do it."[207] Similarly, the construction of large scale infrastructural works in the Ottoman Empire depended on large-scale investments and with the difficulties encountered by the company, it was necessary to raise funds wherever possible or abandon the whole undertaking. Initial estimates to complete the rail works to the Selatin Mountain was approximately £510,000. This was itemized as £300,000 for

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[206] There are several works that investigate the investment schemes of railways in the Ottoman Empire. Many of these focus on the Hijaz Railway and the Hamidian pan-Islamist policies. See, for example, Jacob Landau, *The Hejaz Railway and the Muslim Pilgrimage; a Case of Ottoman Political Propaganda*, Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1971; William Ochsenwald, The Financing of the Hijaz Railroad," Die Welt Des Islams 14.1/4 (1973): 129-49; William Ochsenwald, *The Hijaz Railroad*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1980; Murat Özyüksel, *Hicaz Demiryolu*, Beşiktaş, İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik Ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000 among others.

[207] Harvey, David. Paris, Capital of Modernity. New York: Routledge, 2003. 115-116.

the cost of the line, £90,000 for acquiring the rolling stock, and £120,000 for the construction of the docks. While £350,000 had already been spent by 1860, only 19 miles of temporary line was laid. Now it would require at least £150,000 more just to complete the first section. Additionally, probably around £20,000 was necessary to fix the damage caused by the winter rains.[208] Thus, the Company also had to urgently address the issue of their financial predicament in order to pursue the construction of the line. The Ottoman Railway Company, unable to force its shareholders to invest more cash, needed to raise capital creatively. But, before they could even attempt to raise more money, the company needed to prove that it could indeed successfully construct a railway.

By March of 1860, the company had entered into agreements with a new contractor, T. G. Crampton, and a new chief engineer, Edward Purser. With Crampton and Purser in place, the company started to look for ways to salvage its operations. While the directors in London were exploring ways to raise more capital, by September 1860, works had started to progress rapidly in the first section through the St. Anne's Valley. Ships were busy bringing new materials from England to Izmir. While the Glynn and the Ellena carrying coal and the Favorite carrying rails and iron had already arrived in November 1859, they were now being put to good use.[209] Rails were laid for twenty miles out of Izmir and they were hoping to open the first twenty-seven miles to

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[208] Charles Blunt to John Russell. June 9, 1860. FO78/1533, 219, TNA.

[209] Journal de Constantinople, 14 November 1859.

traffic by November. Reparations were being made to the damage caused by recent floods. While no progress has been made in the second section that included the Selatin Tunnel, careful surveys were being conducted in order to determine an alternative route that would avoid the tunnel construction altogether.[210]

At last, the first twenty-seven miles of the line up to Trianda was opened to the public on December 24, 1860.[211] (Refer to Figure 1.2) W. F. Fergusson, an experienced railway superintendent, was sent to Izmir to organize a system for the conveyance of passengers and merchandise. It was surprising to the Company's administrators that approximately 3000 people traveled on the line as passengers during the first week of its operation.[212] While the company had never intended to make a profit from passenger traffic, nonetheless this was good news at a challenging time and opened new prospects.[213]

Despite these most recent improvements, the Company had to acknowledge the continuing difficulty of their situation. Firstly, it was obvious that the line could not be completed during the time allocated in the initial 1856 agreement with the Ottoman government. Therefore, an extension was necessary. Moreover, unable to even accomplish the simpler

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[210] The Times (London, England), Wednesday, Sep 26, 1860, as well as The Times (London, England), Saturday, Sep 29, 1860.

[211] The Times (London, England), Wednesday, Mar 27, 1861.

[212] This number would reach 100,000 within the first half year of operations as reported during the half yearly meeting of the Company in September 1861.

[213] The Times (London, England), Wednesday, Mar 27, 1861.

earthworks necessary through St. Anne's Valley, the Company had to reconsider the construction of a challenging tunnel through the Selatin mountains. The Company needed to approach the Ottoman government to ask for a new concession that would grant them an extension as well as an alteration in the plans to reach the Meander Valley in addition to enabling the company to raise further capital.

2.2.2 MOUNTAIN LOOMS

The operations of the company through St. Anne's Valley, during the first years of construction, up to March of 1860, had been disastrous due to a combination of reasons. The works through St. Anne's Valley, were meant to be the simpler portion of the railway route to Aydın. Despite the respite provided by the opening of the line up to Trianda, lack of a solution for the Selatin Tunnel was continuing to loom over the company's prospects.

As early as 1857, reports acknowledged the difficulty of this task, attested also by the Company's decision to start construction from both ends while the tunnel works continued. By early 1859, it was reported that about 300 feet of the headings were driven in the tunnel, "and after passing through some hard rock, the ground was much more favorable than had been anticipated."[214] However, over time, the tunnel construction proved to be more challenging than the most pessimistic calculations of the company due to the marble and limestone deposits along the path of the Tunnel.[215] As the works in St. Anne's Valley took up so much more

[214] The Times (London, England), Thursday, Mar 31, 1859.

[215] Charles Blunt to Lord John Russell, June 9, 1860, FO78/1533, 215-223, TNA.

attention than anticipated, the company focused all its energies in that initial section, not proceeding with the construction of the Tunnel.

Their consulting engineer Edwin Clark's initial recommendation was to traverse the Selatin mountain with double inclined planes.[216] (Figure 2.8) This alternative, according to the Company, could avoid any unnecessary delays in the opening of the railway as this system could be completed in two years. Additionally, it was estimated that the operating costs of the proposed system would not be higher than those of the original track through the tunnel as there would be energy savings considering that the pull of the descending wagons would be used to haul the ascending wagons upwards. Lastly, the double inclined planes would be less disquieting for the passengers than a tunnel. According to the company, the only disadvantage of this system would be the delay of half an hour that would be spent traversing up and over the Selatin mountain. However, as this added travel time did not pose a hindrance to the daily operations of the railway between Izmir and Aydın, it was dismissed as trivial by the Company.[217]

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[216] Edwin Clark was a skilled engineer and he had constructed the great dock in Bombay and others in Malta and London. He was the designer of several bridges, some of them swinging, and acted as the engineer to the Crystal Palace company. He was also the inventor and patent holder of several engineering technologies such as hydraulic graving dock and canal lift. For more on Clark, see: Obituary of Edwin Clark published in Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vol. 55, 190. 1895. Also see, Clarke, The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway, 6.

[217] Opinion of the Public Works Council on the request of the Smyrna Aidin Railway Company to substitute inclined planes at the Sellaeddin Mountain Tunnel. FO 78/1533, 144-155, TNA.

When the plans were submitted to the Ottoman government, the Ottoman Council on Public Works rejected it vehemently: "The conclusion reached by the Council is that, from both a technical and an economic point of view, the double inclined planes must be rejected in an absolute manner, whatever may be the difficulties encountered in piercing the Tunnel"[218] Their first and foremost concern was safety. As the slopes of the planes would reach an 18% incline, the commission believed that the convoys could not be anchored sufficiently at such steep inclines and in the event of excessive exertion, wear and tear, or malice, this system would prove disastrous. This danger would be exacerbated by the great length of the inclines: 2500 *archins (arşın)*[219] on the Izmir side and 3500 *archins* on the Aydın side. A second reason for their rejection was the Company's obvious desire to use the gravitational force of the descending wagons to hoist the ascending wagons. In the opinion of the Committee, this would pose unprecedented challenges to the operations of the railway as a whole. In order for such a scheme to work, the schedule of trains would need to work in perfect synchronicity, so that trains would need to arrive on either side of the mountain at the same time. Moreover, the weights of the trains had to be balanced in order to make this system to function properly. These, in the opinion of the committee, were 'impossible'.[220] With this rejection, the company

[218] Opinion of the Public Works Council on the request of the Smyrna Aidin Railway Company to substitute inclined planes at the Sellaeddin Mountain Tunnel. FO 78/1533, 144-155, TNA.

[219] Ottoman unit of measurement, approximately 27 inches long.

[220] Opinion of the Public Works Council on the request of the Smyrna Aidin Railway Company to substitute inclined planes at the Sellaeddin Mountain Tunnel. FO 78/15331, 144-155, TNA.

found itself without a plan on how to proceed. It is also noteworthy that Ottoman bureaucrats were able to provide expertise reports on a project proposed by the 'experts' of railway construction, challenging the view that Ottoman Empire lacked the technical expertise to be an active participant in the development of such engineering projects.

Edward Purser, the new chief engineer of the Company, suggested an alternative route that would deviate the original trace of the railway by fourteen miles towards the Ephesus Pass and this, in his opinion, would obviate the need for the expensive and technically challenging tunnel. This proposal, of course, raised the question of why the route through the Ephesus Pass had not been selected in the first place. Indeed, Consul Blunt noted that "If this be the case [the possibility to avoid the tunnel], the least that can be said is that the Company has been most unfortunate in its first choice of engineers."[221] This quote suggests that the expertise of the company's initial engineering expertise were not only questioned by the Ottoman authorities but also by the British bureaucrats.

In March 1861, upon requests from the company, the Ottoman government agreed to an additional concession with the company that would enable the continuation of the works. While the Ottoman government had the right to confiscate the works at this time, they chose to work with the company as they believed the confiscation would have been deleterious to the '*ashab-ı sermaye*' or the 'morale of the capital' and would form a negative example for future

[221] Charles Blunt to John Russell. June 9, 1860. FO 78/1533, 218, TNA.

enterprises.[222] According to this new agreement, if the company chose to divert its route towards the Ephesus Pass, they could receive a three-year extension from the Ottoman government. However, if they chose to continue with the tunnel works at Selatin, a four-year extension could be granted. Until the last moment when directors of the company decided to opt for the deviation of the line towards the Ephesus Pass at a distance of 39 miles from Izmir, there was an uncertainty about the path of the railway.[223] Even shortly before the company made its decision to divert its route, opinion in Istanbul was that the OCR would continue with the works at Selatin as the diversion would bring its own engineering challenges and any previous work related to the tunnel, however minimal, would be lost.[224] In the end, though, the company chose to alter its route in an attempt to avoid the construction of such a challenging tunnel. (Figure 2.9)

Additionally, the Ottoman government sanctioned the Company's desire to issue £250,000 in debentures to raise further capital cover the extra costs.[225] Debentures were explained to the public as preferred bearer bonds that ensured an interest of 6%.[226] The

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[222] Ali Akyıldız, Anka'nın Sonbaharı, pg.30.

[223] The Times (London, England), Wednesday, Mar 27, 1861.

[224] Journal de Constantinople, 6 February 1861.

[225] The Times (London, England), Friday, Mar 29, 1861.

[226] The Company, according to the original convention was empowered to negotiate loans as well as to grant a mortgage of the railway if necessary. Also see, Journal de Constantinople, February 6, 1861.

debentures were to have priority to the regular shares of the company and would get the first payments. Considering the not-so-great reputation of the company, this was the best alternative available to its directors.

On November 14, 1861, the line was officially opened to Kosbounar, which was considered the final point of the first section of the railway.[227] According to the initial 1856 concession, upon the completion of each section, Ottoman government would start paying the guarantee of 6% on the capital spent in the construction of that particular section.[228] Therefore, the Ottoman governments acceptance of the first section as complete was of supreme importance. Not only the company would be eligible to receive funds that would make up any insufficiencies in its operational receipts, but also this act would bolster the confidence in the prospects of the company. Thus, the company felt that they had at last surfaced from their initial troubles and the road ahead would be more positive.

The next goal of the company was to reach Ayasoluk at the Ephesus Pass. By reaching this point, the company hoped to tap into the traffic of the camel caravans that had been dominating the transportation of merchandise in the region for centuries. The anticipation of opening the line to Ephesus, which did not require any further engineering feats, and the possibility of

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[227] According to Akyildiz, an 11-mile long segment to Cellatkahve was in operation by September 9, 1861 and the Governor of Izmir Riza Pasha informed the Sublime Porte with a telegraph that the line two miles beyond Kozpinar was ready on October 27, 1861. However, due to an episode of malerial fever, works had to be suspended and the official opening took place on November 14, 1861.

[228] The Times (London, England), Tuesday, Mar 25, 1862.

tapping into the camel traffic, gave the company a new vigor.[229] Upon reaching Ephesus, the company was also ready to provide all the amenities of a temporary terminus as it would take them several more years to reach their intended terminus in Aydın.[230]

In 1862, the line at last reached Ephesus, occasioning large scale celebrations and creating a general jubilance about the future of the company. (See Chapter 7) Upon achieving their goal of reaching Ephesus, however, the company found out they had miscalculated yet again as they were far from being able to compete with the camel traffic. As the directors reported, "the evils of a break in the transport are assigned as the sufficient and certain cause of the continued employment of the camels, added to the comparative shortness of the distance after the camels traversed the worst part of the journey over the mountain pass. The only effectual remedy lies in the earliest possible completion of the line through the hills to Aidin."[231] Therefore, in order to overcome the competition from the camels, the company had to reach Aydın as this was the major market town within the Meander Valley and much of the products of the region were collected here before being transported to Izmir by camel caravans.

Reaching Aydın, however, still necessitated crossing over the mountains into the Meander Valley. While the two-mile long Selatin tunnel was avoided, the engineers now decided

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[229] The Times (London, England), Saturday, Sep 28, 1861.

[230] The Times (London, England), Tuesday, Mar 25, 1862.

[231] The Times (London, England), Friday, Mar 27, 1863.

that the new route would still require hillworks and tunneling at two locations. This was a major challenge and it was estimated that it would take three more years to complete and would require yet more funds.[232]

Thus, in 1863, the company received yet another concession from the Ottoman government sanctioning yet another extension and another issuance of debentures.[233] This last reorganization of company's finances had resulted in 44,600 shares[234] of £20 each (£892,000), and of debentures for £892,000, together reaching the sum of £1,784,000. As can be read in Chapter 1, the Ottoman government had put a cap of £1,200,000 on capital investment that would be eligible to receive the guarantee of 6%. With this concession, therefore, Ottoman government agreed to raise the cap on the maximum capital investment to £1,784,000 from £1,200,000.

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[232] The Times (London, England), Tuesday, Mar 31, 1863.

[233] The Times (London, England), Tuesday, May 05, 1863. While new debentures were issued, an amount of £304,000 was set aside to pay off the first issue of the debentures when they came due on May 1, 1866

[234] V. Necla Geyikdagi explains in Foreign Investment in the Ottoman Empire that the Ottoman government stipulated a certain percentage of the shares for the railway to be reserved for 'native investors.' The initial interest in the shares was substantial and soon half of the reserved shares were taken. Geyikdagi quotes: "it was surprising 'that it was not Pasha So-and-so, and Greek, Armenian and Jew so-and-so, who asked for shares, except, perhaps, for one or two for form's sake, but it was the Turkish middle classes, men who had few piasters to spare, and who were attracted by the novelty.' Additionally, the Ottoman government had also sent out lists for subscription to the army and other government offices, both in the capital and in the provinces, and soon all the shares were taken up.

The construction for the remainder of the line between Ayasolouk and Aydın started in December 1863. This length of the line, including the passage of the mountain chain separating the valleys of Cayster and Meander was divided into three sections. The first was from Ayasoluk to the summit of the pass (5 ½ miles), second from the summit of the pass to Balatcık (7 ½ miles) and the third from Balatcık to Aydın (19 miles in the plain). The first segment up to the mountain pass included a tunnel of 700-800 yards on the summit of the pass and a shorter tunnel of 100-200 yards. There were to be approximately forty cuttings. While these were generally short, they were deep and of hard material. Earthworks had been commenced with about 500 men were working on the line.[235] Despite the comparative smoothness of the construction at this stage, it was not without setbacks and even without loss of life. The works of the company were not able to escape the 1865 cholera epidemic that had wracked the region. Despite their rural position, "at the tunnel works the deaths had amounted to 12 Englishmen, two English women, and three children, one Italian and nearly 40 natives; but the worst had passed, the cholera ceased, and active operations were to be renewed about the 15th of this month."[236]

Rowland Macdonald Stephenson yet petitioned the government on March 9, 1866 to ask for another extension of ten months and to issue another round of debentures (privileged bonds) in order to pay the interest of the earlier ones that the company had issued.[237] In a

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[235] The Times (London, England), Saturday, Mar 26, 1864.

[236] The Times (London, England), Saturday, Sep 30, 1865.

[237] Ali Akyıldız, Anka'nın Sonbaharı, pg. 34.

mazbata from the *Meclis-i Vala*, dated July 4, 1866, it was stated that according to their contract with the company, it was obvious that the government has the right to cancel its agreement with the company immediately and to auction the line to another. However, it was the first railway to be constructed within the Ottoman domains and the government had persevered and made many sacrifices for the completion of the railway. Therefore, regarding the company's now expired contract, it would not be appropriate to cancel the contract at that moment.[238] With such sentiments, the government allowed the company another extension and a bare-bones line to Aydın was opened to operations on July 1, 1866.

The situation the Ottoman Railway Company found itself was, within a global framework, not unique. As Richard White posits in regard to the Transcontinental Railway, the railway companies "were not the harbingers of order, rationality, and effective large-scale organization. The organizations I describe here not only failed to institute the order they desired; they also just plain failed and repeatedly needed rescuing by the state and the courts."[239]

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[238] "Saltanat-ı Seniyye'nin şerait-i mün'akide icabınca derhal imtiyazın fesh ve ilgasıyla yolun bi'l-müzayede ahar kumpanyaya ihalesine istihkak-ı alisi derkar olup, fakat, memalik-ı mahruse-i hazret-i şahanede en evvel inşasına mübaşeret olunmuş ve husul-i matlab içün şimdiye kadar taraf-ı Devlet-i Aliyye'den pek çok fedakarlık edilerek hitami kuvve-i karibeye gelmiş olan tarıkın mürur-ı müddet-i ma'lüme ile münfesih olan imtiyazı tarafına Devlet-i Aliye'nin şiar-ı adili olan fütüvvet ve mürüvvet icabınca münasip olmayacağı" as transcribed by Ali Akyıldız, *Anka'nın Sonbaharı*, pg. 34.

[239] Richard White, *Railroaded: the transcontinentals and the making of modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2012).

In a convention dated October 1, 1866, the Ottoman government granted the company from July 1, 1866 a guarantee of £112,000 per annum, effectively acknowledging their acceptance of the works as complete. However, according to the Ottoman government, this line lacked many of its necessary elements and thus, the company, in turn, was to promise to complete any remaining work within two months and in the future assumed the responsibility of maintaining the line and replacing any temporary elements in its construction.[240]

2.3 OTTOMAN AGENCY

While the shareholders were hoping to start enjoying the financial benefits of the now completed project, the Company faced new perils. First of these was the hesitation of the Ottoman government to pay the guarantees owed to the company. Second was the internal dissidence between certain shareholders and the company's directors.

According the initial, 1856 convention granted to the Ottoman Railway Company from Izmir to Aydın, the Ottoman government guaranteed a 6% interest for fifty years upon the investments of the Company not exceeding £1,200,000. This interest was payable upon the satisfactory completion of each section for the sums spent to complete these sections.[241] As mentioned above, in October 1866, the Ottoman government signed a convention granting the

[240] Convention. October 1, 1866. FO 78/2255, TNA.

[241] İzmir Demiryolu'na dair mukavelename. A.}DVN.MKL.74.1, BOA. Also, in French, Rowland Macdonald Stephenson, Railways in Turkey Remarks upon the Practicability and Advantage of Railway Communication in European and Asiatic Turkey (London: John Weale, 1859), Appendix H.

company the full extent of its annual guarantee. Therefore, during the early months of 1867, the directors of the company applied to the Ottoman government with the support of Lord Stanley to recoup their financial claims amounting to £90,525,12.9 and Major General George Tremenheere was asked to travel to Istanbul to pursue the interests of the enterprise.[242] While Tremenheere was called back to England and never reached Istanbul, the company pressed its claims against the Ottoman government. The overwhelming debt that the company had incurred in order to complete the railway had forced its directors to take an aggressive stance towards the Ottoman government in regard to the payment of its guarantees.[243]

In the meantime, Mr. Ritter, Special Commissioner of the Imperial Ottoman Government, visited the works and issued a report. According to Ritter, while the station buildings between Ayasoluk and Aydın were simply and economically built, there was no need for anything different, noting that "besides, the Company, wholly devoid of resources, could do no more." The traffic on the line was also steadily increasing. Ritter's only concern was the limitation of the rolling stock not being able to transport the merchandise arriving to its stations. Ritter urged the Ottoman government to pay the guarantee promised to the company as soon as possible but

[242] Major Tremenheere to Lord Stanley. February 21, 1867. FO 78/2255, TNA.

[243] Approved at the Special Meeting of Share and Debenture Holders, held at the City Terminus Hotel, London. July 15, 1867. FO 78/2255, TNA.

include a stipulation that £8,000 should be set aside to improve the rolling stock by purchasing locomotives and a number of wagons.[244]

However, as no payments were forthcoming, the company, along with the other Anglo-Ottoman railway companies who had also not received their guarantees, sent a memorandum to the Ottoman Grand Vizier, requesting their unpaid guarantees, a combined sum of £400,000.[245] Upon receiving this communication, the Ottoman government's response was less than favorable. In an official communication from the Board of Public Works, the Ottoman government enumerated the failings of the Company in a tone that can easily be described as irritated.[246]

The document highlights several relevant passages from the original concession granted to the company on September 26, 1856, including the company's promise to complete the works by September1860 and otherwise the right of the government to seize the company's £24,000 deposit. As already discussed above, by the initially determined deadline of September 1860, it was obvious to everyone that the works were far from being complete. On the Izmir end, the railway only extended to the insignificant station at Trianda and the works at the Selatin

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[244] Report of Mr. Ritter, Special Commissioner of the Imperial Ottoman Government. August 11, 1867. FO 78/2255, TNA.

[245] Memorial of the Three Anglo Turkish Railway Companies to the Turkish Government. April 29, 1868. FO 78/2255, TNA. Co-signatories of this memorandum were the Danube and Black Sea Railway Company and the Varna Railway Company.

[246] Board of Public Works. Official Communication. Undated. FO 78/2255, 62-63, TNA.

Tunnel had just commenced. (Refer to Figure 1.2) Moreover, the circular points out that at that late date, the company had to investigate a new route as it became obvious that the decision to tunnel through the Selatin Dağı was unachievable, "thereby proving clearly that first plans had not been well or carefully made. This procrastination in the construction of the line was due in a great measure to the fact that the contractor, ruined by the American crisis, had suddenly to suspend its operations, which were resumed by his successor only after a very long interval."[247] Additionally, the communication describes the financial predicament of the company in 1860, as the shareholders had become aware of the difficulties that the company was going through, and with the fear that the Ottoman government might seize the works, it became impossible for the company to raise further funds from its shareholders. Demonstrating the powers held by the Ottoman government, the official communication followed as "the Government of course did step in, but instead of availing themselves of rights, which if they had been carried out strictly would have resulted in the utter ruin of the shareholders, they showed the greatest forbearance." Allowing the company to alter the route and agreeing to a further delay of three more years, expiring on May 1, 1864. "They went still further, and to restore confidence amongst the shareholders, the Government of their own free will, substituted for their right of confiscating the line, a simple clause of foreclosure." Lastly, to enable the company to secure the necessary capital, the Ottoman government allowed the company to issue debentures for £250,000. "Thanks to these arrangements, the section from Smyrna to Karbounar [Kosbounar in

[247] Board of Public Works. Official Communication. Undated. FO 78/2255, 62-63, TNA.

the company records] was opened to traffic on the 14th of November, 1861 and from that date, the Government allowed the Company to draw the guaranteed portion of £39,360 per annum."[248]

The circular also elaborates that, on June 9, 1863, the Ottoman government agreed to further alterations to the already existing contracts as it was obvious that the company was still struggling. Another extension, this time until September 1, 1865 was granted. However, it was agreed that until the whole line was completed, the company would only be granted the already agreed amount of £39,360-no more.

Again, the deadline came and went, and the line was still not completed. The first debentures were due, and yet, the company still needed another £100,000 to complete the construction. In order to be able to pay the past and present debts, the company needed an income of at least £112,000 a year, which could only be obtained if the line was completed. Thus, the communication states that the company approached the Ottoman government again and eventually the parties came to an agreement on October 1, 1866. However, as the official communication from the Ottoman government abundantly makes clear, the works, at the time of this latest agreement, were far from being complete:

> rails were laid down to as far as Aidin only since the 1st of July, and though the locomotive could go as far as that town, there were no sidings, no turntables, the rolling stock was still what it had been for the first section. At the stations, no shelter was provided for the travallers[sic] and goods, and many bridges were temporary structures,

[248] Board of Public Works. Official Communication. Undated. FO 78/2255, 62-63, TNA.

> the cuttings were still incomplete, in fact, though the engines could go along the rails, the line was far from what it ought to be, to make it fit for traffic and to keep it in good repair. Nevertheless, the Government agreed that the guaranteed sum of £112,000 should be paid, as having been due on the 1st of July, 1866.[249]

The expectation of the Government at this point was that the company to raise the additional funds necessary, through the means of this guarantee, to finish the line. The Government also required that the indispensable buildings at the stations to be completed by December of 1867 and the temporary structures eventually replaced with more permanent ones. However, the Company failed to raise the additional funds necessary, they also failed to pay their debts and increase the rolling stock operating on the line. Therefore, the Ottoman Board of Public Works felt that the request of the Company for the payment of the guarantee was ludicrous. "The conduct of the Directors towards the Government… is unjustifiable, and would deserve a very severe lesson, if the Government did not think that the share and bondholders, in whose name the protest is made, are quite ignorant of the real state of affairs, and of the agreements entered into by both parties."[250]

The Company was not only in conflict with the Ottoman government but was also undergoing scrutiny at home. Critical of company's practices during the years of construction and questioning the legality of the debentures and other financial decisions, a group of

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[249] Board of Public Works. Official Communication. Undated. FO 78/2255, 63, TNA. This document was located within the records of the ORC and was probably translated by them.

[250] Board of Public Works. Official Communication. Undated. FO 78/2255, 62-63, TNA.

shareholders formed a committee of investigation and started to allege the directors of the company of misdoings and "a most serious and scandalous state of affairs, both past and present".[251] The dissidents' accusations against the directors of the company are manifold ranging from allowing unauthorized people into the general meetings to more serious accusations of discrepancies in the reported amount of traffic and issuing debentures illegally under the Turkish law.[252] The parties ended up in court suing each other both for allegations of corruption and for libel.

The struggles of the company, both financial and technological, elucidate the processes that affected the production of space that would not have been employed if the operations of the company were without any mishaps. For example, the other railway line originating from Izmir, the Kasaba railway, tends to attract much less attention in the newspapers of the time. Moreover, one only encounters brief mentions of the Kasaba route in diplomatic and consular reports because as the aforementioned circular from the Ottoman Ministry of Public Works states:

> We have an example in the Railway from Smyrna to Cassaba, which is constructed with economy and administered with intelligence, the revenue of which very nearly comes up to the guarantee from the state, and which has never had with the state any dispute, nor given it any trouble, and shows that in Turkey just like elsewhere, Railways can succeed,

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[251] T. G. Ferrell to Lord Stanley. October 9, 1867. FO 78/2255, 24, TNA.

[252] W. P. Pickering, The Ottoman Railway and Sir R. M. Stephenson: with the letter refused by 'The Times,' (London: Kelly & CO., 1867).

provided they are in the hands of administrators, who are clever, economical, and above all, sincerely loyal to their duties towards the public and the state.[253]

However, without the challenges and Ottoman responses to such challenges, the discourses on the railways leave the instrumental role of the Ottomans out of the picture. Therefore, the insufficiencies of the Izmir-Aydın railway, rather than the smooth operations of the Kasaba railway, illuminate the role that the Ottoman government played in the establishment of railways in western Anatolia.

One of the other main opportunities in exploring the mishaps of the Ottoman Railway Company is its potency in crystallizing the agency of the Ottoman government on a project that had many 'colonial' undertones in its execution.[254] James Whittall, a British subject and a resident of Izmir, went so far as to suggest that the Ottoman Aegean coast could become an English or German colony if these powers played their cards correctly. He wrote about how to accomplish this: "[t]he first and most important step is to make railways. They will be constructed, and owned, and worked by Englishmen. They will be enormously profitable; and

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[253] FO78/2255, 62-63, TNA.

[254] The topic of colonial power and technological prowess have been explored within works such as Michael Adas, Machines As the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989; Daniel Headrick, The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981; Ian Kerr, Engines of Change The Railroads That Made India, Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2012; Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith, Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth Century Britain, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. More recently, Mostafa Minawi, 2016, "Telegraphs and Territoriality in Ottoman Africa and Arabia During the Age of High Imperialism," Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies. 1-21.

they will render productive provinces now uncultivated… The railway companies, and the European colonies, will become little republics."[255] Previous scholarship has explored the utilization of infrastructural projects as a tool for colonial power in regions such as India and Africa. The Ottoman state's own imperial status presents a different situation for exploring colonial strategies such as railway building. Although viewed with colonialist intent by Whittall and others, the processes of construction and operation of these railways reveal a different dynamic surrounding the control of space within the Ottoman Empire. While eager to enable the construction of large infrastructural works in its domains, the Ottoman Empire itself was an important agent in the production and regulation of railway spaces in western Anatolia. A good example of the Ottoman government's awareness of its own agency can be found in the aforementioned circular distributed by the Ottoman Ministry of Public Works. This document listed all of the assistance provided by the Ottoman government to the company and stated that: "[this circular] shows the liberal spirit in which the Government has received the demands of the Companies, and how at each new trouble the Government tried to extricated them by fresh concessions, extensions of time, increase of guarantee, and advances of money."[256]

Not only the Ottoman state but also its residents had agency vis-à-vis the railway companies. Beyond the actions of the state, instances of complaints from Ottoman subjects as

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[255] Nassau William Senior, *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858,* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859, 206-207.

[256] FO78/2255,1868, 62-63, TNA.

well as reports published in newspapers such as *Levant Herald*, *Smyrna Mail,* and the *Journal de Constantinople* also illustrate how Ottomans reacted to the alteration of their landscape through the railway. Even though these newspapers also represented the western subjects located in the region, they were nevertheless local voices.

The early operations of the Izmir-Aydın Railway, pitted with a series of scandals, provides an opportunity to examine a dimension of railway construction in the Ottoman Empire that goes far in explicating the transformation of space within a complex Ottoman reality. The disastrous first years of railway construction were not only damaging to the prospects of the company, but were also perceived as a great political debacle and a great disgrace to the British reputation in general. The British Consul in Izmir, Charles Blunt, reported to John Russell, then the British Foreign Secretary of the time that "in this part of Turkey whether Foreign or Native, consider every one [sic] connected with Railway affairs to be dishonest."[258]

The periodic failures of British 'experts' in the establishment of this very first railway route in Anatolia would debunk the British technological supremacy. The affairs of the company would be characterized as having a "most lamentable reflection on the British name!"[259] Therefore, the full force of the British diplomatic corps was mobilized to assist the company as its success became an issue of national pride. The relationships of the Ottoman Railway Company with the Ottoman government would be always within the purview of the British

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[258] Charles Blunt to Lord John Russell. FO78/1533, June 9, 1860. 215-223, TNA.

[259] Charles Blunt to Sir Henry Bulwer. FO78/1533, January 23, 1860, 50-54, TNA.

diplomatic apparatus within the Ottoman Empire and its prospects would also rise and fall with that of the British Empire.

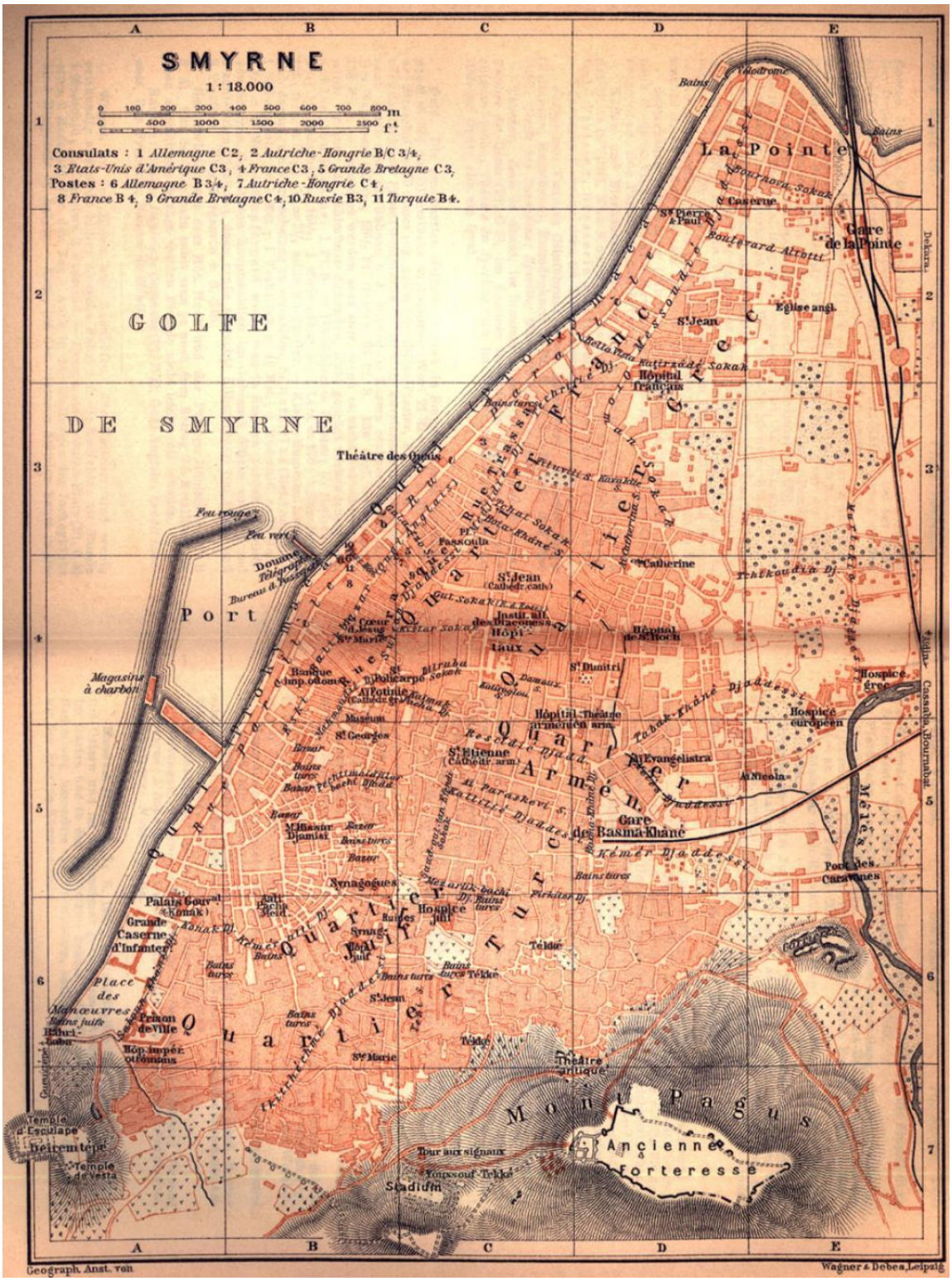

Figure 2.1 *Map of Izmir (Smyrna) from 1900, showing the location of train station at the Point as well as the Turkish quarter.*

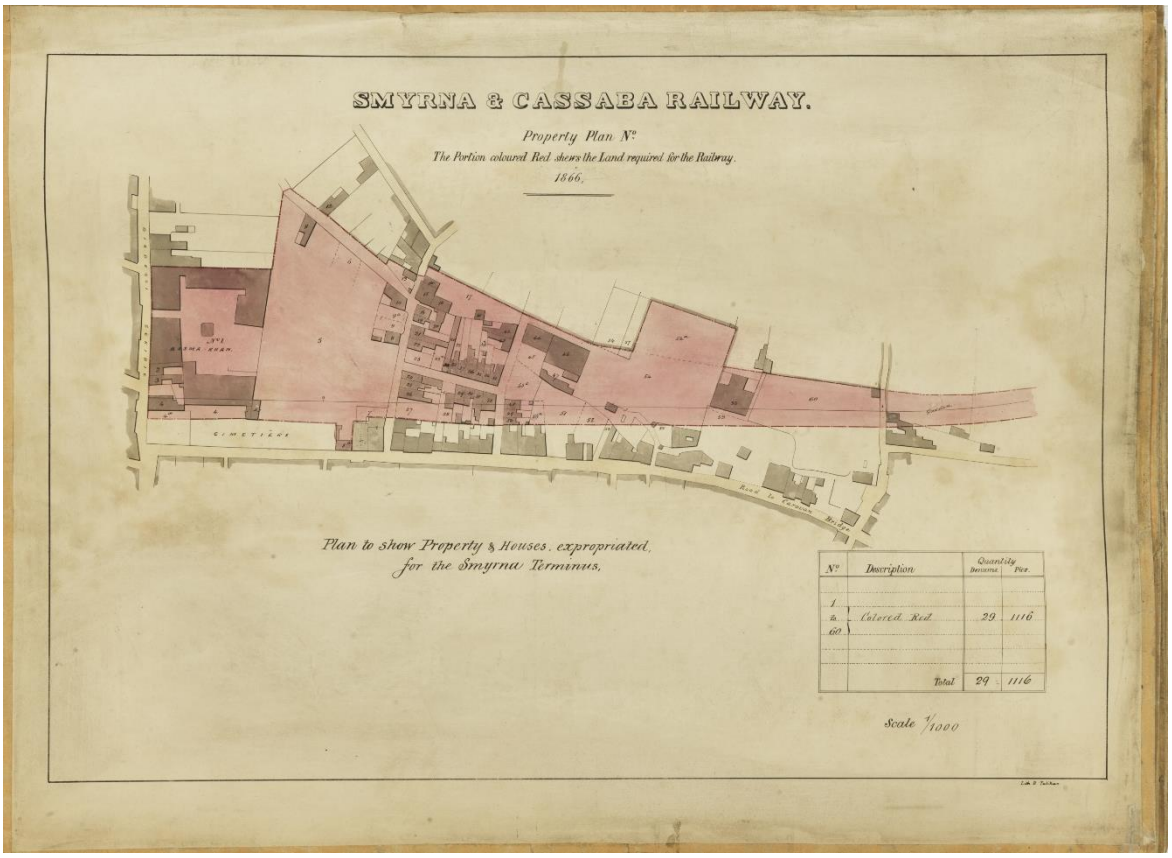

Figure 2.2 *Property Map Showing where the Basmane Station was to be built with numbers associated with properties.*

Source: *PLK.p.1238, BOA.*

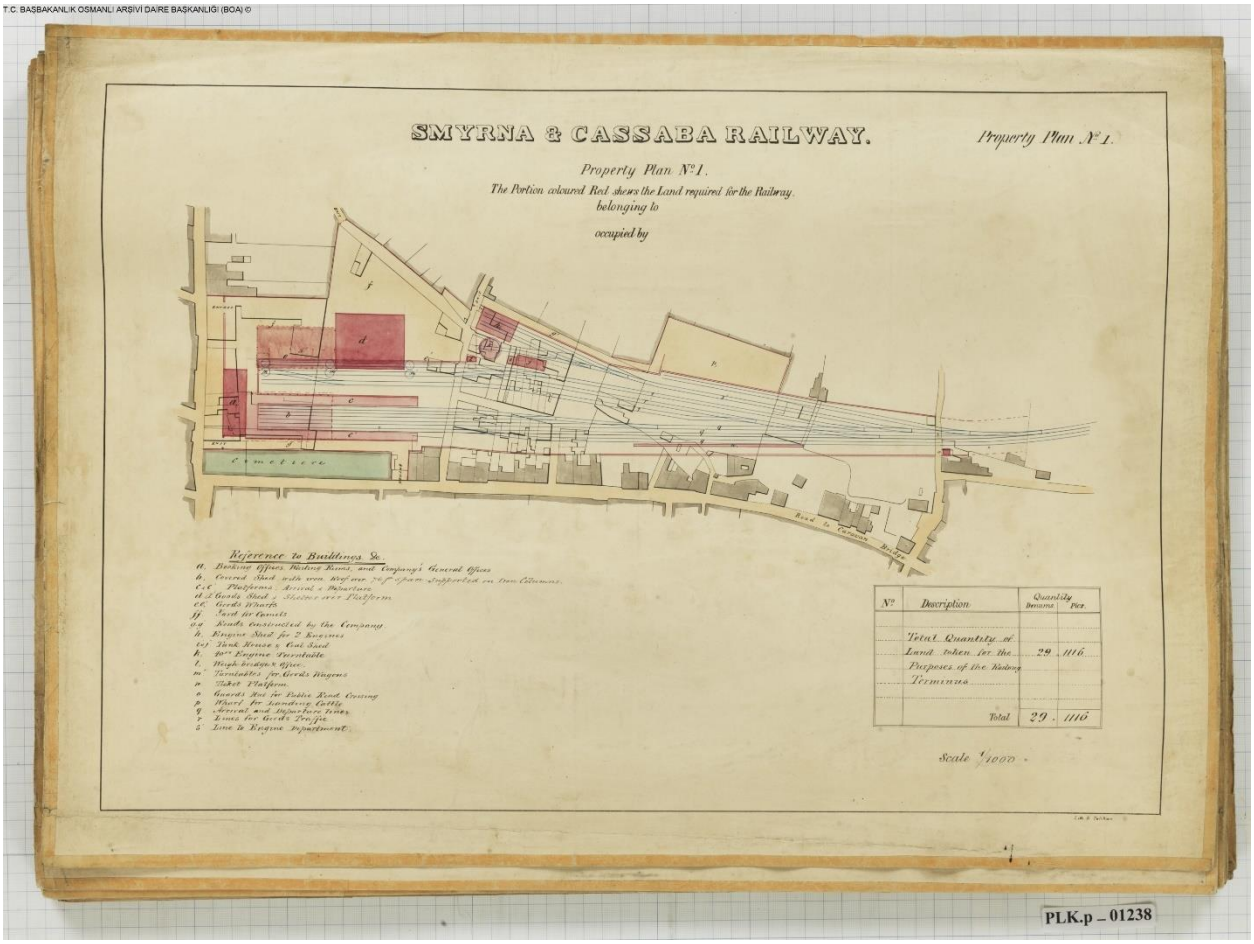

Figure 2.3 *Property Map Showing where the Basmane Station was to be built, with the outlines of the new structures overlaid over the existing urban fabric.*

