THE ZONE OF SMYRNA: GRECO-TURKISH BORDER DELINIATIONS AND THE GEOGRAPHIC IMAGINATION

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres that partitioned the Ottoman Empire after the First World War included precise provisions for the creation of a "Zone of Smyrna," a territory to be administered by Greece centred around the modern Turkish city of İzmir. The process of boundary delineation was not simply the result of military outcomes or zones of influence that characterised much of the rest of the post-war partitioning. It owed more to a new paradigm of spatial sovereignty that was influenced by American academic geographers' involvement in the peace process.

The preserved archival records of these experts reveal a moment that influences the trajectory of the Greek and Turkish nation-state projects to this day while also providing insight into the development of the discipline of Geography in America. The study draws attention to the role of the geographic imagination as it reflects particular world views and shapes concrete outcomes.

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Finally, this work is dedicated to my family, to whom I owe everything and who have never doubted my ability to take on this work. Thank you.

NOTE ON NAMES AND TRANSLITERATION

Considering the breadth of linguistic traditions traversed in this project, no unified method of translation and transliteration is employed:

Greek names, whether Demotic or Katharevousan, have been universally transliterated into the unmodified Latin script and are given in the form most widely encountered in contemporary literature.

Ottoman Turkish names have been either rendered in their contemporary Turkish form or in Romanised form without diacritics. Personal names and titles have been given in their pre-1934 Surname Law form (e.g. Mustafa Kemal or Kemal Paşa over Mustafa Kemal Atatürk).

Non-English languages using the Latin alphabet like French and German have been rendered exactly. Turkish and French language source materials referenced in the text have been personally translated/summarized where necessary but are cited in their original languages.

İstanbul and İzmir are referred to as Constantinople and Smyrna respectively, as they would be commonly encountered in period-appropriate English language literature, except when the modern-day locales are addressed. Where possible, less familiar place names are given with both their contemporary Turkish name and a common English transliteration of their period name (e.g. Kuşadası/Scalanova).

Figures have been left in their original languages.

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INTRODUCTION

The violence that is inherent in space enters into conflict with knowledge, which is equally inherent in that space. Power – which is to say violence – divides, then keeps what it has divided in a state of separation; inversely, it reunites, yet keeps whatever it wants in a state of confusion.
-- Henri Lefebvre (1974)

> ARTICLE 66.
>
> The geographical limits of the territory adjacent to the city of Smyrna will be laid down as follows:
> From the mouth of the river which flows into the Aegean Sea about 5 kilometres north of Skalanova, eastwards, the course of this river upstream; then south-eastwards, the course of the southern branch of this river; then south-eastwards, to the western point of the crest of the Gumush Dagh; A line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Chinar K, and east of Akche Ova; thence north-eastwards, this crest line; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the railway from Ayasoluk to Deirmendik about 1 kilometre west of Balachik station, a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the road and railway from Sokia to Balachik station entirely in Turkish territory; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the southern boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence to a point to be chosen in the neighbourhood of Bos Dagh situated about 15 kilometres north-east of Odemish, the southern and eastern boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the railway from Manisa to Alashehr about 6 kilometres west of Salihli, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence northwards to Geurenez Dagh, a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Mermer Geul west of Kemer, crossing the Kum Chai approximately south of Akshalan, and then following the watershed west of Kavakalan; thence north-westwards to a point to be chosen on the boundary between the Cazas of Kirkagach and Ak Hissar about 18 kilometres east of Kirkagach and 20 kilometres north of Ak Hissar, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence westwards to its junction with the boundary of the Caza of Soma, the southern boundary of the Caza of Kirkagach, thence westwards to its junction with the boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna, the southern boundary of the Caza of Soma; thence northwards to its junction with the boundary of the vilayet of Smyrna, the north-eastern boundary of the Sandjak of Smyrna; thence westwards to a point to be chosen in the neighbourhood of Charpajik (Tepe) the northern boundary of the vilayet of Smyrna; thence northwards to a point to be chosen on the ground about 4 kilometres southwest of Keuiluje, a line to be fixed on the ground; thence westwards to a point to be selected on the ground between Cape Dahlina and Kemer Iskele, a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Kemer and Kemer Iskele together with the road joining these places.[1]

With this dismally long single sentence and the ceremonial signing of names on the 10th of August, 1920, in the ornate exhibition hall of a porcelain factory in the Parisian suburb of Sèvres, a new territorial entity was summarily conjured into existence over 2,000 kilometres away. The lines laid down here in words became spatial constraints, imbuing a swath of Western Anatolia hugging

[1] Allied and Associated Powers (1914-1920), and Turkey, *Treaty of Peace With Turkey: Signed At Sèvres, August 10, 1920* (London: H.M. Stationery Off., 1920), Section IV Article 66.

the Aegean coast with an imagined, but nevertheless consequential, new identity. This delimited space was deemed the 'Zone of Smyrna' after the primary location it encompassed: the populous and vibrant port city called İzmir in Turkish and known in Greek and to the wider world at the time as Smyrna. Just as much as this zone did not exist in a spatial vacuum, it was called into existence in an overtly political context.

The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres that remotely delimited this zone from a room in France specified the terms of peace following the First World War (WWI) between the Principal Allied Powers (the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Japan) on one side and the Ottoman Empire on the other. Amidst this diplomatic settlement, the Principal Allied Powers allocated the Zone of Smyrna to the Kingdom of Greece, a minor combatant and associated ally in the closing stages of the Great War. The zone was carved out from land that had been under Ottoman control for several centuries. Further articles of the Treaty of Sèvres established the zone as a Greek civil and military administration over what would remain as sovereign Ottoman territory until a referendum five years in the future could determine the permanent status of the land,[2] but Greece's allotted hegemony was all but guaranteed.

Despite these formal spatial and political creative acts, very little changed on the ground. Borders of one sort or another had long been present in this region. At the moment of signing, the Greek army had already occupied Smyrna and its environs a year earlier in May 1919, and by this time had advanced beyond the limits of the Zone of Smyrna in an ongoing war against forces of the Turkish Nationalist Movement, arrayed in opposition to both the Ottoman government and the foreign invasion of Greece and other Allied powers. No one stopped to erect a border fence, barricade, or even mark "the points to be selected on the ground" with so much as a flagged stake.

[2] Allied and Associated Powers, Section IV Articles 69-83

Nevertheless, in the eyes of the powers-that-be represented in Sèvres, the world map had changed, authoritatively and inviolably.

The Zone of Smyrna was entirely ephemeral. With the victory of the Turkish Nationalists in 1922, the territory became an integral and formally undisputed part of the new Republic of Turkey in 1923. Moreover, despite its proximity and relevance to the active Aegean maritime dispute ongoing between Greece and Turkey today, the territory around İzmir is uncontested today in all but the most strident irredentist discourses. The only direct political remnant of any kind of bordering process occurring in the recent past is its correspondence with some of the extant path of the İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality). In stark opposition to most of the other bordering decisions rooted in the Treaty of Sèvres that permanently partitioned swaths of the Middle East with recognisable boundaries that continue to stoke territorial troubles to this day, the Zone of Smyrna is a blip in the timeline.

Nevertheless, the fate of this territorial entity became a touchstone for the two nation-state projects: it proved to be the permanent high-water mark of the Greek territorial expansionism that had been ongoing since the birth of the modern Greek state in 1821 and it proved to be an unbearable affront that directly inspired the construction of the modern Turkish nation. In many ways, the modern identities of both Greek and Turkish nationalism sprung from the contestation embodied and writ upon the land here; where before these identities coalesced and cohabited, they after became constructed in formalised opposition to one another.

The questions of identity, belonging, nationhood, exclusion, and inclusion wrapped up in the construction of the Zone of Smyrna, and the larger "Eastern Question" serves as a definitive answer to, was a cause célèbre in newspapers, salons, and universities throughout Europe and in the United States. Its fate drew outsized attention amidst the truly world-altering moment that the end of WWI represented. In its ephemerality (and in spite of its marginality in the eyes of many decision-makers

in the West), the Zone of Smyrna and all it could represent managed to capture the imagination of many, most especially many geographers of the day.

Indeed, and perhaps surprisingly, American geographers played an important role in the creation of this Zone, with consequences that affected what the zone looked like and that are revealing of the nature and predispositions of American Geography at the time. American geographers became intimately involved 'experts' in the delineation of the zone's border—reflecting the epistemological authority they held as scientists wielding a modern, rational understanding of the world—a position that allowed them to create and interpret 'truth' about a place through data and cartography. As I demonstrate here, the spatial construction of the Zone of Smyrna cannot be understood without factoring in their role and, by extension, the influence of a particular geographic imagination that was dominant in the United States at the time. More broadly, I argue that the creation of the Zone and its boundaries (depicted cartographically in Figure 1 and with contemporary satellite imagery in Figure 2) reveals the concrete impacts geographic thought and geographic scholars had on actively shaping this bordering process.

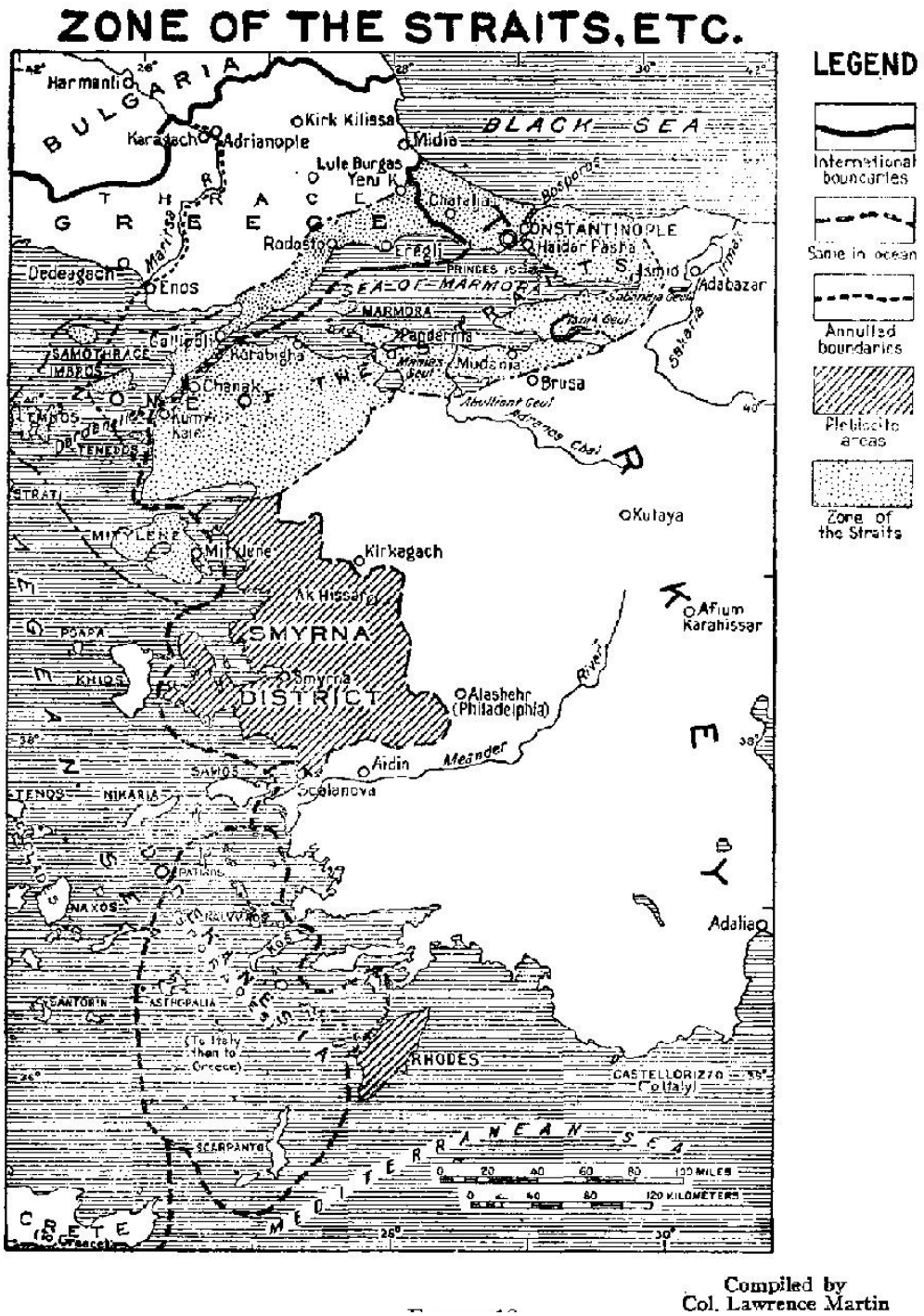

Figure 1: Map of Western Turkey Accompanying Treaty of Sèvres

Figure 2: Contemporary Visual Reconstruction of Zone of Smyrna

Research Questions

The following questions guided my investigation of these matters:

1) What factors were most apparent in informing the decisions of the actors determining the Greco-Turkish border delineation? How were these factors portrayed in academic geographic discourses and by the geographic experts involved in the delineation?

2) Why does the intricacy of the political boundary of the Zone of Smyrna contrast so greatly with the 'lines in the sand' borders characteristic of other partitioned parts of the Ottoman Empire (e.g. border delineation in Cilicia, Thrace, Iraq/Syria)?

3) To what extent can the internal geography of the Zone of Smyrna and the surrounding Eastern Aegean coast explain the nuance of the border delineation?

4) What can the case of Greco-Turkish border delineation tell us about the influence of the geographic imagination, both one hundred and one years ago and today?

Literature Review

In many ways, the research presented here is dialectical; this is a work of *Historical Geography* that seeks to situate a space (Western Anatolia, the Greco-Turkish border) and process (border delineation) within existing frameworks of spatial theory, while simultaneously being a *History of Geography* concerned with examining the discipline itself by teasing out the fundamental assumptions, biases, desires, and methods revealed in the work of geographers as actors. Both qualities of this research are inextricably tied together, and as this account will demonstrate, the construction of the one sympathetically influences construction of the other. In true dialectical form, synthesis of the aforementioned thesis and antithesis produces a new mediated path for deeper inquiry.

While this topic is geographical, the literatures traversed in this project are of necessity broadly varying. The more directly Historical Geographic segments, where they can be isolated,

draw primarily from established Geography, Sociology, Political Economy, History, and Political Science literatures that speak directly to the variables/concepts/ideas at hand. Those sections more directly posing a "Geographic Historiography"[3] draw inspiration from more longitudinal approaches, such as was most famously accomplished by D.W. Meinig's *The Shaping of America* (1986). Both discourses taken together engage with the following strands in the scholarship:

Spatial Thought in the Early 20th Century

Dominant forms of spatial thought in the early 20th Century lie at the heart of both the questions and answers that spring from this research. Its debates, innovations, deficiencies, and constants serve as the richest sources for situating this case study in its relevant contexts and become the conduits tying the actors and processes of the past to the present. This project aims to contribute most directly to enriching this body of literature, and in so doing to make the case for its continued relevance to many aspects of Geography.