Source: *PLK.p.1238, BOA.*

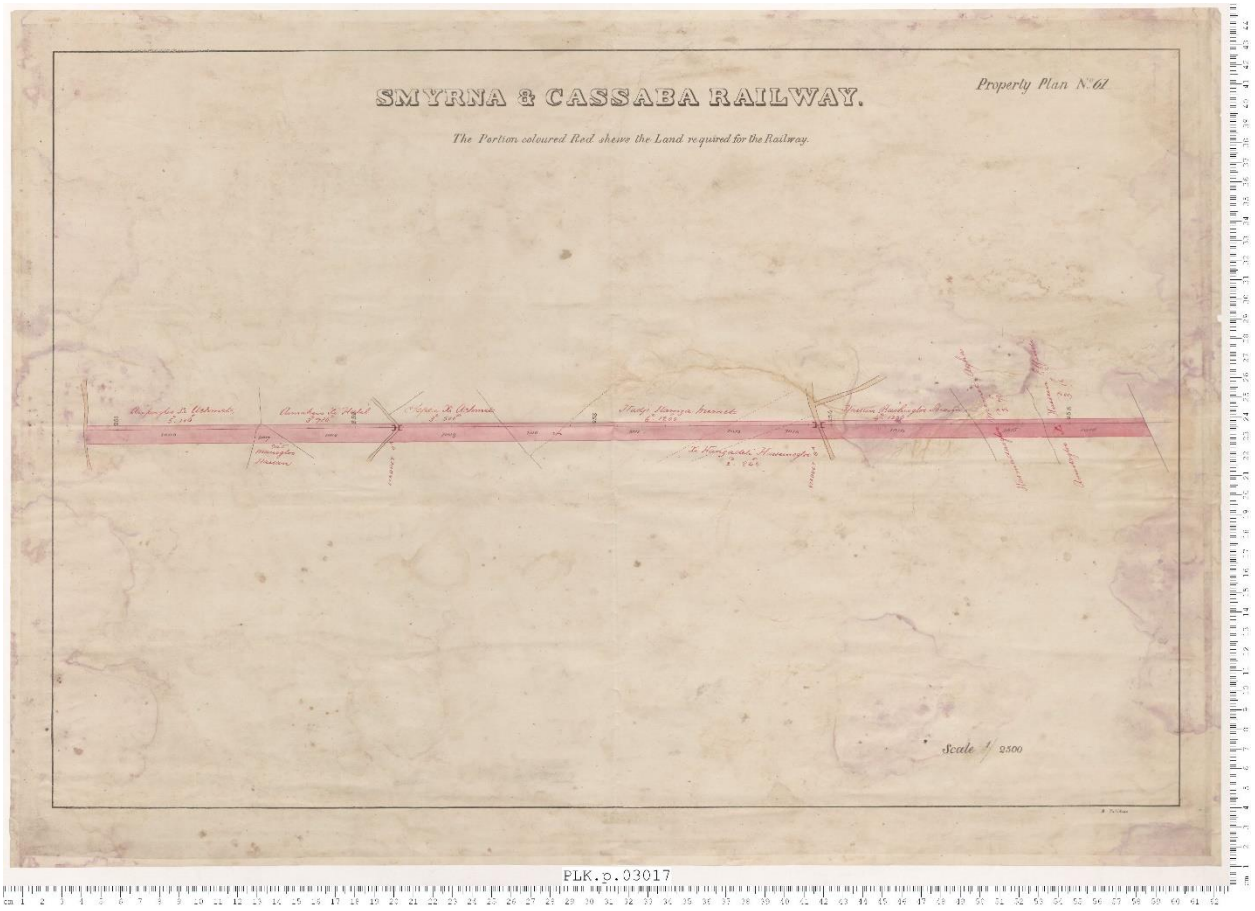

Figure 2.4 *Property Plan 61 of SCR.*

Source *PLK.p.3017.1, BOA.*

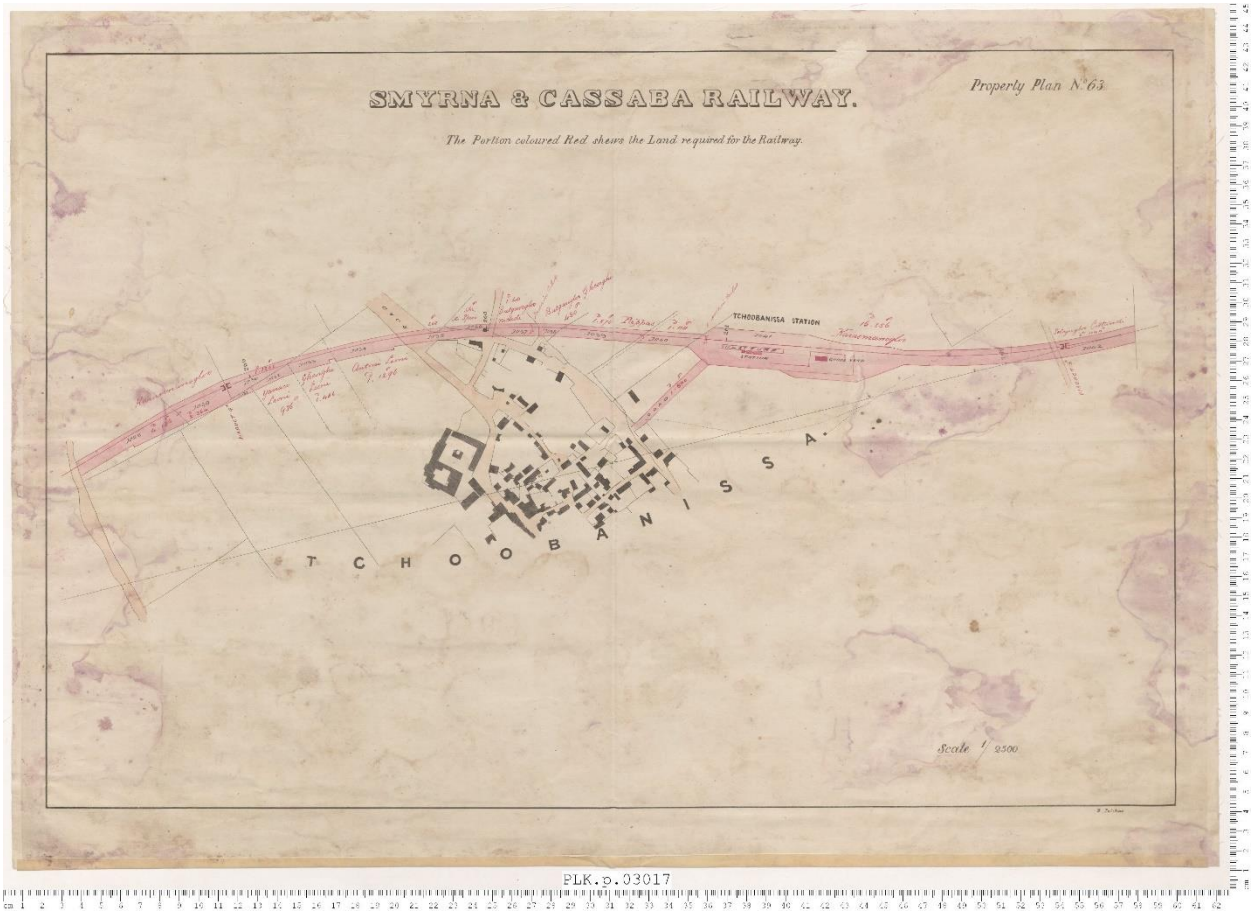

Figure 2.5 *Property Plan 63 of SCR.*

Source *PLK.p.3017.3, BOA.*

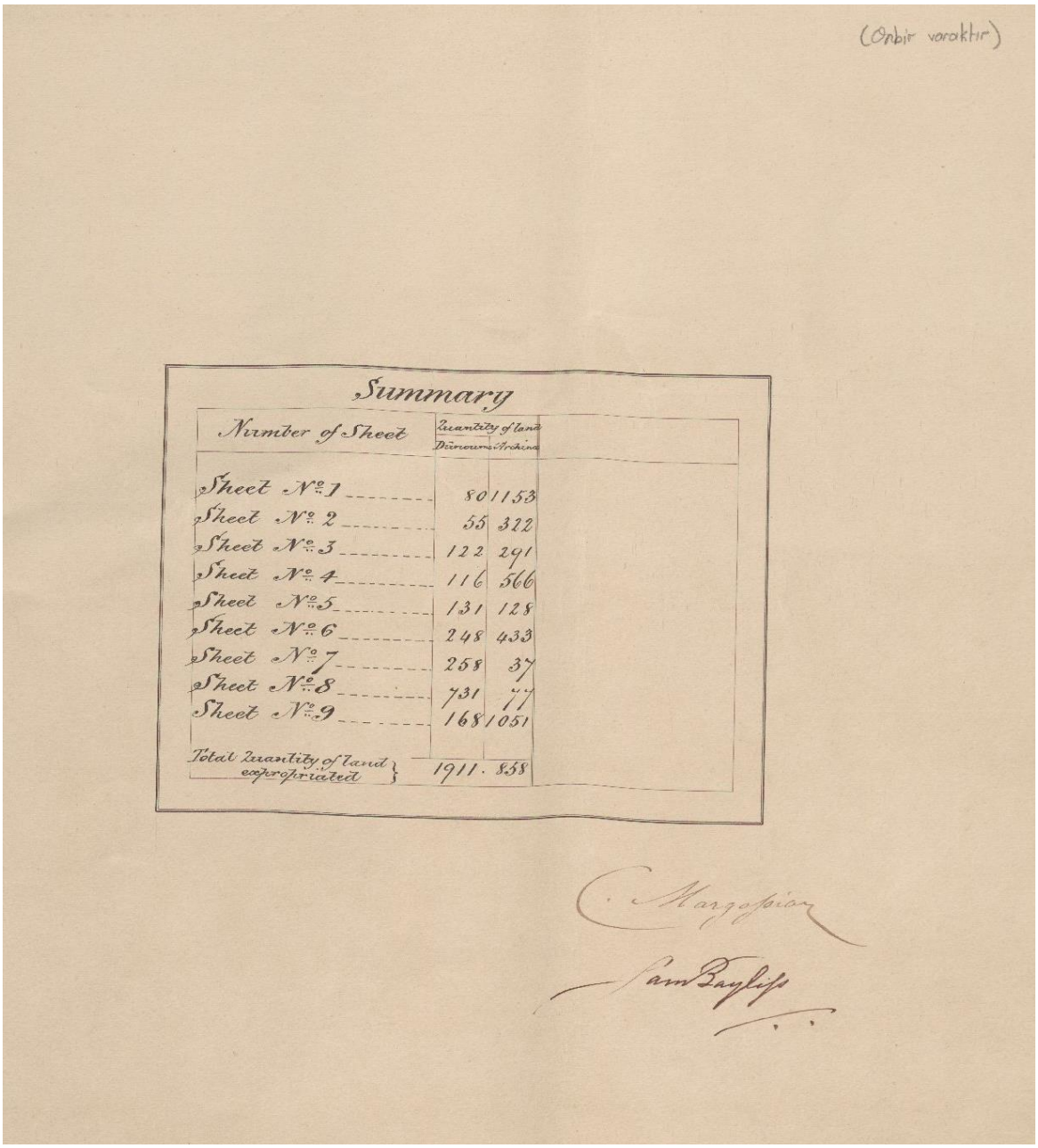

Figure 2.6 *Summary Page of the "Reference to Cadastral Plans of Extension Railway from Cassaba to Ala Scheir. 1874.*

Source: *PLK.p. 5170, BOA.*

Figure 2.7 *Luigi Storari's 1854-56 Map of Izmir showing the city right before railway construction. Insert points to the location of the Caravan Bridge.*

Source *GE C-10718, Département Cartes et Plans, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

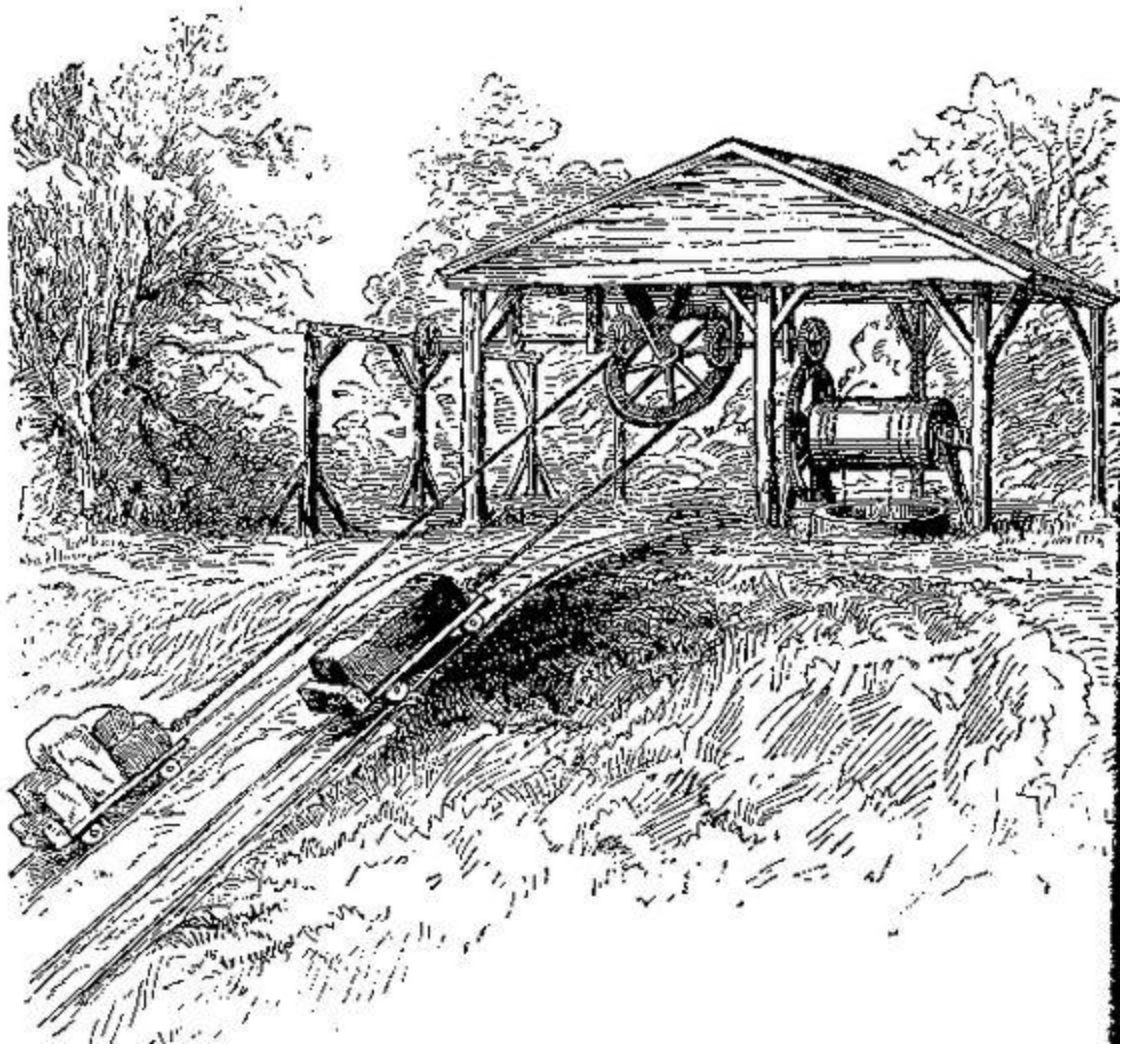

Figure 2.8 *Robert Fulton (1765-1815), inventor and engineer, put the idea of double inclined planes to engineering use to lower and raise canal boats. Edwin Clark's earlier career working on British canals makes it obvious that he was familiar with this system. Instead of Fulton'*

Source: *Thomas Wallace Knox, The life of Robert Fulton: and a history of steam navigation, G.P. Putnam, 1886, pg. 21.*

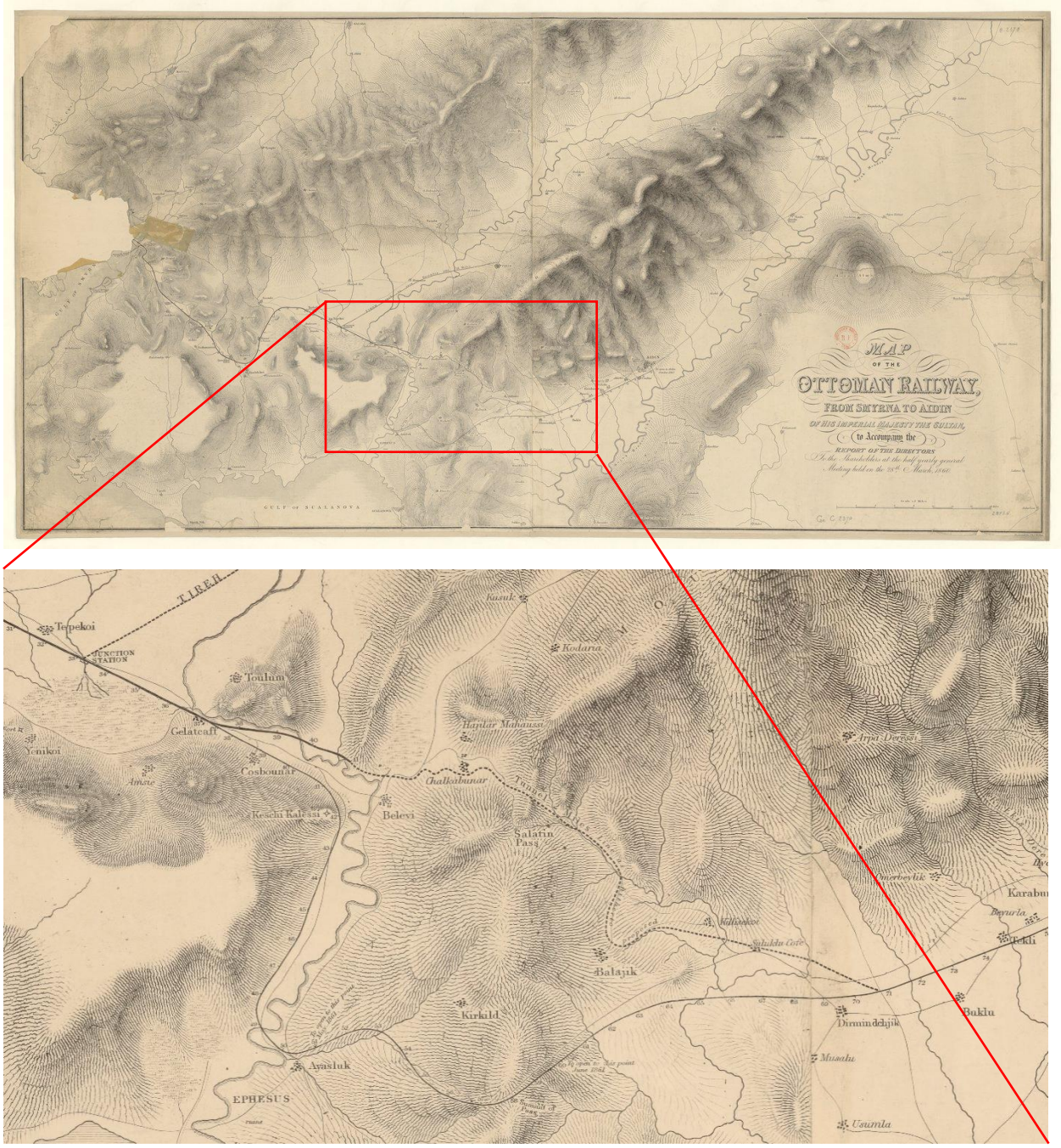

Figure 2.9 *Map of the Ottoman railway from Smyrna to Aidin... to accompany the report of the directors to the shareholders at the half yearly general meeting held on the 28th March 1860.*

Source *GE C-2370, Département Cartes et plans, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

3 NETWORKS OF RAILWAY SPACE

Railways are anchored in space, both physically and metaphorically, but they also form anchor points in much wider, global networks. The western Anatolian railways were obviously grounded in Ottoman space, yet they manifested a mix of local and global dynamics. The railways tapped into the global circulation of capital, expertise and even materials, which were essential in bringing the railways to the Ottoman lands. At the same time, these railways were only materialized through the availability of local resources.

A railroad, or any technological network, according to Bruno Latour, is neither local nor global, since it operates at both scales, as well as introspectively. Within this framework, the railroads of western Anatolia can be considered local since their rails, stations, and repair depots were 'scattered along the way,' embedded in the local geography. Yet, these railways were also global, since they were part of a larger transportation network from Izmir to Afyon and eventually onwards to Baghdad and Calcutta. Yet, these railroads restricted movement, they could not access the variegated landscapes of western Anatolia as they were bound by their materiality to the valley floors.[260] Even along the tracks, the mobility offered by the railroads could only be accessed at certain locations, the train stops. Latour summarizes these qualities of railways by defining them as "continuous paths that lead from local to global, from the

[260] Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002, 117.

circumstantial to the universal, from the contingent to the necessary."[261] Utilizing such a network model enables the positioning of western Anatolian railways within a larger rubric.

3.1 CIRCULATIONS

This networked approach necessarily brings to the fore the issue of writing place-based histories through the lens of a globalized world. In their recent volume, Pretel and Camprubi argued that "the global view does not imply looking at the entire planet as a homogeneous historical entity, but instead rewrites local and regional histories with an emphasis on global connections. It accepts that globalising processes are neither homogeneous nor incompatible with state and imperial interests."[262] However, they also point out that "a global approach has frequently meant the study of European and North American roles in world history, neglecting national histories, tales of resistance and alternative types of connections in vast parts of the world."[263] In this chapter, while I will examine the lives and circulations of global, European, and mainly British ideas, experts and materials, the local stories also emerge as vital to the production of railway spaces in western Anatolia.

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[261] Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 117.

[262] David Pretel and Lino Camprubí, eds. *Technology and Globalisation*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

[263] Ibid.

3.1.1 RAILWAY EXPERTISE, KNOW-HOW AND STRATEGIES

By the time the railways in the Ottoman Empire became a possibility, British capitalists had been building railways in England for several decades.[264] The British had also made their first forays into constructing railways in their colonies. Colonial administrators prioritized railway constructions in their domains for their political and economic advantages. Inevitably, the strategies developed through various British railway experiences abroad were brought to the Ottoman Empire.

The British held great ambitions for their railway projects in Ottoman lands. Sir Rowland Macdonald Stephenson, who served as the first president of the Izmir-Aydın railway, petitioned Britain's Foreign Secretary Viscount Palmerston[265] for support of an overland route to India as early as 1850. The route Stephenson envisioned would travers 500 miles in the European part of the Ottoman Empire and another 1,300 in the Asiatic section, before continuing on to Persia. According to Daniel Headrick and other scholars, the communication of both goods and information at a quick pace was crucial to British rule in India. Stephenson was one of the major

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[264] The Liverpool to Manchester Railway opened in 1830 and is generally considered the start of the railway age in England. See Dan Bogart, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, and Xuesheng You, "The Development of the Railway Network in Britain 1825-1911," Transport, Urbanization and Economic Development in England and Wales C.1670-1911, https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/transport/onlineatlas/railways.pdf.

[265] Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston served as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs between 1846 and 1851 and then as the Home Secretary between 1852 and 1855.

actors in enabling communication.[266] Headrick notes that "[t]he pioneer of the Indian railroad system was Rowland Macdonald Stephenson, a railroad engineer and a visionary who dreamed of laying tracks from Europe to India and China."[267] Therefore, the Izmir-Aydın railway was a small but essential step in a much larger plan Stephenson concocted to connect Europe with Asia to provide an accelerated mobility between Britain and its colonies.

Before coming to Anatolia, Stephenson had convinced the East India Company to grant permission for the establishment of railroads in India. While he had initially asked the East India Company to subsidize his railways, this request was rejected. Instead, a new scheme was accepted that guaranteed a 5% profit to the railway company upon invested capital.[268] Additionally, the railway company received free land and other accommodations from the East India Company that made the construction of the railways possible. The system of guarantees and privileges that Stephenson and his contemporaries arranged in India was imitated in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, like the East India Company, guaranteed an annual profit on capital investment for the Izmir-Aydın Railway Company. The government also provided state-owned land gratuitously for the construction of the railway. This scheme would become the norm for early railway construction efforts in the Ottoman Empire, including for the Izmir-

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[266] Headrick, *The Tools of empire*, 183.

[267] Ibid.

[268] For the first twenty-five years of the railway's operations in India.

Kasaba railway. This transference of strategies from India to Anatolia reflected a global circulation of railway building know-how at the macro scale.[269]

At the level of basic logistics, the technical expertise of the European (in this case, initially British) engineers was essential for the successful construction of the railways in the Ottoman Empire. In addition to high-ranking power-holders such as Stephenson, scores of engineers and other skilled staff flocked to the Ottoman Empire to work on the railway projects. While we know the names of some of these ordinary global 'experts', the careers of higher-ranking engineers tend to be easiest to trace.

George Meredith, an engineer who came to the Ottoman Empire to take charge of railway construction, led construction of the Izmir-Aydın railway during its initial disastrous years. Meredith had worked successfully on a variety of engineering projects in England, but his only prior experience abroad was in the Netherlands. There, he had acted as the representative of a British contractor during the construction of the Antwerp and Rotterdam Railway.[270] Meredith was clearly not prepared for the challenges that would face him as the chief engineer of the first railway to be constructed in Ottoman Anatolia. His inexperience operating outside of western

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[269] A new scheme that depended on kilometric guarantees were established in the 1880s. For more, see Philip Cottrell, "A Survey of European Investment in Turkey, 1854-1914: Banks and the Finance of the State and Railway Construction," in *East Meets West: Banking, Commerce and Investment in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Philip Cottrell, Ashgate, 2008, 60.

[270] "George Meredith," Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/George_Meredith

Europe might have contributed to his ultimate failure and eventual dismissal in the aftermath of the problems faced during construction of the first segment of the Izmir-Aydın railway.

The company was luckier in its second chief engineer, Edward Purser. Unlike Meredith, Purser had significant experience abroad, including successfully working in India on the East Indian Railway. Purser had not only served for four years as the chief assistant engineer in Bengal, but he was also then promoted to become the chief engineer of the North West Provinces division of the railway. He was there during the Indian mutiny of 1857. Stephenson, who must have known Purser as an engineer in India, invited him to examine the works of the Aydın railway while the company was attempting to recover from its initial failures. Purser subsequently assumed duties as the chief engineer of the line. He spent the rest of his life in the Ottoman Empire, first as the chief engineer during the construction phase and, upon its completion, as the general manager of the Ottoman Railway Company.[271]

Similar to the Aydın railway, the Kasaba railway depended on foreign experts and entrepreneurs. Edward Price was the driving motivator for this enterprise through the completion of the railway to Kasaba and during its early operational years. Having worked as a civil engineer around the globe, Price brought significant expertise and capital to the railway project. Price began his career in England and France. His first experience in the Middle East was in Egypt, where he worked on the construction of the Benha and Kaffre Azayat bridges over the

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[271] "Edward Purser", Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Edward_Purser.

Nile, and on parts of the Alexandria and Cairo railway. While still engaged in Egypt, Price entered into a contract with the Brazilian government for the construction of the Dom Pedro Segundo railway. Following his time in Brazil, he pursued a contract with the Ottoman government for the construction of a railway between Samsun and Sivas. When it became obvious that the returns for that project would not be sufficient, Price took on the construction of a railway in Portugal. However, Price remained interested in a railway project in the Ottoman Empire, and he would eventually lead the construction of the Izmir-Kasaba railway and complete the first part successfully.[272] Edward Price, like the chief engineer of the Izmir-Aydın line, Edward Purser, was the embodiment of the itinerant global expert, assisting in many large-scale 19th-century modernization projects around the world.

Samuel Bayliss assumed Edward Price's position upon his passing. Bayliss had worked in Egypt, building railways and bridges over the Nile, and in Brazil on the Dom Pedro Segundo Railway. Though there is no clear evidence, it is probable that Bayliss and Price encountered one another in Egypt or Brazil and Price invited Bayliss to the Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company.[273] The global movement of engineers during the 19th century not only created the vast infrastructural networks that increased connectivity between disparate regions of the world, but obviously it also resulted in professional networks that put men such as Rowland Macdonald

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[272] "Edward Price," Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Edward_Price_(1805-1871)

[273] Institution of Civil Engineers (Great Britain), Minutes of proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers. Name-index: volumes I to LVIII. Sessions 1837 to 1878-79, vol. 136, London, 1899, 362-362.

Stephenson and Edward Purser or Edward Price and Samuel Bayliss in touch with one another through common ex-pat experiences in places such as India and Brazil.

Henry Kemp was the next engineer to take charge of the Kasaba railway. Like the other British railway engineers that became involved in the construction of western Anatolian railways, Kemp's career in railways took him to a variety of places around the world from Sardinia to Hungary, Sudan, Spain, Russia and Egypt and eventually to the Ottoman Empire. His 1895 obituary noted that "Mr. Kemp's experience of the world was wide and he was a worthy representative of English engineers."[274]

While the foreign presence and expertise was significant and brought people with diverse experiences to the Ottoman Empire, local knowledge of indigenous conditions and geography was just as important for the effective execution of the railway projects. The relationship between the European experts and the local population was a reciprocal and reflexive interface where global expertise was rescripted to fit the particularities of the Anatolian landscape with the aid of local know-how. The simultaneous existence of these two modes of operation, local practices versus European engineering modus operandi, led to an unequal but dialectical dynamic. This dynamic is evident in a set of books written by British railroad engineer William Davis Haskoll. In 1857, Haskoll published *Railway Construction*, a veritable textbook on how to build railroads in Britain. Shortly after its publication, Haskoll took a position as the resident

[274] "Henry Kemp," Grace's Guide to British Industrial History, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Henry_Kemp

engineer on the Izmir-Aydın line. Following his tenure there, Haskoll wrote another book entitled *Railways in the East*, in which his experience in Ottoman lands found a direct expression as guidelines for future railway constructions undertaken by British experts and capital abroad. While Haskoll emphasized the need to train local laborers in European methods of construction and enumerated the challenges of relying on pack animals such as camels and donkeys for procuring materials, he also highlighted the importance of local practices and knowledge in the building process. In his book, he stated that: "We can scarcely listen to too much [local knowledge], from the fear of missing perhaps only one portion of valuable information."[275] This indicates the value that Haskoll assigned to local practices despite his unequivocal belief in the superiority of European practices. Haskoll's appreciation of "men whose skill and experience brought from Europe had been ripened into greater value by knowledge of the language, of the habits and capabilities of the men they had to lead, and by many local technical advantages" also suggests a similar conclusion.[276] Through his words, Haskoll came to define the ideal modus operandi for railway construction in the 'east' as one that takes advantage of local knowledge and customs, but still prioritizes methods of organization and operation that originate from European construction expertise. A painting by David Hall McKewan illustrates the unequal nature of the power dynamics, with the supervising foreigner on horseback in a position of

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[275] William Davis Haskoll, *Railways in the East, and Generally in High Thermometrical Regions* (London: Atchley and Co., 1863), 8.

[276] Ibid.

power. (Figure 3.1) Haskoll acknowledged not only the simultaneous modes of operation in and around the construction site of the railways, but also their necessity and intrinsic value.

While the practices described in Haskoll's book assumes an unequal relationship between local know-how and global expertise of railway making, many Ottomans were in positions of power in the making of the western Anatolian railways. The example of Colonel Reşad Bey and his involvement in the establishment of railways in western Anatolia is particularly instructive. Reşad Bey was educated in France prior to joining the Ottoman military.[277] He was appointed as the railway commissioner first to the Izmir-Aydın railway, but later took on additional duties with the Izmir-Kasaba railway as well as within the general administration of public works.[278] As the intermediary between the Sublime Porte and the railway companies in western Anatolia, his influence in the creation of the western Anatolian railways was substantial. As he was supervising the railway companies on behalf of the Ottoman government, he was able to exercise power over the railways. Reşad Bey's communication with railway administrators, such as Samuel Bayliss, also attests to their compatible status in the hierarchy of railway administration and hints to an underlying friendship. Reşad Bey's career, while distinguished, was not unique. For example, another official, Nihad Bey, also acted as a railway commissioner

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[277] Sicill-i Osmani, Vol V, 1377.

[278] I.MVL.398.17313, BOA. According to A.}MKT.MHM.418.64, BOA, Reşad Bey was later appointed as a deputy to the Administration of Roads and Construction (Turuk ve Meabir muavini), which was part of the Nafia Nezareti (Ministry of Public Works).

and, in his supervisory and regulatory role, compiled of many of the reports filed with the Sublime Porte regarding the Kasaba railway.[279]

Groups of experts, formed into official commisions, similarly played essential roles in the making of the railways. As discussed in the previous chapter, one commission arbitrated and facilitated land expropriations, and another commission commented on the feasibility of a double-incline system to traverse the Selatin mountain. While these commissions included both foreign and Ottoman experts and officials, the Ottomans participating in these commissions were nonethless important in the decision-making mechanisms of the Ottoman state vis-a-vis the railways. In fact, the existing communications between Reşad Bey and Samuel Bayliss were mainly about the thorny issue of land appropriations and the business of the commission dealing with the expropriations.

The involvement of Ottomans in railway business was not activated solely through the Ottoman bureaucracy. Noted linguist Nasif Mallouf, who worked as the chief dragoman at the British Consulate in Izmir, was also called upon to act as an intermediary for the railway business. His expertise in linguistics differed from the specialties of the engineers and administrators, but was nonetheless significant. For example, when the railway line was opened to Ayasoluk, Mallouf translated the ceremonies, enabling shared participation in the celebrations.[280] He was also

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[279] According to A.}MKT.MHM.420.15, BOA, Nihad Bey was promoted to the *saniye* level of civil service in 1868.

[280] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

commissioned in 1864 to prepare a report about the railways on behalf of the British Consulate in Izmir, which was later filed with the British Embassy in Istanbul. Through this task, Mallouf was able to judge the state of the railways in the midst of their construction.[281]

In his book *Rule of Experts,* Timothy Mitchell identified three characteristics of expertise that were manifested during the construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt. First of all, Mitchell posited that the new engineering expertise was a "concentration and reorganization of knowledge rather than an introduction of expertise where none had been in use before."[282] This was indeed true in the Ottoman context. The Ottomans had an intimate knowledge of the landscape of western Anatolia. The British experts needed to tap into this local knowledge of place in order to build and operate the railways. This local knowledge included topics such as the local topography, the weather patterns and the cyclical rhythms of commercial activity. In other words, they reorganized the existing knowledge of the western Anatolian landscape to fit their own purposes. Moreover, there was a centuries-old technology of transport extant in the region that depended on animal rather than mechanical power and had sustained trade through a large geography. The second characteristic Mitchell identified was the idea that "the projects encountered continuous practical difficulties. In fact, every one of [the projects] failed."[283] As already explored in the previous chapter, the railway experts failed time and again in western

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[281] FO195/797, 74, TNA.

[282] Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity,* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002, 41-42.

[283] Ibid.

Anatolia, especially during the early years. Not only could they not find the optimal path for the railway, they also did not manage to execute much of their initial plan and thus were basically required to reformulate the whole project. The rails were washed away time and again as they could not withstand the climatic conditions of the region. Their calculations regarding their ability to compete with camel traffic similarly proved inaccurate, and at the end turned out to be wishful thinking more than anything else. Thirdly, Mitchell pointed out that "it was an important aspect of the politics of technical expertise that these failures and adjustments were overlooked, in fact actively covered up."[284] Considering that the blunders of the railway companies were witnessed by so many people in Izmir, and widely discussed in period newspapers, Mitchell's third claim does not comfortably fit the western Anatolian case. On the other hand, while they were not covered up per se, the railway companies were nonetheless given options and extensions and further concessions in order to bring the whole enterprise to a successful completion. Both the Ottoman and British bureaucrats were involved in the granting of these accommodations, reflecting a bilateral political will.

While there are further examples of high-ranking officials involved in the making of the railways in western Anatolia and their *modus operandi*, there were also obviously many laborers or mid-level supervisors working for the railway, both Ottoman and not. We have very little information about their stories due to the nature of the available written records. However, the railways of western Anatolia could not have been built without the significant involvement of

[284] Ibid.

both Ottomans and foreigners who fulfilled ordinary tasks in their production, regardless of whether they left any written trace of their labors.

3.1.2 MATERIALS

The production of the railway spaces required significant logistical movement of materials. Iron, the primary material of railway construction, was a great necessity but was not readily available in the Ottoman Empire and thus had to be shipped the long distance from England. However, this dependence on foreign materials did not end with iron. Foreign materials were used widely in the construction of the railways and the railway companies shipped everything from revolvers to pozzolana to their construction sites in western Anatolia.

As one of the major accommodations for the railway companies, the Ottoman government exempted them from import dues and customs taxes for materials brought for the construction of the railways. Therefore, while the companies spent valuable resources in shipping fees, they did not incur additional taxation when the materials arrived in Izmir. Indeed, the company's first chief engineer, George Meredith, traveled to the Ottoman Empire on a ship chartered by the company, carrying materials as well as skilled laborers.[285]

This inflow of materials was activated whenever the companies undertook extensions to the rail network. The early months of 1883 witnessed a series of ships docking in Izmir to unload cargo for the construction of a branch line to Tire for the Izmir-Aydın railway. According to a report dated March 17, 1883, the steamer 'Magdala' had come in with 30 yards of plates for

[285] Journal de Constantinople, June 24, 1857.

bridges, 23 barrels of rivets, again for the bridges, as well as 40 pairs of wagon wheels. The same document reported that the 'Stalion' had brought 30 oak beams. On the 24th of March, the steamer 'Arcadia' arrived with 186 iron plates for bridges in addition to 20 iron bars, wheelbarrows and shovels. Few days later, on March 29, the steamer 'Palmyra' arrived with 41 crates of bolts and blacksmithing tools, six plates of iron and 354 iron bars. Additionally, it carried 450 springs and 40 pairs of wheels for wagons. The steamer 'Favonian' brought office furniture. On April 20, the sailing ship 'Taxiarchis' brought 5,000 cases of pozzolana, while the sailing ship 'Pietro Boscovich' arrived with 100,000 tiles. On April 25, the steamer 'Morocco' brought a case of lamps for the locomotives. On May 10, 1883, the steamer 'Hagia Sophia' came with 164 cases of telegraphic cable. The shipments continued throughout the year, and ships were bringing supplies as late as mid-November, including the bells that were brought by the 'Lesbian' and a case of clocks that arrived with the 'Roumelia' on December 31, 1883.

This sampling of items brought to Izmir for the construction of the Tire branch demonstrates the extent of the imports used in railway construction. It has not been possible to determine the routes of these ships; therefore, we do not know the exact origin of each cargo. It is clear, however, that Izmir's port was constantly unloading materials to be used in railway construction. While we know that iron and certain other supplies, such as coal, originated in England, the starting point of the other items is less clear. For example, large shipments of tiles were brought with sailing ships rather than with steamers, and might have been produced in closer proximity to Izmir, perhaps along the Aegean coast or in the islands. Pozzolana was readily

available in the Aegean as well as in Italy, and thus, might have been shipped from similarly nearby locations.

Significant resources were also deployed from within the Ottoman Empire. For instance, timber cut from Pazarcık, today in Bulgaria, and from Biga, near the Dardanelles, was transported to Izmir for railway construction via the *Tersane-i Amire* (imperial arsenal) in Istanbul.[286] It is indeed possible that the oak beams that the 'Stalion' brought to Izmir might have originated in an Ottoman forest.

One shipment of materials held particular metaphorical significance: the purchase and transfer of materials from the railway that the British had constructed in the Crimea. When the connection between Balaclava and Sebastapol became defunct at the conclusion of the Crimean War, the Ottoman government purchased the railway and ordered that its materials be uprooted from Crimea and used for railway construction in Izmir.[287] As the Crimean War had been instrumental in igniting Ottoman interest in railways and as the War was also a benchmark in solidifying the Ottoman-British alliance, this line held symbolic importance.

The inflow of supplies paralleled the utilization of local materials. The importance of local resources was evident from the beginning as the concession documents granted the railway companies rights to freely use timber and mines from government-owned properties along the railway route. Resources beyond timber and metal ores were also harvested from the land. For

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[286] A.}MKT.UM.263.46 and A.}MKT.UM.312.88 and A.}MKT.UM.313.71, BOA.

[287] A.}MKT.MHM.108.58, BOA.

instance, the Izmir-Kasaba railway, during its northerly extension, opened up a new stone quarry (at the 42nd kilometer mark of the old line between Izmir and Manisa). This quarry had a sufficient amount of rough and dressed stone to complete all the bridges and culverts on the new branch line. Bricks and drain pipes were manufactured at the 36th kilometer mark of the extension, thus reducing the time and cost of haulage. On the other hand, the Kasaba railway was also depedent on materials arriving from elsewhere. For instance, for this extension, timber was brought from the Black Sea region to the company's pier at Halkapınar in Izmir and then transported up the line. Additionally, the company shipped 1,700 tons of rails and fastenings from England and more would be needed. For the bridge that crossed the Nif Çayı, Henry Kemp reported on the preperations and materials, including "a pile engine, boiler, piles, timber, pontoon, &c."[288] Another significant bridge crossed the Gediz River, which necessitated the transport of further components. (Refer to Figure 2.5)

In sum, during the second half of the 19th century in western Anatolia, in all aspects of railway construction, local and global networks intersected. This included construction strategies, expertise, materials and, while not examined in this chapter, capital.[289] This

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[288] Financial Times (London), April 26, 1889.

[289] Certain aspects of the circulation of capital has been included in the previous chapter. Also, see V. Necla Geyikdağı, *Foreign investment in the Ottoman Empire international trade and relations 1854-1914* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011); Ralf Roth and Günter Dinhobl, eds., *Across the Borders: Financing the World's Railways in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008).

intersection created a dialectic that resulted in the particular reformulation of land that accentuated both the local characteristics of western Anatolian while at the same time highlighting the global nature of railway building enterprises in general.

3.2 A NETWORKED ISOLATION AT THE EPHESUS PASS

On August 7, 1864, after a long and exhausting voyage, John Norton Hewitt reached the Ephesus Pass, an isolated spot among the western Anatolian mountains. The Ephesus Pass emerged as an important location for the Izmir-Aydın railway when the railway company chose to alter its initial route in order to circumvent the extensive tunneling work at the Selatin pass. Hewitt's experiences, working in a variety of capacities at the Ephesus Pass, reveal the particularities of everyday life at a construction site in Ottoman Anatolia from the perspective of a foreign 'expert'. Beyond that, Hewitt's experiences also reflect the idiosyncrasies of being placed at a liminal zone between the global and the local, at a place on the cusp of becoming networked to a world of accelerated mobilities.

According to an 1861 census, John Norton Hewitt was from Middle Rasen of Lincolnshire in England, where he was working as a bricklayer and a plasterer.[290] Two years later, a city and county directory similarly listed Hewitt as a bricklayer and a builder.[291] The Lancashire Cotton

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[290] *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1861*. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), 1861.

[291] *UK, City and County Directories, 1600s-1900s*; Title: *1863 Morris´ Directory and Gazetteer, 1863.*

Famine of 1861-65[292] affected the fortunes of his family and forced Hewitt to leave his wife, Eliza Padman, and his daughters to make a living in railway construction abroad.[293] As such, he was an outsider to the network of experts that operated in a global framework as a norm, but he joined their cadres involuntarily and, he hoped, only temporarily. His time in the Ottoman Empire was thus marked by a deep-seated isolation despite his ability to tap into a number of global networks.

Hewitt arrived at the Ephesus Pass in August of 1864. At the Pass, his duties ranged from supervising the production of brick making and stone cutting, to overseeing the progress of the tunnel works. He would even be offered a small subcontract of his own to undertake the construction of a bridge over the Devrend stream. Therefore, his days were occupied with the production of railway spaces, counting bricks and measuring stones to supply the construction of the tunnels and bridges.

Despite the isolated location of the Pass, new technologies connected Hewitt to wider global networks. He was able to communicate frequently with his family back in England, sending them letters, money and even bird feathers. (Figure 3.2) He would also from time to time take the train to Izmir, where he would engage in leisure activities and check the status of his

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[292] Lancashire Cotton Famine affected the dominant textile industries of the region. See Orhan Kurmuş, "The Cotton Famine and Its Effects on the Ottoman Empire," in The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy, ed. Huri Islamogu-Inan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 160.

[293] Hewitt had seven daughters; Annie, Kate, Eliza, Caroline and Selina were still living under his roof when he traveled to the Ottoman Empire.

anticipated shipments from England. On the other hand, Hewitt was also exposed to contagious disease and witnessed population shifts and the mass movement of people due to political changes in the region.

3.2.1 LOCALITIES OF RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION

Upon arriving at the Ephesus Pass, Hewitt took on the duties of supervising the production of bricks and the cutting of stone. Both were being made near the construction sites, as their bulk made it more expedient for local production. The Ephesus Pass required the construction of two tunnels. While they were less ambitious engineering projects than the one at Selatin, they were nonetheless major works. These tunnels were built out of brick, therefore, there was a need for great numbers of bricks. In order to satisfy this demand, several brickyards were opened. While each yard was individually overseen by a manager, Hewitt was responsible for the overall accounting of the bricks on behalf of the subcontracting 'firm', Mayliam & Co. As the work was paid per piece, Hewitt spent a good deal of his time counting and recounting bricks and preparing 'troublesome' fortnightly pay sheets. For example, on Wednesday, August 10, he detailed counting a "stack of bricks 58,000" and on Thursday, August 18, he "counted Pamiyotti's bricks (10,500) also Marino's 3,122. Settled Stasso's acct."[294] From time to time, Hewitt would also oversee the transport of the bricks from the brickyards to the construction sites. Despite the closeness of brick production to the construction zones, there was nonetheless a need for

[294] Diary of John N. Hewitt, August 10, 1864 and August 18, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

hauling the bricks from one location to the other. For instance, a Stellio was hired to carry the stack of 58,000 bricks to Shaft No. 2 shortly after Hewitt counted them.[295]

The cutting of stone had dual purposes. Rocky areas coinciding with the railroad's path had to be sculpted to enable the passage of the train, and thus required a series of 'cuttings' in the landscape. Stone was also needed as a construction material for the railway in large quantities and had to be quarried, again altering land in a significant manner. Hewitt visited stone 'dressers' from his first week on the job, to supervise their progress both in the quarries and at the cuttings. The material effects of railway construction on the local landscape became most apparent to him at a location called the Slip of Rock. Hewitt describes the Slip of Rock as such:

> …one of the grander sights I have met with on the works. A rock of immense height has by some convulsion of nature been split in two & fallen into a ravine where the immense masses lie heaped together in the wildest confusion. I shall never forget the impression made on my mind at the sight of this immense mass of stone being thrown down & broken into fragments (some of them by the by weighing thousands of tons) it reminded me of Milton's grand description of the battle between the archangel Michael & Lucifer in his immortal Paradise Lost, I shall take the first opportunity of visiting again this beautifully grand effect of some wonderfully violent convulsion of nature.[296]

The spectacular qualities of this natural formation, probably formed due to the frequent earthquakes that impact this region, are clear from Hewitt's description. Less than two weeks after Hewitt penned this impression of the Slip of Rock, Hewitt visited the location again. Within

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[295] ibid.

[296] Diary of John N. Hewitt, September 6, 1863, Lincolnshire Archives.

this short time frame, a significant alteration of this rocky formation had already taken place. Reflecting on how acutely he felt the effects of the railway construction on the local topography, Hewitt recorded the following words into his journal:

> assisted Mr Wright to take 'Sections' at the 'Slip of Rock'…[I] am sorry that this grand piece of nature's handywork should have to be destroyed. Already have the men made a wonderful difference with the appearance of the masses of stone. A few weeks will completely spoil it.[297]

However, Hewitt was a pragmatic railway supervisor and would comment periodically on the need for stone in the construction process. For instance, he notes on November 9, 1864 that he had arranged for a large supply of stones for 42 miners who had come to work on the Tunnel.[298] A month later, he noted that he "went out this afternoon with Mr. Wooding to the 'Devrend Café' to examine stone for a bridge to be built there, a delightful ride there, examined 2 'quarrys' [sic] for stone and river for sand, both very good, had a glass of mastic & cup of coffee."[299]

The various modes of altering the land, from the digging of clay pits for bricks and the quarrying of stone, to the 'amelioration' of the train's path produced a very localized effect. The land was consciously sculpted and altered. While this morphing of the land was subtle in most locations, in certain cases, like at the Slip of Rock, it was pronounced and resulted in the

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[297] Diary of John N. Hewitt, September 17, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[298] Diary of John N. Hewitt, November 9, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[299] Diary of John N. Hewitt, December 10, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

obliteration of distinctive topographic features. As such, the addition of the rails to the landscape and the accompanying metamorphosis of the land also altered the experiences of spaces. It is, for instance, impossible to now know the exact location of the Slip of Rock, once a prominent and, according to Hewitt's account, magnificent marker in the landscape.

3.2.2 CONNECTIVITIES IN ISOLATION

The mountains of western Anatolia were desolate places, dominated by the nomadic *yörük* populations of the region. The arrival of the railway to the Ephesus Pass brought increased accessibility. The pace of mobility and communication accelerated with the railway and the accompanying telegraphy. While the Pass itself was not on the rail network during Hewitt's stay, nearby Ayasoluk had been reached by 1862. Thus, Hewitt could access the Pass through the increased connectedness afforded by the presence of a nearby rail terminus, reachable through a relatively short horse ride or even on foot. Indeed, upon first arriving in Smyrna, Hewitt took the train to Ayasoluk and from there walked to the Ephesus Pass on foot. While this walk took him two hours, it was still a possibility. During his stay at the Pass, Hewitt made many such trips to Ayasoluk. Obviously, one of the main reasons for Hewitt's trips to Ayasoluk was to take the train to Izmir, either for leisure or for business. For instance, on November 1, 1864, Hewitt rode to Ayasoluk to take the train to Izmir for the horse races. While he was disappointed with the size of the crowd of approximately 200 people, he was pleased with the races, especially since his friend Mr. Fotherby's horse 'Little Savage' won one of them.[300]

[300] Diary of John N. Hewitt, November 1, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

The most pronounced connectivity of Hewitt with the wider world was through his communications with his family. Made faster as a result of steam transport, Hewitt could communicate with his family on a regular basis. While this did not eradicate the loneliness he felt during his time at the Ephesus Pass, the arrival of letters and newspapers from England was certainly an anticipated occasion for him. One of Hewitt's first acts upon his arrival at the Ephesus Pass was to write letters to his family. At the same time, he also sent his wife Eliza £20 by a 'bankers bill'. The schedule of the post would become a minor obsession for Hewitt, always awaited with much anticipation. Posting letters to his family was part of his weekly ritual. Once, on account of the hustle and bustle that accompanied paying the laborers, Hewitt forgot to post a letter to his wife. He noted that "I forgot to post my usual letter by French Mail, shall have to send it in order that my Dearest may not be disappointed via Trieste."[301] This passage offers us a clue that Hewitt had access to not only one but two alternative postal services and when one failed, he could tap into the alternative postal network. However, he was quite powerless when his letters from home were delayed. On September 25, Hewitt noted:

> "am disappointed again by the nonarrival of the mail wonder what can be the reason- sorry to find that during the winter months commencing on the 4th Oct, we are only to have 3 mails a month with arrivals on the 8th 18th and 28th, departure 4th 14th and 24th of every month via France. Trieste Mail every week as usual. If my dearest comes out to me, shall not care so much about the alteration, should she decide on staying in England shall be very sorry for the change."[302]

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[301] Diary of John N. Hewitt, August 30, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[302] Diary of John N. Hewitt, September 25, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

He continued to feel the effects of the altered mail schedule when he lamented on November 4th that "The mail in today but no letters. two newspapers for me. cannot account for the nonarrival of letters. am quite sure my own dearest would write as usual- must now wait patiently? Ten days for the next mail."[303]

Another expression of the increased connectivity that emerged with steam technologies was Hewitt's ability as an individual to be able to order necessities from England. For example, in September of 1864, Hewitt wrote to his wife for some gloves. He might have begun to feel the change in the weather as he opened a sealed letter to Eliza.[304]

Hewitt also utilized the same connectivity in an attempt to make extra money. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to one Mr. Rowell for 90 gallons of ale, hoping "to realize a sovereign by the transaction."[305] On October 2nd, Hewitt also communicated with his brother George regarding the prices of ale and port. On November 17th, he wrote to George requesting "1 or 1 1/2 ton of ale in 36 gallon cashes."[306] While a shipment of libations he ordered may have disappeared from the 'Bellona' earlier, we know that Hewitt did finally receive a bill of lading for 5 barrels of ale shipped with the 'Ada'. At last on February 17th, Hewitt received his shipment and took it directly from the port to the railway station for further transport to Ayasoluk.

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[303] Diary of John N. Hewitt, November 4, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[304] Diary of John N. Hewitt, September 21, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[305] Diary of John N. Hewitt, August 21, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[306] Diary of John N. Hewitt, November 17, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

The railway not only enabled the circulation of goods such as ale and gloves between the Ephesus Pass and Lincolnshire, but also made the long-distance hauling of machinery to the area possible. For example, Hewitt wrote that

> a Mr. Reece, a cotton grower in this country, came through our village this afternoon with an Eugenie of Clayton & Shuttleworth of Lincoln.[307] On seeing it & the name of the makers my heart bounded with delight at the sight of the old familiar home and for the moment wished I was home. Mr R. has a serious amount to pay for getting this Eugene over the 'Pass' 120 £ for the 12 miles.[308]

As one can deduce from Hewitt's passage, Mr. Reece paid a lot to get the machinery over the Pass without the train, and presumably the prior rail trip to Ayasoluk was relatively inexpensive. The railways of the 19th century brought with them the initial stages of mechanization of agriculture and Mr. Reece was obviously an actor in the development of mechanized agriculture in this region.

The increased mobility that characterized the age of steam also brought with it new forms of human suffering. Not just letters, but also diseases could travel with great speed. The Earth was roamed not only by the global experts who were traveling from project to project but also by increasing numbers of displaced people. Hewitt experienced this phenomenon in the unlikely location of the Ephesus Pass first hand.

Russia occupied the predominantly Muslim areas of the Caucasus during the early decades of the 19th century. An ongoing local resistance to this occupation lasted for more than

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[307] Clayton and Shuttleworth of Lincoln produced portable steam engines and threshing machines.

[308] Diary of John N. Hewitt, October 30, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

two decades. According to Kemal Karpat, upon the capture of the Circassian leader Sheyh Shamil, Russian forces began a southward push that was accompanied by attempts to forcefully convert the Circassians to Orthodox Christianity. By the late 1850s, a mass exodus of Circassians from the Caucasus to Ottoman ports commenced. This accelerated after 1863 when the Russians started settling Cossack soldiers into Caucasia.[309] While the number of refugees fleeing Caucasia for Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans is unknown, many perished during their flight. The ones who made it to Ottoman ports found themselves facing further challenges as the Ottoman Empire was not prepared to receive such a multitude of refuges. According to Besleney, after the initial chaos, the Ottoman authorities rose to the occasion and started to swiftly move the refuges. He highlights that during December of 1864, for instance, 14,400 refugees were transported from Trabzon to Varna.[310]

As one of the major port cities of the eastern Mediterranean, Izmir received its share of Circassian refuges. While the Ottoman Empire was attempting to deal with this refugee crisis, the new railways emerged as a significant tool in the movement of the displaced Circassians away from the port cities to interior areas. The government employed the railways to transport the refuges from Izmir to Ayasoluk and from there they continued to their places of settlement.

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[309] Kemal H. Karpat*, Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002), 790-791.

[310] Zeynel Abidin Besleney, *The Circassian Diaspora in Turkey: A Political History, 48.* See also Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

Some would even eventually settle at Aziziye (at the Ephesus Pass), as demonstrated by the house plans that were prepared for their habitation.[311] (Figure 3.3)

Hewitt's journal chronicles the situation of the Circassian refugees on the ground as he observed them during September of 1864. He recorded his first encounter with the Circassians as such:

> [I] was grieved to see such a large number of 'Circassians' in such a wretched state. Poor things driven from their home by a cruel despot, they appear to be in the last stages of suffering from the effects of hunger and numbers of them suffering severely from Small Pox- it was truly a pitiable sight.[312]

The following day, Hewitt's emotions towards the refugees became yet more acute as his own fears of contagious diseases were mixed with the pity he felt towards them:

> Large numbers of Circassians going through our village en route for Aidin. Poor persecuted wretches their sufferings must be awful. Numbers of them dying on the road from sheer lack of food and proper attention when attacked by that most grievous malady Small Pox. Am afraid we shall have an attack of fever in consequences of the dead bodies being only just put beneath the surface. Suggested to Mayliam that more earth should be packed to cover the dead a greater depth. Hope for decency's sake it will be done.[313]

Two days later, Hewitt encountered yet more refugees, and this time his commentary was about the Ottoman policies when he stated that: "Met about 500 more of those poor wretched Circassians. Wonder at the Turkish authorities allowing them to land in such a busy

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[311] PLK.p.3472, BOA.

[312] Diary of John N. Hewitt, September 23, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[313] Diary of John N. Hewitt, September 24, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

town as Smyrna, and without performing "quarantine" suffering as they are from nearly all the ills...."[314] The lack of adequate quarantine facilities in Izmir would dominate part of the public discourse in the coming years, due to the experiences of both the Circassian crisis and the cholera epidemic that rocked the city a year later in 1865.[315]

3.2.3 CONCLUSION

Railways, as suggested by Latour, were neither local nor global since they were both. Their creation involved a global cadre of experts as well as goods and ideas that were transferred from place to place. The railways were also local productions where local actors, human and nonhuman, played essential roles. Local knowledge of place, labor, and even the very earth became agents in the making of the railway. The clay and stone that was part of the land was harnessed to shape the railway, forests were cut, and the earth was sculpted in order to make possible the movement of the train. Tunnels pierced mountains, iron bridges crossed rivers. New railway stations dotted the land and emerged as new nodes in the region. The ultimate goal as well as effect of this local formulation of land was to create a global connectivity. For example, the railway stations were built with bricks made of local clay and stone quarried from the mountains of the region. Through the increased connectivity that came with the railway, it was now possible to employ British stationmasters to run these station in the remote mountains of

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[314] Diary of John N. Hewitt, September 26, 1864, Lincolnshire Archives.

[315] For more information on the quarantine issues of Izmir, see, for example, Pelin Böke, "Izmir Karantina Teşkilatının Kuruluşu Ve Faaliyetleri (1840-1900)," *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri Ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Çağdaş Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi* VIII (2009).

western Anatolia. Similarly, it was also possible to provision the same stations with furniture that was hauled from England. Through such processes, the railway stations emerged as funnels that brought ale from England and Circassians from the Caucasus to places like Ayasoluk, altering the social dynamics of the region.

Figure 3.1 *David Hall McKewan. The construction of the Railway between Smyrna (Izmir) and Aidin (Aydın), Turkey, 1860.*

Figure 3.2 *Feathers John Norton Hewitt mailed home from Ephesus Pass.*

Source: *Lincolnshire Archives, UK.*

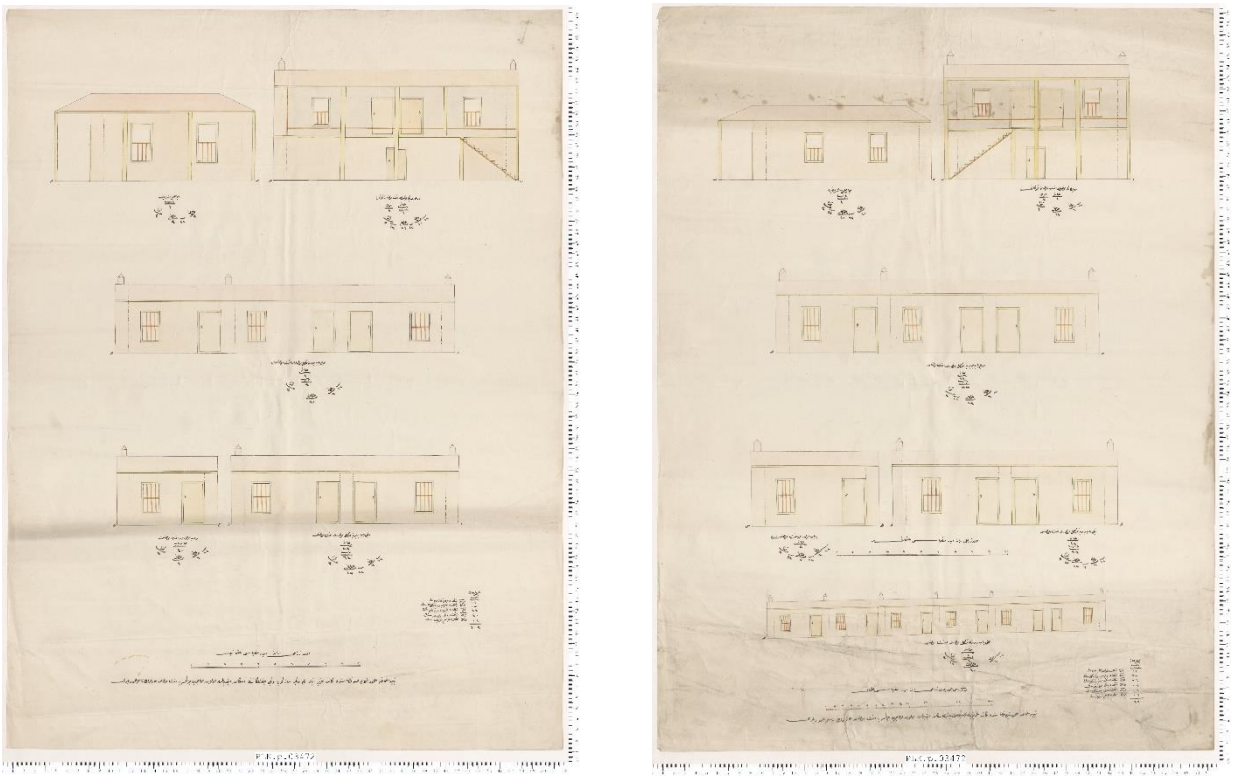

Figure 3.3 *Housing types planned to be constructed for the Circassian refuges at Aziziye (Ephesus Pass).*

Source *PLK.p.3472, BOA.*

4 CULTURES OF MOVEMENT BEFORE AND AFTER THE RAILWAY

Western Anatolia's historic and economic importance has always attracted people to travel across the region for diverse purposes. The advent of railways during the second half of the 19th century CE, however, signaled a significant cultural shift for local mobilities. Cultures of travel include the modes and means of movement as well as any activities related to moving from place to place. The railways, the great 'annihilators of time and space', not only changed the speed of travel but also altered how people interacted with place. Karl Marx first introduced this concept of the 'annihilator' in the context of the exchange of commodities,[316] and it has more recently been discussed again by Marxist scholars such as David Harvey, who also employs the term 'compression'.[317] We can additionally consider this concept in the context of how it impacted people's interaction with space on a performative basis. As Richard White points out in his *Railroaded: Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America,* while railroads shortened the time and cost of travel, "they did so unevenly and chaotically."[318] This chapter aims to investigate, from the perspective of a study of movement, the everyday phenomena that accompanied the railways' arrival in western Anatolia. This was by all accounts chaotic and

[316] Karl Marx, Grundrisse, trans. Martin Nikolaus (Marxist Internet Archive, 2015), Notebook V. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/grundrisse.pdf.

[317] David Harvey, The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change (Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1989).

[318] White, *Railroaded, Introduction.*

uneven. By separately examining different types of activities for which the railways were utilized, we can better understand how the various interactions with space changed. Here we first examine mercantile travel, focusing on the movement of products related to Marx's contextualization of railroads. Next, we turn to the other uses of the railways, including by people participating in the flourishing tourist industry of the 19th century.

4.1 MERCANTILE TRAVELS

The goal of the railways originating from Izmir was first and foremost commercial. The aim was to carry the raw products of Anatolia ranging from opium and tobacco to raisins and figs to Europe while at the same time selling European materials in the region. Considering the emphasis the company placed on the transportation of goods, it is important to examine the changes in the ways that products of the region moved before and after the railways.

Long before the establishment of the railways, Izmir held the status of being an important port city. Daniel Goffman pinpoints the rise of Izmir to significance in the beginning of the 17th century when the settlement evolved from being the 'breadbasket' of Istanbul to an international commercial center. Goffman states that "by the 1630s or 1640s, the economic and demographic contours of western Anatolia had been re-cast. No longer a scattering of relatively uniform towns and villages rather haphazardly linked by Ottoman administrators and itinerant

peddlers, both peoples and industry had begun converging upon Izmir."[322] He points out that not only Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects came to the city, but also "the Dutchmen, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Venetians, all of whom swarmed to Izmir to enjoy its relative autonomy and to capitalize upon its new-found wealth."[323]

The intensified involvement of British merchants in Izmir dates to this period as well. The British Levant Company was founded by a British royal charter in 1581 and held a monopoly in trade between the Ottoman Empire and Britain. The Levant Company began operations in Izmir during the 17th century, continuing until its dissolution in 1825.[324] Along with Aleppo, Izmir was one of the major hubs of the company in the Middle East, demonstrating the significance of the city and its hinterland to foreign enterprises, centuries before the arrival of the railways. Despina Vlami indicates that "on various occasions company officials had stated that the Smyrna factory was the most important in terms of the volume and the value of trade."[325]

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[322] Daniel Goffman, "Izmir: from village to colonial port city," in The Ottoman City Between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 92.

[323] Goffman, Izmir, 92.

[324] Alexander De Groot, "The Organization of Western European Trade in the Levant, 1500–1800," in Companies and Trade, ed. Leonard Blussé and Femme Gaastra (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1981).

[325] Despina Vlami, Trading with the Ottomans: the Levant Company in the Middle East (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 57.

Orhan Kumuş emphasizes that the importance of the city for trade with England continued even after the dissolution of the Levant Company. Between 1840 and 1845, 64% of all British cargo ships employed in trade with the Ottoman Empire were sailing between Izmir and Britain.[326] Felix Wakefield, a surveyor who had served during the Crimean War, was commissioned to prepare a report on western Anatolia. In this 1857 survey conducted in preparation for the railways, Felix Wakefield quantifies the aggregate of Izmir's exports and imports to £5,000,000 sterling or 869,380 tons.

The main mode of transportation for Anatolian products was camel caravans traveling via two main routes: one from central Anatolia to Cassaba and thence onto Manisa (approximate route that was followed by the Izmir-Kasaba Railway) and the other towards Aydın following the tributaries of the Meander River (approximate route of the Izmir-Aydın railway). The aforementioned-1857 survey of the region by Wakefield estimated that the traffic between Izmir and Aydın constantly occupied 10,000 camels and 500 mules.[327] Additionally, the route through Kasaba extending inland into Central Anatolia was estimated to employ twice as much animal power with 20,000 camels.[328] According to an 1858 news article, during the busy season, approximately 5000 camels arrived daily at the Caravan Bridge, the gateway to Izmir, loaded with

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[326] Orhan Kurmuş, "The role of British capital", 28-29.

[327] Macdonald Stephenson, Railways in Turkey: Remarks Upon the Practicability and Advantage of Railway Communication in European and Asiatic Turkey (London: John Weale, 1859), 6.

[328] Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 33.

goods.[329] Ottoman historian Donald Quataert estimated that the camels in Ottoman Empire could carry a quarter ton of weight daily.[330] 5000 camels a day meant that a sizable load of merchandise arrived at the city every day.

Similar to the railways, the ultimate goal of the camel caravans was to reach the port with the merchandise as quickly and as efficiently as possible. However, while the trip between Aydın and Izmir took merely hours with the railway, it was at least a four-day journey with camel caravans traversing river valleys as well as mountain ranges, requiring an intimate knowledge of place. Moreover, the movement of the bodies through this terrain -both human and animal- were far from the isolation that was characteristic to railway travel where, once boarded, bodies were carried and provided for by the railway. For camel caravans, on the other hand, each night, the drivers had to find a place to halt, unload the goods from the camels, find and prepare food and contend with the exigencies of weather. Each morning, the camels had to be reloaded, and the countryside traversed along a network of paths. Indeed, this loading and unloading was pinpointed as one of the main disadvantages of camel transport as much of the products spoiled when they encountered wet or dirty surfaces.[331]

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[329] The Times (London), Nov 16, 1858.

[330] Donald Quataert, The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 119.

[331] Clarke*, The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 33.

This is not to say that every trip required a complete rediscovery of place. A long-established trade infrastructure in the form of khans[332] and caravanserais[333] served the travelers and their animals. Each town along the trade routes would contain such structures that could provide for the camel caravans. For instance, British author and traveler, Charles MacFarlane, who was characterized by Daniel Goffman as a 'merchant obsessed with trade',[334] provides details of several khans located in Western Anatolia in 1828. As these khans were located along the trade routes that would be later be served by the railways, they provide a significant picture of the travel infrastructure of the region prior to the railroads. One of the most noteworthy khans MacFarlane stayed at was located in Manisa. MacFarlane describes this khan as an exception to the rule for Turkish khans that were "generally miserable structures, half brick and mud, and half wood." He provides an extensive formal description as well:

> "It is a quadrangular edifice, solidly built in white stone, round a square and regular area, which contains in its centre a copious fountain, a marble basin of pure water, and a kiosk. Its architecture is much like that observed in Italian monasteries, with the exception of small domes, coated with lead, that cover each of the apartments and form in succession a pleasing eastern roof to the whole. The traveller's rooms, just like the cells of monks,

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[332] According to Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed., khan denotes "a word of Persian origin designating on the one hand a staging-post and lodging [see also manzil] on the main communication routes, on the other a warehouse, later a hostelry [see also funḍuḳ] in the more important urban centres."

[333] Encyclopedia of Islam, 3rd ed., defines caravanserai as "a building for the lodging of individual wayfarers and travelling groups, including pilgrims, trade caravans, and military contingents. An extensive network of caravan routes, with accompanying buildings, developed in Islamic lands and stretched from North Africa to Arabia and Anatolia and to India, via Iran and Afghanistan."

[334] Goffman, Izmir, 79.

> open on spacious corridors that run parallel with the area, and being supported by columns wide apart, afford a view of the whole of that space. Issuing from the upper angles of the square were stables of the immense extent."[335]
> MacFarlane goes on to describe how spaces within the khan were utilized:
>
> Many of the rooms on the ground floor were appropriated as magazines for merchandize; one was occupied by an Armenian watch-mender, an artist highly respected; two by *cafidjis*, who furnished the establishment with coffee and pipes; and one by a *barber*, where I was more than once amused at seeing the dexterity and quickness with which the wielder of the razor would shave the heads of some half dozen of rough *devidjis*.[336]
> His emphasis on the *devidjis*, camel drivers, signal their importance and dominant

existence in khans. For example, in this khan in Manisa, MacFarlane observed "a large caravan of camels that had just arrived, and were bending their obedient, patient knees to resign their burdens, some of them uttering a curious, plaintive sound, as they were relieved."[337] The issue of animal labor was an important one in Western Anatolia. As the health and availability of the animals had a direct effect on the economy of the region, any unexpected changes in the animal force had catastrophic consequences. Indeed, almost thirty years after MacFarlane's travels, Felix Wakefield noted that the grain produced in Afyon had been waiting in store houses for over two years as the exigencies of the Crimean War had severely diminished the number of camels available to haul this product from Afyon to Izmir. Therefore, only opium, which was shipped in

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[335] Charles MacFarlane, Constantinople in 1828 (London: Saunders & Otley, 1829), 351.

[336] MacFarlane, Constantinople in 1828, 351.

[337] MacFarlane, Constantinople in 1828, 352.

small quantities and always in demand and profitable, was being transported out of this district.[338]

MacFarlane's observations of the khans extended beyond their physical forms to the social lives of traders and travelers in the Ottoman Empire. While these observations are anecdotal and overtly orientalist, they nonetheless provide a sense of place. One such instance belongs to the Manisa khan where MacFarlane witnessed one of the significant leisure activities for those on the road in Ottoman Anatolia, that of itinerant story-tellers. For him this was one of the 'most striking eastern scenes my travels presented.' Sitting around the story teller were the assortment of people that might be found at a local khan: "camel-drivers, mountaineers, denizens of Magnesia, Asiatic Turks of all descriptions, with various costumes…"[339] However, for MacFarlane, the tales were "filthy and grossly profligate, all returning on one subject, and expressed with consummate depravity; and the grosser the details, the more complacent the chuckle, the louder the laugh of the audience."[340] While MacFarlane's description of the khan in Manisa is extended due to its unusual qualities both formal and social, his account include several other khans that he stayed in while traveling through Western Anatolia. It is obvious from the mode of his travels that these places of lodging were readily available to him as well as to the caravans traversing the region on their way to market and the port.

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[338] Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 32.

[339] MacFarlane, Constantinople in 1828, 353.

[340] MacFarlane, Constantinople in 1828, 354.

The advent of railways resulted in a shift in this infrastructural network of camels, khans, and paths along with the camel drivers, barbers and storytellers. However, the railways were not able to dislodge this pre-railway mode of transportation completely or easily from the region. Indeed, the relationship between camels and the train turned out to be both fiercely competitive and symbiotic. Such a relationship was first manifest in the initial construction plan for the Aydın railway where the route had to cross the imposing Selatin mountain range. The managers of the Aydın railway wished to commence simultaneous construction of the tracks on both sides of the mountains while cutting a tunnel through them. Tunneling through Selatin, however, would have required upwards of five hundred men and the sinking of three separate shafts to approach the tunnel from several points.[341] In order to keep mercantile traffic flowing between these two lines prior to the completion of the tunnel, the plan was to hire caravans of camels to transport goods across the mountains. As the British Consul Charles Blunt noted in his correspondence with London, this would also help in "convincing the Camel drivers (who have the whole traffic of the interior in their own hands) that their interests will not, as they have been led to suppose, be injured by the introduction of this Railway."[342]

341 Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 39.

342 FO 78/1307, 237, TNA.

As discussed in Chapter 1, however, tunneling through the Selatin mountains proved too onerous. Slow progress and allegations of mismanagement[343] led to a reevaluation of the whole project. Daunted by the difficulties of constructing a large tunnel, the company officials elected to re-route the railway towards Ephesus, where it was much easier to cross the mountains.[344]

While this new route obviated the need for camel caravans to temporarily bridge a mountain pass, the railway's dependence on and competition with camels and other pack animals nevertheless persisted, and would take on various forms of interconnection. Despite the 'annihilation of time and space' that was the result of the railways, the railway companies were not able to tap into the camel traffic easily. It was hoped that by reaching Ephesus, the Company would be able to "effectually prevent all camel competition and divert those 'ships of the Desert' to their legitimate purpose of feeders to the railway."[345] During the opening ceremony of the railway to Ephesus, Mr. Ferguson mentioned a recent encounter with a camel driver: "their Goods traffic owing to the many difficulties to be surmounted, had been limited, but better days he was assured were not far distant. An old Camel driver the other day came to him and kissed his hand and thanked him for the benefits of the Railway had conferred on him and his class

343 The Times(London), Feb 29, 1860.

344 Nafia Vekâleti Commission de Vérification, Rapport sur l'exploitation du chemin de fer de Smyrne à Gusel Hissar Aïdin: présenté à Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, ministre des travaux publics de l'Empire Ottoman (London, 1874), 5. See, FO 78/1533, 140-143, TNA.

345 The Times (London), Sep 28, 1861, 7.

saying 'I came the other day with six Camel loads of Figs to Kos Bounar, for which I received 35 Piastres. Well today is my 6th journey to Kos Bounar and I return with 200 Camel loads, you therefore see I have done all I can to induce my friends to come to the Railway.'"[346] Ferguson interpreted this as evidence that the railway company would soon be able to convince the camel drivers to shift their roles from long distance hauling of merchandise to becoming feeders to the railway.[347]

Even with the line extended to Ephesus, however, the company discovered that they were unable to divert the merchandise traffic to the railway. This was despite the extensive efforts of the company to convince the camel owners and drivers that relieving this route to the railway would actually increase their business by shifting the camels to other districts for tributary communication with the railway. The continued preference of camels was explained by the fact that "the worst part of the road from Aidin and the Meander Valley was across the mountain range, and, having traversed this distance, the journey to Smyrna, which by camel track was shorter than by railway, was in most instances continued by the camels."[348] Therefore, the company recognized the importance of quickly completing the line all the way to Aydın.[349] The directors stressed that "the evils of a break in the transport are assigned as the …

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[346] Smyrna Mail (Izmir), Sept 23, 1862.

[347] Smyrna Mail (Izmir), Sept 23, 1862.

[348] The Times (London), Mar 31, 1863, 7.

[349] The Times (London), Mar 31, 1863, 7.

cause of the continued employment of the camels, added to the comparative shortness of the distance after the camels traversed the worst part of the journey over the mountain pass. The only effectual remedy lies in the earliest possible completion of the line through the hills to Aidin."[350] Therefore, successful competition with the camels, required the company reach Aydın.

Upon reaching Aydın, the Izmir-Aydın railway indeed tapped into this larger market. Aydın was one of the main stations where the camel caravans arrived from further inland areas of western Anatolia (and beyond) to deposit their goods for transportation to the port. These caravans carried merchandise ranging from figs and raisins to tobacco and opium. As can be seen in accounting tables belonging to the Ottoman Railway Company, the highest amounts of receipts for goods and livestock were collected at the Aydın station as compared with any other station.[351] (Figure 4.1)

An incident reported in 1868 regarding the Izmir-Kasaba railway also suggests that the symbiotic relationship between the camels and the trains was also a reality of that line. The chief engineer of the Izmir-Kasaba line, Charles Austin, noted that their line 'had a revenue of £35 per mile per week from local traffic during certain seasons of the year; but not at the present season, because the camel traffic was suspended from the mountain passes being flooded.'[352] The

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[350] The Times (London), Mar 27, 1863, 10.

[351] Nafia Vekâleti Commission de Vérification, Rapport sur l'exploitation, 49.

[352] "Discussion," Journal of the Society of Arts, Institutions in Union XVI (February 29, 1868).

railway line was, as is evident from Charles Austin's statement, depended on the merchandise brought to its stations by camel caravans. Any interruption in the camel caravan traffic affected the profitability of the railway. As illustrated in the map below, the expected catchment areas of both railways extended well beyond their tracks and the only way to receive the goods from these catchment areas was through camel caravans. (Figure 4.2)

Finally, camels provided a readily available backup to trains during periods of interruption in railway traffic. As will be described in greater detail in Chapter 5, John Turtle Wood, the excavator of the ancient site of Ephesus, needed planks and wheelbarrows to undertake excavation work in 1871. Unfortunately for him, this coincided with a period when the railway was severely damaged due to heavy winter rains and fifteen miles of the rails were unpassable. Unable to wait much longer, Wood employed camels to transport at least some the wheelbarrows to Ephesus from Izmir. The rest of the materials waited in Izmir until the railway company was able to fix the damaged portion of the railway.[353] (Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4)

Western Anatolia had a well-developed travel infrastructure long before the arrival of trains. While the railways were thought to be an agent in increasing the commercial capacity of the region, and certainly reduced the time necessary to transport goods to the market, this was nonetheless a region where people were used to participating in trade. Despite the expectations

[353] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. February 11, 1871. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

of the railway companies to take over all of the camel traffic in the region, the camels continued to be a viable mode of transport. Reşat Kasaba notes that "in 1866, almost half the traffic between Izmir and Aydın was carried by camels. As late as 1872, there were still ten thousand camels in western Anatolia which constituted one-fifth of camels in all of Anatolia."[354] While some did indeed become feeders to the railway, others continued their prior routes especially in areas that were not touched by the railways.

4.2 TRAVELING IN NUMBERS

Railway travel affected large segments of the Ottoman populations. As the previous section discussed, the railways had a significant effect on the camel caravans of the region. Beyond this impact on mercantile traffic, the local Ottoman populations encountered a new and increased mobility through the railway. Unfortunately for us, the large number of ordinary people who traveled with the train left very little written evidence of their experiences. This lack of discursive evidence provides an opportunity to examine alternative methodologies in studying the effects of the railway on the movement of people.