This project focuses on the ideas of actors who are dead and consequently are freed from any expectation of response. However, their thoughts, inspirations, decisions, and motives are still discernible; to do this, I rely extensively on the narratives and arguments congealed in their surviving writings, ranging from editorialised notes on memos and correspondences to formal prose in published literature. Epigraphic evidence derived from close contextual analysis is also incorporated in my characterisations of actors. This effort at holistic reconstruction runs the risk of infinite arbitrability; however, I have made an attempt to refrain from imputing meaning and intent unless grounded with ample support.

[3] Powell, J.M, "Historical Geography, Evolution of," *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography.* Edited by Rob Kitchin & Nigel Thrift (Elsevier, 2009), 158-162

Before more explicitly geographical strains of spatial thought are introduced, I highlight that the discipline of geography, then as now, maintains no monopoly over topics that are deeply spatial. Within this project, one of the most important sources stands as the best example of this: *A Survey of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna, Asia Minor -May 1921*. This survey was sponsored by the International College of Smyrna, a Western-run and funded educational institution in the city. It was conducted by an ensemble survey committee consisting of 13 faculty members who were not particularly noted contributors to any field. Together they assembled an account most closely resembling a modern sociological ethnography, complete with participant observation, interviews, and secondary data analysis. This remarkable source was made invaluable by its context, stated tactfully by way of allusion by the Survey Committee themselves: "from the point of view of the reasonable possibilities for a scientific survey, the present period of political transition and economic uncertainty could have hardly have been more unfortunate."[4] In spite of the deleterious effects on scientific validity that might have been perceived, the timing of this survey makes it a truly unique window in on the social space of the city at that time.

Turning now from the specific to the over-arching, this work engages with some of the most prominent spatial theories characteristic of geography in this period.[5] In many ways, this work makes visible the indispensable role Geographic Determinism[6] played in constructing the case study at hand, and it uncovers the degree to which its entrenchment in the discipline in America at the time had concrete, real-world outcomes.

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[4] *A Survey of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna, Asia Minor: May 1921*, Edited by Rıfat N. Bali, (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2014), 11

[5] See: Wright (1952), Wright & Carter (1959), Freeman (1962), Kasperson & Minghi (1969), Martin & James (1993), Smith (2003), and Reisser (2012) for the most relevant accounts of the ideographic context.

[6] Within the time period addressed in this study, the terms 'geographic determinism,' 'environmental determinism,' and 'determinism' had not yet been meaningfully differentiated, so the terms should be viewed as synonymous and interchangeable in their use here.

Determinism in Geography at this time goes part and parcel with the intellectual orientation of Isaiah Bowman, whose scholarly and direct contributions to this bordering process are closely examined in this account. His specific and formal roles will be expounded later, but his influence over the discipline in America at this time can be clearly traced through the literature of this period. His stalwart and career-spanning commitment to the theory was forged during this time. Determinism as it is examined in this study is in fact most succinctly summarised by Bowman himself much later in his career, of all places in the foreword to a 1948 work of biophysical geography focused on the Andes:

> The word "influence" or the word "condition" have largely displaced the words "determine" and "control" in the study by geographers of environmental effects on man. Only a few geographers, conspicuously Griffith Taylor, have boldly challenged those who compromise on the use of the word "control…" Random examples of man conditioned by environment are not enough. Thousands of them have been assembled. A further step is required. What is the nature and degree of control as a physiological *process* and what part of the thing controlled is involved in the process? Search is required for fundamental causes rather than symptoms and superficial generalizations.[7]

This vehement assertion well illustrates the ebbs and flows of deterministic thought in the discipline (by 1948, significant contributors to geographic scholarship, most notably Robert Platt, had already begun problematising and discarding it)[8], but in the early 20th Century the theory was in its ascendancy.[9]

The most directly applicable proof of this comes from publications of the American Geographical Society (AGS), which were quite influential at the time to this project. While the direct involvement of the AGS will be later expounded, I must foreground the sway the organisation had in its claim to being the foremost scientific, impartial, and rigorous arbiter of spatial knowledge—a claim that would prove influential in this bordering process. Perhaps the leading

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[7] Monge, Carlos, *Acclimatization in the Andes,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), ix-x
[8] Platt, Robert, "Determinism in Geography," (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 38, no. 2, 1948), 126.
[9] See: Martin & James (1993), Kobayashi (2014), et alt.

example of this is the 1917 work *Frontiers of Language and Nationality* by Leon Dominian. In this "study of applied geography,"[10] a patently determinist lens for examining human geographic patterns is forwarded; the work in many ways represents one of the best examples of the wedding of racialisation and nationalism that would become so infamously associated with Determinism. While this work undoubtedly influenced other bordering decisions in post-WWI Europe, as was the stated intent of the author, it is conspicuously important here due to its extensive focus on "The Peoples and the Geographical Case of Turkey," which is the focus of a solid third of the work. Leon Dominion, himself an alumnus of Robert College in Constantinople (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi), imbues his account with unrivalled detail and uses the complexities of the region to advance deterministic arguments in support of his analysis. More than anything else, this literature, and the responses, correspondences, and rebuttals it spawned, demonstrate the power and influence of the geographic imagination interrogated herein.

Determinism is not the only influential theory of spatial thought engaged here. This project also interrogates two vastly different frameworks of geopolitics that were in the process of being actively contested in the creation of the Zone of Smyrna: the 'Heartland' theory proposed by Halford Mackinder and the competing Maritime network approach promoted by Alfred Thayer Mahan,[11] hereafter referred to with the byword 'Thassalocracy.' Both frameworks had become ubiquitous and well-established in the literature by the time of this bordering event, and it is reasonable to assume that they were known to those involved in the partition. As this study shows, the ideas deriving from these theories influenced the partitioning process; most directly, a close examination of this case demonstrates the privileging of a Thassalocratic Greece (especially

[10] Dominian, Leon, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, (New York: American Geographical Society and Henry Holt, 1917), vii
[11] Kasperson, Roger E., and Julian V. Minghi, *The Structure of Political Geography*, (Chicago: Aldine Pub., 1969), 161-177

promoted in the British discourses around the Zone), contested with widespread geographic concern over the concept of Turanism. While almost universally debunked now and hotly debated even at the time of this study, this theory tied a racialised othering of Turks as 'Asiatic' centrally to concerns over control of the "pivot area of history" represented by central Eurasia in Mackinder's thought.[12] These contested geopolitics clearly manifested themselves in the formation of the Zone of Smyrna, leaving traces and reverberations that long outlived the heydays of these theoretical approaches.

Reflections from Contemporary Political Geography

While remaining a work of Historical Geography and a History of Geography, some engagement with contemporary Political Geographic scholarship is interwoven throughout to better contextualise the actors and processes observed in the past. The literatures at play here are threefold: **1)** more general frameworks speaking directly to territoriality, **2)** more critical perspectives concerned with the topics of nationalism, racialisation, globalisation, and the contestation of space as they are manifest in this case, and **3)** more biographical accounts that interrogate the American experts involved here.

Figuring prominently in the first is the preponderance of the 'Nation-state ideal' and 'territorial trap' as frameworks that overwhelmingly dominate discourses on political bordering and nationalism. The latter term, coined by John Agnew, serves as a handy vehicle for communicating the ontological assumptions of the geographical imagination and the geographers examined here. Elementally, the term describes the highly structural and exclusionary nature of territoriality that is imputed to states and held to govern their relationships and claims to sovereignty in the

[12] Kasperson, 166

contemporary global political system.[13] The territorial trap and its repercussions are directly relevant here; this study in part aims to provide a careful, in-depth examination of a defining case that helped give rise to the "intellectual division of labour and associated intellectual taxonomy of the 'fields' of political science that emerged in the aftermath of the First World War" that Agnew invokes as a reason for the territorial trap's present ubiquity.[14] As such, my account naturally builds out of and accepts Agnew's premises and conclusions.

The 'Nation-state ideal' proves a more pervasive frame of reference for this research. Drawing primarily on Alexander Murphy's work, this term refers to the condition of rupture that can be observed between emergent patterns of non-spatial political apparatuses in the modern world and the "continuing allure" of territory within the global state system.[15] This framework, very conscious of the importance of historical contextualisation in its design, aligns naturally with the historical contextualisation of this research and can even be a helpful vehicle for bringing the conclusions of this study into conversation with contemporary issues. To this end, this work also intersects with some of the analysis of 'Minority-Group Aspirations' advanced by Murphy and Mikesell, specifically in so far as ethnonational opposition to extant spatio-political orders observed in this case adheres to their "recognition, access, participation/Separation, Autonomy, Independence" matrix.[16] In the world surrounding the delineation of the Zone of Smyrna, the Nation-state ideal can be witnessed in perhaps its most 'ideal' state, as demonstrated in the actions and influences explored here.

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[13] Agnew, John, "The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory," (*Review of International Political Economy*, 1994), 53–80

[14] Agnew, 59

[15] Murphy, Alexander B, "Territory's Continuing Allure," (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 103, no. 5, 2013), 1212–1226

[16] Mikesell, Marvin W., and Alexander B. Murphy, "A Framework for Comparative Study of Minority-Group Aspirations." (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81, no. 4, 1991), 583

This research cannot in good conscience claim to be critical scholarship based on my own understanding of such literatures. Nevertheless, it does not shy away from the incisive inquiry into disparities and ruptures, strong rebuke of hazardous assumptions, and the self-conscious situating of positionality that I have come to admire in that scholarship. This work is also directly inspired by ground-breaking critical works that interrogate the discipline's past. The tenor of my project owes much to a prominent such example: Audrey Kobayashi's 2014 American Association of Geographers (AAG) Presidential Address, "The Dialectic of Race and the Discipline of Geography." While racialisation is not the primary framework employed in my case study and I focus on a much more compact historical context, my research endeavours to enrich exactly this type of critical conversation on our discipline's trajectory.

Fortunately, the application of critical perspectives to the wider context surrounding this case study has already been undertaken in Geography. For this work, the most directly relevant such literature comes from the critical cartographic perspectives of Jeremy Crampton, who already identified the "unique but little understood" role American geographical experts played at the Paris Peace Conference.[17] In both Crampton's 2003 and 2006 articles directly addressing this topic, he identifies the advent of novel techniques in spatial visualisation that allowed cartographers to persuasively portray race and ethnicity in essentialised, 'scientific' ways suited to operationalising public policy, a phenomena he refers to as "race mapping." Although his attention was directed to the articulation of these processes in the Balkans, the foundational context of those cases is inextricably tied to the wider post-Ottoman contexts under investigation here. I trace the same cartographic impulses and assumptions he identifies through the same actors in their handling of the partitioning of Western Anatolia.

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[17] Crampton, Jeremy W., "The Cartographic Calculation of Space: Race Mapping and the Balkans at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919," (*Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 5, 2006), 731

Here it is also worth noting that at the broadest level, my research relies on assumptions about produced spaces influenced by Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space*. Elementally, the central problematic of this case of spatial experts constructing and justifying a spatial object is explored under Lefebvre's assumption that abstract space cannot be conceived of in the abstract.[18] Consequently I am most interested in isolating as many tangible variables in the *perceived* space surrounding the actors and actants of this case as possible—variables that in effect became 'baked-in' to the abstracted spaces produced in bordering such a unique space as discussed here. Furthermore, my investigation recognises a rupture between the representational space (*espace vecu)* of Smyrna/İzmir and its environs and the representation of space (*espace conçu*) of the geographic accounts and visualisations employed to define and delimit it.

Finally, extant biographical accounts prove indispensable in situating this work in the literature. Although the important and outsized role of experts and academics in the boundary delineations occurring at the Paris Peace Conference has been noted earlier and in other non-Geography accounts,[19] several key works have already sought to tease out individual geographers from among these experts who were particularly influential and situate their contributions amid the developing discipline of Geography. Of such accounts, this research reflects on at least three prominent contributors.

The first contributor to the biographical literature employed here is perhaps too dated to be accurately labelled 'contemporary literature,' but is nevertheless relevant in bringing geography's past into conversation with its present here. John Kirtland Wright's 1952 *Geography in the Making: The American Geographical Society 1851-1951* offers an indispensable look in on the characters and happenings of the titular Society (to be properly introduced in Chapters III and IV). Wright's work

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[18] Lefebvre, 306

[19] See: Kitsikis (1963) & (1972), Montgomery (1972), Shields (2011), and Prott (2016) for relevant accounts from specialised Historians

offers deep insight into the people and organisations whose intentions and proclivities are so effectively obscured behind abstraction in most histories and in an un-reflexive encounter with their academic products. His work also proved critical in shaping my own notion of the "geographical imagination" invoked here, as he articulated and defended the concept in conducting similar History of Geography studies, which he termed "geosophy."[20]

The second exemplary biographical literature referenced is Neil Smith's 2003 book *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*. This rather definitive account of the life and geographic impact of Isaiah Bowman is likely the best-known account related to the present case study in contemporary Geography, but it dedicates roughly a chapter to his role in the Paris Peace Conference and virtually no attention is given to his precise role in the Treaty of Sèvres delineations. Smith's work does, however, drive home that "Paris changed Isaiah Bowman,"[21] and offers unparalleled evidence tying his work and ideas to both the wider systematic project of American applied geopolitics and the geographic imagination of the discipline as he interacted with it. This research, then, offers a more precise look at the moment and spatial context when and where Smith's wider arguments come into their element.

The third, and most recent, significant contribution engaged here is Wesley Reisser's 2012 work *The Black Book: Woodrow Wilson's Secret Plan for Peace*. Reisser's political geographic analysis of many of the same primary sources engaged with here places his account in the closest proximity to my own work. Furthermore, this work, like Neil Smith's, has redirected contemporary geographic attention to the seriousness of this moment in defining the trajectories of the discipline in a critical moment. However, the differences between our interventions on the topic are distinct enough to

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[20] Wright, John Kirtland, "Terrae Incognitae: The Place of Imagination in Geography." (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 37, 1947), 1-15

[21] Smith, Neil, *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*, (University of California Press, 2003), 168

leave ample space for the present project: Reisser primarily addresses his attention to broader questions of border negotiations amid all the delineations of the period, with only cursory coverage of the peculiarities of the Greco-Turkish bordering amid the myriad cases he balances. His account, consequently, is drawn to the mean and quantiles of the bordering data points that the Paris Peace Conference addressed, while this work is a conscious highlighting of a statistically significant outlier.

Greek and Turkish Scholarship

To the degree possible, this project engages with pertinent literatures deriving from both Greek and Turkish scholarship. These literatures developed largely independent of one another, however, and for various reasons they are not often considered together. For one, these literatures span many different languages including English, French, Modern Greek, Ottoman, and Modern Turkish. Considering that this study is written in English and makes the most use of English-language sources, a heavy reliance on such material must be acknowledged to the detriment of differing perspectives that may be more readily available from sources in other languages.