Cliometrical analysis of railway data provides such an alternative approach to investigate movement through western Anatolia via the railways. Ian Kerr, a historian of the Indian railways, states that: "Railways lend themselves to enumeration. Much of what railways are or do can be

[354] Reşat Kasaba, The Ottoman empire and the world economy: the nineteenth century (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 99.

counted, and statistical analysis has long been a central tool in the management of railway systems."[355] Kerr continues: "In aggregated and disaggregated forms, these massive bodies of numbers— many of which exist in serial runs extending to a century or more—offer a research paradise to the cliometricians (be they historians, geographers or economists) and a forbidding hell to the innumerate."[356] While new technologies such as geographic information systems (GIS) can aid with the analysis and the visualization of such data,[357] in this section, I will present the numbers recorded in company records as snapshots to help understand the utilization of the railways in western Anatolia.[358]

Local interest in riding the rails first manifested itself when the initial segment of the Izmir Aydın railway opened for traffic to Trianda. Company officials were surprised at the magnitude of passenger traffic.[359] (Refer to Figure 1.2) While this proved to be a welcome income stream for the financially struggling company, the reactions of company officials indicate

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[355] Ian Kerr, "Colonial India, its railways, and the cliometricians," The Journal of Transport History 35/1 (2014), 114.

[356] Ian Kerr, "Colonial India, its railways, and the cliometricians," The Journal of Transport History 35/1 (2014), 114.

[357] For an example of such an exploration, see, T. Healey, W. G. Thomas and K. Lahman, 'Railroads and Regional Labor Markets in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century United States: A Case Study of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad', Journal of Historical Geography, 41 (2013), 13–32.

[358] A more comprehensive study of the dataset that is available at the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi is in preperation.

[359] According to an article published in The Times on March 25, 1862, the company opened its line to Kosbounar on November 14, 1861 shortly after the line reached Trianda.

the unexpectedness of the situation.[360] Mr. W. F. Ferguson, an experienced traffic and locomotive superintendent, was sent to Izmir to organize a complete system of conveyance both for passengers and goods. He was appointed because "the directors felt persuaded that not only would the large goods traffic (always anticipated) be fully realized, but also that an extensive passenger traffic, never calculated upon, might be fairly expected, since nearly 3,000 passengers had travelled in a week on the line during the most inclement season."[361] This number would reach 100,000 within the first half-year of operations as reported during the semi-annual meeting of the Company in September 1861.[362] A more detailed account of this passenger traffic was filed with the Ottoman government. (Figure 4.5) This table, which records passenger traffic between December 25, 1860 and June 30, 1861, demonstrates that the trains carried a total of only 343 first class passengers. Considering that many trains did not have first class wagons, this low number is unsurprising. Consequently, the division between the second class and third-class tickets might provide a better sense of the economic status of the railway passengers. During this period, 17,610 second-class tickets were sold in comparison to 51,310 passengers who bought third class tickets. Moreover, 29,856 people traveled on an open wagon at the cheapest price.[363] Therefore, while less than 20% of the passengers chose to purchase

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[360] The Times (London), March 27, 1861.

[361] The Times (London), March 27, 1861.

[362] The Times (London), March 27, 1861.

[363] T.793.13. BOA.

the more expensive tickets in the first and second classes, the majority traveled on a lower-priced ticket. While this division is not sufficient to make an absolute judgement about the economic situation and indeed the identity of these passengers, it is nonetheless an interesting indication.

The Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company similarly filed periodic reports with the Ottoman government. An examination of the passenger receipts for the six-month period ending on December 31, 1866, for instance, not only gives us an understanding of the classes of the tickets sold, but also provides information on the origins and destinations of the trips. As the terminus of the line, Izmir obviously sold the most tickets with 854 first class, 4,152 second class and 19,600 third class tickets. From Izmir, passengers traveled most prominently to Manisa (7,161 tickets), Cordolio (Karşıyaka) (6,637 tickets), Menemen (5,720 tickets) and Kasaba (Turgutlu) (2368 tickets) respectively. Kasaba, the other terminus of the railway, recorded ticket sales predominantly to Manisa (5,752 tickets), Izmir (2,594 tickets) and Çobanisa (471 tickets).[364]

The Bornova branch line recorded an additional 101,972 tickets between Izmir and Bornova during the same period. 13,244 of these tickets were first class, perhaps attributable to the wealthier foreign and Levantine populations residing in Bornova and having business affairs in Izmir. On the other hand, 23,107 second class and 65,620 third class tickets were sold. In

[364] T.794.17. BOA.

addition, the company also recorded 1,433 reduced-price tickets and 1,919 excursion tickets. They earned 7,300 piastres from subscriptions and another 3,100 piastres from special trains.[365]

Other reports enumerated the railway business by month. For instance, from passenger traffic during January, the company made 187,025 piastres; in February, 186,269; in March, 208,076; in April, 230,280; in May, 266,587; in June, 195,713; in July 213,145; in August, 272,069; in September, 282,981; in October, 289805; in November, 233,970; and in December, 211,642.[366] (Figure 4.6)

If certain assumptions are made, it is possible to deduce several trends from these numbers. First, people from all income groups were taking the train. While it is conceivable that a wealthy person might purchase a second- or even a third-class ticket, it is not likely that this would generate sales of over 65,000 third-class tickets for the main Kasaba line as reported for December of 1866.[367] Thus, it is probably safe to assume that people with a wide-range of financial resources were making use of the railway. Second, while the majority of the tickets were sold in Izmir, the railways seem to have generated regional mobility as well. People not only traveled the main route between Izmir and Manisa but also made local trips between Turgutlu and Çobanisa and between Çiğli and Menemen. Moreover, the passenger traffic, just like the merchandise traffic that depended on crop cycles, fluctuated from month to month and

[365] T.794.17. BOA.

[366] T.794.31 and T.795.7. BOA.

[367] T.794.17. BOA.

year to year. Though a more indepth study is necessary, factors such as weather conditions or overall economic conditions of the region would have contributed to this pattern.

While we lack narrative accounts from these unnamed masses traveling with the train, it is obvious that the railways were interesting to the local populations and created new and accelerated mobilities throughout the region. Unlike the untold stories of these large numbers of people, the tourists who traveled to the Ottoman Empire left numerous accounts of their observations and experiences of traveling in western Anatolia with the new railways. Thus, the next section will turn to a different aspect of the mobility brought by the rails to the region, the perspective of the emergent groups of tourists visiting the region and writing exhaustively about their impressions.

4.3 TRAVELS AS TOURISTS

The other major group of travelers that was affected by the arrival of the railways was a burgeoning population of tourists. The availability of steam-based transportation went hand-in-hand with the rise of tourism in the 19th century. While western Anatolia was a point of interest for travelers prior to the advent of steam transport due to its ancient and biblical heritage, the availability and convenience of new modes of transportation meant that more people of varying wealth and interests increasingly visited the region. Dean MacCannell, in his 1976 book, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, frames tourism as a signifier of 'modernity'.[368] John

[368] Dean MacCannell, The tourist: a new theory of the leisure class (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 8.

Urry, similarly claims that "to be a tourist is one of the characteristics of the 'modern' experience."[369] While the relationship between tourism and the ‘modern era’ depends on how one defines ‘modernity’, there is an unquestionable link between technological advances that were experienced during the 19th century and an increase in the number of people traveling.

The arrival of railways in western Anatolia was also an important moment for the rise of tourism in the region. As Medina Lasansky posits, "tourism is simultaneously a cultural product and producer of culture - an important catalyst in a complex and nuanced process of cultural exchange that is centered in the experience of the built environment."[370] Thus, an important change in the built environment, such as the advent of the railways, had a significant impact on the experience of the region for the tourist.

One manifestation of this tourist industry was the production of guidebooks that provided information about the region to strangers. John Murray’s guidebook were among the most prominent publications of this sort. These were set apart by the fact that rather than providing a list of attractions, they provided routes to be taken by the tourist. Jan Palmowski observes that while other guidebooks, such as the popular Baedekers, also provided advice on what should be visited, Murray’s guides went a step beyond and prescribed how these

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[369] John Urry, The tourist gaze (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 1.

[370] Medina Lasansky, "Introduction," in Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance, and Place., ed. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 1.

attractions should be seen.[371] It is possible to observe these different modes of interaction in a location like Cairo where both guides were simultaneously available. Baedekers were organized according to locations where tourists were likely to stay and associated with each location Baedeker guides listed a number of attractions. Murray's guides, on the other hand, provided routes that one could embark from Cairo. Thus, Murray's guides prescribed not only what attractions were seen but also the order through which they were experienced.[372]

Three 19th-century Murray's guides on the region, one published right before the construction of the railways in 1854, one published in 1878 after the completion of the initial projects but prior to the completion of major extensions such as to Denizli, and one published in 1895 provide important clues as to how travel cultures changed with the arrival of the new technology.

Western Anatolia is host to major classical sites such as Ephesus and Sardis that combine an ancient history with a Biblical one. Of special interest is the presence of the Seven Churches of Revelation coinciding with these important ancient settlements. In the *Book of Revelation* of the New Testament, it is written that:

> I, John, your brother and partner in the tribulation and the kingdom and the patient endurance that are in Jesus, was on the island called Patmos on account of the word of

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[371] Jan Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England," in Histories of leisure, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

[372] Elvan Cobb, "Learning Vicariously: Tourism, Orientalism and the Making of an Architectural Photography Collection of Egypt," Architectural Histories 5, no. 1 (2017).

> God and the testimony of Jesus. I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet saying, "Write what you see in a book and send it to the seven churches, to Ephesus and to Smyrna and to Pergamum and to Thyatira and to Sardis and to Philadelphia and to Laodicea."[373]

As explained by W. M. Ramsay, in his 1904 landmark study, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, "the Seven Churches stood as representative of seven groups of congregations" rather than actual church buildings.[374] Due to the significance assigned to them in the New Testament, these locations became important stops in an early chapter of what came to be known as faith tourism. According to Bar and Cohen-Hattab, a new type of traveler, a 'modern pilgrim' emerged in the late Ottoman Era. While Bar and Cohen-Hattab's study examines the Holy Land 'proper',[375] western Anatolia quickly became a leg of this new type of pilgrimage/tourism due to the existence of the Seven Churches.

For many others, western Anatolia was historically significant beyond its biblical history. As Greco-Roman heritage became intricately woven into European historical consciousness, ancient sites in western Anatolia became attractions of ever increasing interest. Since some of the most significant of these Greco-Roman settlements coincided with the location of the Seven Churches, an examination of the routes provided for the Seven Churches in Murray's guides

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[373] Revelation (also Apocalypse) 1.9-1.11.

[374] W. M. Ramsay, The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia: and their place in the plan of the Apocalypse (Hodder & Stoughton, 1904), Chapter 4.

375 Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century Palestine," Middle Eastern Studies 39, no. 2 (2003).

would be a good starting point to examine the dynamics of how travel changed with the arrival of the railways.

All Seven Churches, with the exception of Pergamum, eventually became accessible by railway connections. While early documents associated with the railway construction do not provide any clues that the accessibility of these historic/sacred places was a consideration of the railway companies, the settlements and the railways were attracted to the same places due to geography. The important ancient settlements were located in the fertile river valleys of western Anatolia and the ancient routes among them were also suitable paths for the railways. While each of the three Murray's guides included a dedicated route to visit the Seven Churches, each indicate a different mode of interaction with this ancient and sacred landscape resulting from the changes caused by the railways.

The 1854 Murray's guide provides an itinerary to visit the Seven Churches in its Route 30. The route follows the following itinerary: Smyrna to Ephesus (12-14 hours), to Guzel Hisar (Aydın) (12 hours), to Sultan Hisar (5 hours), to Gheyra (9.5 hours), to Laodicea (13 hours), to Hierapolis (2 hours), return to Laodicia, to Tripolis (4 hours), to Bulladan (9 hours), to Philadelphia (5.5 hours), to Sardis (9 hours), to Thyatira (10 hours), to Pergamos (12 hours) to Avriamasti (8 hours). As can be deduced from the travel times between locations, journeying between each location took at least one day, if not more. As such, the guidebook provided attractions that could be visited along the way. For example, between Izmir and Ephesus, one could take a longer route and visit the village of Hypsile on the coast where one could find traces of the walls of ancient Lebedos. Also, one could visit the site of Claros at Zilli. Claros was deemed

to be worth a visit as the seat of the temple and oracle of Apollo. Between Ephesus and Aydın, a visit to the ruins of Magnesia ad Maenderum was suggested: "The traveler may turn off the main road at the [right] at a coffee shed called Balitschek Kanesi, 5 hours distant from Ephesus, cross the plain to the opposite line of hills, and an hour's ride brings him to the ruins, lying upon the northern slope of these hills."[376] The utilization of landscape features to provide directions for the traveler is of significance. As we will see below, this interaction with the terrain become limited once the railways enter the scene and the experienced space become geographical space.[377]

The 1878 Murray's guide, similarly, offers a route to visit the Seven Churches. By 1878, the railways had reached four of the Seven Churches: Smyrna (Izmir), Ephesus, Sardis and Philadelphia (Alasehir). Route 11 of the 1878 Murray's guide suggests the following itinerary: Smyrna to Ephesus (3 hrs), to Aidin (2 hrs), Nazli (11 hours), Geira (10 hours), Denizli (10 hours), Khonas (Colosse) (3 hours), Laodicea (3 hours), Hierapolis (1.5 hours), Bulladan (10 hours), Derwent (1.5 hours), Ineh Gul (6 hours), Ala Shehr (Philadelphia) (4 hours), Sart (Sardis) (railway), Mermereh (6 hours) Ak Hisar (Thyatira) (3 hours), Soma (10 hours), Pergamos (6 hours). According to the guidebook: "Before the existence of the Aidin and Cassaba railways the tour of the Seven Churches was generally made by commencing the round at Ephesus, then proceeding

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[376] John Murray, A handbook for travellers in Turkey (London: John Murray, 1854), 175.

[377] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, The Railway Journey: the industrialization and perception of time and space (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 53.

to Laodicea, Philadelphia, Sardis, Thyatira, and Pergamos, or vice versa; but now Ephesus may be visited by rail, and Sardis and Philadelphia by another line. We here give the round as it can be accomplished without necessitating a return to Smyrna."[378] But, obviously, one could choose to return to Izmir after visiting Ephesus and take the other railway line to visit Sardis and Philadelphia.

Travel times between sites have obviously been reduced significantly due to the railways. For example, the distance between Izmir and Ephesus was a journey of 12-14 hours in 1854 but by 1878, it was reduced to a 3-hour train ride. Similarly, while one needed to travel on horseback for 12 hours to reach Aydın from Ephesus, by 1878, this journey was reduced to a mere 2 hours on a train. Beyond the increased speed of travel, it is possible to observe other changes in the narrative. If we focus on the section between Izmir and Aydın, where the 1854 guide recommended at least three side trips as well as alternative routes, the 1878 guidebook simply states "take the railway to Aidin, stopping at Ephesus (Rte. 2)."

A second route, entitled 'Smyrna to Aidin (Railway)', is a new addition to the guidebook. While this route covers the same distance from Izmir to Aidin, the difference from the 1854 version is its organization according to railway stations. Instead of hours, distances in miles are provided. More significantly, rather than providing markers of the terrain for the traveler to find his way, as in the 1854 guide quoted above, this route offers an alternative option for interaction

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[378] John Murray, Handbook for travellers in Turkey in Asia including Constantinople, the Bosphorus, plain of Troy, isles of Cyprus, Rhodes, Smyrna, Ephesus, and the roots to Persia, Baghdad (London: John Murray, 1878), 307.

with the landscape: through the window of the train. For example, as the train enters St. Anne's valley after passing the river Meles, "on the right, close to the line beyond the rock cuttings, are the foundations of an ancient villa. Below is the reputed site of the Cave of Homer…Near the cave there is a second aqueduct crossing the Meles…." The description continues in a similar fashion, narrating what can be seen from the train window on the right and on the left. Side trips are almost completely omitted. Sites of interest, such as Claros, that are far from the railway tracks are relegated to other routes. (Claros, in this case, is included in Route 5, "Smyrna to Sighajik (Teos) and Back by Lebedos and Claros."[379])

Once the traveler arrived at Ephesus, the 1854 guide delved right into describing the ancient remains. However, the 1878 guide assumes that arrivals by train will necessitate additional provisions such as horses or donkeys to reach the ruins which were located about a mile from the railway station in Ayasoluk. Obviously, in 1854, whoever arrived at Ephesus would already be in possession of such conveyances. Additionally, the 1854 guidebook did not list any amenities for the tourist. The 1878 guide, on the other hand, provides a whole array of available amenities near Ephesus, including where to find refreshments, lodgings, guides, photographs, and more. With the arrival of the railway, though statistics are not available, Ephesus emerged as a tourist destination due to its now much easier accessibility. Therefore, it is not surprising to find such amenities that must not have existed prior to the railway and the absence of any mention of them in the 1854 guidebook also indicates this conclusion. Another aspect of the

[379] Murray, Handbook for travellers in Turkey in Asia, 1878, 294.

newly established railway route narrative was that the guide now provided gender specific information. For example, at Aydın, one could obtain apartments 'suitable for ladies' upon application to the railway agent, suggesting that perhaps more and more women were traveling as tourists.[380]

When the traveler returned to the parts of the route without railways, the 1878 guidebook abandoned a narrative of alerts to people to look out of the train window to the 'right' and 'left'. Instead, it went back to the providing traveler information associated with features of the terrain such as mountains or creeks. For example, from Aydın, if the traveler wanted to travel to Sultan Hisar, one needed to "ascend the Meander towards Sultan Hissar. The road passes through vineyards and orchards; three streams descending from the mountain on the left are passed, a slight eminence is surmounted, on which stands the village of Keuslik, 10 m from Aidin. Beyond this point the road approaches the river, two other streams have to be passed; beyond the second stream the road leads N. to Sultan Hissar (Nysa)."[381] Until the traveler arrives in Alasehir, where the railway had reached by this date, he is provided with details of the landscape and geography to aid his journey. Upon reaching Alasehir, the guidebook again simply directs the traveler to take the railway to Sart, where he can visit Sardis.

By 1895, the railway had reached two more of the Seven Churches: Thyatira and Laodicea. Thyatira was accessible through a branch that extended north from Manisa and

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[380] Murray, Handbook for travellers in Turkey in Asia, 1878, 282.

[381] Murray, Handbook for travellers in Turkey in Asia, 1878, 307.

Laodicea through an extension of the Aydın railway. Moreover, most of the ancient cities that contained the Seven Churches were developed enough as tourist destinations that they were covered in different parts of the book. Therefore, the Seven Churches Route included in the 1895 guidebook merely refers to other sections with one important disclaimer: "All the seven churches, except Pergamum, are easily accessible by rail."[382]

If we return to the section between Smyrna and Ephesus that was explored in detail above with the special railway route provided in the 1878 Murray's guide, we again find a separate route in the 1895 Murray's guide: Route 34. In this edition, the section between Smyrna and Ephesus was again organized according to the railway stations. While the narrative is similar to the one in 1878, offering information regarding views out of the train window, there are some additional details for side trips that can be taken originating from some of the railway stations- organized as separate routes. For example, the Develi Keui[383] Station is introduced as the point of departure for Route 36, which reached ancient places such as Colophon, Notium and Claros. The terminus point of Route 34 between Smyrna and Ephesus was Ayasoluk, abutting the ancient remains of Ephesus. As mentioned above, the increasing numbers of tourists were already causing a shift in the settlement in 1878. By the time that the 1895 Murray's guide was

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[382] Charles Wilson, ed., Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc (London: John Murray, 1895), 107.

[383] In Turkish, the name of the station means 'the village with camels'.

published, the town was now home to a hotel, "built by the railway company near the station, gives fair accommodation, and horses with English saddles."[384]

The information provided in these routes originated from people, usually well-known scholars, who had long experience with the region. The 1895 Murray's guide identifies the author of the routes associated with the railway as Mr. G[eorg] Weber of Izmir, who had also prepared the plan of Ephesus and updated the map of Izmir.[385] Weber was a historian who had studied the waterways around Izmir and is the author of several publications on the subject as well as travel guides including *Guide du voyageur à Ephès*e.[386]

The railway put a distance between the traveler and the land, where one did not have to navigate the streams or find their way through mountain passes anymore. Also, particular places with train stations, such as Ephesus, emerged as important destinations, reducing the significance of other locations along the way. As Wolfgang Scheivelbush notes "the speed and mathematical directness with which the railroad proceeds through the terrain destroy the close relationship between the traveler and the traveled space."[387] People are transformed from being travelers to 'mere parcels', a distancing called by Michel deCerteau 'a traveling

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[384] Charles Wilson, ed., Handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc (London: John Murray, 1895), 93.

[385] Murray, Handbook, 1895, vi.

[386] G. Weber, Guide du voyageur à Ephèse (Smyrne: Imprimerie et lithographie la presse, 1891).

[387] Schivelbusch, The Railway Journey, 53.

incarceration': "a bubble of panoptic and classifying power, a module of imprisonment that make possible the production of an order, a closed and autonomous insularity- that is what can traverse space and make itself independent of local roots."[388]

While the railway travel undoubtedly jarred the close-knit relationship between the traveler and the landscape, it also engendered a new type of interaction with place that affected all senses, in a way 'mechanizing the travelers' perceptions.[389] Schievelbusch suggests that there are stages to the traveler's perceptions. To those who were still accustomed to pre-industrial mode of traveling, railway travel only offered boredom. However, as a traveler adjusted to this mode of travel, the effects of this new mode of travel were embraced and assimilated. In this stage, "the railroad choreographed the landscape."[390] One could classify the type of travel defined in the later Murray's guides as choreographed; the landscape is narrated as a panorama. This type of 'panoramic travel', "to see the discrete indiscriminately"[391] as popularized by Schivelbusch, suggests that views out of the train window lose their depth and become similar to painted surfaces: "Panoramic perception, in contrast to traditional perception, no longer belonged to the same space as the perceived objects: the traveler saw the objects, landscapes, etc. through the apparatus which moved him through the world. That machine and the motion it

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[388] DeCerteau, The practice of everyday life, 111.

[389] Schievelbusch, Railway Journey, 55

[390] Schievelbusch, Railway Journey, 60.

[391] Schievelbusch, Railway Journey, 61.

created became integrated into his visual perception: thus he could only see things in motion."[392]

The guidebooks on western Anatolia make it clear that people were expected and able to switch between different modes of travel. After the railways, it became very convenient to utilize the trains to access some of the most popular sites in the region. However, if one wanted to see beyond Ephesus and Sardis, one had to get off the train and start interacting with the land in a different manner. It is possible that this switching back and forth intensified the experiences of travelers both on and off the trains by reifying the differences of the experiences intermittently.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The arrival of the railways altered how people traversed the western Anatolian landscapes. The rails, in effect, put a barrier between the travelers and the terrain. However, the distancing happened at different intensities and depended on the purpose of the traveler. Camel caravans continued to move through the region though some of them altered their practices to become 'feeders of the railway' while others still hauled merchandise from the interior of Anatolia to the coast as they had done for centuries. For the tourist, the railway inflicted a much sharper distancing from the landscape. Again, however, the limited nature of the railways and the spread of tourist attractions across the region meant that the tourists now and then had to

[392] Schievelbusch, Railway Journey, 64.

leave the safety and comfort of the railway cars and interact with the terrain in order to access places off the railway tracks.

TRAFIC ET RECETTES DES MARCHANDISES & DES BESTIAUX POUR L'ANNÉE 1873.

GARES DE DEPART.	MARCHANDISES.				BESTIAUX.	
	Poids expédiés.			Recet totale.	Têtes.	Recettes.
	de Magasin à Magasin.	De Station à Station.	Total.			
Smyrne.....	3,727, 7	44,600,20	48,327,27	93,729,30	45	300, „
Pont des Caravanes ..	116,212, 7	16,116,29	132,328,36	776,040,30	97	928,20
Paradixe	..	..	..	..	3	11,
Boudja	4,33	171,25	176,14	813,20	12	33,
Seïdikeuy.....	5,022,	836,	5,858,	13,814,	171	401,
Djumovassi	11,880,22	475,33	1,664,11	3,398,20	246	391,20
Dévélikeuy	2,599,11	1,874,33	4,474,	8,029,	565	1,343,30
Kyass	972,	2,345,	3,317,	5,590,20	190	553,20
Trianda	1,234,33	786,	2,020,33	5,062,	134	894,
Turbali.....	158,316,33	17,695,20	176,012,90	486,094,20	1,891	6,618,10
Gelat Café	26,401,22	2,540,	28,941,22	87,140	274	1,719,20
Kosbunar.....	142,290,38	40,192,43	182,483,37	580,610	253	1,986,00
Ayasolouk	6,992,22	2,114,70	9,106,29	41,732	135	1,075,30
Azizieh.....	412,	37,799,14	28,211,14	133,974	12	121,20
Balachik	36,714,26	8,184,15	44,898,41	260,109,30	620	5,176,10
Deirmenjik	48,678,14	638,41	49,317,11	322,950,20	439	4,110,
Herbeyli	16,609,00	8,22	16,617,22	140,409,	„	„
Karabunar	56,901,20	12,524,22	69,425,24	406,263,10	157	867,20
Aïdin	448,119,28	18,043,40	466,162,32	3,224,428,35	880	17,846, „
				6,586,590,15		44,579,
Moins Montant dû à l'Embrancht. de Boudja				1,336,20		13,10
	1072,396,34	206,947,20	1,279,344,10	6,585,253,35	6,124	44,565,30

Figure 4.1 *1873 Account of Merchandise and Animals.*

Source *Nafia Vekâleti Commission de Vérification, Rapport sur l'exploitation du chemin de fer de Smyrne à Gusel Hissar Aïdin: présenté à Son Excellence Edhem Pacha, ministre des travaux publics de l'Empire Ottoman (London, 1874), 49.*

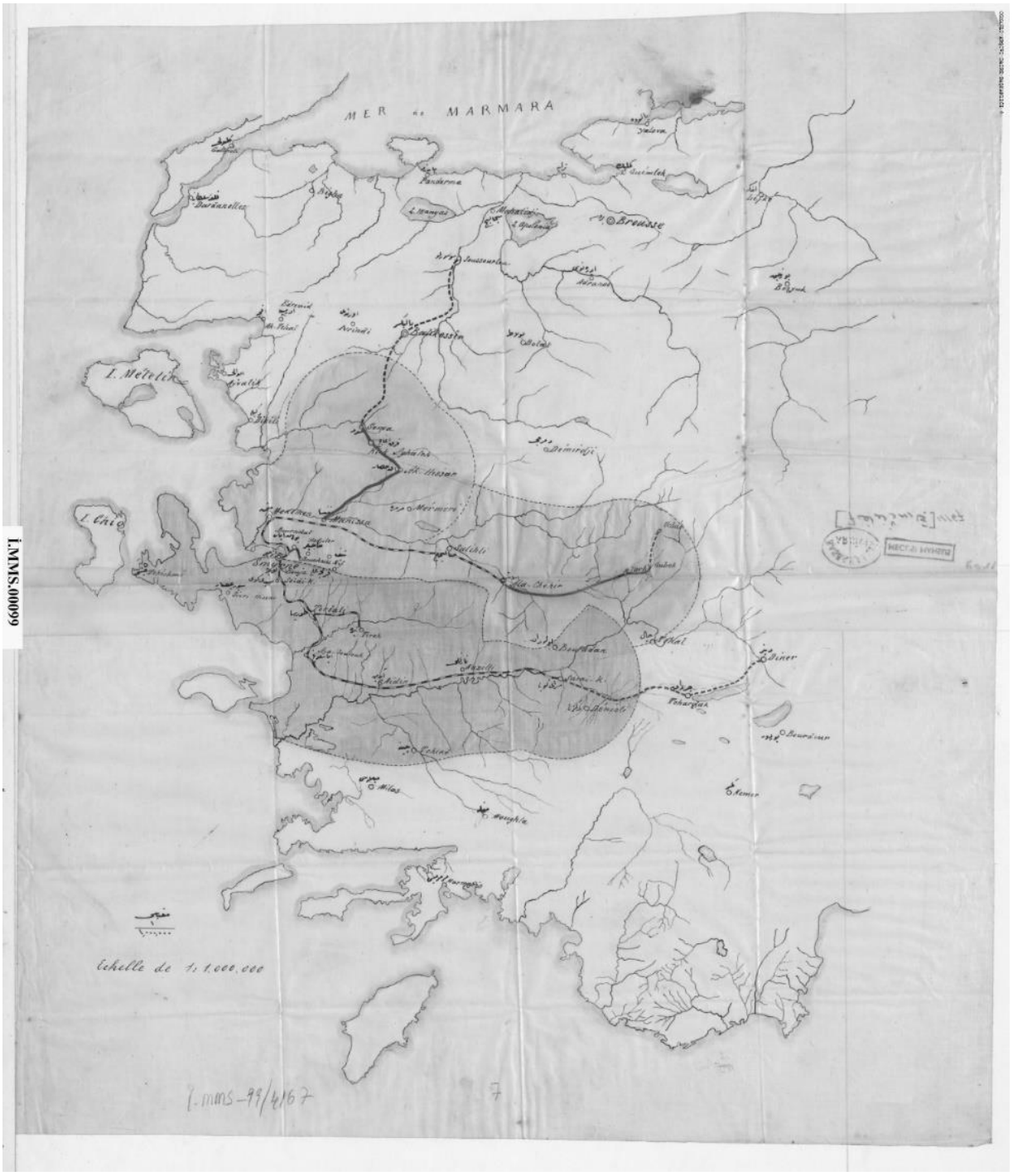


Figure 4.2 *Catchment areas of railways. Undated.*

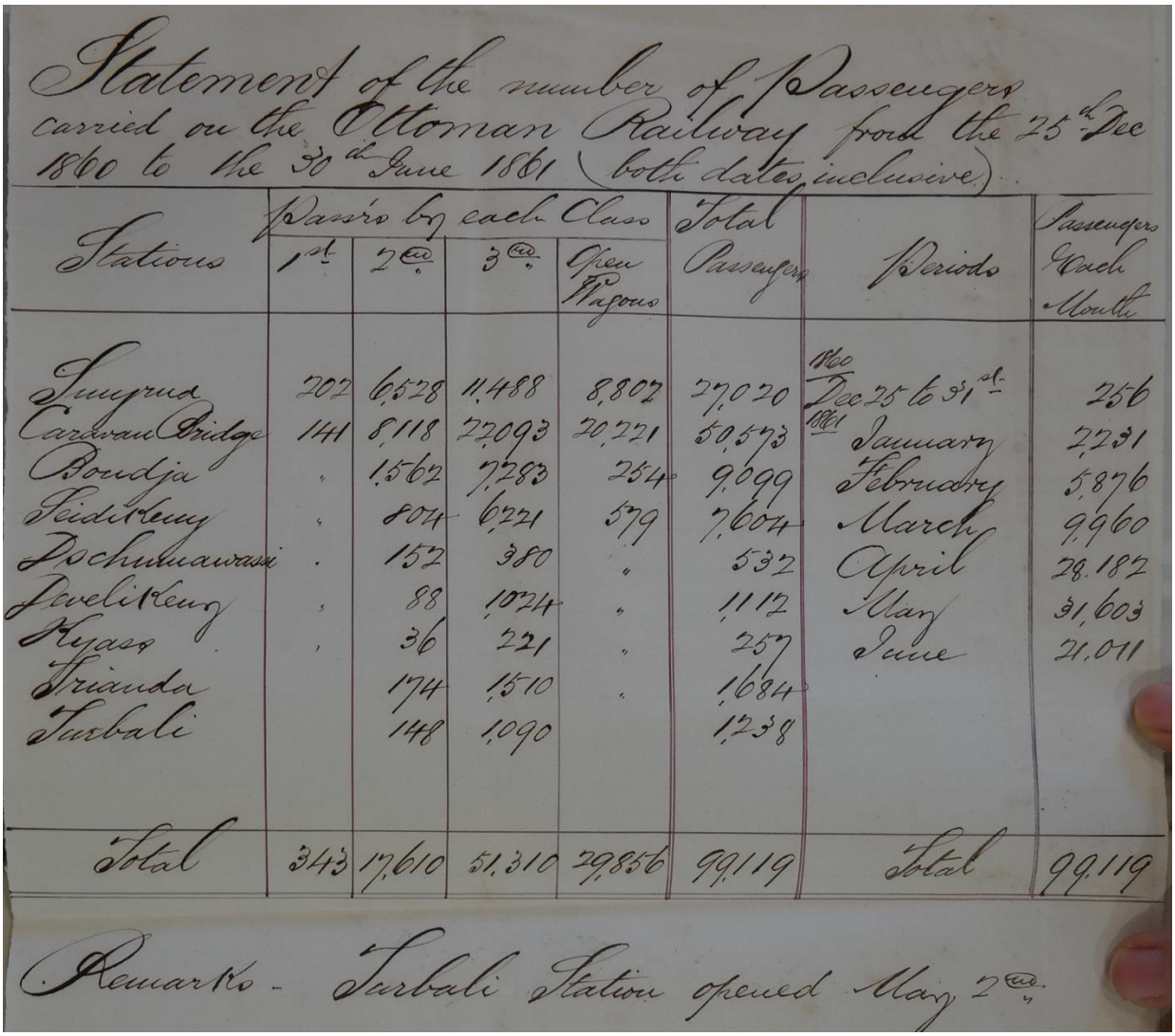
Source: *I.MMS.99.4167, BOA.*

Figure 4.3 *Undated photograph showing the train passing through flooded plains. Heavy winter rains are common in this region, sometimes leading to the submergence of the tracks.*

Source *Eskimeyen Izmir Fotografları.*

Figure 4.4 *Submerged Tracks near Celatkahve. Undated.*

Source *Eskimeyen Izmir Fotografları.*



Statement of the number of Passengers carried on the Ottoman Railway from the 25th Dec 1860 to the 30th June 1861 (both dates inclusive)

Stations	Passrs by each Class 1st	2nd	3rd	Open Wagons	Total Passengers	Periods	Passengers each Month
Smyrna	202	6,528	11,488	8,802	27,020	1860 Dec 25 to 31st	256
Caravan Bridge	141	8,118	22,093	20,221	50,573	1861 January	22,231
Boudja	"	1,562	7,283	254	9,099	February	5,876
Seidikeuy	"	804	6,221	579	7,604	March	9,960
Dschumawasi	"	152	380	"	532	April	28,182
Dewelikeuy	"	88	1,024	"	1,112	May	31,603
Kyass	"	36	221	"	257	June	21,011
Triandu		174	1,510	"	1,684		
Turbali		148	1,090		1,238		
Total	343	17,610	51,310	29,856	99,119	Total	99,119

Remarks - Turbali Station opened May 2nd "

Figure 4.5 *Report detailing the passenger traffic of the Aydın railway.*

Source *T.DMI.793.13, BOA.*

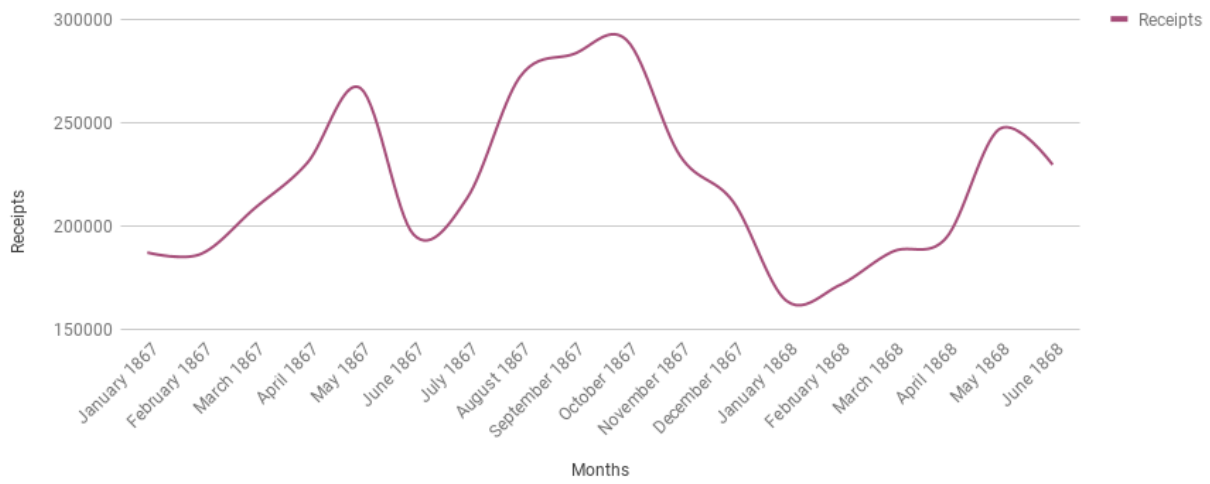


Figure 4.6 *Chart demonstrating the shifts in passenger receipts by month.*

Source *Based on T.794 T.795, T.786, BOA.*

5 ANCIENT-MODERN INTERSECTIONS ALONG THE WESTERN ANATOLIAN RAILWAYS

The construction and subsequent use of the Izmir-Aydın and Izmir-Kasaba rail lines not only changed cultures of travel but also introduced new groups of Europeans and Americans to western Anatolia and resulted in a constant interaction between newcomers and local people and landscape. Historical sources capture an extensive record of how *yabancı*s (outsiders) perceived and conceptualized their surroundings. A prominent aspect of their perceptions was the compartmentalization of western Anatolia into three identifiable categories: ancient, oriental, and modern. These categories were culturally conditioned in the minds of 19th- century visitors to the Ottoman Empire before they even arrived in Anatolia. First, they were familiar with the landscape as described by ancient sources such as Herodotus and the New Testament. As a consequence, they understood this region as the birthplace of the Classical foundations of the western civilization that they had inherited and were perpetuating and progressing. The prevalent orientialism of the time conditioned them to expect a timeless, unchanging and exoticized orient of the Ottoman present, symbolized by camels, indolence and harems. Once in Anatolia, they conceived of the train as a sign of modern progress endowed to the region by the 'west'. Through their writings, foreigners convey a tangible sense of the dissonance they

perceived in the immediate spatial juxtaposition of these three constructed and overlapping perceptions, manifesting a palpable sense of non- simultaneity.[393]

During their construction and use, these two railroads served as the physical locus of encounters between the outsiders, the Ottoman populations, and the landscape. The imposition of railways on western Anatolia caused unprecedented changes to the physical character of the region. Bridges, tunnels, massive hillside cuts, embankments, station buildings and the rails themselves were built over the course of several decades in what can be conceived of as one massive, long-term construction project. This ongoing construction created a continual locus of interface through bodily practice, from the building phase through to the use of each completed section.

5.1 PERCEPTIONS OF THE ANCIENT AS ACTIVATED THROUGHT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE-RAILROAD INTERSECTIONS

Several of the experts that were brought to Anatolia to lead the operations of railway projects with their European know-how, also found themselves drawn to the ancient heritage of the area. They ventured forth to explore and connect with a rich landscape consisting of Greek and Roman antiquity, as well as sites of Biblical importance that were part of the western historical self-consciousness.

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[393] In its initial conception by Ernst Bloch, the idea of non-simultaneity suggested a co-existence of different stages of 'development'. See Ernst Bloch and Mark Ritter, "Nonsynchronism and the Obligation to Its Dialectics," New German Critique, no. 11 (1977).

John Turtle Wood embodies the essence of the engineer-scholar, having come to the Ottoman Empire as an architect on the Aydın Railway line, he soon also initiated excavations at Ephesus and Colophon[394] with funding and encouragement from the British Museum. In a letter he penned in 1863 asking the British Museum's support in obtaining a *firman* for him to excavate the aforementioned sites and the necessary financial remuneration for these operations, he explains how he came about his desire to start excavations in these ancient sites:

> I have been residing in Smyrna for four years, during which time I have been employed by the Ottoman Railway Company in building their stations, and as the line is now open for traffic to Ephesus, I could avail myself of the peculiar facilities thus afforded me for my operations.[395]

He was drawn to this site both by the existence of the Temple of Artemis, considered one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, and by the Biblical narrative of the Seven Churches in the *Book of Revelation*. In one 19th-century account written and illustrated by Thomas Allom, the Seven Churches are described as follows: 'when Christianity began to expand itself in Asia, seven churches were founded, eminently distinguished among the early Christians, as fountains, whence the light of the gospel should flow upon a benighted world. The first and chief of these was the great city of Ephesus.'[396] Thus, a perceived connection with the Greco-Roman and Christian

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[394] While almost all the future references to J.T. Wood's archaeological work in Western Anatolia mention only Ephesus, his correspondences in these early days always include the ancient site of Colophon.