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge the still-controversial nature of the Greek administration of Smyrna and the wider Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922 and examine how this is represented in the literature. The issues of nationalism embodied in the Greek territorial expansion and the vehement Turkish response are still important and near enough to each nation's psyche to surface in modern discourses. As a manifestation of these issues, many of the narratives most visible in the literatures addressing this case only explore the perspective of one side or the other. The 1978 book *Greece at the Paris Peace Conference (1919)* by N. Petsalis-Diomidis is a prime example of such a work. It speaks entirely to the Greek experience of the diplomatic discourses of the time, and Greek ambitions are contrasted with the goals of primarily the various Allied Principal Powers on the source basis coming entirely from Western and Greek documents and dispatches. As such, it

represents the common strains of the English-language literature on the Treaty of Sèvres and the Zone of Smyrna through the greater part of the 20th Century. This strain of scholarship, however, is not universal, and some narratives instead reject a strictly national focus. The 2010 work *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey,* edited by Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, Thaleia Dragona, and Çağlar Keyder, exemplifies the present trend in which these nationalist dichotomies are problematised, melded, or outright rejected. This trend arguably saw its start with the syncretic ideology of Hellenoturkism forwarded by geopolitical theorist and historian Dimitris Kistikis in the 1960s, but its current iterations are markedly different in distancing themselves from real political goals and seeking more to engage with a wider international audience. *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation* specifically heralds the nascent academic collaboration between Greek and Turkish scholars interested in the period and explicitly casts itself as "a forum for Greek and Turkish social scientists and historians to promote academic dialogue between them and the wider, international community."[22] I share this goal of a more unified scholarship in the present study, in which the nationalist discourse on who the 'rightful' party that 'ought' to have had sovereignty over Smyrna in the period is irrelevant and unconstructive; instead my focus is on the geographic actors and underlying structural causes that influenced the formation and dissolution of borders here.

Another way of understanding the framing of this project' is to acknowledge the literature that *won't* be engaged with. Those familiar with the setting and time of this inquiry likely recognize the proverbial 'elephants in the room' I have yet to acknowledge when discussing the Greek presence in Western Anatolia in the period: the ethnic violence that accompanied the Greek military occupation and the Nationalist Turkish conquest; the Great Fire of Smyrna that gutted the Greek, European, and Armenian Quarters of the city in September of 1922; and the unprecedented

[22] *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, Ed. by Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, Thaleia Dragona, and Çağlar Keyder, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), vii.

population exchange between Greece and Turkey that followed the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. These high-profile and emotionally charged events are naturally well-represented in primary and secondary accounts and appear as the primary focus of many of the sources explored, including but not limited to *The Smyrna Affair* by Marjorie Housepian and *Ionian Vision; Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922* by Michael Llewellyn Smith. But they do not lie at the heart of this project. Pragmatically, these events have already been extensively scrutinised, and I can offer little in the way of substantive addition or novel interpretation. Additionally, these events are still raw spots marked by widespread human tragedy, making an attempt at a dispassionate account as an outsider exceedingly difficult to craft at best, and irresponsible at worst. To be sure, one ought not to ignore these events; rather, they should be seen an inevitable consequences of many of the processes examined here.[23]

Methods

Textual primary sources form the bedrock of the research for this study. This project draws most extensively from archival research conducted in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Archives II. Specifically, selected documents from Record Group 84.3 (Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State: Records of Consular Posts 1790-1963) and Record Group 256 (Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace) were analysed and are referenced extensively. The documents most of note in Record Group 84.3 consist of the original Miscellaneous Log Book of the U.S. Consulate in İzmir covering the years from 1915 to 1921, and the documents of Record Group 256, which largely consist of official correspondence dispatched to and by the American Commission (ACNP), their surveys and data collected for use in the negotiations process, and the various original cartographic records that were created by the

[23] For further exploration of these contexts and the general progression of events surrounding this foray, please refer to 'Appendix A: Timeline of Select Pertinent Events.'

Commission. All documents were sourced via digitized microfilm available through the National Archives website or through photography of the documents approved by archival staff.

The majority of the cartographic primary sources important to this analysis also come from NARA Archives II, including the "Cartographic Records (General) 1917-19" of Record Group 256.4, which consist largely of hand-coloured thematic maps of various parts of the Ottoman Empire and census data from dispatches in Record Groups 256.2 & 256.3. These maps are here scrutinised not only as information-dense sources, but also as important primary sources revealing the objectives and thought processes of the experts who actively employed them in the process of delineating the Zone of Smyrna. Close analysis of these maps figured heavily in this project, and appropriate figures are included in text.

Finally, this project benefited from past field work conducted on-location in the city of İzmir and its environs in February of 2019. I traveled through İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Balıkesir İli, Manisa İli, and Aydın İli to the "points" and populated places described within Article 66 of the Treaty of Sèvres, paying special attention to extant transportation routes (railroads, passes, tunnels, etc.) and prominent natural geographic features (mountains, waterways, coastlines, etc.) that are unlikely to have substantially changed or relocated since the time of the Zone of Smyrna's existence. Additionally, attention was paid to contemporary administrative boundaries where they were marked, which provided evidence of the human or built landscape that would have existed in the target time and its general character. This exploration was documented with extensive photography; where appropriate, these first-hand pictures are provided to illustrate key points. Although this field work cannot claim to be comprehensive or rigorous enough to constitute a proper landscape ethnography, it fortifies the inquiry carried out here and, if nothing else, grounds its theoretical aspirations and close primary-source document readings in a meaningful real-world context.

CHAPTER II

SITUATING SMYRNA: HISTORICAL & THEORETICAL CONTEXTS

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit
[Greece, once conquered, in turn conquered its fierce conqueror]
-- Horace (14 B.C.E)

Asiatic Turkey…A land which by its position was everyman's land, and which, because of its geography, was of greater interest to the outsider than to its own inhabitants. A nation formed on such a site belongs more to its neighbours than to itself.
-- Leon Dominian (1917)

Smyrna was an ancient city, having been inhabited since at least the 4th Century B.C.E. It was one of the primary cities of the Aeolians and the Ionians and has been thought to have been the hometown of Homer.[24] It is even a Biblical city, appearing in the Book of Revelation as one of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse. Its endurance as an inhabited place is tied to its location: the city lies at the head of a long, protected bay that links it to the Aegean and the Mediterranean Sea at large, and is hedged in to the north and south by substantial mountain ranges stretching inland. Situated centrally on the western coast of Asia Minor as it is, the city has been an important trade port for as long as commerce has flourished in the Eastern Mediterranean world. Smyrna served in this role amidst all of the many empires that controlled it, through to the Ottomans who solidified their command of the city in 1426 C.E. It is crucial the city be understood as a pivotal location within the broader network of Ottoman port cities. Not only is this position as a node within a larger connected grid important to understanding the character of the place itself; it also highlights the increasing significance the city had to an empire that had been steadily contracting and losing control of more and more such nodes. To make this case of Smyrna as the 'idealised Ottoman port

[24] Bali, 19-24

city' clearer, it is necessary to lay out important aspects of its development, urban morphology, social composition, and both internal and external conceptions of it that are pertinent to positioning it at the time of the creation of the Zone.

Late Ottoman Urban Network

A crucial theoretical underpinning to this work is that the uniqueness of the case of Smyrna encountered in the geographical imagination comes more from its position as a node in an urban network than from it being some sort of optimal, solitary place. This notion of an urban network features prominently in the 1993 Review "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives" by Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren, and Donald Quataert. Within this study of the development and characteristics of an Ottoman port-city bourgeois class in the later 19th century, such cities as Smyrna are argued to have risen in importance as a result of increased foreign investment accompanying the Ottoman Empire's integration into a European capitalist system and gradual loss of economic self-sufficiency.[25] This process of integration into a more dispersed network favoured port cites considered 'peripheral' to an imperial state, as they were better suited to become loci of "foreign penetration."[26] As the core of the Ottoman Empire in effect shifted east to Anatolia as the Empire lost control of its Balkan holdings up until 1914, attention shifted to the development of peripheral port cities. According to some estimates, "the port-cites of Izmir, Beirut, Salonica, and Trabzon" accounted for 46% of total Ottoman trade" by approximately 1900.[27] If one recognizes that not one of these cities would be administered by the Ottomans under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres and pre-existing concessions, and that only Izmir and Salonica would even find themselves a part of the same country, the tangible impact on any

[25]Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren, and Donald Quataert, "Port-Cities in the Ottoman Empire: Some Theoretical and Historical Perspectives," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 16, no. 4 (1993): 519-58.
[26] Keyder, 519-520
[27] Keyder, 553

continuing network of port cites is immediately made plain. While there is no way to truly measure just how connected the port cites of the late Ottoman Empire were, the assumption of significant connection remains important for grounding Smyrna as it then existed.

Smyrna's deep-seated and highly visible international orientation is another aspect of the city's character already alluded to but nevertheless worthy of greater acknowledgement. Apart from the Ottoman capital of Constantinople, Smyrna became the Ottoman Empire's most forward-facing locale and a veritable world city in the years preceding the establishment of the Zone. This orientation is made concrete in the numerical estimates of the city's population forwarded by the American Consulate General there in 1921:

> The population of Smyrna, the largest and most important city and port of Asia Minor both in point of wealth and number of inhabitants, was, according to pre-war estimate, about 400,000 of whom… 20,000 (were) foreigners, among whom the Italians lead with 10,000, while the French have about 3,000 and the English 2,000. There are about 200 American citizens in Smyrna.[28]

Interestingly, this non-negligible foreign population seems to represent the Western powers invested in the region almost as a distance-decay function of proximity: the minute American population is explained by America's distance and lack of pre-existing entrenchment in the region, while the Italian cadre represents the largest Western presence, arguably as result of Italy being the Western power closest, most historically persistent, and most directly connected to the city via the Mediterranean Sea. Omitted here, of course, is any mention of the German presence that was known to be established in the city, and not simply because of WWI. While the German Empire did have tremendous influence and investment in the Ottoman Empire in its waning days, German influence and most German nationals were largely concentrated in the capital and in areas hitherto less extensively penetrated by the other European powers, including the Levant, Hejaz, and

[28] Bali, 15

Mesopotamia.[29] This pattern of interaction meant that the German imprint on the city of Smyrna was comparatively minor up to 1919, but a consulate and several German-owned companies nevertheless operated there. Little official documentation of other national groups heavily vested in Smyrna in the period before the establishment of the zone was found, but the gravity of Smyrna as an international host and world city ensures that many others were likely present.

Further proof of Smyrna's notable outward-facing orientation can be deduced from the density of international organizations operating out of the city in the late Ottoman period. Apart from the various Western interests represented in the city by consulates of every major European power and the United States, non-governmental organizations also proliferated.[30] Conspicuously, the Swiss-based Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) were particularly active in Smyrna beginning in the 1880's. While the YMCA and YWCA were in effect Christian missions with the express goal of proselytizing, they also took up wide-ranging social functions in Smyrna: the YMCA operated one of the city's three employment bureaus in 1921,[31] the YWCA operated a "philanthropic" cinema out of its facilities,[32] and both organizations operated the only recreational programs and sports teams not divided along ethnic/national/religious lines.[33] Another important international organization whose operation reveals the cosmopolitan character of Smyrna was the International (or American) College of Smyrna, which continues to operate to the present day as the İzmir American Collegiate Institute. Founded by American educators as a girl's school in 1875 and adding a boy's school in 1891, the International College operated at the time out of facilities centrally located in the Basmane district of

[29] Gaillard, Gaston, *The Turks and Europe*, (London: T. Murby, 1921), 325-339
[30] RG 84, 150
[31] Bali, 48
[32] Bali, 118
[33] Bali, 120-122

the city.[34] This institution was well-respected in the city and active in the region, becoming one of the foremost representatives of Smyrna in Western circles of the time. Indeed it was the International College that sponsored the "Survey Of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna, Asia Minor May 1921" that serves as the primary published primary source on the social history of Smyrna in the period. The presence of these international organizations and others makes plain the international stature of Smyrna in the waning Ottoman period.

Smyrna as Entrepôt

Industrial and mercantile clout also furthered Smyrna's importance in an Ottoman urban network. Smyrna's role in this network can be aptly described as being that of a principal entrepôt, serving as a chief locale for exporting and shipping agricultural products, raw materials, and produced goods from a wide collection area. For Smyrna, this collection area stretched over the vast majority of the Anatolian landmass, a heartland that encompassed some of the most agriculturally-rich portions of the Ottoman Empire.[35] While the city could not rival the preeminent stature of the global metropolis Constantinople, it became in effect the primary exit point for the vast material wealth shipping out from Anatolia in the post-Tanzimat period after 1876.[36] In fact, port-authority records circa 1910-1911 show Smyrna being one of the few Ottoman ports operating with a trade surplus, with a +9.73% import/export ratio.[37] In this capacity, Smyrna was a noteworthy packing centre, specifically handling large amounts of cotton, wool, fruits, nuts, and olive oil.[38] Additionally, the city hosted a respectable amount of industry oriented toward processing the natural wealth of

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[34] Bali, 207-209
[35] M.C. Smyrnelis, *Smyrne, La Ville Oubliée: Mémoires D'un Grand Port Ottoman, 1830-1930*, (Paris: Autrement, 2006), 22-24
[36] *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, Edited by Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, Thaleia Dragona, and Çağlar Keyder, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 44
[37] "Geographical Elements in the Turkish Situation: A Note on the Political Map," *Geographical Review* 13, no. 1, (1923), 126
[38] Smyrnelis, 30

the surrounding regions. In 1921, these were largely the cottage industries of grain milling, rug and textile weaving, tanning, and processing tobacco, as well as the associated business of warehousing these commodities.[39] All of these factors together are best characterised as they were by G.C. Stearns, a member of the Survey Committee that described the city in 1921: "(Smyrna's) location makes importation of raw materials, as well as the exportation of the finished products, quite advantageous, while its accessibility to the interior, rich in raw materials of various kinds…makes possibilities of developing a manufacturing centre equal, if not superior, to that in any city of Europe."[40] More than anything, this assertion reveals the urban character of Smyrna to be uniquely tied to its ability to serve as the mediator between a broad and fruitful, but diffuse, hinterland and the connectivity and profits of foreign markets as a naturally suited entrepôt.

Smyrna's stature as the idealised Ottoman port city can also be attributed to its role as the earliest-developed railroad hub of the Ottoman Empire. This follows quite naturally from the fortuitous placement of the city already described, but its repercussions on the connectivity of Smyrna to its surroundings invites exploration. It is important to first recognize the larger function of railways in the declining Ottoman Empire as a part of a colonialist economic model: rail transport links were constructed as "a conduit between hinterland and the imperialist core" to more efficiently transport valuable commodities, rather than to better integrate the various cores of a country to each other and to peripheral areas.[41] In the decadent Ottoman context, the role of imperialist core was filled not by Constantinople or the Anatolian heartland, but by the Western mercantile powers of the day. Accordingly, the thrust of railway construction was driven by European powers vested in promoting their own economic goals and entrenching perceived spheres of influence according to

[39] Bali, 36-37
[40] Bali, 35
[41] Keyder, 522

the ongoing process of Capitulations.[42] Smyrna thus "led the port cities in developing rail linkages to its hinterland. During the third quarter of the (19th) century, the great Aegean port possessed the most sophisticated rail system (outside of Egypt) in the eastern Mediterranean. When completed, these lines traced in iron the rich river valleys of its hinterland."[43] This development can be seen in Figure 3, where it appears as the sole coastal terminus served by multiple lines.

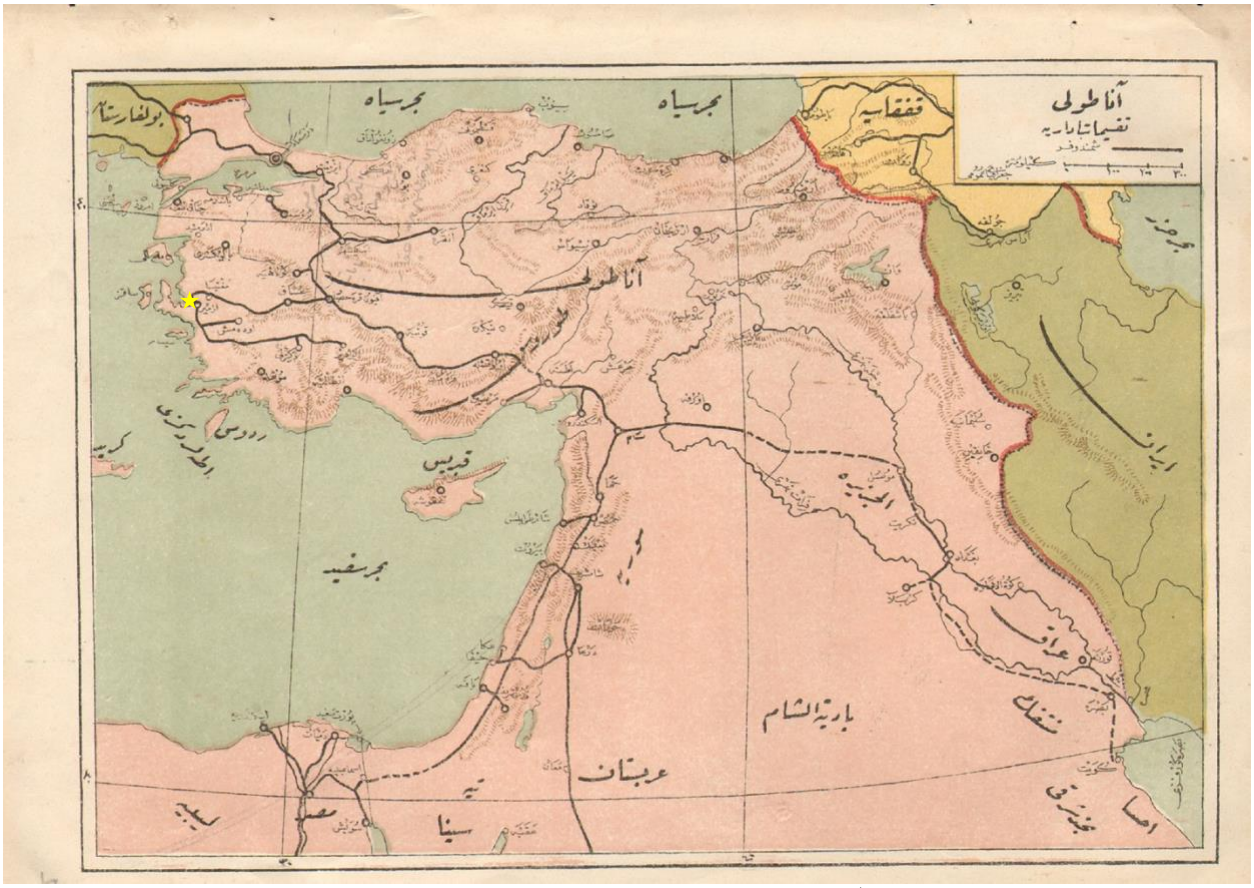

Figure 3: 1910 Ottoman Railway Map*

* Note the location of Smyrna as ایزمیر marked with a yellow star, and proposed railway extensions shown as dashed lines.

The first railway built from Smyrna was opened in 1860 by the British-owned Ottoman Railway Company, and it initially extended to the nearby minor city of Aydın some 90 km away.

[42] *Geographical Review*, 125
[43] Keyder, 531

The railroad opened up the highly fertile valley of the Meander (Büyük Menderes) River and was consequently extended further up the valley to the city of Denizli. Ambitions to connect the railroad to the inland centre of Konya led the railway to reach Akrotiri (Eğirdir) by 1912 before construction was halted.[44] The other prominent railway emanating from Smyrna was the Smyrna-Kassaba Line completed by another British company in 1863, which initially extended from Basmane Gare to the market town of Kassaba (Turgutlu) by a northern route that passed it through Manisa. This railroad became more important to the urban integration of Smyrna's hinterland as a more successful commuter and passenger line, and as such was unusually infused with funding by the Ottoman government to create branches to the cities of Alaşehir (105 km away) and Soma (131 km away) in the 1870's and 1880's.[45] Most notably, however, the railroad was sold to the French 'Société Ottomane du Chemin de Fer de Smyrne-Cassaba et Prolongements' company in 1893, which obtained a license to connect the line to the German-owned Anatolian Line in Ayfonkarahissar, thus linking the Smyrna-based railroads to the wider network of the Middle East and to Constantinople.[46] These two railway networks, emanating from the hub of Smyrna, are crucial to understanding the deep spatial networks that developed around the city and allowed it to become an increasingly vital port city, and their routes are useful in determining the periphery surrounding the city across the landscape. Importantly, they can still reveal this in the present, as the relative permanence and recentness of these laid routes means they can be found in the same locations as they existed in the period, and analysis of those locations (as depicted in Figures 4 and 5) can still tell the tale of an urban network that continued to be actuated along the same routes employed to this day.

[44] Smyrnelis, 126
[45] Smyrnelis, 128
[46] RG 256, 185.5/5

Figure 4: Modern Rail (eastbound) on Route of Smyrna-Kassaba Line Outside of Menemen

Figure 5: Modern-day Turgutlu (Formerly Kassaba) Station

***Gavur İzmir*: Ethnonationalism in an Idealised Ottoman Port-City**

A final aspect of Smyrna's character that is particularly important in situating it as the idealised Ottoman port city is its conspicuous ethnic constitution and complex relationship to nascent nationalisms. Here, focus will primarily be directed towards the markedly different experiences and identities of the Greeks and Turks living in and around Smyrna. Due to the Ottoman Millet system that divided people into ethnic categories based on religion but gave each 'nation' the ability to live according to its own legal system, these ethnicities often lived in close proximity to one another and essentially inhabited the same built environments while maintaining segregation by having entirely separate social institutions, rights/restrictions, and consequently, different national or community consciousnesses.[47] Nowhere was this more striking than in the Ottoman Empire's port cities, who's economic diversification left ample room for each Millet to inhabit. In the case of Smyrna, this led to an urban spatial pattern consisting of the city 'quarters' shown in Figure 6 (and virtually every other period map of the city). This map reveals that the city was cosmopolitan enough to also host other Millets--including an Armenian quarter (Armenisches quartier), a Jewish quarter (Jüdisches quartier), and a European quarter (Franken-Stadt). However, the attention of this project fixes on the Greek-speaking Orthodox Christian and Turkish-speaking Muslim Millets[48] as a practical matter of demographics, as these groups constituted the most significant presence in the region at large. Although population estimates for this time are fraught with every kind of uncertainty and have been repeatedly contested from the time of the border delineation to this day, it is widely accepted that the Greeks, together with the Armenians, formed a

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[47] *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, Ed. by Omer Bartov, and Eric D. Weitz, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 486

[48] Islam in Turkish civilization is another project in its entirety, but the Islamic confessional community in the Ottoman Empire was not technically a Millet and had no Millet delineations for ethnicity (e.g. Arab v. Turkish v. Kurdish) or religious heterodoxy (e.g. Shi'a v. Sunni), and the Turkish Muslim experience can be broadly cast as largely orthodox Sunni with important Alevi and Bektashi undercurrents.

Christian-majority population in Smyrna proper by the time of the last Ottoman census in 1914: Smyrna having a population of "about 400,000; of whom 155,000 were Greek; 165,000 Turks; 35,000 Jews; (and) 25,000 Armenians."[49] This population distribution led to the oft-repeated claim of the day that Smyrna was home to more Greeks than the Greek capital city of Athens (which had a contemporaneous population of around 100,000),[50] and to the Turkish moniker of the day of "*Gavur İzmir*," or "Infidel Smyrna"[51] (an expression still in use today to poke fun at İzmir's decidedly secular urban culture). This ethno-religious diversity led to the development of functionally separate social networks and specializations, which, in turn, served as incubators for the different national experiences and sympathies that would animate especially the Greek elements of the city.

Ionian Hinterland: Connection and Rupture

To the degree that Smyrna had a distinctive ethnic landscape characteristic of an idealised Ottoman port city, the peripheral rural and urban settlements of the region were conspicuously unlike it, displaying markedly more ethnic homogeneity, often skewed overwhelmingly towards either a uniform Turkish or Greek population. To understand this distribution pattern over space, the existing regional boundaries Smyrna found itself in must be considered.

[49] Bali, 15
[50] Georges Bourdon, Charles Vellay, Charles Diehl, and Carroll N. Brown, *Hellas and Unredeemed Hellenism: The Policy of Victory in the East and Its Results*, (New York: American-Hellenic Society, 1920)
[51] Smyrnelis, 10

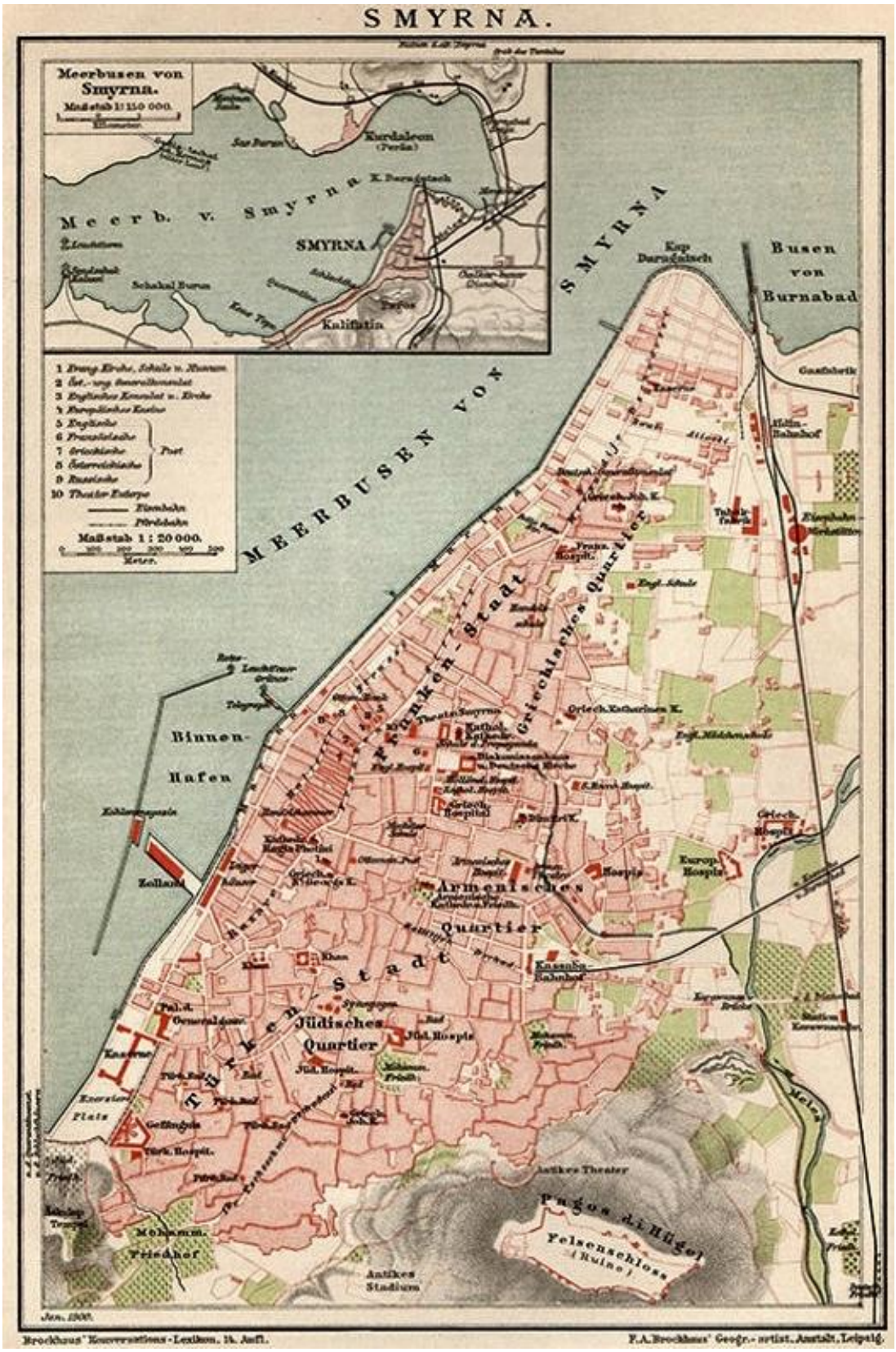

Figure 6: German-Language Map of Smyrna circa 1912

In the period, Smyrna found itself as the seat of an Ottoman administrative division level equivalent to a province: the Vilayet of Aydın (see: Figure 7). The Vilayet was further subdivided into 5 Sandjaks (district-equivalents) and these subdivided into 39 Kaza (county/township-equivalents) largely focused on one population centre each. According to the Ottoman Census of 1914, 35 of these 39 Kaza were majority Muslim,[52] and the large areas of rural land and villages[53] scattered generously across the Vilayet were almost exclusively Turkish, with increasing certainty as one travelled further inland from the coast. However, the Greek population of Smyrna's hinterland was not inconsequential, and the presence of almost fully Greek-populated regions along the coast and a significant Greek merchant class in every minor inland city is well documented. Some important inland centres of Greek population at the time included the Smyrna suburb of Nif (Kemalpaşa), the town of Kassaba (Turgutlu) and the ancient city of Pergamon (Bergama), but the most substantial concentrations extended along the coastal peninsulas and gulfs of the Aegean coastline, stretching even beyond the depicted bounds of the Vilayet of Aydın.[54] Notably, several almost entirely Greek settlements existed on the coast in relative proximity to Smyrna: in the harbour town of Çeşme and its surroundings on the Karaburun Peninsula, Greeks were consistently estimated to be the majority population,[55] the coastal town of Phocea (Eski Foça) to the north of Smyrna had a Greek population of approximately 70-75% in its Kaza,[56] and most importantly, the minor port city of Aivali or Kydonies (Ayvalık) that lay just beyond the northern border of the Vilayet of Aydın opposite the isle of Lesbos boasted a population of 60,000 that remained over 90% Greek throughout the Ottoman period.[57] These two modern inhabited places can be seen in Figures 8 & 9. With this pattern of a

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[52] RG 256.3, 185.5 0019-0021
[53] As a general rule, any settlement that includes the word "köy," meaning "village" in Turkish, should be read as such. Such place names remain, to this day, numerous indeed
[54] Brian W. Beeley, "The Greek-Turkish Boundary: Conflict at the Interface," (*Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 3, no. 3, 1978), 355-360
[55] Smyrnelis, 100
[56] RG 256.3 185.55 122/16
[57] Toynbee, 156

periphery dramatically more ethno-religiously monolithic than the urban centre of Smyrna, the nuances inherent in delineating national identities over such space immediately surface. The tensions that subsequently arise, then, are far from surprising.