[395] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. February 5, 1863. Deputy Principal Librarian, British Museum. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

[396] Thomas Allom, Constantinople and the scenery of the seven churches of Asia Minor (London: Fisher, 1838), 63.

heritage motivated the expenditure of British imperial resources at archaeological sites in parallel with railroad development. (Figure 5.1)

Archaeological site exploration, such as at Ephesus, can be understood as an extension of the railway construction project as railroad construction methods were transferred for utilization at these ancient sites. There was a great deal of slippage between the two in terms of personnel as well as methodology. For example, Wood hired the first workmen for the Ephesus excavation from among former Turkish railway employees and while they performed the physical excavation work, he occupied himself with the more 'scientific' aspects of excavation such as measuring and drawing.[397] When it was necessary to complete skilled tasks, Wood turned to the Europeans. As he describes the intricate task of lifting a delicate mosaic pavement, he writes: 'This, the most difficult part of the work, was done with great skill, by an English carpenter named 'Long Wilson,' who had worked under my directions at the stations of the Smyrna and Aidin Railway.'[398]

The perceived connection to the ancient world would continue to motivate archaeological exploration by foreigners in western Anatolia throughout the decades of railroad construction. A later example of railroad engineers applying their skills to excavating ancient sites was Paul Gaudin. He started his archeological explorations at the necropolis of Yortan, which sits about 10 kilometers from the branch of the Izmir-Kasaba railway between Akhisar and Soma. Later, in 1904, he

397 John Turtle Wood, Discoveries at Ephesus (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1877), 24.

398 Wood, Discoveries at Ephesus, 172.

commenced archaeological research at the Classical site of Aphrodisias.[399] As a 1906 publication states 'in his capacity as Director of the French Smyrna-Cassaba railway, Gaudin put his great knowledge of the country and his abilities into the service of archaeology.'[400]

Archaeological sites also became intertwined with the construction of the railroad through the practice of using *spolia*, as worked stones removed from ancient sites were used as building material for the railroad and its stations. This process physically encoded a non-simultaneity between the ancient and modern into the sites and was often recognized and mentioned by foreigners. A main driver for this reutilization practice was pragmatic- the easy availability of archaeological materials through the landscape. During a visit to the ancient site of Sardis, archaeologist Francis Bacon observed that 'The railway company has dug at the *scena* for building stone, and there lie about a mass of pieces of inscriptions, marble blocks etc. - mostly of Roman workmanship.'[401] (Figure 5.2) Similarly, regarding the station at Balatcık, French archaeologist Victor Bérard observes that the site of 'Magnesia [on the Meander] was then exploited (April 1889)

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[399] Maxime Collignon, "Note sur les fouilles exécutées à Aphrodisias par M. Paul Gaudin," Comptes-rendus des séances de l année- Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 48, no. 6 (1904):703–11. Also see, MF.MKT.792/2. BOA.

[400] Jules Comte, La Revue de l'Art: Ancien et Moderne Tome XIX (Paris: Charavay, 1906), 35.

Original text: 'Résidant à Smyrne, en qualité de directeur des chemin de fer français de Smyrne-Cassaba, M.Paul Gaudin a mis au service de l'archéologie sa grande connaissance du pays et ses moyens d'action.'

[401] Letter from Francis H. Bacon to Charles Eliot Morton. 18 Sept 1882. Princeton University Archives. Faculty Files.

as marble quarry, by the contractors of the Aidin to Tchinar [sic] railway. They began to demolish the walls of the theater: Balatzik [sic] the station was crowded with these marbles, which were sawed to build bridges to the new line. Upon our complaints, the *moutessarif* of Aidin put a stop to the excavations.'[402] Documents contained within the Ottoman archives indicate that Kanas Efendi, an employee of the railway, was appointed as an agent of the Ottoman government in order to preserve the archeological remains.[403] In some instances, however, there were likely also symbolic motivations. Local lore indicates that the station at the Izmir terminus of the Aydın line was partially decorated with marble revetments from Ephesus.[404] This type of reuse fits well within a foreign perception of the continuation of ancient civilizations through a plan of modernization and progress.

Alexander Somerville, a traveling preacher on a quest to visit the Seven Churches, makes an observation about material reuse at a construction site that encapsulates not only perceptions of ancient and modern, but also contrasts the Ottoman present. He reports that the railway station

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[402] Quoted in Michael Greenhalgh, From the Romans to the railways: the fate of antiquities in Asia Minor (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 309.

Original text: 'Magnésie était alors exploitée (avril 1889), comme carrière de marbre, par les entrepreneurs du chemin de fer d'Aïdin à Tchinar. On commençait à démolir les murs du théâtre: la gare de Balatzik était encombrée de ces marbres, que l'on sciait pour construire les ponts de la nouvelle ligne. Sur nos plaintes, le moutessarif d'Aïdin fit cesser les fouilles.' From Victor Bérard, "Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure," Bulletin De Correspondance Hellénique, 16 (1892): 417–46.

[403] MF.MKT.350/43, BOA.

[404] Personal communication, Railroad Museum employees in İzmir, Turkey.

in Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir, and location of one of the Seven Churches of Revelation) had been constructed with stones 'quarried from its ancient ruins'.[405] The local workmen and their labor were a central aspect of Somerville's observation as he writes: 'In digging, too, the foundations for the [train] station, the workmen came on an old Christian cemetery, … many of the monuments were broken by the workmen, and not a few slabs of white marble bearing elegant sculpture have been built irregularly into the wall of the road.' [406] The differentiation in Somerville's perceptions are palpable as the 'monuments' are 'broken' and the 'elegant' morphs into the 'irregular'. (Figure 5.3)

Another intersection where one observes juxtapositions of the ancient and modern was in the transportation of materials to and from archaeological sites. At Ephesus, the excavators depended on the railway both to bring in necessary materials and to transport antiquities from the site to the port. When John Turtle Wood needed to ship archaeological materials from Ephesus to England, the railway was the main means of transportation to Izmir. In 1867, upon the discovery of fragments of Roman friezes and sculptural elements, one of the first tasks Wood undertook was to work on their conveyance from the ancient site to the railway station in Ayasoluk in order to accommodate their transportation to Izmir: "I have cleaned a road from Ephesus to Ayasoalouk [sic] sufficiently to enable me to convey the stones to the Railway, and I

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[405] Alexander Neil Somerville, The Churches in Asia: Extracts from the Home Letters of Rev. A. N. Somerville, D.D., from the Region of the Seven Churches (Paisley: Parlane, 1885), 44.

[406] Somerville, The Churches in Asia, 44.

have already 20 of them at the Terminus at Smyrna, and many more at the Station at Ayasalouk."[407] The HMS Terrible arrived in January 1868 to Izmir with orders not only to carry away boxes of artifacts to England, but also to assist with their conveyance to the railway station near the ancient site. With members of the HMS Terrible's crew under his command, Wood succeeded in removing and carrying selected artifacts to the railway over a twenty-day period.[408] These artifacts consisted of almost sixty cases of stones, including the inscription from the Theater.[409] The proximity and access to the railway were significant factors in Wood's ability to remove large quantities of architectural elements, but the relationships ran even deeper than this. C. P. Charlton, the General Manager of the Ottoman Railway Company, not only provided Wood with an open ticket to travel whenever he wanted between Ephesus and Smyrna, but he also allowed the transportation of many loads of workmen and stones free of charge. As Charlton was about to leave his position, Wood requested the Trustees of the British Museum to send a letter of thanks to the railway manager as well as to the directors of the company for

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[407] John Turtle Wood to Winter Jones, Esq. October 28, 1867. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

[408] Wood, Discoveries at Ephesus, 82-86.

Also discussed in Debbie Challis, From the Harpy Tomb to the wonders of Ephesus: British archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1880 (London: Duckworth, 2008), 124.

[409] John Turtle Wood to Winter Jones, Esq. January 6, 1868. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

their assistance over the previous three years.[410] Edward Purser, the chief engineer of the company, assumed the duties of Charlton and this relationship between the railway company and the excavations came to an end. When Wood returned to Smyrna after spending the summer in England, Purser only accorded him the privilege of half-price tickets. As Wood was intending to travel between Smyrna and Ephesus only once a week, his personal travel expenses would not be high; however, Wood was also informed that the railway company would start charging for the transportation of antiquities: "he will charge me also for the carriage of stones, unless something can be done to prevent it. Mr. Purser expresses himself willing to do all he can to make things easy for me, and perhaps it would be imprudent to attempt any reduction of prices through the influence of the Chairman & Directors of the Company…"[411]

The dependence of the excavations on the railway is somewhat unsurprising considering the close relationship that was developed between the two enterprises from the beginning and in this light, Wood's hesitation of annoying Edward Purser is understandable. The impact of a hiatus in rail service was immediately and painfully felt at the Ephesus excavations. For example, in February 1871, Wood reports that due to the nature of the work he was carrying out, he needed more barrows. He applied to both of the railway companies as well as the Quay

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[410] John Turtle Wood to Winter Jones, Esq. July 24, 1868. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

[411] John Turtle Wood to Winter Jones, Esq. October 27, 1868. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

Company but none could be spared. Therefore, Wood was forced to order some. In the meantime, heavy rains destroyed a large part of the permanent railway to Ephesus as well as two of the bridges between Izmir and Ayasoluk. The dozen barrows which were readied for the excavation had to be carried with camels and the remainder with the railway a few days later, causing delay.[412] In a subsequent letter, Wood communicated that the damage to the permanent way of the railway extended over 15 miles and "the barrows and planks which were necessary for me to continue the works with greater number of men have been detained at the station at Smyrna."[413] This anecdote not only demonstrates the dependence between the archaeological exploration of the region, but also the ongoing dependence on camel caravans in the region even long after the arrival of the railways. (See Chapter 4for more on this intersection between camels and the railway.)

While barrows were important for the works undertaken at Ephesus, carrying the antiquities to the port without the railway would have been nearly impossible and having a conflict with Edward Purser over the charges of transporting stone made Wood obviously

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[412] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. February 4, 1871. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

"The destruction of one of the bridges caused the death of there of the men who were employed to conduct the … train last Sunday morning, in the … the damage done to the bridge was not seen, and the Engine and tender with 15 waggons fell into the gap."

[413] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. February 11, 1871. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

nervous. In late 1871, the HMS Caledonia arrived to assist with the transportation of the 'stones' from Ephesus to England. Its crew was elemental in materially dragging the large stones to the railway station and then the items were transported to the station in Smyrna.[414] The estimated charge for transportation by the railway was about £70.[415]

Similar to Ephesus, the excavation at the site of Sardis was also in close proximity to the railway station at Sart, located along the extension of the Izmir-Kasaba line. This excavation, undertaken in the 1910s, made use of an internal rail network, a practice also used at other excavation projects in Anatolia and beyond. (Figure 5.4) Heavy equipment and the rails themselves were ordered from England and Germany and shipped directly to Smyrna. These initial materials were brought to the site via the railroad, with the use of ox-carts for the 'last mile', and installed across the site as described by Howard Crosby Butler, the Princeton archaeologist in charge of the excavations: 'There were three lines of railway, on three terraces, at either side of the temple area; a fourth was added presently at the far eastern end. All the lines converged to one level near the line of the beginning of the excavations, and ran out upon

[414] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. January 19, 1872. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

[415] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. February 16, 1872. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

a common dumping ground.'[416] In 1911, the purchase of more and heavier equipment brought forth the idea of a rail connection between the site and the station. However, as Butler explains:

> It soon appeared that the construction of a railway, however small and temporary, would interfere with the Turkish railway *Regie,* and would involve us in interminable troubles. After considerable discussion it was decided that we might be permitted to build a hundred metres or so at a time, and move this section along, so that at no time would there be a complete railway connexion [sic] between the station of Sart and the village near the ruins.[417]

In 1922, a large shipment of artifacts was carried out, with materials destined for New York City. According to the documents located in the archives of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, smaller boxes of artifacts were hauled to the railway with oxcarts (and possibly by motorcar) and later stored in the warehouse of the Standard Oil Company in Izmir. However, oxcarts were not sufficient to transport the large architectural fragments, for which the construction of a rail line between the excavations and the Station was again desirable.[418] While it is not clear how this issue was resolved, large architectural fragments such as an ionic column were eventually transferred to Izmir and loaded onto the steamship 'Ossa' en route to New York City.[419]

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416 The 1911 set up of the rails. Howard Crosby Butler, Sardis (Leyden: Brill, 1922), 65.

417 Butler, Sardis, 68.

418 Letter to Edward Robinson, 7 April 1922, Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.

419 M.F. Van Der Zee, "Smyrna to Loading of 58 Packages Antique Marbles on Board S.S. 'OSSA'", 27 July 1922, Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives. To read the turbulent fate of the artifacts removed from Sardis and the resulting diplomatic challenges, see James Goode, Negotiating for the past: archaeology, nationalism, and diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

The intersection between the railways and the archeological expeditions undertaken in the region were manifold. Not only many of the archeological sites in the region were excavated by 'experts' arriving in the region to work on the railways but also these ancient sites were explored using railway workers, materials and methodologies, including rails getting installed within the archeological sites to assist the excavation process. Ancient stones quarried from these sites were used heavily in the construction of the railways. In addition, if they were deemed significant, archeological materials were also transported to Europe and America through the railways. This constant and multifarious interaction between the railways and archeological sites manifested itself as nonsimultaneities, crystallizing the differences in perceived temporality of western Anatolia.

5.2 THINE OWN SELF IN DIFFERENCE: THE ORIENTALIST PERCEPTIONS OF ANATOLIAN LIFEWAYS

While foreigners imagined a continuity with the ancient world, they distanced themselves from contemporary Ottoman society. In his influential book *Orientalism*, Edward Said theorized that orientalism as a condition was/is caused by an imbalance of power emerging out of imperialist and colonial politics. Within that framework, the dichotomy of the 'east' and 'west' originates from the need to find an 'other' to the European and American notions of 'self.'[420] The implications of such Cartesian thinking created a host of stereotyped dichotomies. Most relevant to our discussion

[420] Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Random House, 1979).

is the idea that for many in the 19th century, 'self' or the 'west' were associated with 'progress', while the 'other' or the 'east' was equated with 'backwardness' or 'timelessness', indicating lack of change- of course this was far from the realities of the Ottoman Empire.

The outsiders who encountered the train, from time to time also recorded their observations about how the local individuals conceived of the train. For example, a *Times* article records the following:

> [W]hen the concession for the Smyrna-Aidin Railway was asked for, one member of the Council most violently opposed to the exclusive privilege[421] asked for the line. When asked for the reason of his opposition, he naively enough declared that he would never consent to such a frightful encroachment on personal freedom as an exclusive privilege to the railway implied; 'for suppose,' he said, 'I prefer going on horseback or on foot to Aidin, why should the railway be allowed forcibly to take me into their carriages and hurry me of to that town?'[422]

This quote reflects a patronizing attitude towards the local understanding of modernization while at the same time reflecting the novelty of railways for Ottoman subjects.

The railroads of Izmir were constructed during a time when the Ottoman state and subjects were mainly unaware of the long and short-term implications of this mode of infrastructure. Railroads continued to remain elusive for much of the Ottoman populations as one can observe in a travelogue by Ahmet Mithad chronicling his observations during a journey to Europe in 1888, 22 years after the completion of the railway lines to Kasaba and Aydın. In this travelogue, Ahmet

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[421] This type of privilege would prevent any competing railway enterprises working in this same region.

[422] The Times (London), November 7, 1858.

Mithad relates his experiences while riding in a train approaching Paris at night. He is not only fascinated with the lights of the city but also he greatly appreciates the benefits of standardized railroad time which he encountered for the first time.[423] Despite the fact that many Ottoman subjects were unfamiliar with railways and their operations, quote from the Times nonetheless demonstrates a condescending attitude towards the Ottomans that is presented through the exposition of their unfamiliarity with new technology.

The compartmentalization of western Anatolia by foreigners is perhaps best articulated through the words of Mark Twain. In the popular travelogue of his voyage through the Holy Land, he describes his reaction to what he saw in western Anatolian, saying:

> A railway here in Asia - in the dreamy realm of the Orient - in the fabled land of the Arabian Nights - is a strange thing to think of. And yet they have one already, and are building another... The idea of a locomotive tearing through such a place as this, and waking the phantoms of its old days of romance out of their dreams of dead and gone centuries, is curious enough.[424]

In Twain's words, the railway construction and the exoticized Orient, which is described with 19th-century clichés such as the 'land of Arabian Nights', are in direct contrast, creating the othering that was necessary for the self-identification of western society. In addition, Twain perceives of the ancient landscape as something that is 'sleeping', i.e. in hiatus, and may be woken up by the construction of the railways- establishing a link between the ancient and the modern.

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[423] Ahmed Midhat, Avrupa'da bir cevelan (İstanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1890).

[424] Mark Twain, The Innocents Abroad, or, The new pilgrims progress: being some account of the steamship Quaker City's pleasure excursion to Europe and the Holy Land (Hartford: American, 1869), 417.

Twain's words are the epitome of the non-simultaneity that is observed time and again by foreigners.

A discussion of perceptions of the railroad construction through an orientalist perspective must eventually necessarily touch on camels. In their dual role as both the direct competitor in the economics of transportation and as a signifier of the exoticized orient, camels occupy a prominent position in the perceptions of non-simultaneity in western Anatolia. Twain had the opportunity to observe this traditional form of land transportation first hand in Izmir right before he boarded the train for the now easily accessible ancient sites. He noted that 'to see a camel train laden with the spices of Arabia and the rare fabrics of Persia come marching through the narrow alleys of the bazaar... is a genuine revelation of the Orient.'[425] (Figure 5.5)

The perception of the 'curious contrast' and 'disparate association' between the 'traditional' camel and the 'progressive' train was most poignantly articulated by Vicount Vogüé based on what he saw at the first constructed station leading out of Izmir. This dichotomy is even captured within this station's name, since the 'Caravan Bridge' now bore iron rails:

> I think that this British administration is a monstrous thing under the Ionian skies, and yet it gives rise to curious contrasts. The first station is the Caravan Bridge: Hundreds of camels clog the lane and the surrounding area. Nothing can express the disorder thrown into the mind by this disparate association: the camels loaded with cotton and figs,

425 Twain, Innocents Abroad, 411.

kneeling or slowly putting their wide feet between the rails, the rail cars, and the steaming and threatening locomotives.[426] (Figure 5.6)

5.3 TRIPLE INTERSECTIONS

As a traditional symbol of progress, railroads are the poster-child for 19th-century modernization. The unprecedented scale of the construction of two rail lines in western Anatolia drew the immediate attention of foreigners. Their letters, books and journals record their observations and reflect the way they perceived this region. This was a place where foreigners recognized modern progress in the train, felt connections to a romanticized ancient past, and separated themselves from the 'other' of the contemporary orient. The juxtaposition of the Ottoman present, the train as well as the ancient landscape of western Anatolia was similarly captured in a painting by David Hall McKewan. In this painting, one can observe the camel caravans and the train traversing an ancient landscape identifiable with its aqueducts. (Figure 5.7) A quote from German archaeologist Karl Bernhard Stark encapsulates all three of the distinctions salient in the perceptions of foreigners. When commenting on the train station at Ephesus, he states:

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426 Eugène-Melchior Vogüé, Syrie, Palestine, Mont Athos: voyage aux pays du passé (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1887), 8.

Original Text: 'Je laisse à penser si cette administration britannique paraît monstrueuse sous le ciel d'Ionie: et cependant elle donne lieu à de curieux contrastes. La première station est au Pont-des-Caravanes: des centaines de chameaux encombrent la voie et les abords. Rien ne saurait exprimer le trouble jeté dans l'esprit par cette association disparate: les chameaux, chargés de coton et de figues, agenouillés ou posant lentement leurs larges pieds entre les rails, les wagons, les locomotives fumantes et menaçantes.'

> A wonderful impression of the mixture of the modern and the past world! A European railway hall with a few office rooms and European cleanliness. Inside camels, from which bags full of figs are demounted, next to it heaps of marble stones with inscriptions, even fragments of sculptures, awaiting transportation, to be sent further to build the railway.[427]

Due to the advent of railways, western Anatolia, its people, heritage and landscapes, became increasingly accessible to greater numbers of tourists whether they were merchants, debutantes or scholars. This increased accessibility meant that more people could experience the region first hand and their perceptions of the region were tempered increasingly with the realities they observed on the ground rather than the strictly on the orientalist discourse on the region. Therefore, railways were an important agent in the formation of knowledge.

5.4 INTERLUDE

Seikilos Epitaph, a grave stele of cylindrical form dated by different scholars to anywhere between the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE., was type of an artifact that the foreigners might encounter in western Anatolia. It was discovered during the construction of the Izmir-Aydın railway in the vicinity of Aydın, the ancient city of Tralleis. William Ramsay, famed archaeologist, published about the stele first, informing the scholarly communities. The stele had

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[427] Karl B. Stark, Nach dem griechischen Orient: Reise-Studien (Heidelberg: Winter, 1874), 206.

Original text: 'Ein wunderbarer Eindruck von Mischung moderner und vergangener Welt! Eine europäische Eisenbahnhalle mit ein paar Bureauzimmern und europäischer Reinlichkeit. Darin Kameele, denen die Säcke voll Feigen abgenommen werden, daneben Steinhaufen von Marmorblöcken mit Inschriften und selbst Sculptur fragmenten, des Transportes harrend, um zum Eisenbahnbau weiter verwandt zu werden.'

a convoluted but not untypical journey from western Anatolia to a museum in Europe. This important grave stele initially found a home within the items collected by the chief engineer of the railway company, Edward Purser. After passing into the possession of Purser's son-in-law, the object was transferred to the Dutch Consul of Izmir during the war years of the early 20th century. Willem Daniels, eventually carried the object to The Hague. The item was eventually acquired by the National Museum in Copenhagen.[430]

The Seikilos Epitaph is considered to be the oldest-known complete piece of music with notations.[431] (Figure 5.8) Therefore, the story of the Seikilos Epitaph with its ancient music is woven onto the story of Anatolian railways, and provides a proper transition point to the next chapter of this dissertation that deals with the sensory aspects of the railways in Western Anatolia.

[430] Egert Pöhlmann and Martin L. West, Documents of ancient Greek music: the extant melodies and fragments (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 89-90.

[431] Martin L. West, Ancient Greek music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 186.

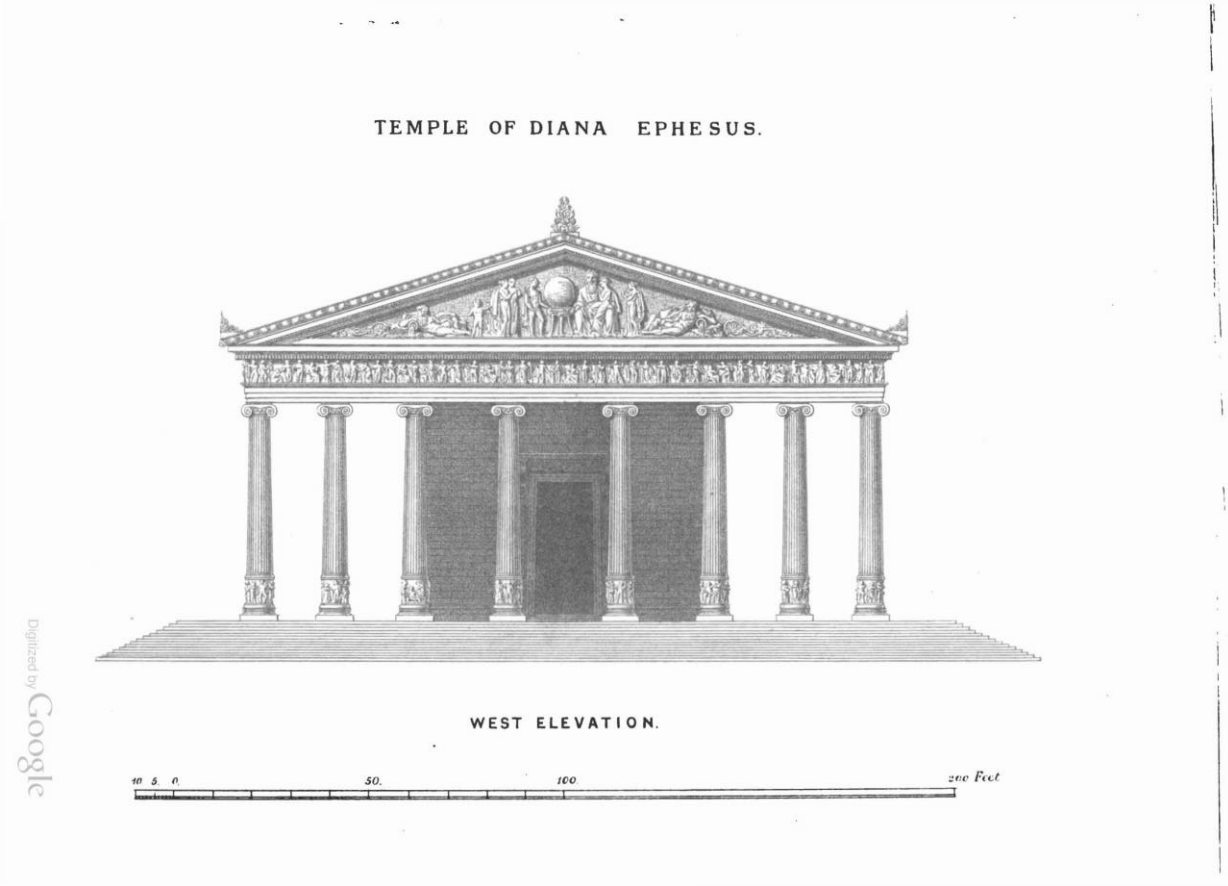

Figure 5.1 *Temple of Artemis (Diana) as drawn by John Turtle Wood.*

Source *Discoveries at Ephesus, 1877.*

Figure 5.2 *Quarrymen at work, Sardis. Alascheir railway, Asia Minor, constructed by Samuel Bayliss, C.E.*

Source *89.R.24, Getty Research Institute.*

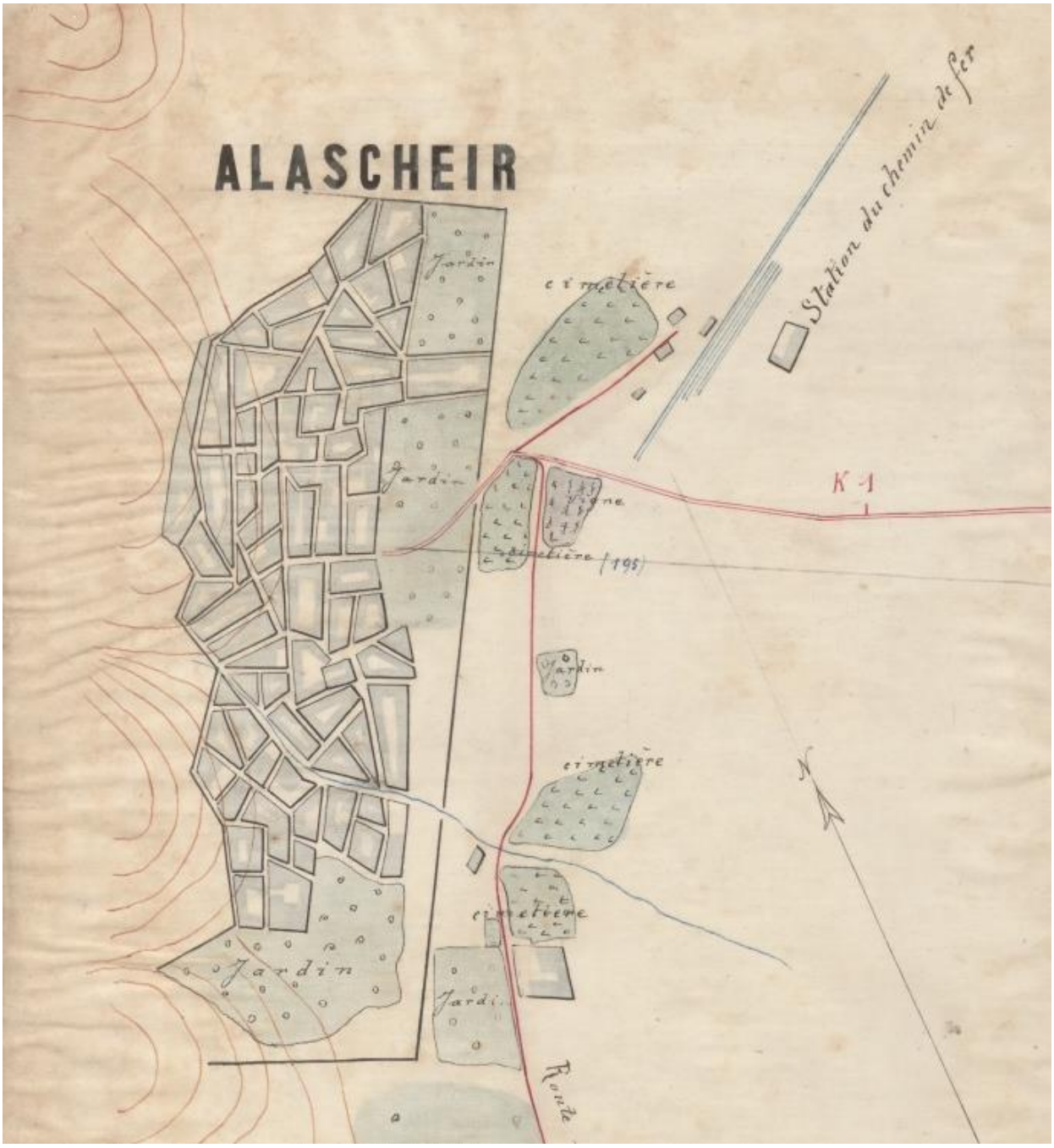

Figure 5.3 *The juxtaposition of the railway station in Alaşehir and the cemeteries.*

Source *Extracted from the plan for the road between Kula and Alaşehir. PLK.p.5357, BOA.*

Figure 5.4 *The rail network within the Sardis Excavations, 1911*

Source *Princeton Architectural Archives.*

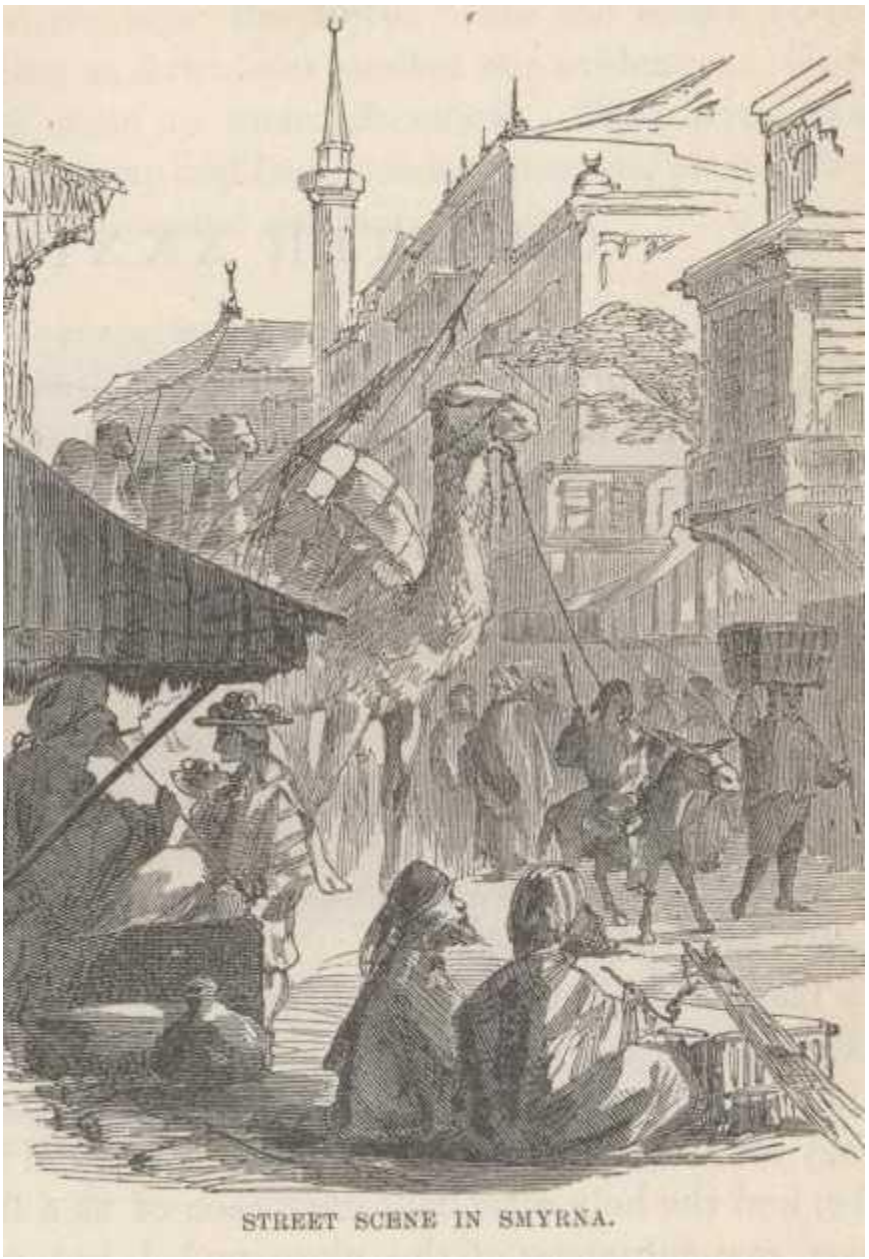

Figure 5.5 *Street Scene in Izmir.*

Source *Mark Twain, Innocents Abroad.*

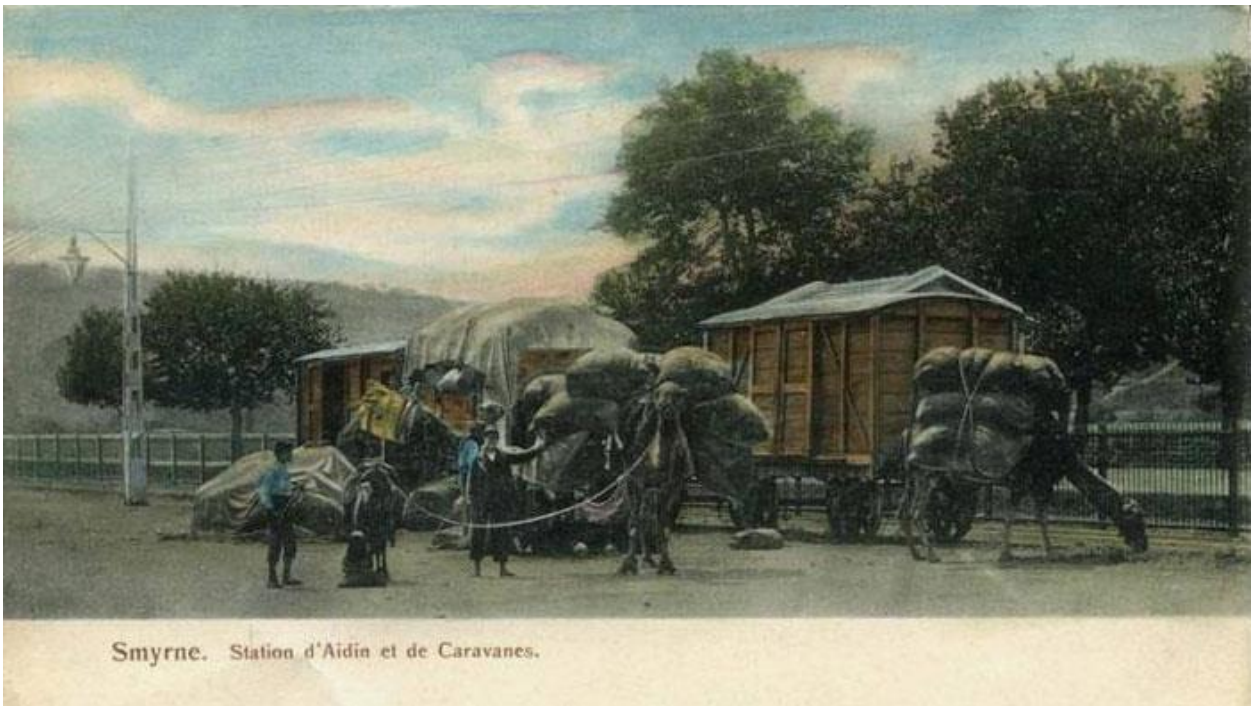

Figure 5.6 *Postcard with camels at a train station*

Source *Levantine Heritage.*

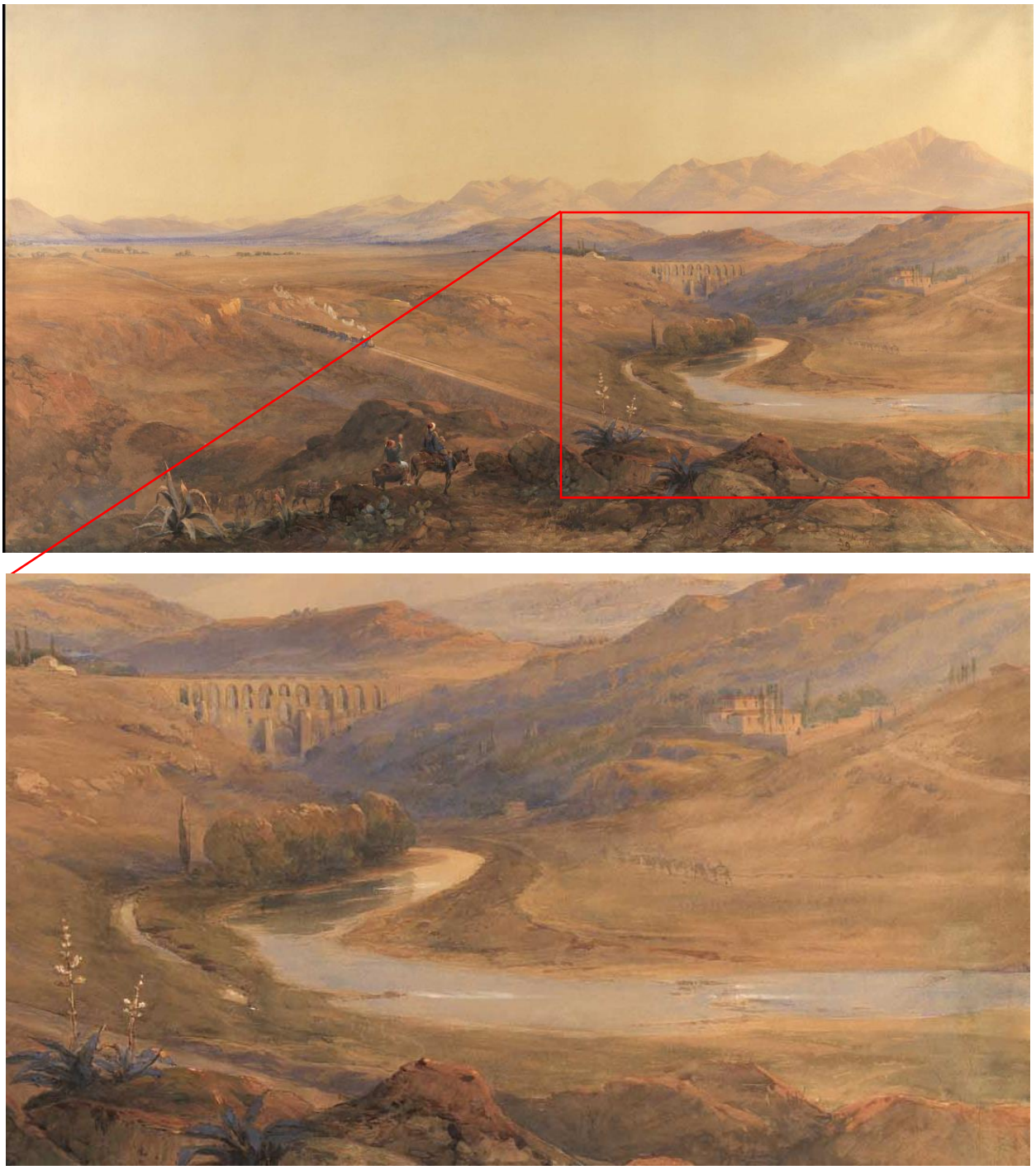

Figure 5.7 *The Smyrna (Izmir) to Aydın Railway, 1859. David Hall McKewan's painting depicting the juxtaposition of the railway, archaeological remains and camels.*

Source *Maas Gallery.*

Figure 5.8 *Seikilos Epitaph.*

Source *Egert Pöhlmann and M. L. West, Documents of Ancient Greek Music: The Extant Melodies and Fragments, 88.*

6 SENSORY GEOGRAPHIES ALONG THE WESTERN ANATOLIAN RAILWAYS

In 1860, two London newspapers, *The Morning Post* and *Daily News*, reprinted an article from the *Levant Herald*, published in Istanbul, chronicling a journey of three individuals ('one a lady') who traveled with the afternoon train from Izmir towards Kyas.[432] As the railway was not yet open to passenger traffic, the train consisted of ballast wagons: "shelter, or even sitting accommodation, there was none."[433] Moreover, "the engine alone was provided with a scant screen from the blazing sun, but the shelter thus afforded was counterbalanced by the hot, oily exhalations and other mixed discomforts inseparable from the 'iron horse'."[434] Despite these inconveniences, after clearing the chaos of the construction that was taking place at the Point Station, the terminus of the line, the train "dashed forwards into a speed of some 15 miles an hour."[435] The observations displayed in these quotes reflect one of the most salient but largely

[432] Ottoman Railway Company constructed the first railway in Ottoman Anatolia. They traversed a route between the port city of Izmir and the inland market town of Aydın. While they received their concession from the Ottoman Empire in 1856, it would take them ten years to reach Aydın. Kyas was the furthest point along the rails when this news article was published in 1860.