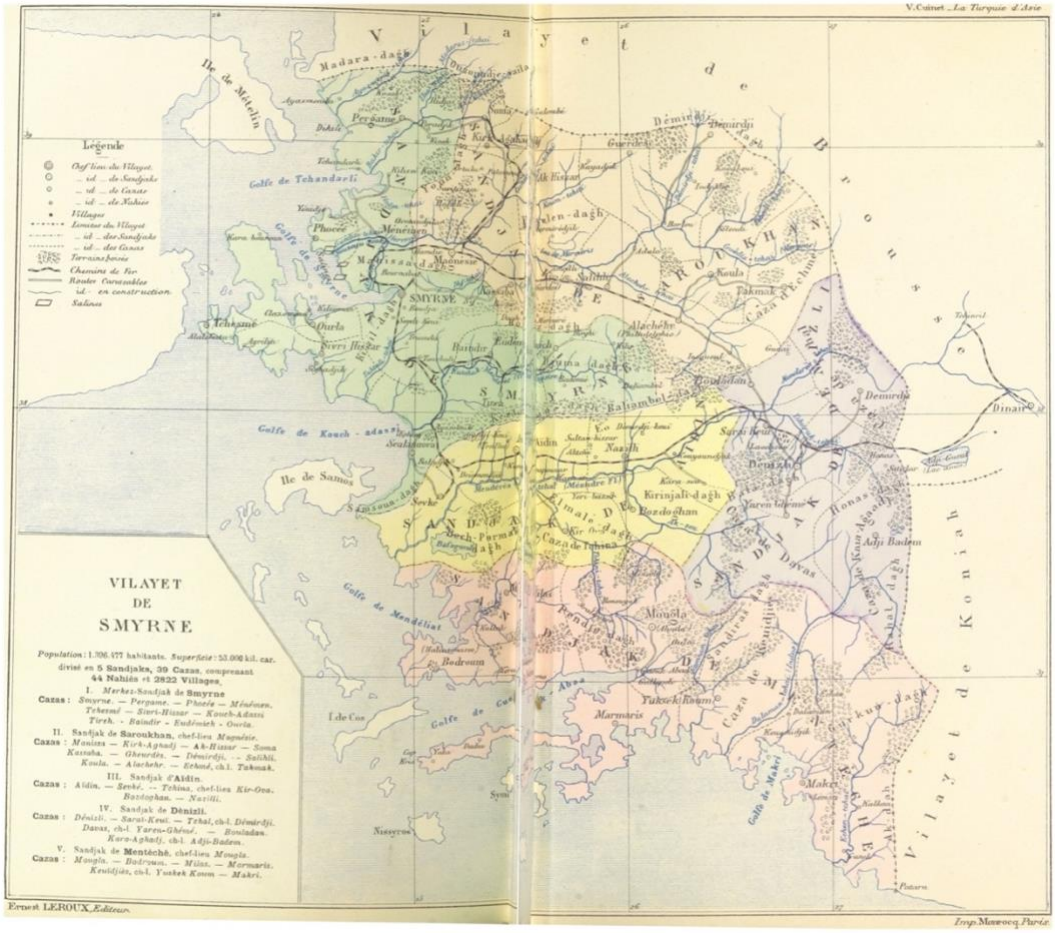

Figure 7: French-Language Map of the Vilayet of Smyrna circa 1894

Figure 8: Panoramic View of Eski Foça from the Northwest

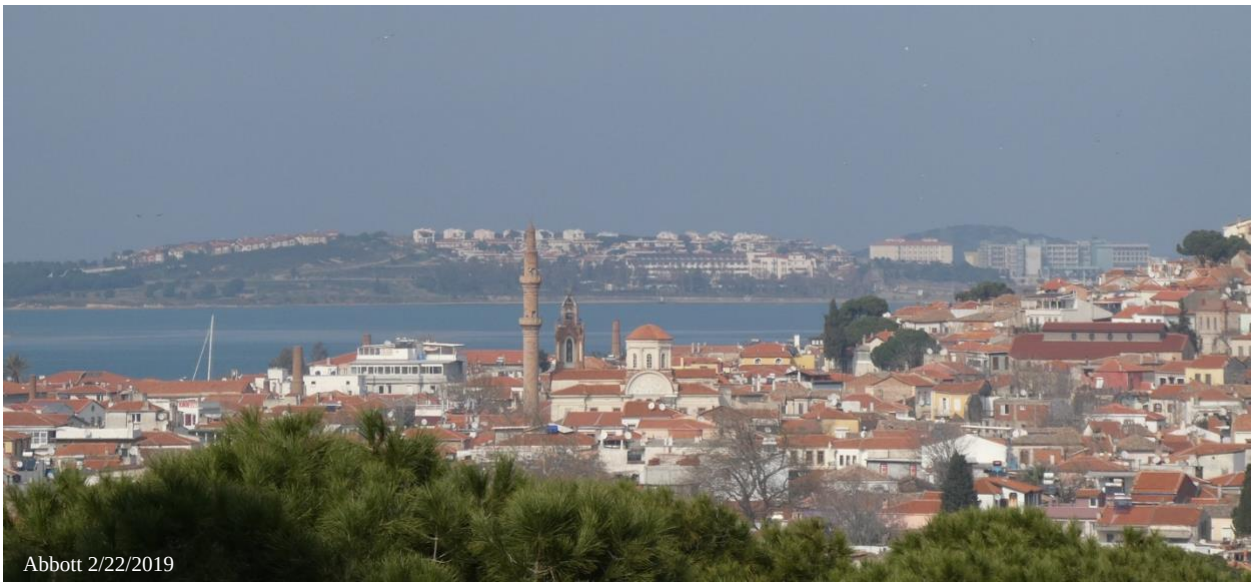

Figure 9: Ayvalık Viewed from the South

Disintegration of the Ottoman Urban Network

A final aspect of the ethnic and nationalist landscape of Smyrna and its environs of importance to understanding its historical geographic distinctiveness is found in the demographic shifts associated with ethnic movement and violence that punctuated the end of the Ottoman period. Western Anatolia, and the Eastern Mediterranean world more broadly, was no stranger to ethnic migration and the often-destructive episodes that accompanied such population movements

or redefinitions. Indeed, the study of ethnology in this region is the subject of immense devotion, litigiousness, scholarly intrigue, and national angst, but any real foray into the finer points of this crowded and heated field is decidedly outside of the purview of this project. Nevertheless, it is critical to note that the ethnic landscape of Smyrna and its hinterland was radically changing in the tumultuous final decade of the Ottoman Empire. The shifts most important here are the resettlement of uncounted swaths of Muslim refugees of the Balkan Wars and several episodes in which Greek Christian populations were either displaced or directly attacked.

The loss of the last substantial Ottoman holdings in Europe apart from Eastern Thrace in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 sent significant numbers of refugees, dubbed in Turkish scholarship as the 'Muhacirs', streaming into Anatolia via major port cities like Smyrna.[58] These refugees included ethnic Turks who had been living in the Balkans or on Aegean islands like Crete, as well as many others who were Muslim-converts from various regions and natively spoke Greek, Circassian, Albanian, or assorted Slavic languages. As they came to Smyrna, some remained in the city, but many then diffused to the countryside (especially in the Meander and Gediz River valleys), remaining a largely dislocated and socially vulnerable population.[59] This influx skewed the general population more towards a Muslim plurality than would otherwise be indicated in census data and pre-war estimates, and these trends were only accelerated with the onset of WWI. The tensions inherent in this tumultuous period, and particularly felt by an embittered, dislocated population, help explain the communal violence that began erupting against Christian Greeks in the areas surrounding Smyrna where they made up the majority of the population.

Two specific incidences illustrate the atmosphere of the time and foreshadow the character of further ethnic conflict in the region: the 1914 "Massacre of Phocea" and the 1917 deportation of

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[58] *Shatterzone of Empires*, 261-263
[59] RG 84, 141

the population of Aivali (Ayvalık). In the former event, Turkish irregular forces, known in the popular imagination as "bashi-bazouks," raided the countryside surrounding Phocea (Eski Foça) and, upon entering the town on the 12th of July, proceeded to sack it and engage in atrocities, killing an estimated 50-100 Greeks and compelling the remainder of the population of over 6,000 to abandon Phocea entirely.[60] The latter episode was the result of the decision of the Ottoman military (and the German military attaché Liman von Sanders) that the Greeks of Aivali posed a security threat and thus had to be removed; the forced evacuation of all residents between the ages of 12 and 80 to military camps in the interior of Anatolia was marked by forced marches, random lynching and murders at the hands of Turkish mobs, and the reported return of only half of the original exiled inhabitants to the city after the war.[61] Woefully, both episodes only featured as samples of the wider pattern of ongoing ethnic cleansing and communal violence that tore apart the fragile fabric of the region surrounding Smyrna.

These diverse, often counteracting, spatial factors meant that in the period leading up to the establishment of the Zone, Smyrna was a conspicuously important and utterly unique urban centre in the context of Western Anatolia, the Aegean World, and the Ottoman urban network more generally. Its internal geography and its relation to its hinterland and surrounding population centres provide clues to how and why the subsequent Zone of Smyrna would be perceived and delimited as an *espace vecu*. As can be seen by tracing the unique history of 'the idealised Ottoman port-city,' the influences that clearly promoted a traceable distinctiveness in the region can be seen to both encourage the separation of Smyrna from its surroundings of markedly different character and at the same time problematise any such sundering of a deeply complex and connected locale.

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[60]Michael Llewellyn Smith, *Ionian Vision; Greece in Asia Minor, 1919-1922*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 31-32.
[61] Toynbee, 82-83

CHAPTER III

"IMPARTIAL ARBITRAGE": THE UNIQUE POSITIONALITY OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS IN THE BORDER DELINEATION

Unfortunately, almost every person that undertakes to say anything about this whole situation is hopelessly prejudiced, and their testimony is of little avail if taken by itself.
-- Rev. Alexander MacLachlan (1920)

Diplomacy and Treaty Negotiation

The Zone of Smyrna came into existence in the context of conflict, but when it was established in 1920, it was emblematic of a new order of international relations: one in which legitimacy was to be best seized through treaty negotiation, not through conquest.[62] The truly global destabilization wrought by the First World War handily brought the Long 19th Century to an end and ushered in a period of modernity stark with new opportunity, new power structures, but most significantly, the shadow of both new and old hazards. To navigate this new world and to impose what was seen as just retribution on the losing parties who were deemed responsible for the calamity of the War, representatives of the Principal Allied Powers convened the Paris Peace Conference in January of 1919. It was there that they worked through the post-war settlement of territorial exchanges, among other things, to be levied against each of the Central Powers with several separate treaties. The Treaty of Sèvres came to include the concessions of the Ottomans.

From this process the Zone of Smyrna was born, and the negotiated concerns and desires that called it into being were inherently geographical, ranging from geopolitical anxieties about defensibility to geostrategic interests in promoting access or exclusion to popular sovereignty considerations derived from ethnographic distributions and the principles of self-determination. As

[62] Reisser, Wesley J, *The Black Book Woodrow Wilson's Secret Plan for Peace*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012)

such, the process of allocating and remotely delimiting the bounds of the Zone of Smyrna was far from cut-and-dry and did not consist of a unified front of victors arbitrarily dividing the spoils of war. The actual borders that came out of this treaty negotiation were surprisingly well researched and attempted to draw legitimacy from such high-minded ideals as Wilsonian principles while also being the result of realpolitik concerns of incompatible promises and the zero-sum game of territorial integrity.

Although much of the context useful to setting up the territorial negotiations of the Treaty of Sèvres that occurred during WWI are beyond the scope of this study,[63] a few salient examples illustrate the wartime goals and commitments held by the Entente insofar as they pertain to the delineation of borders in Anatolia. One was the Constantinople Agreement of March 1915, which was negotiated by Britain, France, and Russia in a bid by the former two powers to keep Russia in WWI by conceding full control of Constantinople and the strategically vital Straits of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles to Russia at the (presumed victorious) conclusion of the war.[64] Such control had been the centuries-long ambition of Russia, but the agreement came to nothing with the collapse of the Russian Tsardom and the exit of Russia from the war. Nonetheless, it signalled an important shift towards the grandiose in the breadth of claims considered seriously by the Principal Allied Powers.

Another significant development was the issuing of U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points,' which not only laid the ideological framework that would dominate the peace process and the post-war world order, but also contained explicit reference to border delineation in the Ottoman Empire as follows in Point XII:

The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure

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[63] For further historical context and chronology, please again refer to the 'Appendix A: Timeline of Select Pertinent Events.'

[64] Paul C. Helmreich, *From Paris to Sèvres: The Partition of the Ottoman Empire At the Peace Conference of 1919-1920*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974), 5

> sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development[65]

This notion of "autonomous development" and the problematisation of the "Turkish portion" apparent in exploration of ethnicity in western Anatolia would become the crux of the negotiations over Smyrna.

The Paris Peace Conference

When WWI finally came to an end between the Principle Allied Powers and the Ottoman Empire with the Armistice of Mudros on 30th of October, 1918, no part of then-European Turkey in Thrace or Anatolia was occupied by Allied forces, and the area that would become the Zone of Smyrna saw no action as a theatre of war. Whether important parallels to the German experience of the armistice without the invasion of Germany itself can be drawn is a curiosity beyond the scope of this analysis, but the absence of military conquest of the territory that was to be partitioned should be seen as similarly impactful in forming a popular narrative. The first blow of post-war occupation fell on the geostrategic lynchpin of the Straits, which were subject to full military control by the Entente powers per the terms of the Armistice.[66] British and French occupation of the pivotal forts and military installations located in and around Constantinople commenced on the 12th of November, 1918, and although it was not yet a wholesale occupation of population centres and swaths of territory, it did normalise the presence of Entente forces in the region that would continue until 1923 and set the stage for the Peace Conference dominated by the Allies from a seemingly unassailable position of power.

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[65] Helmreich, 8
[66] Gaillard, 151-170

It is fruitful here to acknowledge the individuals important to the negotiation of the Treaty of Sèvres and the degree to which their own personalities, biases, and interpersonal relationships came into play, while also not losing sight of their roles in representing the agendas of their nations. The Turkish signatories of the Treaty, "General Haadi Pasha (Mehmet Hadi Paşa), Senator; Riza Tewfik Bey (Rıza Tevfik Bey), Senator; Rechad Haliss Bey (Reşat Halis Bey), Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Turkey at Berne,"[67] were a motley collection of minor Ottoman statesmen and academics who were rendered largely impotent against the machinations of the victorious powers throughout the conference. Although the Treaty of Sèvres was officially concluded by 14 of the allied powers, with even Portugal and Japan represented in the official document, those countries that were most active and important in the negotiation process included Greece, Italy, France, and Britain, with the United States actively engaged despite being officially unrepresented in the treaty.[68] From among these parties, some of the following influential negotiators commanded particularly significant attention: British PM David Lloyd George, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, French PM Georges Clemenceau, Italian PM Vittore Emanuele (collectively referred to as "the Big Four"), the various foreign ministers of the Principal Powers, and Greek PM Eleftheros Venizelos.[69]

It is in the character of Eleftheros Venizelos that the closest thing to a personal will animating the creation of the Zone of Smyrna can be found, and his remarkable influence and charisma also serves to elucidate the Megali Idea that lay at the heart of the Greek state's interests in Asia Minor. Venizelos was born and started his political career on Ottoman Crete. He became active participant in the island's nascent stages of self-governance, independence from the Ottoman

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[67] Allied and Associated Powers, preamble
[68] Allied and Associated Powers, preamble
[69] A.E. Montgomery, "The Making of the Treaty of Sevres of 10 August 1920," (*The Historical Journal* 15, no. 4, 1972), 775-787

Empire, and union (*enosis*) with the Kingdom of Greece, garnering huge amounts of popularity there and in mainland Greece.[70] He was invited to leadership of the Liberal Party in Greece and led it to victory electoral victory in 1910. He consequently became PM, all the while cultivating a reputation as a suave diplomat and a defender of republican ideals that only grew with Greece's successes in the Balkan Wars and the his leadership through the Greek National Schism.[71] In many senses he embodied the lived experience and aspirations of the *Megali Idea*, or "Great Idea," of Greek irredentism that had as its object the unification of as many Greeks[72] as possible under the sovereignty of one ethno-state.[73] In geographic terms, this ideology envisioned a thessalocracy focused in the Aegean Sea and extending outwards into both the Greek and Anatolian Peninsulas. Most importantly, the Megali Idea conceptualized this 'Greater Greece' invariably with its capital as the restored Constantinople. The Megali Idea likely reached its most ambitious expression under the leadership of Venizelos, and his embrasure of its tenants drove the Greek territorial ambitions he forwarded at the Paris Peace Conference.

After the sheer influence of Venizelos, the next most important element in the pursuit of Greek territorial ambitions in the Treaty of Sèvres' negotiation was the sympathetic position of the United Kingdom. Britain, widely casting itself as the torch-bearer of Western Civilization in the era, had a strong affinity to Classics-driven philhellenism rooted firmly in its governmental and academic elite circles, but how this philhellenic propensity translated to either adoration of or criticism of the modern Greek nation varied wildly depending on historical interpretation.[74] Nevertheless, this

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[70] Margaret Macmillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World,* (New York: Random House, 2002), 348

[71] The salient points of this complex moment in Greek history are outlined in 'Appendix A: Timeline of Select Pertinent Events.'

[72] The category of Greeks or *Hellenes* was in this time hardly uniform, but was seen largely at the confluence of linguistic and religious identity, with linguistic affinity favoured and such Greek Orthodox communities as the Turkish-speaking Karamanlides and Albanian-speaking Souliotes inhabiting a marginal conceptual zone

[73] N. Petsales-Diomedes, *Greece At the Paris Peace Conference (1919)*, (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1978), 16-17

[74] Toynbee, 8

philhellenism automatically overrode any perceptible philturkic sentiments, especially in the moment of the Peace Conference.[75] The amity displayed between Britain and Greece extended even beyond the theoretical, as PMs Lloyd George and Venizelos were jovial friends who often took meetings over lunch in Paris and corresponded with private mail both before and after the Peace Conference.[76] However, the most important factor ensuring an unwavering British backing of Greek territorial claims was geostrategic in nature: Britain, as a maritime empire with vital supply and transit lines running through the Mediterranean to India and beyond, had vested interest in a strong and friendly power dominating the Eastern Mediterranean and ensuring safe passage while checking Russia's strategic ability to extend out beyond the Black Sea. While it had traditionally turned to the Ottoman Empire in this capacity, the U.K. was quite content to see this role transferred to a Greece, which was seen as in possession of a superior culture.[77] With this level of support from at least one (highly vested) Principal Allied Power, Greek territorial claims were able to be advanced further than might otherwise have been possible.

Contestations of Bordering: Academic and Strategic

Turning to the specific Greek territorial claims presented for consideration in the Treaty of Sèvres, one finds them to be ambitious indeed, but framed in terms palatable to the Principal Allied Powers. The initial Greek claim was publicly presented by Venizelos before the Paris Peace Conference on the 4th of February 1919; its demands pertinent to Asia Minor included the ceding of what amounted to the entire Aegean coast:

> Venizelos asked for… part of the vilayet of Brusa, and all of the vilayet of Aidin with the exception of the sanjak of Denizli. The center of this area was the allegedly all-Greek city of Smyrna. He claimed that these territories had a population of 1,188,359 Greeks and 1,042,050 Mohammedans, and he advanced statistics and data to prove that the area was not

[75] Kitsikis (1963), 125-127
[76] Macmillan, 353
[77] Prott, 188-191

> only ethnically but also climactically and geographically related to the Aegean, and hence Greek, culture and civilization rather than to the Asiatic hinterland.[78]

Although this claim over Asia Minor was bold even without reference to further territorial demands in Europe and over Cyprus, his presentation of it began by invoking Point XII of Wilson's Fourteen Points and was met with "warm congratulations" from the Big Four themselves.[79] On close examination, one is first struck by the highly specific ethnographic calculations presented, which simply do not reflect the various complexities discussed in Chapter II. This account of Venizelos's proposal is further interesting in its consideration of climate and proximity as geographic justifications for sweeping cultural assertions. Additionally, this initial Greek proposal is noteworthy in its minimal deviation from established political boundaries in the region, merely overlaying claims over the pre-existing Vilayet delineations. Although this proposal was likely to have been put forth with the expectation of territorial reductions,[80] its initial scale offers insights into why the boundaries that were ultimately arrived at were considered viable at all.

In response to this Greek proposal, the Principal Powers decided to commission a "Committee for the Study of Territorial Questions Relating to Greece" to ascertain how tenable the Greek claims were and in what ways they might be modified.[81] This decision is most significant in terms of the American involvement in it and the generally unfavourable recommendations the committee presented. Two Americans were chosen for service on the Committee: William Linn Westermann and Clive Day, both of whom were professors of history who had come to the Peace Conference with the American delegation after serving as part of a group of academics assembled by President Wilson in 1917 as "The Inquiry."[82] The express purpose of this organization was to

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[78] Helmreich, 40
[79] Petsales-Diomedes, 137
[80] Petsales-Diomedes, 138
[81] Petsales-Diomedes, 138
[82] RG 256.3, Reisser, 6

prepare materials and documents that would prove useful in conducting the negotiations for peace presently at hand, and the substantial collection built up by the Inquiry was gathered through the contributions of regional and disciplinary specialists from universities across the country. Drawing from these experts directly and their accumulated work, the American delegation was well equipped to study the minutiae of the Greek proposal, extending even to an episode in which the American delegation dispatched a memo to Venizelos noting "that certain members of the Commission have contested the accuracy of the Hellenic statistics regarding the Turkish element," and presenting several sets of counteracting statistics directly obtained from the Statistical Bulletin of the Minister of Finance of the Ottoman Empire.[83] Based on the documents of the Inquiry and the active correspondence of several American academic experts sceptical about the viability of the Greek territorial proposals, it was actually proposed by a party within the American delegation that no partitioning of the Anatolian mainland could be recommended on the geographical grounds that the population admixture of Western Anatolia was too widely dispersed and no dividing features could be identified to serve as a natural border between the coast and the interior.[84] While this recommendation carried no official weight and was later rescinded altogether, it shows the degree to which the internal consistency of the borders delineated in the treaty negotiation mattered to those proposing them, especially the academic experts seeking to justify them along recognisable disciplinary lines.

Apart from the conceptual pushback against the Greek proposal represented by the American delegation, a stauncher strategic opposition to the idea of a Greek extension into Anatolia came from the Italians. The background of Italy's strategic competition with Greece over Smyrna and its environs has its roots in another round of wartime negotiations of the Entente powers: The

[83] RG 256, 185.5 5/25
[84] RG 256, 185.5 13/14

1915 Treaty of London. Within this treaty, promises of a sphere of influence extending across the southwest coast of Anatolia centred on Adalia (Antalya) were secretly allocated to Italy in the event of a partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, and a looseness of the secretive treaty led to Italian assumptions that Smyrna would fall within their sphere of influence.[85] Greece and Italy were generally aware of their conflicting claims over some of the same territory, and Greek PM Venizelos had actually proceeded first to Rome to negotiate privately with the Italian government (no agreement was reached) before he had arrived in Paris for the Peace Conference.[86] When their expectations to acquire Smyrna were fully trounced in the Paris Peace Conference by the official consideration of Greece's proposal, the Italian delegation turned its attention to limiting Greece's territorial concessions as much as possible, specifically seeking to keep the Meander River valley and the regional hub of Aydın out of Greek hands.[87]

One of the more audacious Italian plans devised around this policy of containment sought to connect the port city of Scalanova (Kuşadası) with the nearby Smyrna-Aydın Line to make the city a viable exporting centre for all of southwest Anatolia's agricultural wealth--thus choking off the commerce of a Greek-administered Smyrna. Ultimately, it was intense Italian pressure that most influenced the morphology of the southern bounds of the Zone of Smyrna that came to be officially incorporated into the Treaty of Sèvres, as the zone specifically excludes the southern portions of the Vilayet of Aydın that were bitterly contested by Italy; as such, the boundary of the Zone began at "the mouth of the river which flows into the Aegean Sea about 5 kilometres north of Skalanova"[88] at a previously uncharted point rather than at any of the existing political boundaries in consideration (see Figure 10).

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[85] Helmreich, 18-19
[86] Petsales-Diomedes, 109-118
[87] Petsales-Diomedes, 179-183
[88] Allied and Associated Powers, Section IV Article 66

Figure 10: Present-day Site of Southern Endpoint of Zone of Smyrna at Aegean Sea*

* looking east such that the Greek zone would have comprised the right bank and the Italian zone the left

As various challenges to the Greek proposals were mounting in the spring of 1919, the shape the Zone of Smyrna would take became clearer in the wake of another stage of border proposals put forth by the British and French delegations. In March of 1919, a joint Anglo-French proposed revision to the Greek Proposal was presented, which took into account the Italian sphere of influence in the south and the internationalized Zone of the Straits to the north and thus centred the Greek claim more compactly on the city of Smyrna, extending roughly 100 km out from it in any

direction.[89] The borders of this proposal deviated from the vilayet boundaries previously relied upon in favour of following specific kaza or sanjak borders and, where possible, traced the border along the crestline of the mountain ranges that ran east-west inland from the coast. The western borders seem to be relatively arbitrary, but they appear to take into account major natural landmarks as cut-off points, such as the prominent peak of Bos Dagh (Bozdağ) or the large lake Mermer Geul (Gölmarmara) seen in Figures 11 and 12 respectively. To the north, the proposal largely followed the existing border of the Sanjak of Smyrna (that remains today the boundary line between İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi and Balıkesir İli) except for a deviation that purposefully places the city of Avali within the proposed zone. Based on the constraints of the Zone of Smyrna laid out in the Treaty of Sèvres visible in Figure 1, it would appear that this proposal included significant portions of the border that officially came to be.

Figure 11: North Face of Bozdağ (Elevation: 2,156 meters)

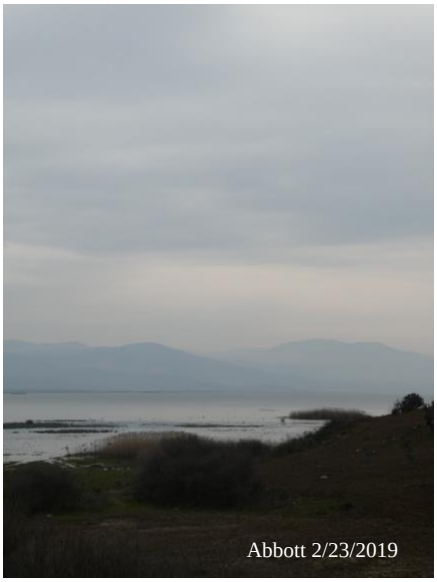

Figure 12: Gölmarmara Viewed from the Southwest

[89] Petsales-Diomedes, D651.G8

It is not possible to isolate all the factors that shaped the final iteration of the Zone of Smyrna that came into being with the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres, but the Greek landing of troops in Smyrna on the 15th of May 1919 and the consolidation of the Zone that occurred thereafter stands as a useful postscript to the nuances of the treaty negotiation. The deployment of Greek forces to the city signalled more than anything else a breakdown in trust in the process of securing borders via negotiation. Political conditions from Smyrna to Sèvres were shifting quickly in the late spring of 1919, word had travelled to the Greek delegation in Paris that atrocities were breaking out against the Greeks in Smyrna, and it was believed that incitement by the Italians was in some way responsible.[90] With the express support of Britain and France, Venizelos approved the landing of Greek forces in the city under a mandate to restore order, but it quickly became clear that the Greek army intended to secure their holdings in and around Smyrna by force of arms. This precipitous decision can be seen as the beginning of the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922 and the harbinger of the brutal and all-consuming ethnic conflict that would soon engulf the entire region. Now facing a protracted conflict, the Greek army quickly found the bounds of the proposed Zone of Smyrna practically indefensible and resolved to secure the Meander River as a frontier and push deeper into Anatolia in order to give their holdings some strategic depth. In a wry twist of history, the time for border delineations of the Zone of Smyrna had passed well before its meticulous delineation found its way into the Treaty of Sèvres.