[433] "A RUN OVER THE SMYRNA AND AIDIN RAILWAY." Morning Post [London, England] 15 Oct. 1860: 2. British Library Newspapers. and "A RUN OVER THE SMYRNA AND AIDIN RAILWAY." Daily News [London, England] 15 Oct. 1860: n.p. British Library Newspapers.

[434] Ibid.

[435] Ibid.

overlooked aspect of railways: their sensory effects. The multitude of perceptions, fit into this short newspaper passage, illustrates the vibrant sensorial landscape of the rail way and how people's experiences of the railways were shaped through this new sensorium.[436]

Scholarship on the senses has become more prominent in recent decades following a period when cultural studies were dominated by linguistic approaches. As the eminent scholar of the senses David Howes recounts: "Once the encompassing grip of 'the science of signs' (modeled on linguistics) is broken, we are brought- perhaps with a gasp of surprise or a recoil of disgust- into the realm of the body and the senses."[437] However, as he also points out, the sensual revolution does not mean that scholars can evade the realm of the written word: "It would seem to be the fate of the senses that their astonishing power to reveal and engage should forever be judged and sentenced in the court of language."[438] This seems particularly true when one is dealing with history, where there is a high dependency on archival materials and the written words within them.

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[436] Richard White, in regard to the transcontinental railways, notes in his chapter on Spatial Politics that "the railroads made space political by making the quotidian experience of space one of rapid movement. A railroad train in motion was a snorting, smoking, roaring thing; for all the beauty of its movement, it was an assault on human senses, which registered that it was the train's movement that mattered."

[437] David Howes, "Introduction," in Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader. , ed. David Howes (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 1.

[438] Ibid., 4.

In line with this dependence of social sciences and humanities on text and its accompanying visuality, architectural and urban histories have a tradition of privileging the visual or the formal while other sensory experiences such as sound, smell, and taste, as well as movement, are left largely and rather surprisingly unattended.[439] Martin Jay posits that "the modern era, it is often alleged, has been dominated by the sense of sight in a way that sets it apart from its premodern predecessors and possibly its postmodern successor."[440] However, the modern era, which experienced the rise of industrialization, was also the producer of spectacular new sounds and smells. Alan Corbin, whose *Village Bells*[441] remains a landmark work engaging with sound, argues that all five senses are essential to render built environments legible and understandable. Therefore, over-privileging of the visual leads to an incomplete understanding of spatial histories.

Historiography about the history of the Middle East and the Ottoman Empire, similarly largely skips over sensory perceptions.[442] Yet, 19th-century archival documents from and about

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[439] Notable exceptions include: Emily Ann Thompson, The soundscape of modernity: architectural acoustics and the culture of listening in America, 1900-1933 (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008); Jill Steward and Alexander Cowan, City and the Senses: urban culture since 1500 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); Nina Ergin, "The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques: Architecture and Quran Recital," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 67, no. 2 (2008): 204-221.

[440] Martin Jay, Force fields between intellectual history and cultural critique (New York: Routledge, 1993), 114.

[441] Alain Corbin, Village bells: sound and meaning in the 19th century French countryside (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[442] Ziad Fahmy, "Coming to our Senses: Historicizing Sound and Noise in the Middle East", History Compass 11, no. 4 (2013): 305-315.

this region are rife with descriptions of people experiencing their surroundings through all senses. Therefore, the primary source materials of the region provide us with a multitude of instances where sensory experiences are discussed. While not independent from the yoke of the 'text', this chapter aims to approach the history of the built environment through the sensory data of railway spaces that are interlaced throughout archival documents.

6.1 SOUNDSCAPES OF THE RAILWAY

Railways were noisy, smelly and made the earth tremble when they traversed the terrain. As the sound of the train and railway operations in general instigated perhaps the foremost sensory alteration in the western Anatolian landscape, this section will engage with the auditory aspects of the railways. The methodology of this chapter depends on the use of official reports produced both by the Ottoman government and the railway companies that were attempting to define the nature of the railway operations.[443] These are coupled with personal observations of 19th-century residents and visitors to the area when possible.

Prior to the arrival of the railroads, Western Anatolia was, of course, not a sensory tabula rasa. In terms of the auditory aspects of transportation, the camels that preceded the railways

[443] The use of court records in the examination of soundscapes has also been a prominent trend. Alan Corbin's already mentioned Village Bells provides a good pre-modern example to this trend. For the modern city, such an approach has been used in Emily Thompson's The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900—1933, as well as Peter Payer, "The Age of Noise: Early Reactions in Vienna, 1870--1914," Journal of Urban History 33, no. 5 (2007): 773-793. The approach utilized in this chapter is similar to Nina Ergin's use of 16th century vakıf documents in understanding the sensory aspects of Ottoman spaces.

already presented a vibrant soundscape. In an article about the fig harvest in the region, it is possible to receive a glimpse into the sensory experiences that accompanied camel transportation. The author writes:

> All through the day the tinkling of the camel bells is heard upon the banks of the river...The tinkling of the bells is often very musical, the leading camel and the last camel are always furnished with them... it is hard to describe the confusion and bustle and shrill turmoil which prevail there [in the fig market] during the few weeks of the fig season.[444]

As the soundscapes of transportation in this region were as vibrant and sensorial in their own way prior to the arrival of the railways, it is important to contextualize the sensory perceptions of the railways within this background and not treat the former Anatolian landscapes as devoid of sensory qualities.

What differentiated the new soundscape that arrived with the railways was its industrial nature. According to Leo Marx, in his influential work, *Machine in the Garden*, "the locomotive, an iron horse or fire-Titan" was "the embodiment of the age, an instrument of power, speed, noise, fire, iron, smoke."[445] According to Marx, as the signal of the modern era, railroads were also dichotomous to the pastoral.[446] However, as more recent studies have distanced themselves from the absolutes of such dichotomies, more nuanced ways of understanding industrial sound have emerged and acknowledge that even the most drastic changes do not alter a place

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[444] "The Smyrna Fig Harvest," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 1890, 292-293.

[445] Leo Marx, The machine in the garden: technology and the pastoral ideal in America Technology and the pastoral ideal in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 191.

[446] Ibid.

completely.[447] The way that sounds and smells of the pastoral life of Anatolia were woven together with the industrial sensations of the railway landscapes, rather than the latter forcing a rupture with the earlier sensory geographies of the place, fits better within such a framework.

Even long after the arrival of trains, camel bells continued to chime both in the countryside as well as within the cities. In fact, the article cited above describing the camel bells was written in 1890 - decades after the first trains started to traverse western Anatolia. Moreover, the sensory experiences of the pastoral became guides in understanding and internalizing the sounds and smells of the railways. A newspaper article published in *Hizmet*, the first Turkish-language newspaper in Izmir, for example, alludes to the speed of Izmir's railways through the metaphor of the wind when discussing the transportation amenities of the city for trade and commerce.[448]

While the sensory changes brought by the railways did not mark a complete rupture, they were nonetheless a prominent new element in the landscape. As the symbol of a new era, many considered the sounds that were generated by the railways as harbingers of 'modernity'. This sense is palpable in the words uttered by Macdonald Stephenson, the first president of the

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[447] Mark Smith, "The Garden in the Machine: Listening to Early American Industrialization," in The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies, ed. Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 41.

[448] "Ticaret," Hizmet (Izmir), 26 Kanunisani, 1887.

Ottoman Railway Company from Izmir to Aydın, during the ceremony to lay the cornerstone of the terminal station at the Point in Izmir. He states that:

> Not a cutting or embankment that did not swarm with labourers. Nor were the hum of the voices of those busy men, the creaking of carts and barrow wheels, and the roar of the blasting of the rocks sounds less welcome to his ears, for they gave assurance that a great work was being carried on with a zeal and energy that must bring it to a successful conclusion.[449]

With these words, Stephenson equates the sounds generated by the railway construction with the accomplishments of a new age. For him, they were the sounds of progress and *not* noise. The difference, of course, between industrial sound as a marker of progress and as plain noise was a subjective boundary. Obviously, for Stephenson and his like-minded contemporaries, these sounds were more than welcome.

The operations that took place at Point Station offer some insights into the nature of the sounds produced by the railway. According to an 1873 report prepared by the *Nafia Vekaleti*, the Ottoman Ministry of Public Works, Point Station included two groups of structures. One of these groups related to the passenger and merchandise traffic, as well as incorporating the administrative offices of the railway. The second group included the structures that contained what may be considered the 'noisy' operations, such as a locomotive rotunda that could accommodate 18 locomotives at a time, as well as a repair workshop with a 10-horsepower steam engine. This repair workshop utilized machines such as drills, and planing and tapping

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[449] Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 45.

machines. There was also an ironworks shop with an annex for a bronze foundry containing six forges with hand bellows for bending metal sheets. A separate carpentry workshop had two sections: one for servicing the permanent way and one for servicing the wagons and cars. There was a sawing workshop containing two circular saws with a 15-horsepower traction engine, a large water tank with its own steam machine, a tool depot and a general store.[450]

While the sounds emitted by these machines might be conceived of as sounds of 'progress', they were also undoubtedly loud. The fact that the railway company placed these operations away from the structures dedicated to its passenger and shipping traffic, might attest to the fact that there was an implicit acknowledgement that these operations were disagreeable, despite any symbolism they might hold as signs of the industrial age.

Similarly, the Kasaba railway also had several specialized workshops including a machine shop, a workshop for the repair of locomotives, a workshop containing forge equipment, a tinsmith workshop, a workshop for the repair of the moving stock, and a workshop of paint tapestry, in addition to sawmills, a foundry and an emergency wagon.[451] It is significant to note that the Kasaba railway's repair facilities were not located near their terminus in Basmane, but rather in the sparsely populated area between Point Station and the split for the Bornova branch

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[450] Nafia Vekâleti Commission de Vérification, Rapport sur l'exploitation, 14-15.

[451] Smyrna-Cassaba Railway Company received a concession in 1863 to construct a second line originating from the port city of Izmir. This route would follow the Gediz river valley to its initial terminus at the inland market town of Kasaba.

line. (Figure 6.1) Many of these spaces contained what could be considered heavy machinery capable of producing industrial noise. For example, the machine workshop alone included an eight-horsepower locomotive, a lathe of six-feet diameter for wheels, a lathe of eight-inch diameter for screws, a small and a large drilling machine, a crane with forty-feet chains and sharpening stones with pulleys.[452]

Other nodes along the rail network probably did not produce as much sound as the main repair facilities located in Izmir. The other terminus point of the Ottoman Railway Company in Aydın, for instance, most likely did not generate similar sound levels, since it lacked the repair facilities available in Izmir. Aydın Station included a passenger station, a covered hall for merchandise, an engine shed that could accommodate two locomotives and a coal shed. (Figure 6.2)

While the Aydın Station was quieter than the Point Station in terms of industrial noise, it was unquestionably still a locus of unique sensory perceptions within this provincial city. As one can observe in the plan of the Aydın Station, in addition to the structures listed above, the station was host to a number of other buildings. These included lodgings for the station master, with a kitchen, laundry, and quarters for his servants. Additionally, the area around the station contained a boarding house and *five* cafes. The high number of cafes suggests that the train station was a locus of sociability and was not limited to transportation purposes. There were

[452] A.DVN.MKL.36.1.1. BOA.

laundry and kitchen facilities, as well as privies that served the patrons of the cafes and the general human traffic of the railway station.

An anecdote recounted by the architect of the Ottoman Railway Company and the excavator of Ephesus, John Turtle Wood, provides us with one glimpse, albeit of an unusual occurrence, of these cafes. Wood recounts that:

> Karputleh Hussein, one of my best workmen, got drunk on Sunday afternoon, and passing in that state a party of Greeks, one of whom was a priest, who were seated before a café, he cursed them and their religion…and a fight commenced in which many Turks and Greeks joined, while others tried to appease the combatants…the riot, which took place near the station and adjoining cafes, the number of combatants had increased, and the fight had spread into the adjoining barley fields in to which the Turks pursued the Greeks with sticks and stones…The fight continued for about 2 hours and was only stayed by the retreat of the Greeks into the houses and cafes, some of which were broken into and robbed…The Station Master was away at Kirkinjee at the time that the disturbance took place, and hearing of it, was afraid to return to his post at the telegraph office, so no telegram could be sent till the next morning.[453]

While highlighting the tensions between different peoples of the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the 19th century, this passage also provides us with clues about the life around the cafés of the Aydın Station where a drunk Turkish excavation worker and a Greek priest both passed the time. It is also possible to deduce that there were enough people around that a riot could grow out of an incident between a worker and a small party of Greeks.

Sound was not only incidental to the processes of the railway but was an essential and intentional tool in its operations. The tracks of the two railway lines in Izmir, which were

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[453] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. April 19, 1873. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

operated by two different companies, crossed over one another at a location called Hilal near the Caravan Bridge. One of the difficulties of this location was that the crossing took place at the foot of a series of fast slopes, where trains approached the crossing at higher speeds caused by gravity. Therefore, an arrangement was necessary to ensure the safe passage of trains through the crossing. Regulations accepted in January of 1865 codified the procedure for passing trains. According to these regulations:

> 1- any locomotive, train, car or wagon belonging to either of the companies will not pass the crossing until the red signal is lowered
> 2- no engine or train can approach the crossing with a speed exceeding four English miles per hour
> 3- each mechanic of the Aidin railway approaching the intersection must sound the whistle once and the mechanics on the Cassaba railway must do it twice.
> 4- in the case of locomotives and trains from both companies arriving at the intersection at the same time, those of the Smyrna-Aidin railway should have the preference to go first.[454]

As can be seen in these regulations, sound played an important role in assuring the safety and smoothness of operations for the railways. Their communications can even be conceived of as a rudimentary language of sorts, based on a predetermined number of whistles. Even the spatial location of where these whistles had to be sounded was coded in maps produced by the railway companies. (Figure 6.3)

An employee handbook, *Regulations of the Ottoman Railway Company (Smyrna to Aidin),* provides further evidence that this rudimentary language of sounds was indeed an essential

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[454] T.793.15 continued in T.793.41. BOA.

element of railway operations. The fact that this booklet was published in four languages, English, Ottoman, Greek and Italian, makes it abundantly clear that communicating the information about the signals was of utmost importance to the company. Moreover, if these four languages were not sufficient, the company promised to provide the whole booklet or the portion relevant to the duties of the employee in his own language: "Each native subordinate who may be unacquainted with the English Language will be provided with a translation into his own tongue of these Rules or of the Section relating to his peculiar duties."[455]

The railway companies utilized different types of signals during daylight and night hours, and adjusted for weather. Whistles were always an important part of the railway operations at all hours as they signaled the arrival of the train from a distance. For example, according to the *Rules and Regulations of the Ottoman Railway Company*, whistles had to be sounded when the train was approaching not only stations but also level crossings, junctions and any other places along the railway where obstructions were likely to occur.[456] Moreover, communication between railway employees within an operating train also took place with the use of sound. One of the responsibilities of train guards, for example, was to ensure that the cord to the bell placed in the tender[457] was connected and was passed through all the carriages, and the end secured

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[455] Ottoman Railway Company, Rules and regulations of the Ottoman Railway Company. (Smyrna to Aidin.- Règlement et arrêtés.) Engl., Fr., Romaic, Turkish (London, 1862).

[456] Ibid., 59-60.

[457] The railcar attached to the locomotive where the coal was kept.

to the guard's van.[458] With this bell, the guard could signal the enginemen in case of an emergency. The bell had to be continuously rung until an answer was received. However, as the bell only worked one way, to the tender, any response to the guards was given by the train's steam whistle- in this case with a 'deep-toned' whistle.[459]

The necessity for sound signals became more urgent when conditions prevented the use of visual signals. According to the *Regulations*, 'detonating signals' were to be used in addition to regular day and night signals in the event of fog and other obstacles that required additional means of communication. These signals were used to alert approaching trains to the dangers. Each station had to keep a supply of such detonating signals in hand at all times, which were to 'be placed on the Rail (label upwards) by binding the lead clip round the upper flange of the Rail. When the Engine passes over the Signal, it explodes with a loud report, when the Engine-man must instantly stop."[460] In the event of such unplanned stopping of the train after encountering a detonating signal, additional protective measures would also be required in order to alert any other approaching trains. These additional protective measures, again, depended on the use of detonating signals where "the Guard or the Fireman must immediately protect the train by going

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[458] Ibid., 44.

[459] Ibid., 47.

[460] Ibid., 22.

back [on the track] and placing one of the these [detonators] every 100 YARDS, for a distance of ONE QUARTER of a mile; the train may then proceed slowly to the place of obstruction."[461]

As one can deduce from such regulations and the emphasis placed on them, sounds and especially whistles were elemental in the smooth and safe operations of the railways. Due to their common and frequent usage, they became one of the main external expressions of railways. These auditory signals were in addition to the incidental sounds produced by the railway operations such as the industrial noise produced in repair facilities and of course, the sound generated by the moving train.

6.2 LIGHTS IN THE NIGHT

Through changing practices of illumination in the society, individual sensory perceptions underwent a process of re-adjustment in the modern era.[462] The advent of railways in western Anatolia catalyzed such a shift in the experience of the nightly realm within the Ottoman Empire. Joachim Schlör, in his *Nights in the Big City*, identifies railway operations as one of the first industrial activities to spread into the night.[463] Therefore, while the illumination of the night is

[461] Ibid., 22.

[462] Alice Barnaby, Light touches: Cultural practices of illumination, London 1780-1840, Dissertation, University of Exeter, 2009. While Barnaby argues that this process started at the end of the 18th century in England, the intense schemes of incorporating gas-lighting to Izmir during the 1860s suggests that this assumption was still valid for the mid-19th century Ottoman Empire.

[463] Schlör, Joachim. Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840-1930. London: Reaktion Books, 1998.

not typically examined within the scope of sensory studies, in railway landscapes this forms an important sensory element.

As western Anatolia was home to vibrant soundscapes prior to the arrival of the railways, the region also had not been completely devoid of night-time activities and associated illumination. Cemal Kafadar points out that by the 16th century, night time was already becoming more active within the urban environments of the Ottoman Empire and coffee drinking and coffeehouses were an important aspect of this dynamic that enabled new forms of sociability in the public realm. He also points out that "coffee and coffeehouses were congenial parts of a broader setting in which people wanted to test, or felt compelled to test, the elasticity of day and night."[464] Despite the existence of what can be called a night life in the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century, revolving around sociability and religious practices, the railways brought a new dimension to this 'conquest of the night' through the process of what Wolfgang Schivelbusch calls the 'industrialization of light'.[465]

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[464] Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," in Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turhnhour: Brepols, 2014), 244.

[465] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, Disenchanted night: the industrialization of light in the nineteenth century (Estados Unidos: University of California Press, 1995).

In an 1859 report prepared by Sir Rowland Macdonald Stephenson on the viability of railways in Western Anatolia, Stephenson recounts Felix Wakefield's description of the transport of merchandise between Aydın and Izmir in 1857:

> Everything is carried in hair bags, except fresh grapes, which are carried in large baskets, the bags are the property of the camel owners. Bad as it is, it is the best mode that a country, unskilled in mechanical contrivances, could devise. From Aidin to Smyrna is four days' journey; and as the bags are removed from the camels' backs every night, and put upon the ground, it may be imagined that the contents, be it flour, figs, raisins, or even valonia or dye roots, must, should the weather be wet, have six or seven inches up the bag entirely spoilt.[466]

Hyde Clarke, the Izmir-Aydın railway's representative to the Ottoman government, echoes the observations made by Wakefield that the nightly unloading of the merchandise from the camels led to significant damage due to exposure to the elements and to the animals. According to Clarke, one of the main advantages of the railway was the obviation of this nightly unloading of goods. Most importantly, Clarke noted that railway transport surpassed the animal transport because "the railway works throughout the year, and works too at night."[467]

Unlike the camel caravans and their rhythms that synched with natural cycles, railways transported people and products according to predetermined timetables that expanded into the night. Clarke lays out an orderly scheme where "goods will be carried from Smyrna at night to Aidin or Naslu, and thence transmitted by day by pack animals. Goods delivered at Naslu or Aidin

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466 Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 7-8.

467 Clarke, *The Imperial Ottoman Smyrna & Aidin Railway*, 33.

in the evening will be carried into Smyrna, before the camels are ready to start in the morning."[468] Despite Clarke's belief in the advantages of railways, one can observe the symbiotic relationship that was developed between camels and the railway in his words. While the railways offered fast and efficient transport along its predetermined but limited routes, camels were necessary to transport the products to and from the railways.

Clarke's idealized operation schedule outlined above was obviously also unrealistic. Trains were not always on time, and sometimes their irregular arrivals and departures caused great havoc. For instance, in the early years of the railways, products had to be unloaded from the train and loaded onto pack animals in order to be brought to the market or to ships for export- additional proof that the railways depended heavily on animal labor.[469] An article published in the *Levant Herald* demonstrates how the operations of the railway spilled into the night in unintended ways when discussing the irregularity of railway operations and how this affected the city's rhythms:

> The goods trains, especially that which runs at night, are sometimes six or seven hours behind their time: instead of reaching Smyrna at 7 pm they come in at midnight, and at 2 o'clock or even later the next morning. The railway engages to bring in the loads of figs so that they shall be in the Smyrna market before sunrise. These delays render it impossible

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[468] Ibid.

[469] While the Point Station of the Aydın Railway was eventually connected to the port facilities, the inner-city location of Basmane, the terminal of the Cassaba Railway, meant that this practice continued.

for the camels who carry goods to and from the railway and the market to do their work in proper time.[470]

The gap between the railway terminuses and the market as well as the port presented a genuine challenge for the railway companies. As Mubahat Kütükoğlu observes, major port developments around Eastern Mediterranean tended to follow the development of rail networks. Thessaloniki, Varna, Beirut, as well as Izmir, all follow this pattern.[471] The idea of an improved port for Izmir was entertained as early as 1862 following the completion of the first section of the Aydın railway to Ephesus. Building the port at the location of the Aydın railway terminus in Izmir was initially considered, but it was later abandoned for a more central location. Dessaud Brothers would eventually undertake the construction of the port in Izmir.[472]

In 1867, the same year that the news article about the nightly arrivals of figs was published, the port development company was given the right to build a tramway between the Point Station and the port facility. An amendment in 1868 allowed this tramline to be built in a way that could accommodate railcars. Through this alteration, the merchandise from the railway could be transported to the port with greater efficiency. Later, when the tracks were installed, Ottoman officials initially hesitated to allow the transportation of goods through this line.

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[470] Levant Herald (Istanbul), September 10, 1867.

[471] Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "İzmir Rıhtım İnşaatı ve İşletme İmtiyazı," Tarih Dergisi, no. 32 (1979): 495.

[472] More on the port development of Izmir can be found in: Sibel Zandi-Sayek, "Struggles Over the Shore: building the quay of Izmir, 1867-1875," City & Society 12, no. 1 (2000): 55-78; Cevat Korkut, Belgelerle İzmir rıhtım imtiyazı (İzmir: Dağaşan Ofset, 1992); Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "İzmir Rıhtım İnşaatı ve İşletme İmtiyazı," Tarih Dergisi, no. 32 (1979): 495-553.

However, the amount of shipping was overwhelming and the railway company was allowed to carry goods on this line- yet only at night. The company's initial request was to utilize the tracks from mid-night to mid-day. However, the Ottoman government was initially only willing to allow its operations until sun-rise. A compromise was reached allowing the railcars to run on these tracks until 8 AM in the morning.[473] Thus, the waterfront of Smyrna was converted into an industrial and illuminated landscape at night-time when significant amounts of goods were transported from the Point to the Port. (Figure 6.4)

In the mid-1860s, approximately around the same time as the railways, gas lighting also began to appear in Izmir. Therefore, some sections of the city were already benefiting from improved night-time illumination. The Ottoman Gas Company Limited, with headquarters in London, had obtained a concession in 1862 to provide gas lights in Izmir.[474] As Sibel Zandi-Sayek observes, by "1865, a system of gas conduits and streetlights replaced the faint glow of makeshift kerosene lanterns, enhancing the appearance of Izmir's major arteries and changing people's experience of the night."[475] It is noteworthy that the initial network of gaslights created a triangle connecting the Point, where the terminus of the Aydın line was located; the Basmane

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[473] I.MM.2755.2. BOA.

[474] V. Necla Geyikdağı, Foreign investment in the Ottoman Empire international trade and relations 1854-1914 (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011), 114.

[475] Sibel Zandi-Sayek, Ottoman Izmir: the rise of a cosmopolitan port, 1840-1880 (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 25.

Station, which was the terminus of the Kasaba railway; and the bazaars of the city.[476] The fact that both train stations were selected to be anchor points of this newly established infrastructural network of illumination suggests the essential role that the railroads were already playing in the city- even though neither line extended very far outside Izmir in 1864. (Figure 6.5)

Another association of the Aydın railway with the illumination of the city was through its direct connection with the Gasworks of Izmir. A track for carrying fuel linked ships with the Gasworks, the factory that lit the city at night. The juxtaposition of the Gasworks and the Railway terminus, as well as their direct link, suggests a mutually beneficial arrangement between these two modern amenities of the city. (See Figure 6.1)

Even in areas not reached by gas lighting, the railway created its own illuminated landscape in the night. Similar to whistles, lights were essential for the smooth operations of the railways. While flags or hand signals in addition to sound cues were used during the day, at night, lamps became a necessity and took the place of flags and hand signals. Along the Aydın line, no train or engine could leave the station between sunset and sunrise without their head and tail lamps lit.[477] An additional tail lamp attached to an engine or train indicated that a special train was following and special care must be taken.[478] Employees from stationmasters to gate

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[476] Ibid., 88.

[477] Ottoman Railway Company, Rules and Regulations, 28.

[478] Ibid., 32.

keepers were held responsible for proper use and maintenance of lamps. One of the major duties of stationmasters, for example, was to ensure that signal lamps were lit at stations as soon as it became dark.[479] Each guard accompanying a train had to carry with him a head signal lamp. One of his responsibilities was to make sure that the lamps of the train were functional and that they were lit during the hours between sunset and sunrise.[480] Each engineman had to carry in his tender a set of lamps for the engine and tender itself. These lamps were to be deposited at the lamp rooms at the stations and were then taken out again when needed. The level crossings were to be furnished with lamps that had to show red when the gates were closed and every gateman was responsible for their proper operation.[481] In the case of accidents, foremen and gangers were called upon to supervise the repairs to the line and each of them was supplied with two hand lamps showing red, green and white lights in addition to six detonating signals. Even the passengers were held responsible for the well-being of lamps. For example, any passenger willfully damaging or removing lamps from the railway were to be penalized by a fine of one hundred piastres.[482]

An 1872 inventory of the Kasaba line prepared by railway commissioner Nihad, indicates a similar arrangement along the Kasaba Railway. Among the material recorded at each station

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479 Ibid., 35.

480 Ibid., 43.

481 Ibid., 67.

482 Ibid., 89.

are one to three signal lanterns. Additionally, this inventory makes clear that station platforms were illuminated at night. For example, the Bournabat (today's Bornova) station, in addition to its two signal lanterns, had eight lanterns on its platform, which also had only 8 benches.[483]

The balance sheets of railway companies provide another perspective. (Figure 6.6) Through these documents, it is possible to examine the material and logistical aspects of illumination. As the balance sheets list unused items that were carried over, they provide an understanding of what the companies thought to keep in stock in excess of what was already in use. In terms of illumination, a December 1867 balance sheet of the Kasaba railway includes the following items: lamps placed on locomotive heads (19 spares) as well as on carriage roofs (14 spares). The railways not only illuminated nodes such as stations, but they created a landscape punctuated by moving light.[484]

The two railways that originated from Izmir brought important new dimensions to the already vibrant sensory geography of Western Anatolia. The sounds and lights of the train, the machine, were woven onto the everyday practices of the region, altering it in many unprecedented ways. Railways by their very nature were prone to producing large amounts of industrial noise. The source of this noise was not only the rhythmical tones of the locomotives traversing the terrain punctuated by whistles, but also included a whole set of auxiliary operations such as workshops dedicated to the maintenance of the railway equipment. Just as

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483 A.DVN.MKL.36.1.1. BOA.

484 T.DMI.794.55. BOA.

the railway companies depended on the sound of whistles to ensure the orderly working of the railways, they also depended on night-time illumination. As railways worked at all hours, lights became an important element in railway operations which altered the way through which the cities and the countryside experienced light.

6.3 INTERLUDE

While the focus of this chapter has been on the sensory landscapes created by the railways, the trains also afforded their passengers ways to explore new sensations. Picking up the previous chapter's theme of ancient-modern intersections, we turn again to John Turtle Wood, architect and archaeologist. In his writings, he describes how train voyages were intertwined into his working day. During the early years of his explorations at Ephesus, he occupied a room in a hotel in Buca and had to walk a mile and a half to catch the train to Ayasoluk from the Paradise Station. "The fifty miles between Smyrna and Ayasalouk occupied nearly three hours and a half. There were no first-class carriages at that time on the Smyrna and Aidin Railway, and the second-class carriages had no sun-blinds."[485] While the sensation of speed has been identified as an important sensory element of railway travel, Wood surely would have preferred a faster train in order to decrease the quantity of his waking hours he spent on the train in those early days. However, soon after the commencement of the excavations, he was offered a room in Ayasoluk and was saved from his daily drudgery of train travel. While his commutes to Izmir lessened, they

[485] Wood, Discoveries at Ephesus, 24-25.

were a necessary part of his operations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, he traveled back and forth to Izmir at least once a week and seems to have utilized this time to catch up on work. In a letter to J. Winter Jones at the British Museum, Wood apologizes for his handwriting: "The report was written on the train on my way to Smyrna the day it was posted. I trust you will therefore excuse its roughness as I find the time allowed at the station [unreadable} not be sufficient, and I am [unreadable]."[486] Obviously, the movements of the train were jarring to this frequent traveler and had hindered his ability to pen this letter with clarity.

In 1863, soon after John Turtle Wood commenced the exploration of Ephesus, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Abdulaziz, visited Izmir during his voyage to Egypt. Ceremonies organized in connection with the railway, as well as a trip to the ancient site of Ephesus by train were among the highlights of his voyage. One of the most striking aspects of the Sultan's trip back to Izmir from Ephesus was his observation of the city, all lit up, during the train's approach. Ceremonies and celebrations, such as the one organized by the railway officials and town administrators for Sultan Abdulaziz, were important elements in both acclimatizing the residents of the region to the railway and showing off the new infrastructural amenity of the area. The next chapter will explore such ceremonies and celebrations, and how they were mobilized in favor of the railway.

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[486] Letter from John Turtle Wood to J. Winter Jones, Esq. December 9, 1870. Deputy Principal Librarian, British Museum. British Museum Archives. Excavation Records. CE32/9, CE32/11-12.

Figure 6.1 *1883 Sketch Map of the Point Area.*

Source *PLK.P.03967, BOA.*

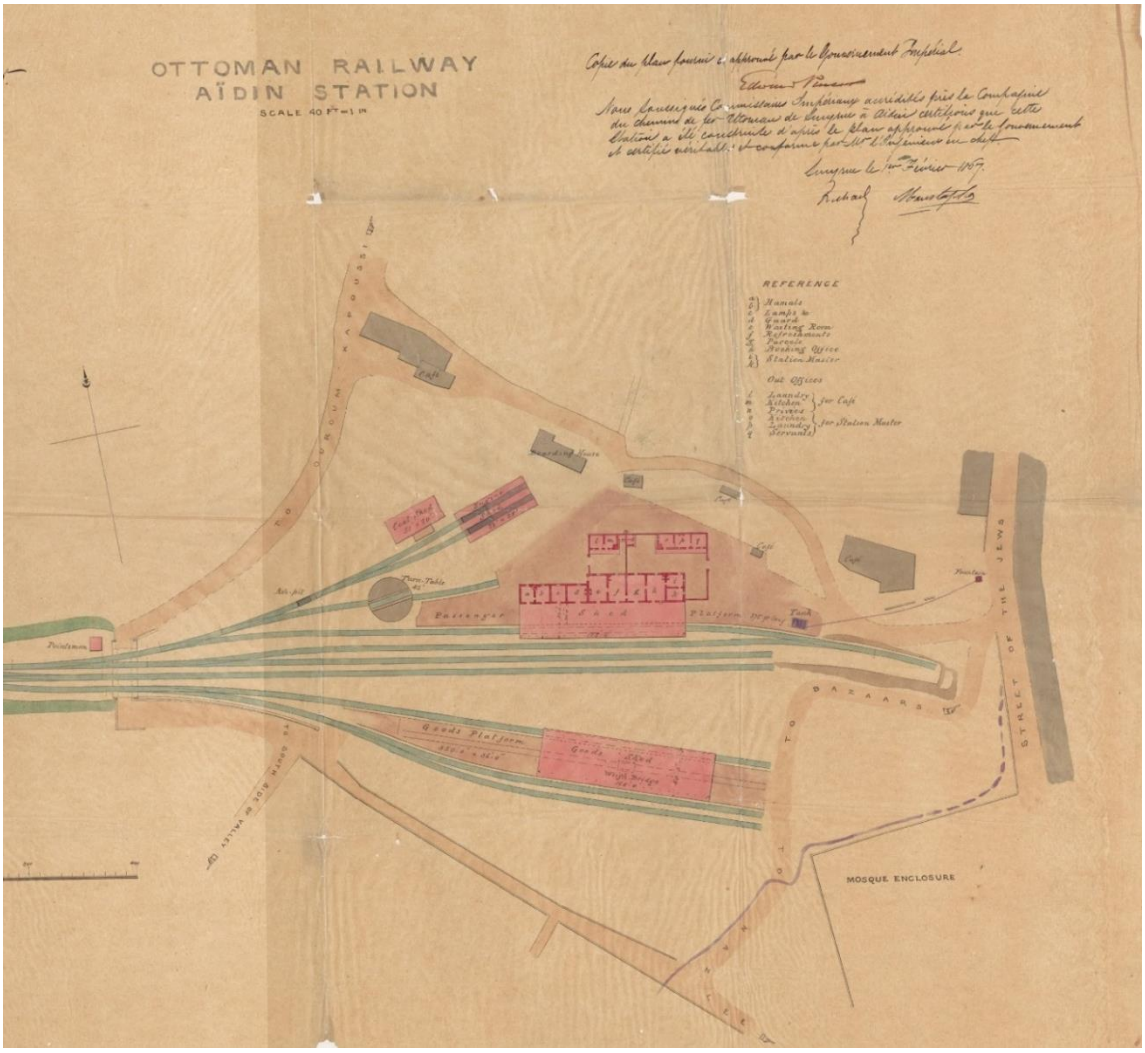


Figure 6.2 *1867 Plan of Aydın Station.*

Source *PLK.p.02689, BOA.*

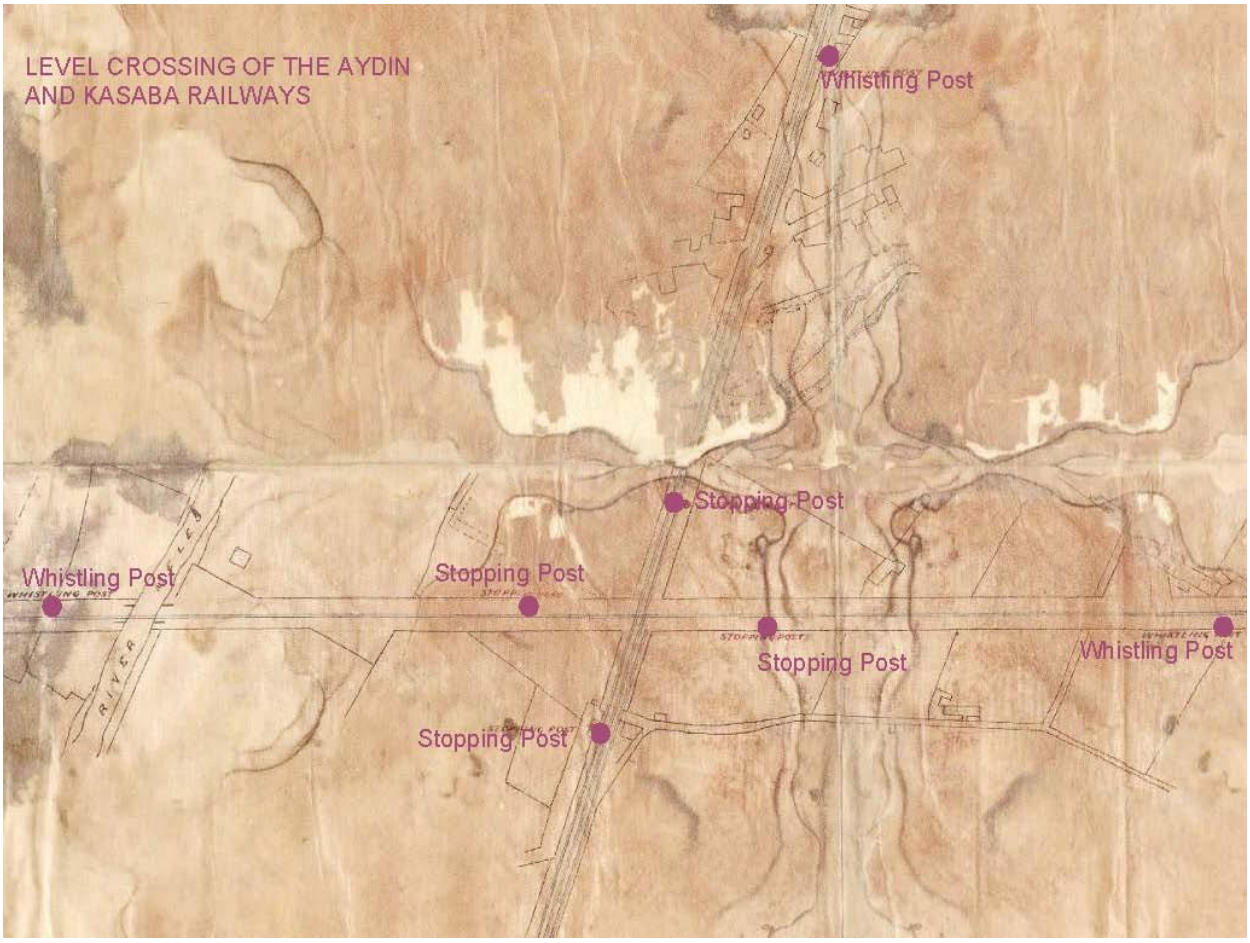


Figure 6.3 *Plan of the Level Crossing at Hilal.*

Source *PLK.p.02306, BOA.*

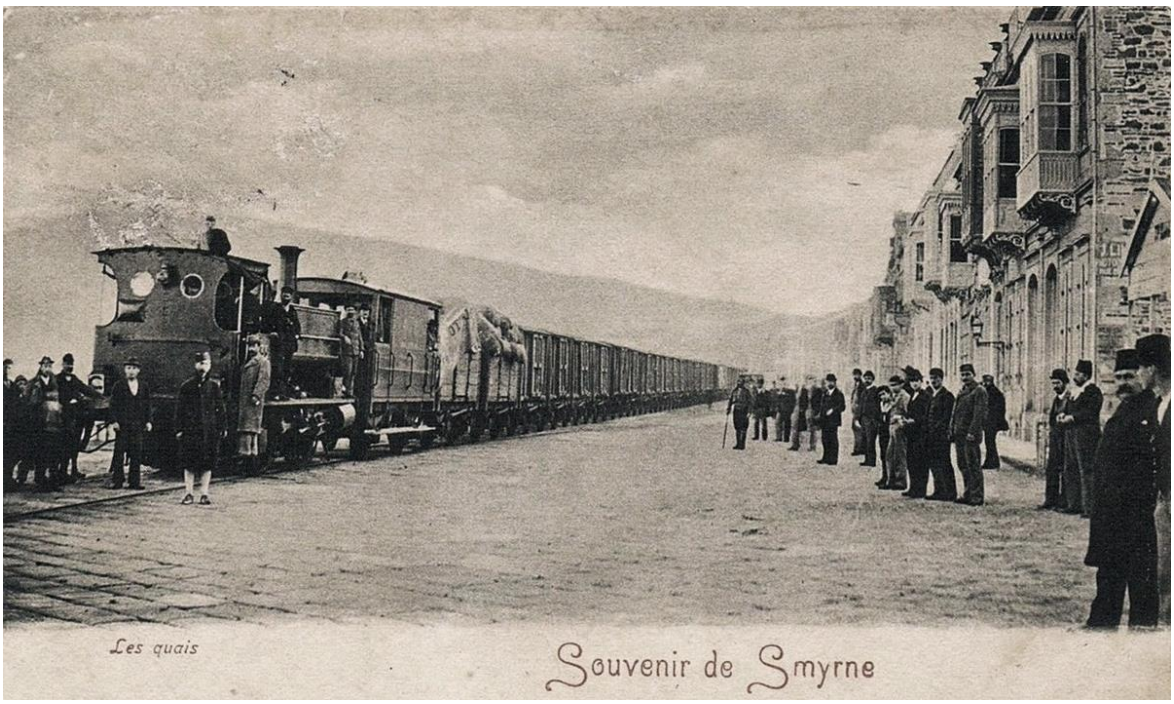
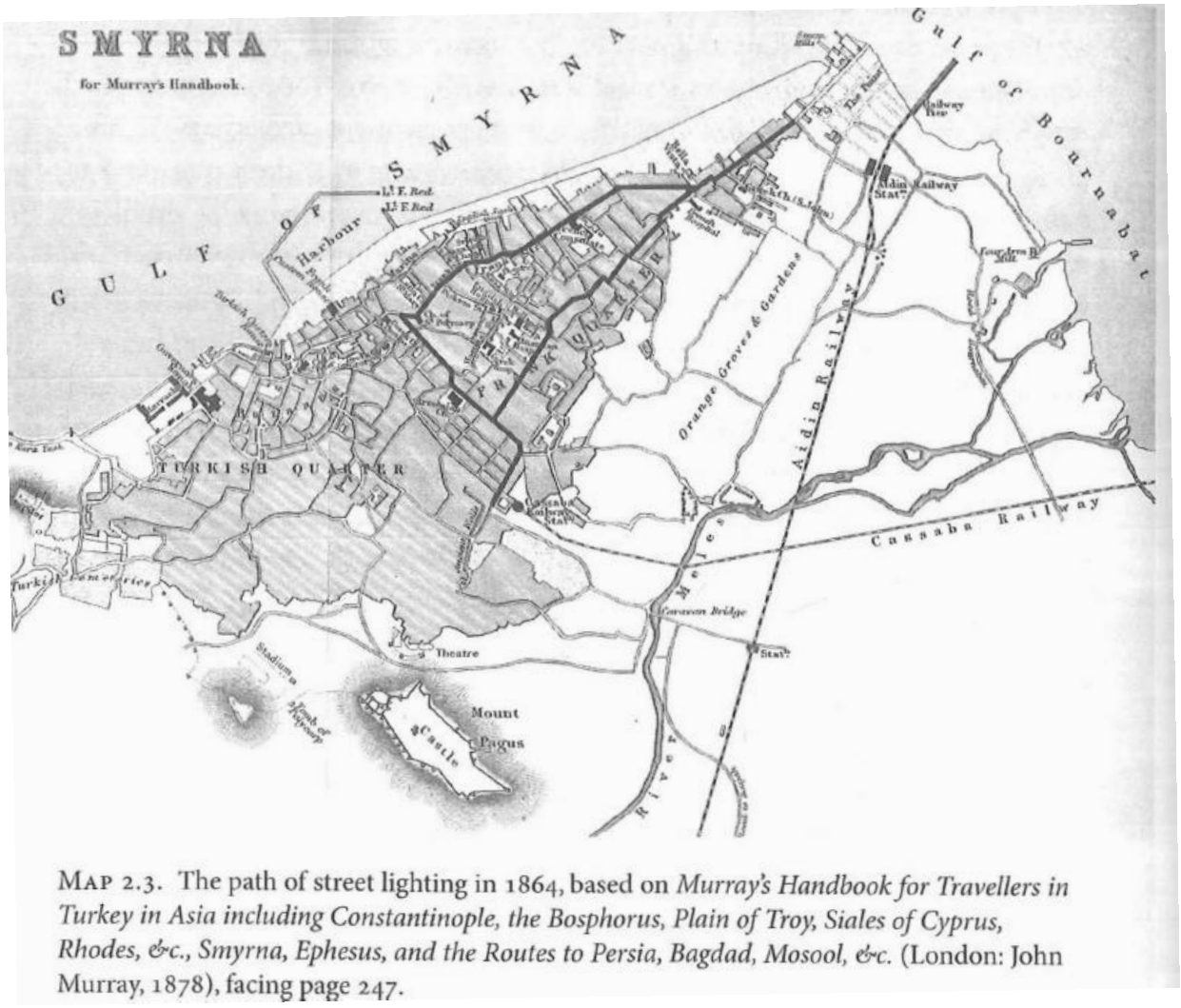