American Experts: Bowman, the AGS, and a 'Scientific' Ordering of the World

Academic experts were intimately involved in the peace process and had substantial bearing on the border that came into being. These academics, who were largely Americans by virtue of the unique climate of Wilsonian self-determination and the previously described 'neutrality' ascribed to

[90] Helmreich, 100-103

the United States in the treaty negotiations, brought into the negotiations not only their own personal predispositions, but also the formed disciplinary mindsets, conceptual models, and theories attendant to their fields of study.

Examination of these American experts begins with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the overarching organisation involved directly in the bordering process. Firstly, this body was distinct from the pre-existing Inquiry, as that organization was disbanded following the armistice ending WWI on 11 November, 1918.[91] There was extensive continuity in this transition from the Inquiry to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, however, as the documents of the Inquiry were bequeathed to the Commission and many experts were immediately reassigned to the new body. According to the official inventory of Record Group 256, "President Woodrow Wilson personally led the Commission and selected Secretary of State Robert Lansing, diplomat Henry White, Presidential Advisor Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss to serve as his fellow Commissioners Plenipotentiary. The Commissioners were supported by a large administrative and advisory staff."[92] This roll-call reveals the upper echelons of the Commission and affirms the centrality of the Wilson administration in America's Paris Peace Conference involvement, but it offers little information on the individuals charged with examining the geography of a Greek claim in Asia Minor. Although the identities of many of those in the applicable "administrative and advisory staff(s)" remain elusive in the documentation of the Commission, with the majority of the maps in RG 256.4 omitting the "Author" and "Prepared by" prompts on their original labelling, some specific academics overseeing the various regional foci of the Commission can be identified from the archives. For this study of the Zone of Smyrna, the most prominent such academic is Isaiah Bowman.

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[91] United States. National Archives and Records Administration. "Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace; inventory of record group 256," 1

[92] RG 256, inventory 1

By the time he became a part of the Commission, Isaiah Bowman already boasted a celebrated career as a geographer in spite of his young age. The Canadian-born Bowman had pursued a PhD at Yale, where he cultivated a reputation as an expert through extensive field work conducted in South America.[93] Only six years after his doctorate was conferred, he became the inaugural Director of the American Geographical Society (AGS) when the position was created in 1915. His tenure as the Director in New York saw the influential organization take its present form; under Bowman's leadership, *The Geographical Review* was first published by the AGS, and he would remain Director until 1935.[94] Finding himself in such a position at the time of the United States' entry into WWI in 1917, Bowman placed the complete records and resources of the AGS under the control of the federal government; subsequently, the AGS headquarters became the temporary headquarters of the Inquiry and many AGS-affiliated geographers (including Bowman) directed their attention to the inevitable post-war process of border realignment. When Bowman disembarked in France to participate in at the Paris Peace Conference, he was one of America's preeminent geographers and the leading territorial expert for the Commission, and he can largely be seen as one of the primary architects of the boundary delineation proposals promoted by the United States.

As only one expert among 23 of the over 126 academics of the Inquiry who participated in the Commission,[95] Isaiah Bowman can in no way be considered as a solitary agent tasked with applying academic expertise to boundary delineation proposals. However, evidence from bibliographic accounts and original correspondences situates him as a central lynchpin in a cadre of contributing American geographic specialists. Bowman saw to it to recommend his former mentor and American Geographical Society (AAG) President Mark Jefferson for the position of chief

[93] John Kirtland Wright, George Francis Carter, and National Academy of Sciences, *Isaiah Bowman, December 26, 1878-January 6, 1950*, (New York: National Academy of Sciences, 1959), 42
[94] Freeman, T. W, *A Hundred Years of Geography,* (Chicago: Aldine Pub., 1962), 305
[95] RG 256, Inventory 5

cartographer for the Commission,[96] and he personally selected the two cartographers who would be breveted as Majors in the U.S. Army Military Intelligence Division to create maps supporting the Commission: Lawrence Martin (author of the Article 66 Treaty of Sèvres map in Figure 1) and Douglas Johnson.[97] Even beyond his role in marshalling the AGS and (to a lesser extent) the AAG, Bowman became a masterful political actor and was frequently to be found in President Wilson's company at the Peace Conference.[98]

However, Bowman's pre-eminent role here should be seen as ideological. Bowman, the champion of Environmental Determinism and of the 'scientific' ordering of the world that such a world view made possible through the academic production of Geography, became, like Venizelos, an embodiment of an existential project. It is no accident that Venizelos' proposals for Greek claims in Anatolia came couched in language that clearly mirrors the deterministic arguments prominent among members of the AGS like Bowman and Dominian. In other words, the preponderant hold Determinism had over American Geographers under the leadership of Bowman was already entrenched and powerful enough to see direct political expression during this treaty negotiation. Bowman's centrality in the American Commission came part and parcel with the diffusion of such ideals from the abstracted realm of academic Geography into the applied politics of President Wilson's agenda; this being emphasised by Neil Smith when he notes that "he saw his job in Paris as not simply supplying advice to Wilson but also corralling the factual and graphic support for Wilson's positions."[99] To accomplish this feat, Bowman and the other geographic experts employed perhaps the most characteristic geographic tool suited to producing such graphic truth claims: the map.

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[96] Reisser, 34
[97] Wright, 199
[98] N. Smith, 140-168
[99] N. Smith, 147

CHAPTER IV

ARTIFACTS OF A DISCIPLINE AT WORK: TRACING THE GEOGRAPHER'S INFLUENCE THROUGH ACHIVED MAPS

The science of geography attains its highest usefulness when called into the service of man.
-- Leon Dominian (1917)

Cartographic Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace

The American Commission to Negotiate Peace became such a central part of this bordering process largely from a need for their scholarly output in the form of cartography and spatial data visualisation. In this case (and many other more contemporary cases) maps, far more than words, are the ultimate expressions of the geographic imagination. In these documents are distilled not only a remarkable density of visual information, but also the congealed decisions of their authors. In maps, these biases and beliefs, proclivities and prejudices, nature, nurture, and a myriad other human faculties can be readily hidden behind a veneer of impartiality and pure objectivity.[100] After all, seeing is believing, and maps can be made to appear as faithful visualisations of the world as it truly is. A critical understanding of the duplicity a map can hold is not reserved to more contemporary spatial scholars: the geographers at work in this case recognised the prescriptive power of mapping, and by extension, their intellectual contributions.[101] Indeed, if the confessions of Isaiah Bowman himself on his role in the delineation of borders in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire are to be believed:

> It would take a huge monograph to contain analysis of all the types of map forgeries that the war and peace conference called forth… A new instrument was discovered – the map

[100] See: Crampton (2006), Monmonier (2002) and other proponents of Critical Cartography for more elaborate coverage of this position

[101] This, of course, should not be taken in any way to diminish the significant conceptual innovations present in works representative of contemporary critical cartography.

> language. A map was as good as a brilliant poster, and just being a map made it respectable, authentic. A perverted map was a life-belt of many a foundering argument.[102]

Although not the "huge monograph" Bowman envisioned, this chapter aims to translate that map language and situate the arguments won and lost by way of a compelling map, and to show their centrality as trustworthy, scientific depictions of spatial truth. Such maps survive primarily in the form of the "Cartographic Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace."

It is important to qualify what these primary sources can and cannot show. First, the included cartographic records cannot be taken as objective and accurate depictions of true conditions, a pitfall often encountered when analysing maps that necessarily are based on simplifications and approximations. Especially when considering the competing demographic information presented by the various parties and the general lack of accurate data easily accessible to the cartographers, one should approach the sweeping categories, and especially any depictions of uniformity, with due scepticism. Furthermore, the records cannot be taken to cover every spatial concern that came into play in delimiting the Zone of Smyrna. Yet, even in light of these limitations, these documents reflect the factors that were considered to be important to the Greco-Turkish bordering decision. As will be revealed in the discussion and figures that follow, many inherently geographical concerns were taken into account.

The Cartographic Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace that were retained by the National Archives have remained segregated according to the original Divisions formulated for the Inquiry. Of interest here are the 47 items filed under "Cartographic Records of the Western Asia Division," items collected and created between 1917 and 1919 and described in the record group inventory as follows:

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[102] House, Edward M., and Charles Seymour, *What Really Happened at Paris: The Story of the Peace Conference, 1918-1919*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921)

> Annotated base maps and photostat maps showing density of population, the transportation system, areas under military control of foreign powers, distribution of mineral resources, political boundaries in the Arabian peninsula, proposed boundaries of Asiatic Turkey, the Pan-Turanian area, ethnography, political subdivisions, language areas, and the distribution of members of various religious faiths.[103]

This list itself reveals the breadth and tenor of the spatial factors considered impactful and necessary to account for in order to delineate borders amid the complex landscapes found in West Asia. With regard to the specifics of the cartography employed, it is important to note the preponderance of "base maps and photostat maps" in the records and the physical character of the maps used by the Western Asia Division. The reliance on pre-existing cartography to serve as base maps is not surprising when one considers the real limitations of American geographers of the day engaging remotely with their target area of study, but the process of annotation shown in the primary sources reveals the exertions of the experts who engaged with the documents and even offers a window into the now-obsolete practices of geography typically employed in this period.

As can be seen in Figure 13, a depiction of population density by vilayet, the map is essentially modified from a general reference atlas. From this base map, cartographers from the Inquiry hand-drew subdivisions and various boundaries on it and superimposed a quantile map on it by painting it with watercolours. Additionally, every such hand-drawn made map is accompanied by a typed memorandum dictating the data to be displayed and providing directions for how variation should be accounted for, with this example issuing directions to "show on your base map densities of population as here indicated. If you use a different base map and can change spellings of names to follow that on our list of city maps please do so. If you should wish to use this base it would be inadvisable to change the spellings of names."[104] This intensely intimate and even charmingly quaint method of creating themed maps is found in most items filed under the Western Asia Division and

[103] RG 256, Inventory 15
[104] RG 256 Inventory 15

offers unparalleled insight into the thought process that went into the academic work of determining pertinent factors for delineating boundaries.

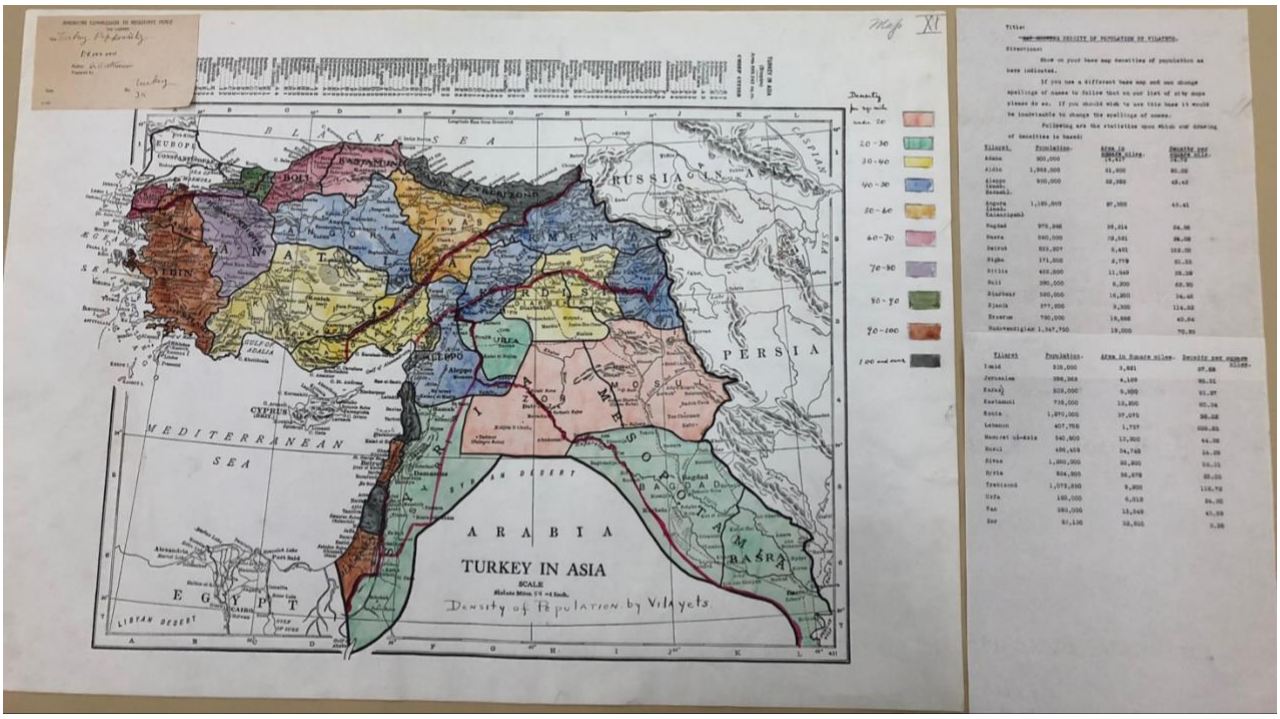


Figure 13: Density of Population by Vilayets

Charting Priorities: Reconstructing the Influences of the Commission

The deterministic mindset present in the Commission frequently surfaced in the methods of mapping observed in the cartographic records, most notably in the choosing of variables to visualise. A premium appears to have been placed on objectivity, and this extends even over information that was hardly objective in its grounding and absolute spatiality. As can be seen in reconstructing some of the influences of the Commission through these maps, spatial heterogeneity is often smoothed over with mapping methods that instead staunchly affirm homogeneity.[105] This penchant of the

[105] Wright (1947), 1-3

cartography of the Commission can, when taken to its extremes, account for some of the seemingly warped ways of thinking about self-determination that were priorities here.

The information considered pertinent in delimiting borders in western Anatolia not only included such mainstream geographical concerns as population density; the records of the Commission show that even seemingly niche spatial patterns were taken into account in some way. This reality is best illustrated in the map of the archdioceses of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, complete with estimates of Greek Orthodox populations from baptismal records (Figure 14). Initially of note here is the chosen base map: the map of "Kleinasien" (Asia Minor) is of German provenance, and this example bears the imprint of "Geographische Anstalt Wagner & Debes, Leipzig" (Geographic Institute of Wagner & Debes, Leipzig), which is revealed to be an important German cartographic publisher at the turn of the century. The use of German cartography is hardly surprising here: the previously established strong ties of the German and Ottoman Empires leading up to WWI likely gave German experts much better access to accurate geographic (though not necessarily hydrological) information from the Near East. The usefulness of this particular base map appears to lie in the detail it offers down to the local level of kaza boundaries. Onto this, the cartographers of the Commission imposed vilayet boundaries in green ink and archdiocese boundaries in red ink, and then proceeded to underline the place names that served as seas of each archbishopric and color-coded a six-quantile population map to depict raw numbers of baptized Orthodox congregants per archdiocese. These quantiles were coloured with green indicating over 250,000 Greek Orthodox individuals, blue 200,000-250,000, violet 150,000-200,000, orange 100,000-150,000, yellow 50,000-100,000, and grey below 50,000. One can quickly notice that the archdioceses containing and surrounding Smyrna (VII and VIII) on the centre-left part of the map are both more compact in spatial extent and highly populous in comparison to any other portion of Anatolia, an observation that certainly played in favour of the Greek claims being

considered in the treaty negotiations. More than anything else, though, this map shows the lengths to which the experts went to draw out matters of cultural and ethno-religious identity across space in preparing their recommendations.