Figure 6.4 *A merchandise train traversing Izmir's waterfront. Undated.*

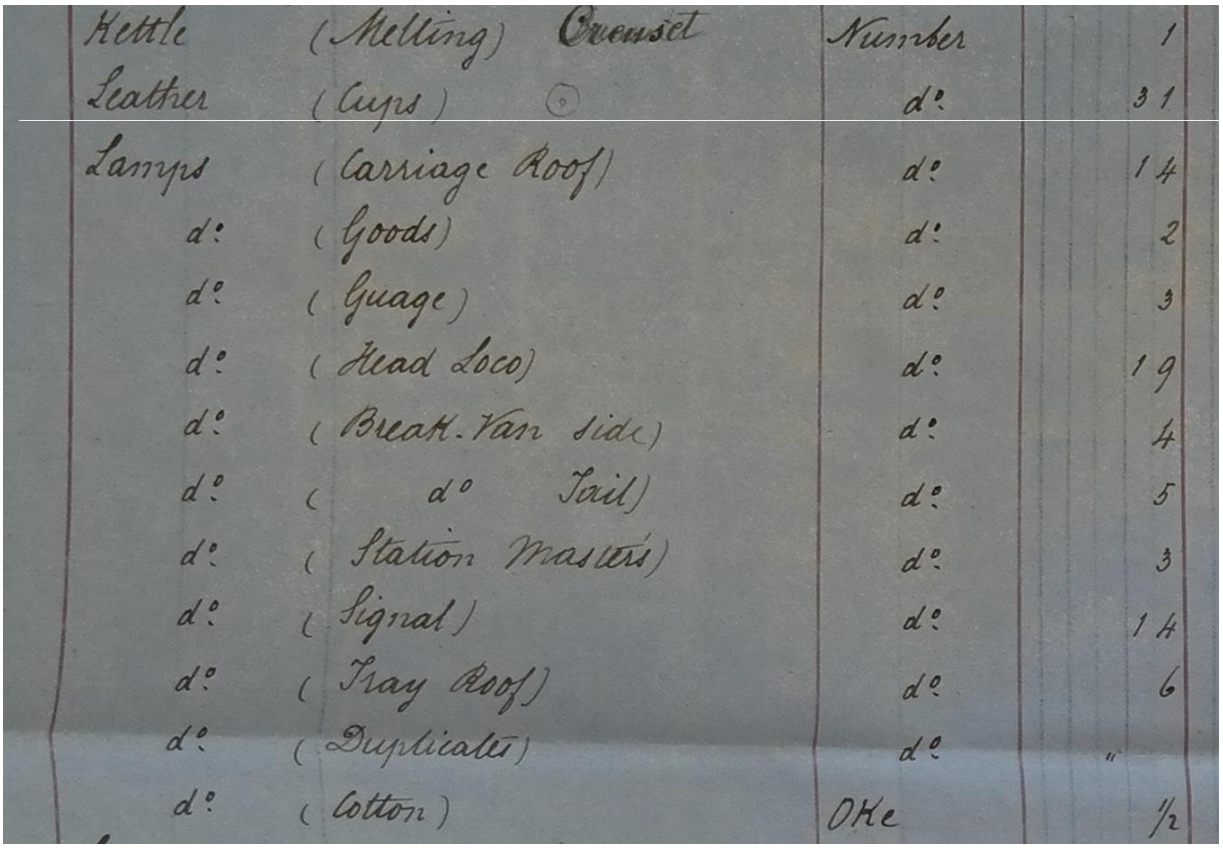
Source *Levantine Heritage.*



MAP 2.3. The path of street lighting in 1864, based on *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia including Constantinople, the Bosphorus, Plain of Troy, Siales of Cyprus, Rhodes, &c., Smyrna, Ephesus, and the Routes to Persia, Bagdad, Mosool, &c.* (London: John Murray, 1878), facing page 247.

Figure 6.5 *Map showing the network of gas lights in Izmir.*

Source *Sibel Zandi-Sayek, Ottoman Izmir, 90.*



Kettle	(Melling) Oversset	Number	1
Leather	(Cups)	d°	31
Lamps	(Carriage Roof)	d°	14
d°	(Goods)	d°	2
d°	(Guage)	d°	3
d°	(Head Loco)	d°	19
d°	(Break. Van side)	d°	4
d°	(d° Tail)	d°	5
d°	(Station Masters)	d°	3
d°	(Signal)	d°	14
d°	(Tray Roof)	d°	6
d°	(Duplicates)	d°	"
d°	(Cotton)	Oke	½

Figure 6.6 *Balance sheet of December 1867.*

Source: *T.DMI.794.55, BOA.*

7 MAKING PLACE: CELEBRATIONS

The new railroads enabled novel performative uses of space in western Anatolia. This was manifested most notably in a variety of ceremonies that took place in the railway spaces of the Ottoman Railway Company, especially during the initial years of its construction between Izmir and Aydın. While some of these ceremonies were organized directly by the railway company, others were part of non-railway celebrations taking place in Izmir and its environs. For these external events, not sponsored by the company, the railway itself still became an attraction and locus of activity in its own right. This chapter will investigate the themes that emerge from the performative uses of space, through a close reading of the diverse ceremonies that engaged with the railway, whether put on by the company or not. These themes include the emphasis on historic connections to place, the demonstration of political will vis-à-vis the railway enterprise, the multivalent utilization of sensory stimuli, and the expression of the diversity of people and cultures that played pivotal roles in the execution of the railway project.

The first of these themes is the desire to create links with the ancient and more recent history of the region. Urban and rural place-based celebrations mark time and space in the landscape, since, as Nancy Stieber notes, "their selection of trajectories and nodes is often

closely tied to particular historical readings of the city."[487] In Izmir, both railway companies had elected to build their terminuses at the edge of the city for practical reasons. (Refer to Figure 2.1) The routes of the railways were similarly determined by pragmatic considerations such as geography and economic potential. Since any celebration associated with the railways was tied to its rails and its stations, the trajectories and nodes of railway-centric celebrations were predetermined and unalterable. Yet the organizers of railway ceremonies still took advantage of a wider geography to tap into various historical readings of local places. By creating a connection with a shared past, these celebrations aimed to create a personal affinity with railway spaces. The opening ceremony of the railway to Ephesus in 1862 especially highlights this dynamic with its emphasis not only on Ephesus' ancient significance but also on alternative Turco-Ottoman readings of history.

The second major theme manifest in these ceremonies is the demonstration of political interest in this private railway enterprise. As a private company operating in Ottoman lands, the Izmir-Aydın railway company depended heavily on the good will of the Ottoman state and its people. While the demonstration of good public relations with the Ottoman state was necessary to bolster the general reputation of the company and gain public support, demonstrations of British political interest in the undertaking were deployed as a strategy towards tempering any

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[487] Nancy Stieber, "Paths of empowerment: ritual reinscription of meaning on the plan of Amsterdam, 1886-1914," in Architecture as Experience: Radical Change in Spatial Practice, ed. Dana Arnold (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

potential negative action from the Ottoman government. Therefore, several of the railway-centric ceremonies would highlight the interest that both the Ottoman and British Empires were taking in the company. For example, during the inauguration ceremony of the line, the Ottoman state's interests in the line were displayed through the pivotal roles played by Ottoman officials. On the other hand, during the laying of the cornerstone at the Point Station, British diplomatic support of the enterprise was underscored through the officiation of the ceremony by the outgoing British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire.

Beyond the historical and political motives of such celebrations, a third theme that came to define many of the railway centric ceremonies was their intensely multisensorial nature. This multisensoriality often manifested itself through the conversion of the spectator into an actor via their active participation in the sensuality of the event. Moreover, the cultural hybridity that defined the railway enterprise, and the Ottoman Empire in general, crystallized the multisensorial nature of the events.

Finally, this cultural hybridity was an important and common element in many of the railway events. Diversity of people fulfilling various roles within the railway enterprise was foregrounded in the ceremonies. While the roles they played differed in each event, both Ottoman and British officials and publics were present at each gathering. People from different ethnicities, religions and nations and their languages were juxtaposed at each ceremony to bolster support for the railway enterprise, and customs from different cultures were deployed simultaneously as well. Animal sacrifices and champagne-balls followed each other in a seeming ease.

Each of these themes can be explored in detail through an examination of specific ceremonies that took place within the spaces of the railway. The first section of this chapter explores events organized by the company, while the second focuses on events not organized by the company but used the spaces of the railways. Each section proceeds chronologically. The ceremonies outlined below all exhibit multiple aspects of the four themes discussed above. For simplicity, however, each section focuses on the most salient themes present at the performance of each particular event.

7.1 RAILWAY GENERATED CELEBRATIONS

7.1.1 INAUGURATION CEREMONY

The Ottoman Railway Company, the very first railroad enterprise in Ottoman Anatolia and the builder of the first railroad that the residents of the region would encounter, was an active and enthusiastic organizer of spectacles. Mustafa Pasha,[488] the governor of Izmir, recognizing the important role celebrations could play in establishing good will towards the railway company, expressed his desire that the inauguration ceremony of the railway should be an impressive public event. Charles Blunt, British consul in Izmir, agreed, and like Mustafa Pasha, felt that a large public ceremony "would greatly assist the carrying out of this important undertaking by convincing the people of the Country that it was one, in which the Porte took

[488] According to Sicill-I Osmani, Mustafa Pasha (Alyanak) was appointed to become the governor of Izmir in May 1857 after serving in the Batumi army. Sicill-i Osmani. Vol IV. 1188.

great interest."[489] As establishing the legitimacy of this first railway was the goal of the inauguration ceremony, a variety of strategies were deployed to achieve such a purpose. A central theme on display in the inauguration ceremony was, thus, the governmental support of this private railway enterprise. The enactment of the ceremony not only brought in elements that tied the ceremony to a historically significant location but also the sensory aspects made this indeed an impressive event.

The actual ceremony took place on September 22, 1857 near the Caravan Bridge, which fit well with the company's plan to start the construction of the line from that location.[490] (Figure 2.7) The Caravan Bridge, as the entry point of almost all camel caravans to the city, also held symbolic and pragmatic significance for the residents of the city. *An Illustrated London News* article, makes it clear that people were cognizant of the multi-layered importance of this location and its history:

> The scene of the ceremony is at the Caravan Bridge. On one side is the Turkish burial-ground, with its majestic cypress trees and numerous marble tombs covered with golden inscriptions representing quotations from the Koran…On the other side a succession of green hills reaches the high road of Magnesia. On the background rises Mount Pagus, crowned by dismantled fortifications, at the foot of which St. Anne's Valley spreads its luxuriant vegetation.[491]

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[489] Charles Blunt to the Earl of Clarendon. FO 78/137, 191-192, TNA.

[490] The location of the ceremony was announced in an article in L'Impartial on September 18, 1857, which was reprinted in: Journal de Constantinople, September 23, 1857.

[491] Illustrated London News, October 31, 1857. 436.

As the first railway-centric celebration, and as a means to legitimize the railway enterprise, this ceremony aimed to impress. A large booth was erected in the middle of a field:

> a pavilion of evergreen pillars, with myrtle arches and festoons of dazzling drapery; the whole crowned by a great [fronton], at the top of which was hoisted the Royal Ottoman flag, and at each angle the Turkish colours. At the bottom of the room was placed a grand trophy of military arms, in the middle of which was seen the portrait of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan.[492] (Figure 7.1)

Here, Mustafa Pasha of Izmir along with other Ottoman dignitaries, including Ali Efendi, imperial commissioner of public works, received the foreign consuls of the city. At 5 PM, along with his aides de camp, one carrying a mahogany wheelbarrow and the other a silver spade, the Pasha of Izmir left the booth and led a procession to the projected line of the railway. He was followed by the '*mufti* and the *moolah'*, and then came the foreign consuls, led by the British. At the projected line of the railway, the procession was met by railway administrators and engineers.[493]

The ceremony commenced in earnest with prayers by the *mufti*,[494] chief Muslim ecclesiastic of the city, for the success of the enterprise. The chief engineer of the company then presented Mustafa Pasha with the silver spade and requested that the Pasha would turn the first clod of earth for the railway.[495] Mustafa Pasha's brief statement emphasized the importance

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[492] ibid.

[493] FO 78/1307, 202-203, TNA.

[494] Spelled as müftü in modern Turkish.

[495] FO 78/1307, 202-203, TNA.

assigned to the project by the Ottoman government, thus contributing to the accomplishment of the main goal of the ceremony: "Be sure, gentlemen, that my Sovereign will have much joy when he hears that the first railway in Turkey has commenced, and that the introduction of such improvements will give rise to new riches and prosperity in his empire."[496] The Pasha then filled the wheelbarrow and ran it along the planks placed over the planned route of the rails. This act was then repeated by others, including Ali Efendi, the British consul, and all the other consuls in attendance. "Each time the air resounded with the hurrahs of the crowd, and the more sonorous firing of the artillery."[497] The hurrahs of the crowd would have turn the spectators of the ceremony into participants through sensory experiences and thus have established their personal interest in the railway enterprise by creating a visceral identification with the enterprise.[498]

Starting with the Pasha's initial run with the wheelbarrow, a salute of twenty-one guns were fired. Incorporation of gun salutes would ensure the news of the celebration would reach every resident of the city and attract larger crowds to partake in the inauguration ceremony of the railway. Following the hurrahs and gun salutes, "several sheep were then taken along the projected line and immolated on the spot where the Earth had been thrown from the

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[496] Illustrated London News, October 31, 1857. 437.

[497] Illustrated London News, October 31, 1857. 437.

[498] For example, see Temenuga Trifonova, European film theory (New York: Routledge, 2009) and Sarah Pink, Doing sensory ethnography (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2015).

barrow."[499] The dignitaries eventually returned to the pavilion where champagne was freely circulating and toasts were proposed to the Sultan, to England, and to Mustafa Pasha.

Auditory elements were not the only sensory elements deployed in the ceremony. As the chosen hour for the commencement of the ceremony was 5 PM, the organizers of the ceremony clearly intended to extend the event into the night and deploying illuminations as another sensory element: "The ball-room was illuminated- a profusion of coloured lights suddenly springing up around and amongst the evergreen pillars. Those who had witnessed such a spectacle for the first time were amazed and bewildered."[500] As elaborated in the previous chapter, light was an important element of railway operations. It seems that the railway company's easier access to illumination was carried to their ceremonies and the novelty of light was integral to the lavishness that defined this event.

The dual main goals of the inauguration ceremony of the Izmir-Aydın railway were to both introduce the railway enterprise to the residents of the city and to vouch for the validity of the undertaking. These goals, elaborated by both Ottoman and British authorities, determined the way that the ceremony took place. The prominent role of Ottoman authorities in the enactment of the event, including the act of turning the first clod of earth as well as the speech made by the governor of the city, demonstrated the significance of the railway for the Ottoman government. The sensory elements ensured that the residents of the city widely participated in

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[499] FO 78/1307, 202-203, TNA.

[500] Illustrated London News, October 31, 1857. 437.

the ceremony and were also sufficiently awed by the new and novel infrastructure that would alter the modes of transportation in the region. The locational selection of the ceremony also contributed to the goals of the ceremony as the Caravan Bridge was both the historical transportation gateway of the city but also held a multitude of other historical meanings. It was also one of the nodes in Izmir that would be dramatically altered by the railway. A few days after the inauguration ceremony, on the 30th of October, Consul Charles Blunt would lay the first stone of the bridge over the river Meles, parallel to the Caravan Bridge.[501] The railway bridge, in close proximity to the ancient gateway to the city, would signal the arrival of the new technology of railways that altered the way goods and people moved through the region.

7.1.2 THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE ON THE TRACKS

The construction of the railway presented many opportunities for ceremonies, with most more modest than the inauguration ceremony outlined in the previous section. The arrival of the first locomotive of the Aydın railway in March 1858 was one such occasion for a small celebration, a ceremony that highlighted the sensory aspects of these events. The steamship Dutchman had carried the locomotive and rails from England. The main purpose of the locomotive was to transport materials for the construction. This way, the rubble that was taken out of the section extending outwards from Caravan Bridge towards St. Anne's Valley was to be used to raise the railway bed that needed to pass through marshy areas between the Caravan Bridge and the Point, on the waterfront. While it was brought to Izmir for a very pragmatic

[501] Journal de Constantinople, November 4, 1857.

program, on the 23rd of March, the locomotive was decorated with Turkish and English flags on its first public journey through the city. After all, the arrival of the engine was a highly-anticipated occasion through which "the natives will be acquainted with the well-known whistle."[503] The machine repeatedly traveled between the Point and a location identified as the Plain of the Mufti *(la plaine du Mufti)*.[504] While no records survive that indicate the location of the Plain of the Mufti,[505] the most salient part of this demonstration was obviously to introduce the residents of the area to the idea of the train and its sensory effects. In addition to 'the whistle', the locomotive sometimes reached speeds up to 30 miles per hour, attracting a huge crowd of the city's residents who were unaccustomed to this new phenomenon. [506] The unaccustomed speed of the railway would have created an awe among the population and the sounds it generated were a sure way to attract residents of the city to the tracks to observe the maiden passage of the first locomotive in Ottoman Anatolia.[507]

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[503] The Times (London, England), Tuesday, Mar 09, 1858.

[504] Journal de Constantinople, March 31, 1858.

[505] Even though this was a toponym known to 19th-century residents, who would have recognized the train's route based on only this information being provided, its exact location is now obscure.

[506] Journal de Constantinople, March 31, 1858

[507] As discussed in Chapter 2, the railway only came to the edges of the city and its path passed through the sparsely populated areas on the outskirts of the city.

7.1.3 LAYING THE CORNERSTONE OF THE TERMINUS

The ceremony associated with the laying of the cornerstone of the terminus building at the Point was an almost impromptu event. A chance occurrence had resulted in the presence of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the outgoing British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, in Izmir. The company, taking advantage of this situation, quickly organized a ceremony during which this outgoing ambassador would perform the ceremonies associated with the laying of a building cornerstone. An examination of this event suggests a reversal in the roles that were played during the inauguration ceremony. Here, the British administrators and politicians would occupy the central roles, demonstrating the British political interest in the private railway enterprise. As the company was already experiencing challenges in executing its works smoothly, this British political support was a way to temper any Ottoman criticism about the company's mishaps.

During the last week of October 1858, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the outgoing British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, found himself in Izmir. His ship, the HMS Curaçoa had been involved in an accident with an Austrian merchant vessel near Izmir and was grounded on a sandbank at the mouth of the Gediz River.[508] With assistance from the French admiral in port, and accompanied by an Ottoman brig of war, the British Consul rushed to the aid of the ship and the British ambassador. However, it was determined that the ship could not be taken off the sand bank without unloading its guns and considerably lightening its load. While the crews of the

[508] Charles Blunt to Sir Henry Bulwer. Nov 2, 1858. FO78/1391. 250, TNA.

British, French, American and Ottoman ships were trying to free the Curaçoa, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was stuck in Izmir for almost a whole week.

One of the activities that occupied Lord Stratford during this hiatus in his journey was the examination of the works of the Izmir-Aydın railway as the major British undertaking in the city. During a visit to the Point, where the future railway terminus was to be built, the ambassador observed the workers busily going about their tasks. The *Journal de Constantinople* describes the scene witnessed by the ambassador as such:

> "The carpenter's sheds were filled with English and Greek mechanics, hard at work with saw, plane and chisel. Stonecutters and masons were dressing the blocks destined for bridges and culverts while on the line of rails close by the engines arrived with trains of ballast destined for the raised ground at the station and warehouses. After inspecting the various works and examining the plans of the engineers and architect, his Lordship proceeded up the line to the rock cuttings made through the valley of St. Ann. Several waggons [sic]were fitted up with seats and covered with awnings, but Lord Stratford, who seemed in most excellent health and spirits, determined to ride on the locomotive itself.[509]

Taking advantage of this chance encounter of the British ambassador's unexpected visit to Izmir and his obvious interest in the enterprise, the company officials asked Lord Stratford to preside over the laying of the cornerstone of the terminal building at the Point. (Figure 7.2) As detailed in earlier chapters, the company was already starting to experience challenges in its operations. The laying of the cornerstone for the Point terminus in the presence of the British ambassador and the chairman of the company was an opportunity to repair some of the

[509] Journal de Constantinople, Nov 10, 1858. Republished in The Times, Nov 16, 1858 and reprinted in Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 37-46.

tarnished reputation of the company and to demonstrate the support the enterprise was receiving from the British government.

The ceremony was set to take place on the following day, October 30th at 11 AM. Joined by the engineers and other railway staff, Stephenson welcomed Lord Stratford at the railway jetty. The presence of the British ambassador meant that in addition to all the railway personnel, important Ottoman administrators such as the governor of Izmir and prominent merchants of the city were also in attendance. From the jetty, a train consisting of wagons propelled by an engine carried the party to the location of the ceremony. After a brief prayer by Rev. Lewis, "the stone was duly lowered, and Lord Stratford – trowel and mallet in hand – performed the ceremonies usual on such occasion. The party then adjourned to a tent which had been prepared by the contractor, and which was most tastefully decorated with flags supplied from the Curaçao."[510]

The events that took place during the day of the ceremony were clearly designed to boost confidence in the then struggling enterprise through a demonstration of British diplomatic interest. Both Lord Stratford's as well as Macdonald Stephenson's speeches highlighted the importance of the railway for political and economic purposes despite its ongoing challenges. Macdonald Stephenson's initial speech stressed the role Lord Stratford had played in the

[510] Journal de Constantinople, Nov 10, 1858. Republished in The Times, Nov 16, 1858 and reprinted in Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 37-46.

relationships between the Ottoman and British Empires that had led to this railway. Stephenson expressed that it was a "singularly happy coincidence that the laying of the foundation stone of the great terminal station at Smyrna had been reserved for Lord Stratford de Redcliffe."[511] Stephenson elaborated that "By this act he might be said to have inserted the keystone of the arch at which he had so long laboured for the consolidation of European interests with those of Turkey."[512] While Stephenson emphasized that this act of laying a cornerstone for the terminus of the railway was only a small event in the long and illustrious career of Lord Stratford, Stephenson "could only express his conviction that the railway and the electric telegraph were destined, under Divine Providence, to bring maturity those fruits, the seeds of which his Lordship had so successfully implanted in the Ottoman Empire."[513] Lord Stratford's response, on the other hand, aimed to provide support to the company despite the challenges that it, as a new and ambitious undertaking, was experiencing: "Though its progress has been delayed by some unforeseen obstacles bids fair to be crowned ere long with the desired success, and to become, in fact, the keystone of that gigantic arch described so happily by our Chairman."[514]

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[511] Journal de Constantinople, Nov 10, 1858. Republished in The Times, Nov 16, 1858 and reprinted in Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 37-46.

[512] Journal de Constantinople, Nov 10, 1858. Republished in The Times, Nov 16, 1858 and reprinted in Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 37-46.

[513] Journal de Constantinople, Nov 10, 1858. Republished in The Times, Nov 16, 1858 and reprinted in Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 37-46.

[514] Journal de Constantinople, Nov 10, 1858. Republished in The Times, Nov 16, 1858 and reprinted in Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 37-46.

The depiction of the railway as the metaphorical keystone of the arch connecting the British and Ottoman Empires is interesting and certainly the railway was a result of long and positive political and economic relations between the two empires. As a sign of the good will between these two powers and as the first work of its kind in Ottoman Anatolia, this railway had naturally attracted significant political interest. Throughout its lifespan, the company would take advantage of this political interest and depend on the assistance of the British diplomatic service both in Izmir and in Istanbul.

To continue the positive impression that the company was hoping to reflect, Stephenson went on to state that he "could not too highly express the gratification he had experienced or say too much of the skill with which the line had been laid out or of the zeal which had distinguished the operations of the contractor and his agents... Fortified with the local experience he had now obtained he could assure his brother Directors that their most sanguine expectations for the success of the undertaking would be more than realized whether as regarded goods or passenger traffic."[515] Despite the enthusiasm and confidence exuding from these speeches, within months of this ceremony, Stephenson and the company would find themselves in a disastrous situation, dealing with the bankruptcy of their contractor as well as the need to replace the ineffectual chief engineer of the company, George Meredith. (See Chapter 1)

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[515] Journal de Constantinople, Nov 10, 1858. Republished in The Times, Nov 16, 1858 and reprinted in Stephenson, Railways in Turkey, 37-46.

The contrast between the roles played by the Ottoman and British authorities during the inauguration ceremony of the company and the ceremony associated with the laying of the cornerstone at the Point station is striking and demonstrates the company's deployment of different strategies to fit the specific situations while taking full advantage of the opportunities available. The inaugural ceremony was significant in establishing the good will of the Ottoman state towards the railway enterprise and thus the elements highlighted were the Muslim prayers and the Ottoman administrators. The ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone of the Point station, on the other hand, aimed to demonstrate the interest that the British Empire was taking in the enterprise. Thus, all aspects of the ceremony conformed to this underlying purpose. The prayers were offered by Rev. Lewis instead of the mufti of the city. The British ambassador and the chairman of the company fulfilled the most central roles in the ceremony. Stephenson clearly acted as the host while the ambassador was the dignitary to lay the actual cornerstone. Through their extended speeches, both men demonstrated their stakes in the enterprise. However, despite it being a company organized event, during the inauguration ceremony, the Ottoman governor of the city had acted as host, receiving other dignitaries and performing the rituals of running the wheelbarrow and turning the first clod of earth.

Unlike the cornerstone ceremony held at the Point, a year later, the company would again turn to the Ottoman authorities to play the pivotal role in another company organized ceremony when they laid the cornerstone of the Seydiköy station. According to a brief account

published in the *Journal de Constantinople*,[516] Hyde Clarke, the representative of the company to the Ottoman government, requested that Muammer Pasha, the governor of Izmir, lay the cornerstone for the Seydiköy station. The ceremonies were to take place on October 8, 1859. After the notables of the city gathered at the Point station on an amphitheater shaped platform, they were transported to Seydiköy in a convoy pulled by three locomotives. Muammer Pasha had also placed his garrison's band at the disposal of the company adding an auditory layer to the celebrations.

7.1.4 OPENING OF THE LINE TO EPHESUS

The long-awaited moment when the Izmir-Aydın railway reached Ayasoluk (Ephesus) was celebrated with a great deal of enthusiasm. The company officials hoped that by reaching this point at Ayasoluk, they would be able to penetrate existing western Anatolian trade networks previously dominated by camel caravans. The company indeed assumed that they would quickly gain the largest share of regional trade upon their arrival at Ephesus. Although this was not to happen, as explored in Chapter 4, one can understand the company's high hopes at the time that merited a large celebration. As a large portion of the celebrations took place in Ayasoluk, where the remains of the ancient city of Ephesus are located, historical connections to place became important in the performance of this ceremony. However, rather than a connection to

[516] The coverage of the events in period newspapers might have a correlation with attendance. Though somewhat contrary to what we might expect, For example, while we have lengthy accounts of the laying of the cornerstone, probably with limited attention, newspaper write much less about perhaps more public events such as the passing of the first locomotive or the opening of the line to Seydiköy.

the Hellenistic past of the city, several participants of the ceremony, mainly Ottoman officials, sought to find a connection that was more 'relevant' to their own perceived pasts. Again, the active participation of the Ottoman officials along with the railway company employees and the diplomatic representation of a variety of nations underscored the diversity of the region and the enterprise.

On the morning of September 15, 1862, a large group of people began gathering at the Point Station. The Sultan himself could not be present at the opening ceremony and no other officials were sent from Istanbul, thus, the representation of the Ottoman government fell onto the shoulders of Mehmed Reşid Pasha, the governor general of Izmir at that time. The Pasha arrived at the railway pier at the Point on his barge. At the pier, he was greeted by Hyde Clarke. Accompanied by Edward Alexander Drew[517], the acting chief engineer of the company, Col. Reşad Bey, imperial commissary assigned to the railway to protect the interests of the Ottoman government, Mustafa Efendi, the second imperial commissary, Emin Efendi, Turkish secretary to the Contractor, and a number of other members of the contractor's staff. From the pier, the Pasha proceeded to the station building. Here, another group was waiting to greet him, led by Mr. Ferguson, the general manager of the company. In the grand saloon of the station, the Pasha accepted the respects of many others and took refreshment. He also expressed his admiration

[517] Drew, like his contemporaries, had a long and illustrious career in railways, occupying positions in England, the Ottoman Empire, Bolivia and Honduras. See his obituary published in *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, vol. 189 (1912), 343.

for the railway station and its grand saloon "which is justly considered as doing honor to Smyrna."[518]

Shortly after 8 AM, to allow time for the daylong event, the Pasha was accompanied to a special train prepared for the occasion. The engine *Aya Sofia* (or St. Sophia, which had also carried Lord Stratford to St. Anne's Valley years earlier) piloted this journey. At the Caravan Bridge, Şevket Bey, the director of customs, and other Ottoman officials, joined the party. The train stopped along the way to Ayasoluk in order to allow the Pasha and others to examine the works and "throughout the day the smooth speed of the train and the good conditions of the line was observable." Moreover, it being the fig season, passengers of Aya Sofia could observe the camel caravans loaded with figs traversing the landscape. While the article published in the *Smyrna Mail* suggests that these caravans were on their way to the railway stations, the railway's share in merchandise traffic of the region was still minimal and, as discussed in Chapter 4, it is likely that these caravans were directly on their way to the port.[519]

On the other end of the line, in Ayasoluk, another crowd was gathering. An official delegation from Aydın had arrived the night before and stayed in the nearby town of Çirkince, proceeding to Ayasoluk in the morning. A large group of local residents had also gathered: "a

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[518] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

[519] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

large proportion of the large population of Chirkinjee crowded Ayasolook, and with Zebecks,[520] Yurooks[521] and camel drivers made up a considerable assembly amid which were many Turkoman and Greek women and children in rich and gay dresses. Many Greeks from Scala Nova were likewise present."[522]

An important element of the ceremony was the announcement of the opening to an audience waiting in Istanbul. A message was sent with the electric telegraph. Telegraphy had reached this remote location nestled in the mountains of western Anatolia along with the railway. The governor of Izmir was, therefore, able to send a direct telegraph from Ayasoluk to Istanbul, informing grand vizier Fuad Pasha that the railway had been officially opened. Once the news was transmitted to Istanbul, another telegraph was sent to London, to the contractor, congratulating him.[523] It was also hoped that another innovation of the age, photography, would be utilized during the ceremony. Drew, acting chief engineer on the line was also the unofficial photographer of the company. While he had assembled a photography kit, a portion of his apparatus was left accidently in Izmir, and thus no photographs documenting the event were taken.[524]

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[520] Zeybeks were irregular militia that lived in the Aegean regions of the Ottoman Empire.

[521] Yörüks were/are the nomadic pastoralists of the region.

[522] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

[523] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

[524] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

A group including the governor, Hyde Clarke, the Persian consul, as well as Nasif Mallouf, noted linguist and the dragoman (interpreter) of the British consulate, went on to examine the Arabic inscriptions of the Seljukian mosque in Ayasoluk, leading to a lively discussion among the party regarding the deciphering of the writing. The columns of the Temple of Diana (Artemis) at Ephesus were also visited and greatly admired. While there was a desire to visit other historic locations, such as the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, time limitations prevented such extended trips.

Upon their return to the station, the Muslims in the group observed their midday prayers. Afterwards a prayer for the consecration of the rail line was said in Arabic according to custom, with Nasif Mallouf translating the sentiments of the prayer into English.[525] The prayers

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[525] The transcription of the prayer as Nasif Mallouf translated it was provided in the Smyrna Mail as such: "God preserve us from Satan, the damned! In the name of the most clement and merciful God. Amen! O Thou who didst bestow intelligence on man and who didst make him the superior of all other created beings; Thou who didst create the professions, and didst distribute them to every man according to his capacity bless the best of thy creatures Mahomed, as well as those that believe in him, Amen! O Thou, ruler of the universe preserve our 'Padishah,' that upholder of the holy law, on the throne of his glorious ancestors, in strength and happiness. Amen! Lead him always in the way of justice and of peace; grant thy divine protection to his allies and friends and scatter his enemies as dust with the strength of thy sword. Amen. Strengthen more and more the foundations of the government of H.I.M. Abd-ul-Aziz in progress and well being, Amen! Grant thy aid and protection to all the Sultan's counsellers, who form the pillars of the Empire and bless their good intentions. Amen! Preserve him who rules this province, the Musheer Mehemed Reshid Pasha; uphold him in all his works, and grant him joy and prosperity for ever. Amen! Most high God, father of all creatures, grant that such works of prosperity and progress be multiplied a thousand fold, in all Mussulman countries, with the concurrence of the great and magnanimous Queen of Christians, Her Majesty the Queen of England. Amen! Heap upon her thy celestial benedictions, cover her with thy wings, and render her happy in both worlds, in the world present, and in the world to come. Amen! Grant that her friendship

were concluded with a blessing towards the 'road of iron': "Our benefactor, author of our existence, ruler of heaven and earth, haste the completion of this important road constructed with iron and multiply the number of similar undertakings. Amen!"[526] Following the prayers, the assembled group was invited to a lunch served in a large tent prepared for the occasion and catered by the Hotel des Deux Augustes of Izmir. There was even a confectionary prepared by Mr. Mille of the Hotel des Deux Augustes in the shape of the Ayasoluk Castle. Lunch was followed by a series of speeches, mostly in Turkish, but also mixed with English and French, and Mr. Mallouf translated. The governor's brief statement emphasized the importance of the railway for the Ottoman Empire: "This Railway undertaking must be considered as a mark of the prosperity and progress in civilization of the empire under the happy auspices of our well-beloved Monarch. After so many difficulties we have had to encounter in this task, we see with

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and help to the Ottoman Government and the Mahommedan Nations, continue without interruption through all ages. Amen! May her heart be forever filled with these noble sentiments. Amen! May the solid and amicable alliance which exists between the two governments last for ever. Amen. 'Allah!' prosper the vast expense of the Empire, by the increase of roads and other communications and by progress of agriculture and commerce. Amen! Great God, Lord of Lords, Almighty Maker, preserve in good health and long life the Directors, Contractors, and all those who are employed in this great and useful enterprise and reward them with thy inexhaustible benefits. Amen, O God! Our benefactor, author of our existence, ruler of heaven and earth, haste the completion of this important road constructed with iron and multiply the number of similar undertakings. Amen! Praise to God ruler of the universe. Amen! Blessed be the God of strength. Amen! Honour and glory to his saints elect. Amen! Salvation and blessings to the prophet, the best of men, as also to the prophets and all apostles sent by God. Amen!"

[526] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

pleasure that more than half the line is open and at work."[527] The Imperial Commissary Colonel Reşad Bey's speech, interestingly, included an extended account of the Turkish history of Ayasoluk.

A few days later, on Wednesday, Mr. Ferguson hosted a picnic in Ephesus to celebrate the opening of the line. A special train from Izmir brought the guests to the location for where refreshments were served. A band played popular music of the period. After salutations were given to the health of the Sultan and the Queen, a group toured the ruins of Ephesus.[528] This was a more exclusive event, clearly geared towards foreign and Ottoman elites.

Tapping into historical readings of place had found a new expression during this ceremony. While Ephesus was and would continue to be a locus for a connection with the ancient past of the region, the desire of the participants of this ceremony consciously aimed to engage with an alternative reading of the place. While the participants visited the archaeological remains at Ephesus, they spent a good deal of their available time at the Ayasoluk mosque deciphering inscriptions. The railway commissary, Reşad Bey, pontificated about the Turkish history of the region during his speech.[529] Even the confectionary, shaped as the Ayasoluk castle, served during the event furthered this desire to create a connection with an alternative

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[527] Smyrna Mail, Sept 23, 1862.

[528] Ibid. Smyrna Mail also included a full list of the attendees to the picnic as well as those who had sent their regrets.

[529] Reşad's emphasis on the Turco-Ottoman history of the location might be a reflection of the already rising ideas about nationalism.

historical meaning of the location. The selection of the Ayasoluk castle as the subject of the confectionary, rather than the columns of the Temple of Artemis is telling. While there is no documentary proof that this was a conscious choice, the castle nonetheless fit into the scheme of finding an alternative meaning at Ayasoluk that expanded beyond its significance as one of the most important ancient cities in the eastern Mediterranean. Through the creation of a link with the more recent, Turko-Ottoman history of the area rather than exclusively focusing on the remains of the ancient city of Ephesus and its role as one of the Seven Churches, there was a conscientious effort to establish a link with the Ottoman subjects of the Empire- dislocating the associations of the railway from a reading of solely 'western' focus. Ferguson's picnic that followed this main ceremony, on the other hand, put the main emphasis back onto Ephesus and its Greco-Roman/Biblical heritage. The desire to locate multiple historical readings of the place was a way for different actors to create personal links between the past and the Ottoman present.

This ceremony, like others, also demonstrated a multilingualism and diversity of customs that came to define the railway ceremonies. Arabic prayers comingled with speeches in Turkish, French, and English. Even though the Ottoman Empire was home to many groups speaking different languages, polyglots like Nassif Mallouf were not the norm. Mallouf's role as interpreter emphasizes that while participants of these ceremonies occupied the same space, they were not always able to communicate with each other effectively.

7.1.5 REFLECTIONS ON THE COMPANY'S SPECTACLES

It is noteworthy that the celebrations explored above were organized by the Izmir-Aydın railway company during the initial years of construction, at a time when they were suffering from a variety of difficulties. It is conceivable that the company was attempting to utilize such spectacles to build confidence in their enterprise and distract from any rumors about its problems. Indeed, such a multitude of celebrations were organized by the company during those troubled years that an article in the *Journal de Constantinople* took note. After emphasizing the appropriateness of a ceremony for the commencement of construction at the Point Station, the correspondent asked "but what good are all the other fetes that followed? While, I do not condemn them altogether since they are customary, … they are truly lavish."[530]

The lack of a grand ceremony when the line opened to Aydın on July 1, 1866 might reflect a shift in the Ottoman Railway Company's strategy for celebrations. While the company organized an excursion train,[531] according to *La Turquie* "the authorities have refrained from going, and the official consecration has not yet been given. The government considers this line to be unfinished because the station of Aidin is not yet built and the telegraphic wires do not go to

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[530] Journal de Constantinople, April 30, 1859. Original text: "On commence à creuser les fondemens de la gare à la Pointe et l'on annonce qu'a près Pàques on y travaillera sérieusement. Voilà pourtant bien longtemps qu'on avait promis cela. On a eu un motif pour anticiper sur la gare; mais a quoi bon toutes les autres fètes qui ont suivi. Je ne les condamne pas du reste tout-à-fait, puisque c'es l'usage et que ces solennités sont destinées à donner du relief à des entreprises qui doivent faire un grand bien au pays où on les introduit. Mais c'est que vraiment ici on les a prodiguées."

[531] La Turquie, July 5, 1866.

this city."[532] While the Ottoman government accepted the railway as complete upon its arrival to Aydın and the line was considered officially opened on July 1, 1866, this was a conditional acceptance on the part of the Ottoman government. However, by this point, with the line open and the future bright, the company officials might not have wanted to expend further resources in organizing yet another extravagant ceremony.

The absence of such lavish ceremonies with the railway to Kasaba also provides an important juxtaposition. The Kasaba line was on a more solid footing in its operations, completed in only two short years. Perhaps, unlike the Izmir-Aydın Ottoman Railway Company, they did not require grand ceremonies on each special occasion to artificially build confidence in their undertaking. For example, when the Kasaba line opened to Bornova and Menemen in July 1865, Sam Bayliss, the contractor of the Company, informed Colonel Reşad Bey, the imperial commissary, that since this was only a partial opening, no ceremonies would take place.[533]

7.2 ROYALS ON TRACK

In addition to the celebrations organized directly by the railway company, the railway spaces themselves became attractions and landmarks within the city and its hinterlands. As such, they became important popular nodes for visiting the city. While historical documents only chronicle the visits of high-ranking officials, and particularly royalty, the railways were likely attractions for the local population as well, as evidenced by the high number of passengers

[532] La Turquie, July 11, 1866.

[533] Sam Bayliss to Colonel Reşad Bey. June 27, 1865. T.793.51. BOA.

taking the train during its initial week of operations as discussed in Chapter 4. Celebrations with royals helped to display the political clout that the company enjoyed. In this way, they reflect the theme of the political interest in this private enterprise.

7.2.1 PRINCELY VISITS

One of the earliest visits to the railway took place when the Egyptian Viceroy visited Izmir briefly in 1857. Although there was not yet a railway, the Viceroy's significant interest in the project created some anxiety among the company administrators. The Viceroy inquired about the reception of the project in England. Consul Blunt informed him that the project did not offer much confidence in England because the potential for economic returns was not as high as an investor could obtain in England. The Egyptian Viceroy replied: "I have heard as much, but if your English capitalists will not come forward, I shall propose to His Majesty the Sultan taking the whole undertaking upon myself for I can get ample funds and what is also important I can do it cheaper for I have my own engineers."[534] The Consul, however noted the likely fleeting nature of the Viceroy's interest: "[H]is Highness is rather attached to making projects which he as readily forgets."[535] Yet, the Egyptian Viceroy would indeed petition Istanbul to take over the project. The Ottoman government decided that such a transfer was not feasible at that time.[536] During this time, both the Ottoman Empire and Egypt were implementing intense modernization

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[534] FO78/1307. June 12, 1857. 107-108, TNA.

[535] FO78/1307. June 12, 1857. 107-108., TNA.

[536] A}.MKT.MHM.113.29, BOA.

schemes and the Viceroy's offer of constructing a railway line in the Ottoman heartland could have been viewed as flaunting Egyptian superiority to the Ottomans vis-à-vis modernization projects.

While the Egyptian Viceroy's visit was anxiety producing, the company officials were always delighted to accommodate visits from British royalty. On June 1, 1859, Prince Alfred, who was serving as midshipman on the British steam ship, *Euryalus*, visited the city. The Ottoman authorities of the city, led by Muammer Pasha, visited the prince aboard his ship. Royal salutes were fired both from the castle and from Turkish ships. Among the flurry of activities, after having lunch with Muammer Pasha, on June 3rd, the prince made time to visit the rail works. He "went up the line as far as the works of the Railway have been carried out."[537] He was accompanied by the chief engineer of the company, George Meredith, as well as Hyde Clarke and Robert Hammond.[538]

While Prince Alfred's visit had been the opening parley, multiple royal visits followed as British aristocrats traveled in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VII, visited the region in 1862. His royal squadron landed in the Bay of Scala Nova (Kuşadası) on May 18. From Scala Nova, the Prince of Wales and his party traveled to Ayasuluk where the temporary terminus of the railway was still located at that time. "The royal party

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[537] Charles Blunt to Henry Bulwer. FO195/610. October 7, 1859. 527-530.

[538] Journal de Constantinople, October 19, 1859.

made a hasty examination of the sites, ancient and modern, the reputed ruins of the Temple of Diana, the Cyclopean walls, the theatres, St. Paul's prison on the hill, St. John's Church, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, the shattered Saracenic castle and mosques, and the site of the railway station and new iron bridge over the classic Cayster."[539] In honor of the prince, Mr. Ferguson, the general manager of the railway, had two marquees (tents) prepared in addition to a royal carriage lined with silk. A newspaper account noted that the "place had afforded more accommodation for the unexpected guests than it ordinarily does, as some hundreds of Armenian pilgrims had lately been brought down from Smyrna by the railway for the St. John's pilgrimage."[540] Although initially intending to take a special train to Izmir, the prince preferred to sleep in his yacht moored off the Kuşadası coast, so he made directly for the coast on horseback. Taking advantage of the telegraphy that had now extended to Ayasoluk along with the railway, the Prince's arrival was instantaneously announced to Izmir.[541]

The *Illustrated London News* pinpoints the Prince of Wales's visit to the railway as a harbinger: "The recent visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the present termini of this railway at Smyrna and Ephesus had made known that these hitherto neglected regions are open to the philosopher, the antiquarian, the pilgrim and the tourist."[542] Indeed, the railway

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[539] "The Prince at Smyrna," The Watchman, June 4, 1862.

[540] ibid.

[541] ibid.

[542] Illustrated London News, October 18, 1862.

would be the great infrastructure that would bring ancient Ephesus within easy reach of the tourist, a topic explored in great detail in Chapter 4.

While contemporary newspapers describe the prince's visit to the railway terminus at Ayasoluk, the Prince's own journal chronicling his tour of the Eastern Mediterranean is silent on his brief examination of the railway. Instead, the prince discusses his visit to Ephesus as such: "We landed at 3.15. & found horses, wh. had been provided, waiting for us; we then rode to see the ruins of Ephesus, wh. we reached in 1 ½ hour [sic]. The ruins are very extensive, & the remains of the celebrated Temple of Diana, are very fine. I also saw the supposed tomb of St. John, he is however known to have died at Ephesus. After contemplating the ruins & resting our 'wearied steeds' for an hour, we rode back to the ship, in the space of an hour."[543] While the prince was the first British royal to travel with an official photographer, Francis Bedford, no known photographs of the Prince's time at Ephesus or at the railroad terminus exist. Indeed, the sole available photograph of the Prince's visit to western Anatolia consists of a photograph taken from Izmir's castle.

A subsequent royal visit, in April 1865, saw Prince Arthur briefly touring Ephesus prior to anchoring in Izmir. His visit coincided with Good Friday, so his experience of the city differed from the earlier British royal visitations. This holy day was spent in strict religious observance,

[543] Prince of Wales, Cairo to Constantinople- The Prince of Wales' Journal: 6 February-14 June 1862. http://rc.onlineculture.co.uk/ttp/

with a service held in the consular chapel. The following day, the Prince only had the opportunity to make a brief visit to the site of ancient Nymphaeum, thereupon steaming away from the city "leaving most of its sights unseen."[544]

Like the Prince of Wales and the future king Edward VII, Prince Arthur also wanted to avoid public pageantry and that may explain the hesitancy in engaging with the railway company. In his report, the British consul informed Istanbul that: "I used my influence as far as possible to prevent any public demonstration during the time. The Prince remained at this Port, and that with the exception of a salute from the land battery, and a visit paid by His Excellency the Governor General and his Staff… nothing particular occurred."[545] Despite its significance for Ottoman-British relations, most of the British aristocrats visiting the city showed relatively little interest in the railway, even with local efforts to create royal spectacles. This contrasted remarkably with the visit of Sultan Abdulaziz to the line.

7.2.2 SULTAN ABDULAZIZ'S VISIT

With little notice, the railway officials were informed by the Pasha of Smyrna that Sultan Abdulmecid I was expected in the city on the 16th or 17th of July, 1859. As part of the city-wide rush to prepare for the Sultan's visit, including repairs to the Governor's Palace, the railway authorities made plans for introducing the Sultan to the railway in person. The plan was to take

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[544] John Kitto, et. al., eds, The Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, Vol 7, 502.

[545] FO78/1888. April 18, 1865. 129-131, TNA.

Abdulmecid up the line to Seydiköy, about 11 miles from Izmir. While the company had a locomotive whose maiden journey through the city is discussed above, at the time of the Sultan's anticipated visit, the company had no railway carriages. Thus, the company officials embarked on building a "handsome saloon, which will be put upon ballast trucks."[546] Sultan Abdulmecid had visited the city in 1850 and the railway would have been one of the major changes to have taken place in the city over the intervening nine years. Therefore, the city officials and railway administrators were anxious to make the new railway central to the Sultan's visit. In the end, however, the Sultan's trip to Izmir was canceled, rendering the preparations unnecessary.

Sultan Abdulaziz ascended to the Ottoman throne in 1861 upon his half-brother Abdulmecid's death from tuberculosis. While Abdulmecid was unable to visit the city in 1859, Abddulaziz stopped in Izmir on his way back to Istanbul from his 1863 journey to Egypt. Abdulaziz's visit to Izmir triggered large scale celebrations, many of which centered around the railway. According to an article published in the *Illustrated London News*, the trip foregrounded British influence on the Sultan: "The Sultan has yielded to English influences; he has had Englishmen to make up the accounts of his empire; he has visited Smyrna to please the English engineers to partake of their lunch and to ride in their railway carriages…"[547] On the other hand, the *Smyrna Mail* reported that Abdulaziz's motivations for focusing on the railway might have

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[546] Charles Blunt to Sir Henry Bulwer. July 8, 1859. FO 195/610, 439-41, TNA.

[547] The Illustrated London News, Volume 42, May 16, 1863, 530.

been more in line with his own agenda of modernizing the Ottoman Empire rather than serving British interests: "On seeing the Egyptian Railway, H.I.M., who had long been anxious to witness the working of the railway system exclaimed 'Why can I too not have railways?' expressing his determination to promote his own railway at Smyrna, and others in the country."[548] Sultan's words also can be attributed to its perceived competition with Egypt in terms of modernization.[549]

When the Imperial yacht arrived in Izmir Bay on the afternoon of April 20, 1863, the Sultan chose to stay on his yacht for the remainder of the day, sending Fuad Pasha to the city to observe the preparations and finalize any last-minute arrangements.[550] After a brief visit at the Konak, the main Ottoman administrative building of the city, to inspect the quarters prepared for the Sultan, the Pasha moved onto the Barracks, where he inspected the quarters where he would stay himself. (Figure 7.3) Then, he invited Hyde Clarke, the representative of the Izmir-Aydın railway company, to update him as to the condition of the railway. The imperial

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[548] Smyrna Mail, April 22, 1863.

[549] For more on Egypt's modernization, see Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pashas men: Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009); and Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[550] Consul Blunt to Henry Bulwer. April 28, 1863. FO78/1760. 96, TNA.

commissary, Reşad Bey, was also summoned to arrange a special train as the Sultan planned to visit the railway and travel all the way to Ayasoluk/Ephesus.[551]

The initial plan was for the Sultan to arrive at the railway pier by boat. However, seeing the enthusiasm of the city's residents, Abdulaziz decided to change his plans and ride to the railway station on horseback to greet his subjects. After receiving the governor of the city, Kayserili Ahmed Pasha, and other Ottoman administrators on his yacht, the Sultan finally landed on the pier that was decorated for his visit with flowers and hand-made rugs and was shaded by white and red awnings.[552]

Setting out from his landing point, Abdulaziz's first stop was the Konak. After a brief rest, the Sultan proceeded to the railway station, "crossing the city from one end to the other."[553] The celebrations brought out a large portion of the city's population eager to greet the sovereign and to demonstrate their loyalty through grand celebrations. While the density of the crowds made the royal cortege difficult, the magnitude of the gathering was nonetheless pleasing to the Sultan. While the railway-sponsored ceremonies examined previously included multisensorial elements, the accounts of Sultan Abdulaziz's visit to Izmir and the railway most vividly highlight the multisensorial nature of these celebrations. The sensory make-up of the Sultan's visit went well beyond the colorful awnings and carpets comingling with the scent of flowers decorating

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[551] Smyrna Mail, April 28, 1863.

[552] Louis Gardey, Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz de Stamboul au Caire. Paris: E. Dentu, 1865.

[553] Gardey , Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz, 220.

the landing slip. Louis Gardey, who had accompanied Abdulaziz on his journey, chronicled the sensorial elements embellishing the event:

> The incense smokes, the flowers fly in space; the hats, the caps are waved: we see Greeks trying to kiss the legs and feet of the Sultan at the risk of being crushed by the horses. In many places school children, Christians and Muslims, sing prayers. In front of the churches, the priests with their acolytes in costume, also call the blessings of heaven upon the Sovereign. Music plays gay greetings. Everything is moving, everyone is shouting for joy. We hear vivas expressed in all languages, in Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Italian, French, English. There, at the other end [of the town], was the grave *çok yaşa*; here at the railroad is the noisy *hurray*.[554]

In addition to the intensely sensorial nature of the celebrations associated with the Sultan's visit to Izmir, this event also presented an opportunity for different identity groups in the city to carry, what Sibel Zandi-Sayek calls, their "communal differences into the public realm."[555]

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554 Gardey , Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz, 220.

Original text: "L'encens fume, les fleurs volent dans l'espace; les bras les chapeaux, les casquettes s'agitent: on voit des Grec aller baiser les jambes cl les pieds du Sultan au risqué de se faire écrasée par les chevaux. En plusieurs endroits les enfants des écoles, chrétiens et musulmans, chantent des prières. Devant les églises, les prêtres avec leurs acolytes en costume, appellent également les bénédictions du ciel sur le Souverain. Des musiques jouent de gais saluts. Tout est transport, tout est cris de joie. On entend des vivats exprimés en toutes langues, en turc, en grec,en arménien, en juif, en italien, en français, en anglais. Là-bas, à l'autre bout, c'était le grave Tchoq tacha [çok yaşa- live long]; ici, au chemin de fer, c'est le bruyant hourray."

555 Sibel Zandi-Sayek, "Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth- Century Izmir," in *Hybrid Urbanism : On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (Praeger, 2001), 43.

The Sultan's cortege was mainly an unplanned event on an uncharted route, so the officers at the railway station were unsure of the path that the procession would follow. Thus, they also did not know the direction from which the Sultan would approach the railway station. Every fifteen minutes or so, the officers at the railway station would receive an update about the Sultan's path, which then would lead to alterations of the preparations accordingly. At last the anticipated moment came and the Sultan's cortege arrived at the Point:

> Then came slowly on the mounted Tartars, the stalwart Bashibozooks and the richly clad Albanians, chosen for his local guard, and at length in solitary dignity the Sultan, who dismounted at the gate of the station, within which the employees of the engineering, works, and traffic departments were drawn up in two lines, between which the Sultan, attended by H.H. Fuad Pasha, passed to the throne room.[556]

The spectacle prepared for Abdulaziz at the railway station matched the preparations observed throughout the city with many sensory elements in its design. Since initially the railway officials were expecting the Sultan to arrive by boat, the railway pier was decorated with imperial flags and the landing was extended to 100 feet to accord with the wishes of the governor. While the extended railway pier was not used for its intended purpose, the adornments at the railway terminus went well-beyond the adornments at the pier. According to the *Smyrna Mail*:

> A temporary saloon of corrugated iron erected from the landing stage began the line of crimson cloth which passed through the saloon and continued throughout the path. The next main feature was a double colonnade of iron columns, above 1000 feet long newly painted with red shafts and blue capitals, planked with thick Baltic planks, and connected by festoons of evergreens and flowers, and surmounted by iron vases filled with foliage, and provided for the night illumination. Turning into the Boornabat [sic] Road, which was enclosed by strong barriers, the route was continued beneath a towering and solid arch,

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[556] Smyrna Mail, April 28, 1863.

> supported by eight iron coupled columns on each side, and bearing aloft on a platform a locomotive engine under steam. No attempt was made at rich decoration but the platform was surmounted on each side by trophies of tools, having the star and crescent in the centre, and bore on each side between two gilt toghras on gilt mouldings, a finely written and gold emblazoned inscription in Turkish composed by Mr. Mallouf, the distinguished orientalist… From the arch, a semicircular covered colonnade supported inside and out by coupled iron columns and decorated by Turkish flags, was erected as to afford a shady way, and bring the Sultan to the noble front of the Station.[557]

Beyond the multisensory elements mentioned in this account, ranging from festoons of evergreens and flowers to a locomotive engine under steam, the prominence of iron in this grand processional way reflects the significance of this material and its importance in railway construction. Iron was not only a major material in the construction of railways, the 'roads of iron', but this material had also become a major construction material for structures that defined the architectural culture of the 19th century, such as arcades, exhibition halls and, of course, train stations. In the *Arcades Project*, Walter Benjamin identifies iron as the construction material of the era when he states that: "for the first time since the Romans, a new artificial building material appears: iron. It will undergo an evolution whose pace will accelerate in the

[557] Smyrna Mail, April 28, 1863. According to the same article: "The design for these decorations was carried out under the direction of Mr C. E. Browning by Mr. E. Roper and Mr. C. Simes J. C. Mr. Eckerlein having charge of the foliage, and Mr. J. C. Stevens of the illuminations, which were very effective by means of cressets on each column making a splendid blazing double line well seen from the sea."

course of the century. This development enters a decisive new phase when it becomes clear that the locomotive … usefully functions only on iron rails."[558]

Use of iron for the development of a new aesthetic in architecture was not unknown in the Ottoman Empire. Roughly contemporary to this time period, designs of William James Smith's Camlı Köşk at the Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul, highlights the novel use of iron in architecture.[559] However, as there is no known visual record of the adornments to the Point Station and the language of the written accounts suggest a more classical vocabulary of architecture, it is necessary to consider Benjamin's major criticism of how iron was used.[560] Benjamin is highly critical of the imitation of classical architectural elements with iron: "Under the Empire, this technology was seen as a contribution to the revival of architecture in the classical Greek sense… the architects of his [Napoleon's] time failed to understand the functional nature of iron..."[561] While the exact form of the iron columns used along Abdulaziz's processional way is not clear from the passage above, the description may suggest a mimicry of ancient architecture might have been at play. After all, examples of classical architecture were

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[558] Walter Benjamin, The arcades project, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge (Mass.): The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 16.

[559] Ilona Baytar and Jale Beşkonaklı, eds., *Sultan Abdülmecid'in bir mimarı* (Istanbul: Istanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür AŞ, 2016). The name of the structure, Camlı Köşk, might as well be an allusion to Crystal Palace.

[560] Benjamin's criticism specifically addresses the 'Napoleonic' era, and the empire style in general.

[561] Walter Benjamin, Arcades Project, 15-16.

readily available in the vicinity of the railway route. The language of the newspaper narrative is certainly reminiscent of classical architectural vocabulary.

Abdulaziz's interaction with the railway did not end at the railway station but continued with a trip to Ephesus. A large train with six engines under Mr. Ferguson's charge carried the imperial party. The Sultan was accompanied by his infant son, his nephews, Fuad Pasha, Mehmed Pasha, and Mahmud Pasha, as well as high-ranking railway officers including Hyde Clarke and others.[562] Along the way, residents of the region came out to greet the Sultan and to sacrifice animals along the train tracks. Abdulaziz and his companions observed the changing landscape as the train moved towards Ephesus, perhaps for the first time experiencing the haptic impact of the train vibrations along with the panaromas of the countryside offered through the train window. After a little over two hours, the train reached Ephesus.[563] There, tents were pitched in the middle of a meadow for the Sultan, some distance from the train. Abdulaziz first passed the cafes and then the aqueduct of Ephesus on his way to his tent. Along the way, "the clergy and the children of Aidin sang prayers; the most curious, most of whom doubt that the Sultan is the Sultan, so simple is his costume, also give salutations."[564] Later, the Sultan explored the ruins before returning to his tent to receive railway officers.

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[562] Smyrna Mail, April 28, 1863.

[563] A.MKT.NZD.236.67. BOA.

[564] Gardey, Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz, 224.

With the railway officers, the Sultan discussed the affairs of the company and eventually agreed on a little impromptu ceremony concocted by the managers of the railroad. They had arranged a wheelbarrow and a shovel, whose handles were properly covered with red velvet. Their desire was to reenact the inauguration ceremonies of the railway by having the Sultan push the wheelbarrow a few feet and shovel a few clods of earth.[565] They had hoped, this would demonstrate Sultan's blessing of the railway. However, Fuad Pasha asked to be allowed to act on behalf of the Sultan and ended up performing the little ceremony. The Sultan, upon gazing at his Minister of War who was 'working like a laborer' among decorated locomotives expressed his amusement and reportedly started laughing.[566]

This desire to reenact the inauguration ceremony of the railway that had taken place years before in Izmir is suggestive. While the desire to receive a blessing from the Sultan was the obvious and stated goal of this impromptu recasting of a former ceremony, the Sultan himself was already pleased with the railway and with the idea of having railways in the Ottoman Empire in general. Thus, this act seems somewhat excessive and unnecessary. On the other hand, other explanations might shed a different light on the act. For Abdulaziz, the bodily act of shoveling dirt for the railway, might have indeed created a very intimate personal connection with the railway enterprise that would have been very desirable for the railway company. As the company was embarking on the construction of the section between Ephesus and Aydın at this time, the good

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[565] As previous Sultans did in the groundbreaking ceremonies of their imperial mosques in the capital.

[566] Gardey, Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz, 229.

will and personal support of the Sultan would mean a huge deal for the company. The other alternative suggests the company's deeper historical awareness, demonstrating a self-reflexive consciousness by reenacting a 'historical' event from the company's own timeline.

The Sultan's return trip to Izmir was somewhat delayed. According to Gardey, this was a machination of the railway officers who wanted to display the illumination of the city and especially the areas around the railway station, which were "sparkling with a thousand lights."[567] The *Smyrna Mail*, on the other hand, attributed the delay to Sultan Abdulaziz: "The Sultan delayed his return to Smyrna that he might himself see the illuminations of the city, railway and shipping, as they had been the might [sic] before."[568]

Upon arriving at the brilliantly-lit railway station, the Sultan mounted his horse to return to the other end of the city where he had started his journey in the morning. Unlike the daytime celebrations, the nighttime provided different stimuli, especially lights. Gardey notes: "Everywhere on this long journey, how many lights! What ornaments! What a shout! Then ardent demonstrations! And what impulses of the heart!"[569] The night time illumination was still a novelty at the time and an expensive undertaking. Therefore, these flickering lights added a new layer to the sensorium that had already been created to celebrate the Sultan's visit to the

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[567] Gardey, Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz, 230.

[568] Smyrna Mail, April 28, 1863.

[569] Gardey, Voyage du Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz, 230.

city and to its railway. When at last the Sultan reached the Port, he was greeted with an added spectacle: "The fireworks launched from the warships and from some points of the quay added to the charms of this fete, which continued well into the night."[570] While pyrotechnics were part and parcel of Ottoman celebrations long before this time, they nonetheless must have made this a more jubilant affair.[571]

The Ottoman chronicler Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, in his *Tezakir*, notes that the Sultan expressed his appreciation for the welcome he received during his trip to Egypt and to Izmir. According to Cevdet Pasha, the Sultan commented that he rarely witnessed the same degree of adoration in Istanbul as he had received during his trip, especially pointing out the auditory jubilation of his subjects.[572] As discussed by Hakan Karateke, in his *Padişahım Çok Yaşa*, the interaction of the Sultan with his subjects was a highly coordinated and regulated affair. An important aspect of this regulation was in the control of sound. For example, whenever the Sultan traveled from his palace to the mosque for Friday prayers, public who had gathered to view him would be hushed to silence and any auditory jubilation was orchestrated.[573] Therefore, the impromptu cheers of his diverse subjects as he traveled through the city must have been a

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[570] ibid.

[571] While such light shows were part and parcel of celebrations in Istanbul, in Izmir they were not as widely used, increasing their impact. (For example, British consular reports list when they illuminate the consulate and it is only undertaken on very special occasions.)

[572] Cevdet Paşa, Tezakir, comp. Cavid Baysun, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1960), 264-265.

[573] Hakan T. Karateke, *Padişahım çok yaşa!: Osmanlı devletinin son yüz yılında merasimler* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 105.

diversion from the norm for the Sultan, causing Cevdet Pasha, the official chronicler of the Ottoman Empire to take notice.

In fact, the way that the Sultan was received in Egypt and Izmir resulted in a (temporary) shift in how people welcomed him in Istanbul. The Sultan's return to Istanbul saw people welcoming him by decorating the streets, squares, houses, and stores. But, most significantly, as the Sultan traveled, he was greeted with applause and cheers. His path was adorned with bay leaves and illuminated with a variety of lanterns and candles. Cevdet Pasha observes that many quarters of the city were transformed into lemon orchards by the addition of potted lemon trees and flowers that were placed in public areas and that even residences were illuminated with lanterns and candles.[574]

7.3 CONCLUSION

Whether organized by the railway company, or as part of other events transpiring in the city, celebrations played an important role in the early years of railway construction in western Anatolia, transforming railway spaces into performative places. The Izmir-Aydın railway, as the first rail line within Ottoman Anatolia, was a new type of infrastructure, unfamiliar to the population of the region. The railway company, therefore, sought positive ways to introduce this technology to the people. In addition, the challenges facing the Izmir-Aydın railway in its early years motivated the company to organize railway-centric events. These ceremonies aimed to

[574] Cevdet Paşa, Tezakir, 264-265.

present an alternative façade for a company facing allegations of mismanagement and incompetence.

The novelty of the infrastructure led to its status as a de facto regional attraction and its integration into many other celebrations in the city. Some events used the railroads as performative space even if their subjects were tangential to the infrastructure itself. Other events had deep connections to the infrastructure. For example, the railway naturally played a central role in Sultan Abdulaziz's visit to Izmir, helping to reinforce his reputation as an Ottoman modernizer. Visits by British royalty underscored the complex power balance of foreign colonial and economic ambitions in the region by highlighting foreign capital, expertise, and ownership.

Against this backdrop of complex political interactions, it is also possible to investigate the characteristics of the ceremonies themselves. First, railway-centric events were highly political affairs where the political will of different state parties were put on display to bolster confidence in the company. Depending on the situation and opportunity, railway officials managed to tap into both Ottoman and British political and diplomatic networks and utilized their presence and participation to demonstrate the positive attitudes of states towards the company. All parties had a desire to engage the historic landscape of the region, in order to establish a bond with the land. This juxtaposition of railway and ancient heritage was often manifested through the conveyance of people during events to historical places. Ephesus, in particular, rose in prominence while serving as the temporary terminus of the Aydın line during the peak years of celebrative activities.

Another prevalent performative aspect of railway-centric celebrations was an attempt to exercise multiple simultaneous avenues of sensory stimulation. Contemporary accounts highlight the multisensorial nature of the events above all other aspects, with observers describing the sounds, smells, and illuminations of the celebrations. These multisensorial effects partially originated from the diverse 'multiculturalism' of the celebrations. The ceremonies crystallized the human amalgamation responsible for the railways, by simultaneous mixing of the customs and languages of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish, Greek and Armenian, together with English, French and other foreign languages.

The celebrations, both company and non-company initiated events, functioned to solidify the role of railroads in Izmir. These brought the people of Izmir to the spaces generated by the railway, and demonstrated the new industrial phenomena affecting the city through new structures and sensory experiences.

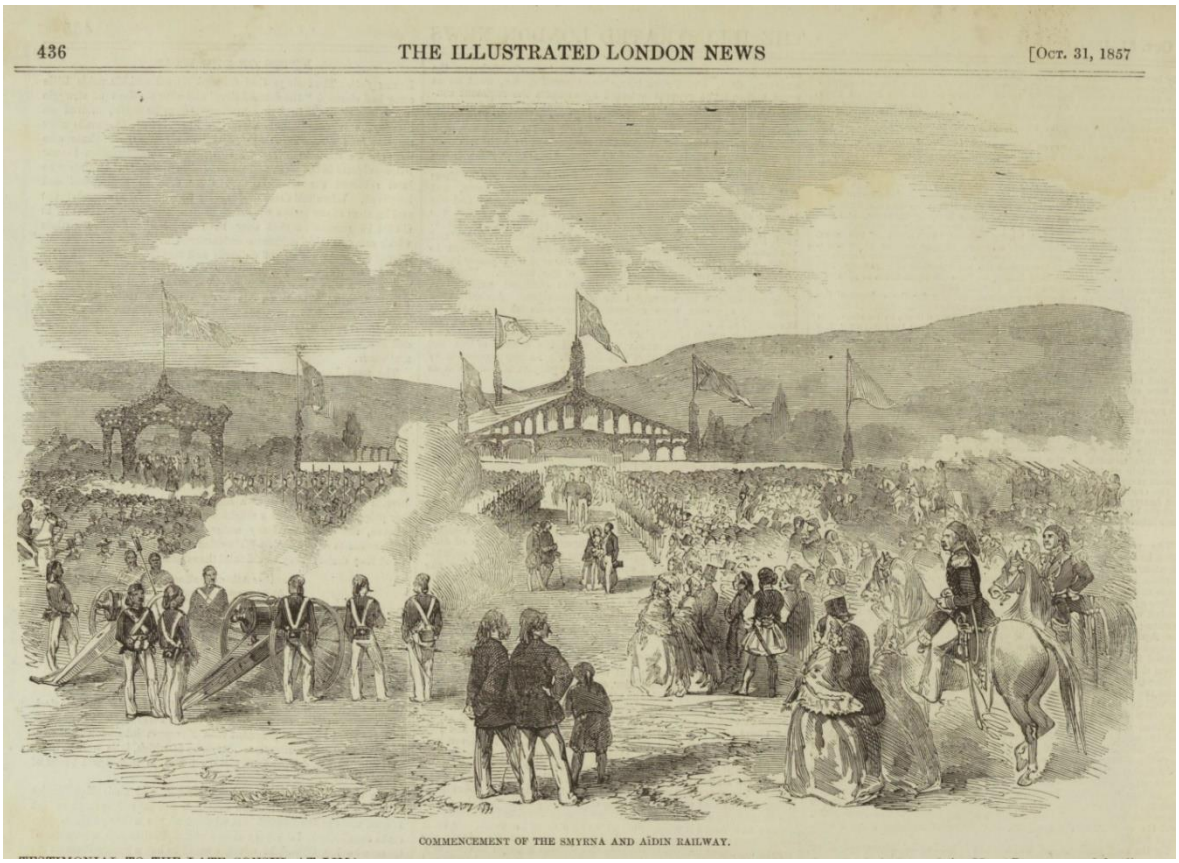

Figure 7.1 *Inauguration Ceremony.*

Source *Illustrated London News, October 31, 1857.*

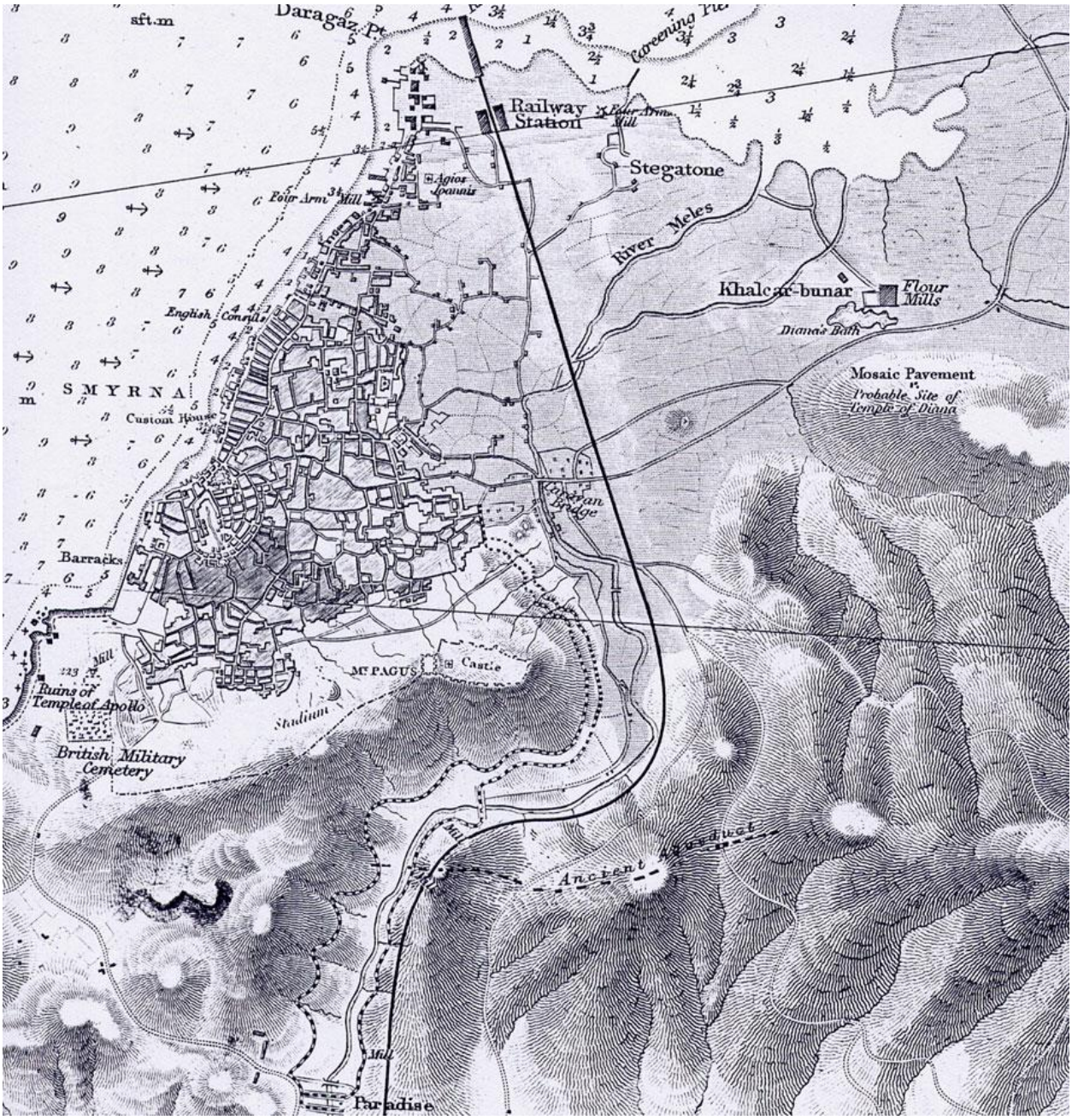

Figure 7.2 Admiralty Chart of Izmir Bay by Richard Copeland. (Originally drawn in 1834, updated ca. 1860, showing the location of the railway terminus for the Izmir-Aydın Railway.

Figure 7.3 *Army Barracks in Izmir, known as Kışla-i Hümayun or colloquially as Sarıkışla. Built in 1829, demolished in 1953.*

Source *Arkitektera.*

8 CONCLUSION

Infrastructure is often seen as utilitarian and ordinary. Humans use it every day and understand its necessity at a basic level, but it is in the background, often ignored. Seen but not noticed. Yet, few aspects of the built environment have had such an incredible impact on the lives of people through time and space. At a fundamental level, the materialization of infrastructural projects, including railways, lead to reformulations of our practices of space. (Figure 8.1)

The valleys of western Anatolia, watered by the Meander (Büyük Menderes), Cayster (Küçük Menderes) and Hermus (Gediz) rivers, have always been among the most fertile lands of the Near East, from ancient times to today. These valleys also provide east-west transportation routes between the Aegean Sea and the Anatolian Plateau. The juxtaposition of this agricultural richness and the ease of movement through these valleys has made this region an attractive place for settlement over many millennia. The related infrastructural projects, aimed at moving people and harnessing local resources, are central to placemaking in this landscape.

From the Persian Royal Road that linked far-off Susa with the Aegean Sea, to the Roman road network that crisscrossed the region, and to the Seljukian and Ottoman camel routes of the Silk Road, these valleys have always received intense attention as transportation corridors. The 19th century manifestation of this attention was the railway network, reflecting the technology of the industrial age.

These railways, as a new chapter in the infrastructural development of the region, brought with them new modes of interaction with space. Trains moved faster and carried more

than any of the previous conveyances traversing these valleys. At the same time, railways have set constricted paths. While an animal or a human could shift its course, railways were affixed to the land and lacked the flexibility and adaptability of earlier modes of movement. Thus, the landscape had to be molded to accommodate the permanent fixture of the railways.

Trains produced light, smoke and sound unlike anything before, moving not only during the day but also at night. Railways carried peasants, soldiers, tourists and archaeologists; they carried figs, raisins, opium and Uşak carpets as well as archeological finds. The railways also formed new boundaries in the land. The tracks of the railways not only split agricultural fields into fragments, complicating plow movement, but also created an obstacle for pack animals such as camels and mules. They also presented formerly unknown dangers both to humans and animals trespassing their paths. The railways, with all these characteristics, dominated the transportation network of the region for a century.

As with the older modes of transportation, a new technology would arrive to outshine the railways. In the post-World War II years, Turkey found itself at center stage in the Cold War. To contain the expansion of socialism, the United States of America developed a strategy that aimed to keep Turkey on its side. The strategy included adding Turkey to the Marshall Plan, even though it had not participated in the war, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). As Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan point out: “American governmental and private agencies poured generous packages of development aid and technical assistance into Turkey to modernize her agriculture, industries and transportation network. Images of John Deere tractors in rural

Anatolia or Mack trucks on the newly built roads across the country still offer vivid symbols of the mechanization of agriculture and the switch from railways to highways in the 1950s."[575] The Prime Minister of Turkey at the time, Adnan Menderes, had a personal interest in western Anatolia as a native of the region. Thus, a large portion of the American aid was funneled there, leading to the development of a highway system that again utilized the easy routes provided by the river valleys. Agriculture was boosted with the increased availability of tractors, fertilizers and other interventions. Two large hydroelectric dams, Demirköpru and Kemer, were constructed both to assist the irrigation of the valleys in order to make agricultural production more predictable and to provide electricity for the region- altering its sensory makeup.

The infrastructural projects of western Anatolia opened new epochs, defined by an ever increasing mobility through an engineered landscape. Examining the phenomena of infrastructure through a spatial perspective provides us with a deeper understanding of this place and its lifeways. Here in western Anatolia, with the advent of railroads in the 19th century and the advent of automobile roads and dams in the 20th, one can observe how infrastructural projects, seemingly banal, utilitarian constructions, are actually magnificent changers of society and life.

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[575] Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan, *Turkey: modern architectures in history* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 105.

Figure 8.1 *La Fête des Figues a Smyrne, Le Petit Journal Illustré, 1906.*

Source *Bibliothèque Nationale de France.*

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