Figure 14: Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople Archdioceses w/ Orthodox Populations

The complex geographic task assigned to the academic experts of the Commission included not only attention to indicators of spatial patterns in the immediate target region of western Anatolia, but also a constant awareness of the 'racialisation' at play in the competing national claims delimited.[106] A conspicuous example of this can be seen in their engagement with spatialising not only Greek cultural consciousness, but also the growing cultural consciousness of Turks, exemplified in one form as Pan-Turanian thought. The pan-national ideology of Turanism had been gaining traction in some academic circles (especially linguistics) in the years leading up to and through WWI, and although in its most general form it grouped all supposedly Central Asian ethnicities together

[106] Crampton, 731-735

(including even the Mongols, Finns, and Hungarians), it also was applied to the more limited pan-Turkic ideology that was promoted in opposition to Ottomanism by some Young Turk politicians and academics. A more nuanced examination of this ornate and oft-contested ideology lies beyond the scope of this project, but it is noteworthy that Pan-Turanism was conspicuous enough to merit cartographic attention from the Commission, as one sees in Figure 15. Exactly how such a disparate and imprecise ideology was mapped onto the landscape of Asia is disappointingly not revealed in the record. The only clue to its original provenance comes from the August 1917 issue of Bowman's *Geographical Review*. The ideas about a broad and exclusively Asian (which can and ought to be read as 'other') Turkish ethnicity inherent in this representation reveal the disciplinary biases and uncertainties that were able to be portrayed as concrete fact through convincing cartography; no equivocal mapping conventions were employed to depict Pan-Hellenic regions. The further assertion of broad "areas liable to be affected by Pan-Turanian Movement" adds to the 'othering' and threatening depiction of Turkish national ambitions here. While this map and its inherent biases should not be read as uniformly hostile, it should be taken as a strong indicator of the academic assumptions of determinism that were at play in the border delineation process.

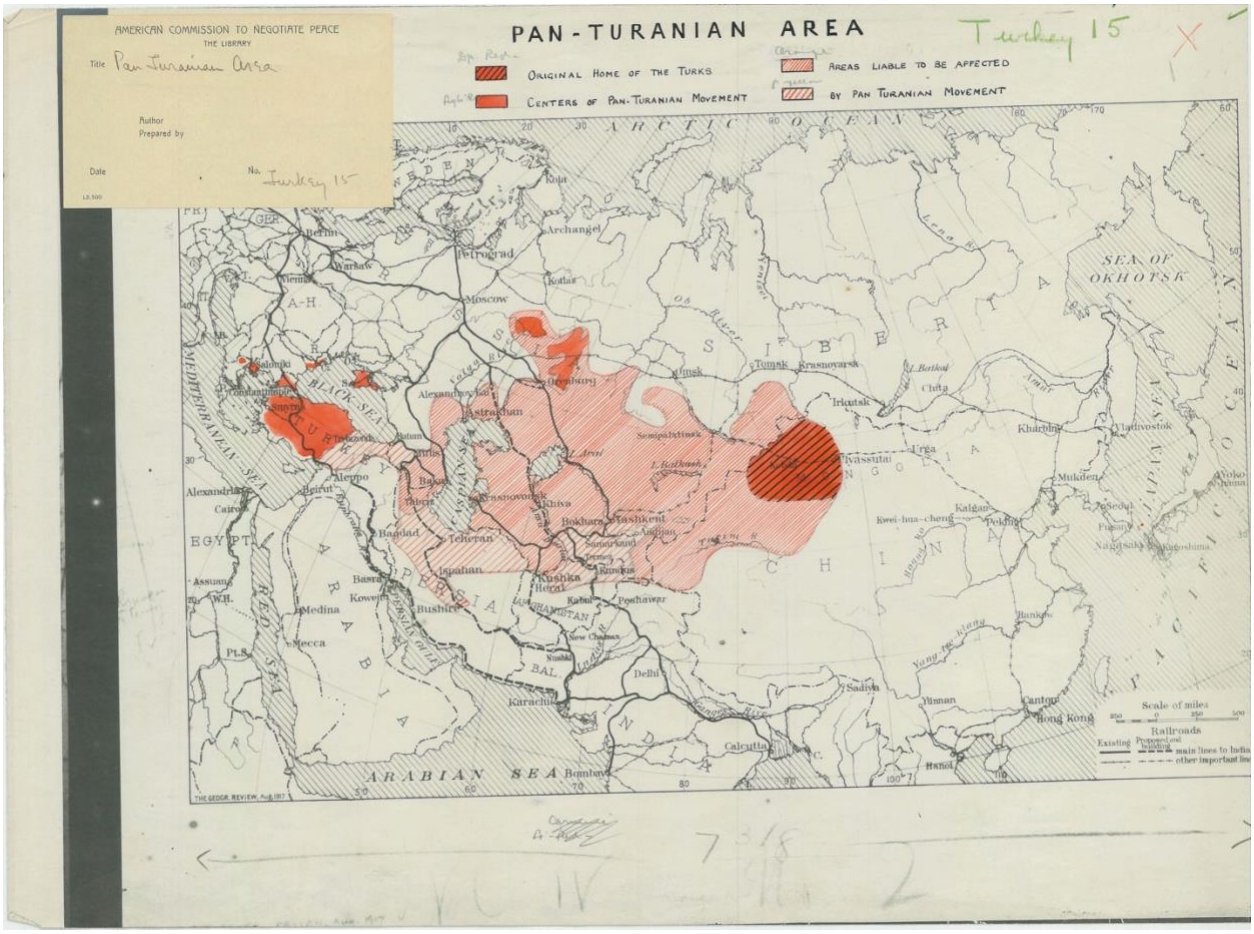


Figure 15: Pan-Turanian Area

The spatial concerns of the Commission also extended to some of those geographic factors explored here in Chapter II, with the importance of transportation links in the form of railroads exemplified in Figure 16. Additionally, this map shows the degree to which European powers had penetrated the Ottoman Empire with their own infrastructure and with various harbour and navigation concessions, reaffirming the arguments of Chapter II. Viewed here, the importance of Smyrna as a hub for British and French-owned railways, the German dominance of the interior rail connections to the Middle East, and the Italian investment on the southern Aegean coastline all become clear simply through color-coded lines. That this information was deemed critical by the

Commission further demonstrates the importance of transportation in both determining a potential hinterland and making viable boundary areas.

Figure 16: Railroads in Turkey circa 1915, prepared by the AGS

Returning to the theme of ethnicity, one finds some of the Commission's most detailed cartography. Figure 17 represents the most ambitious and meticulous efforts on the part of the experts of the Commission to depict Greek population percentages in Anatolia; once again using the "Kleinasien" base map that shows detail down to the kaza level, the percentages of Greek population in each district were charted. The map shows the nuances of the ethnic landscape of western Anatolia in much greater focus than any of the other thematic maps that have the veneer of homogeneity imposed by the cartographic generalizations employed. While the data source for population information is still omitted and there is no indication of who counts as "Greek" amid the cosmopolitan ethnic landscape, the map still succeeds in conveying the patchwork pattern of

population affecting the Greeks of Anatolia, and the sheer impossibility of carving out an ethnic enclave excluding entirely either Greeks or Turks becomes apparent.

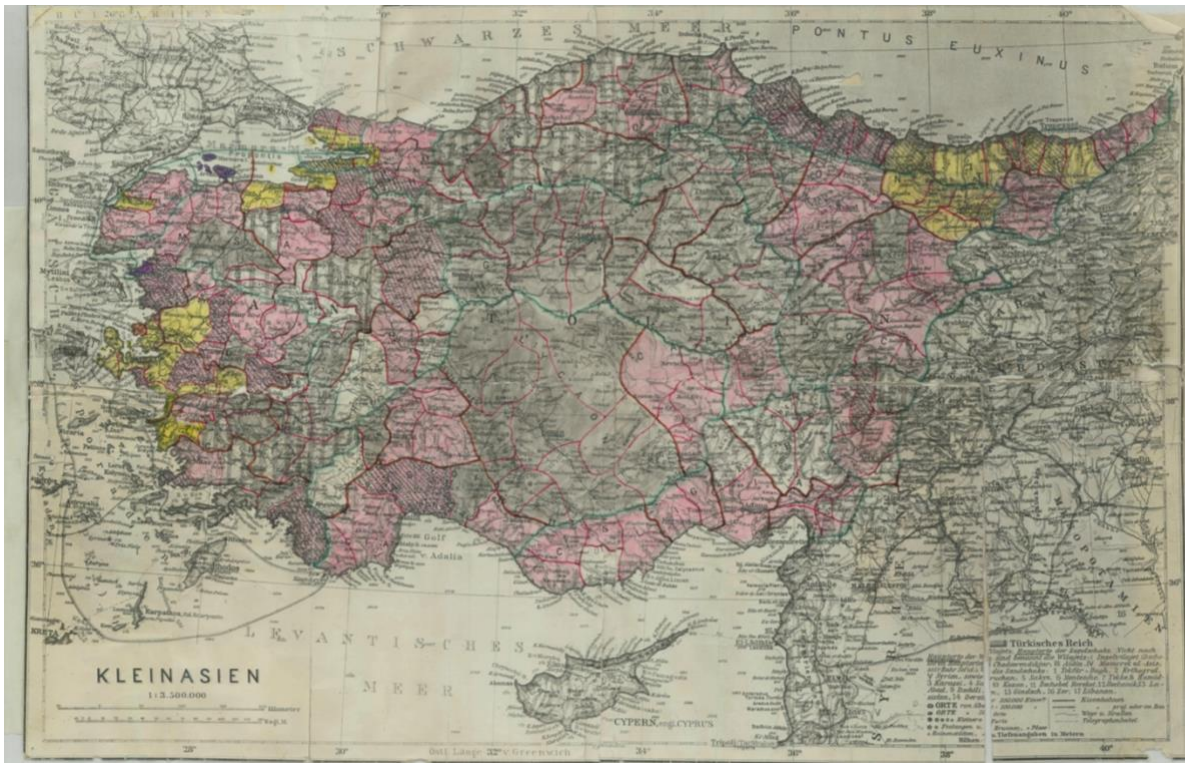


Figure 17.1: Percentages of Greek Population at Kaza Level

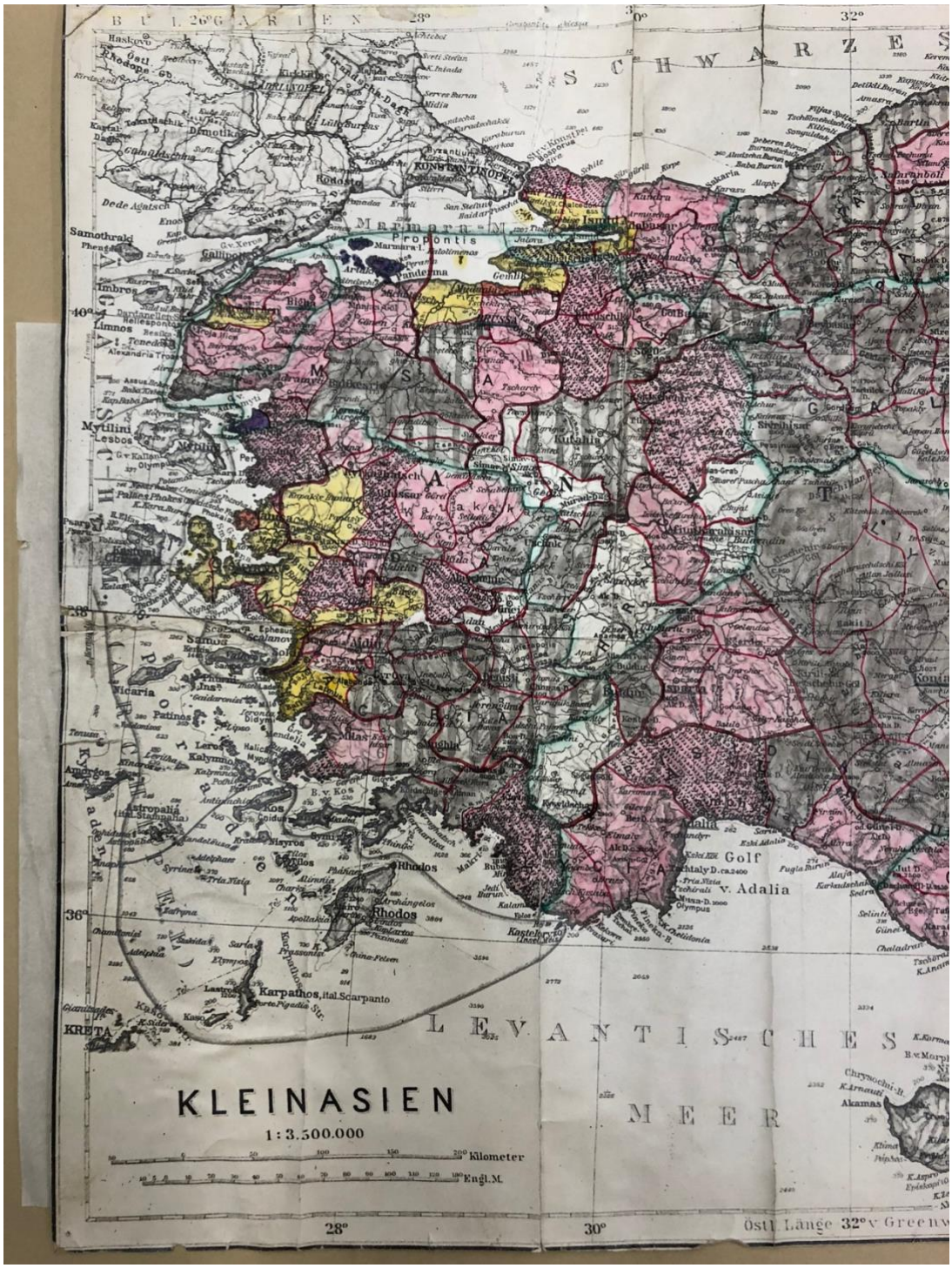


Figure 17.2: Percentages of Greek Population at Kaza Level (Focus on Western Anatolia)

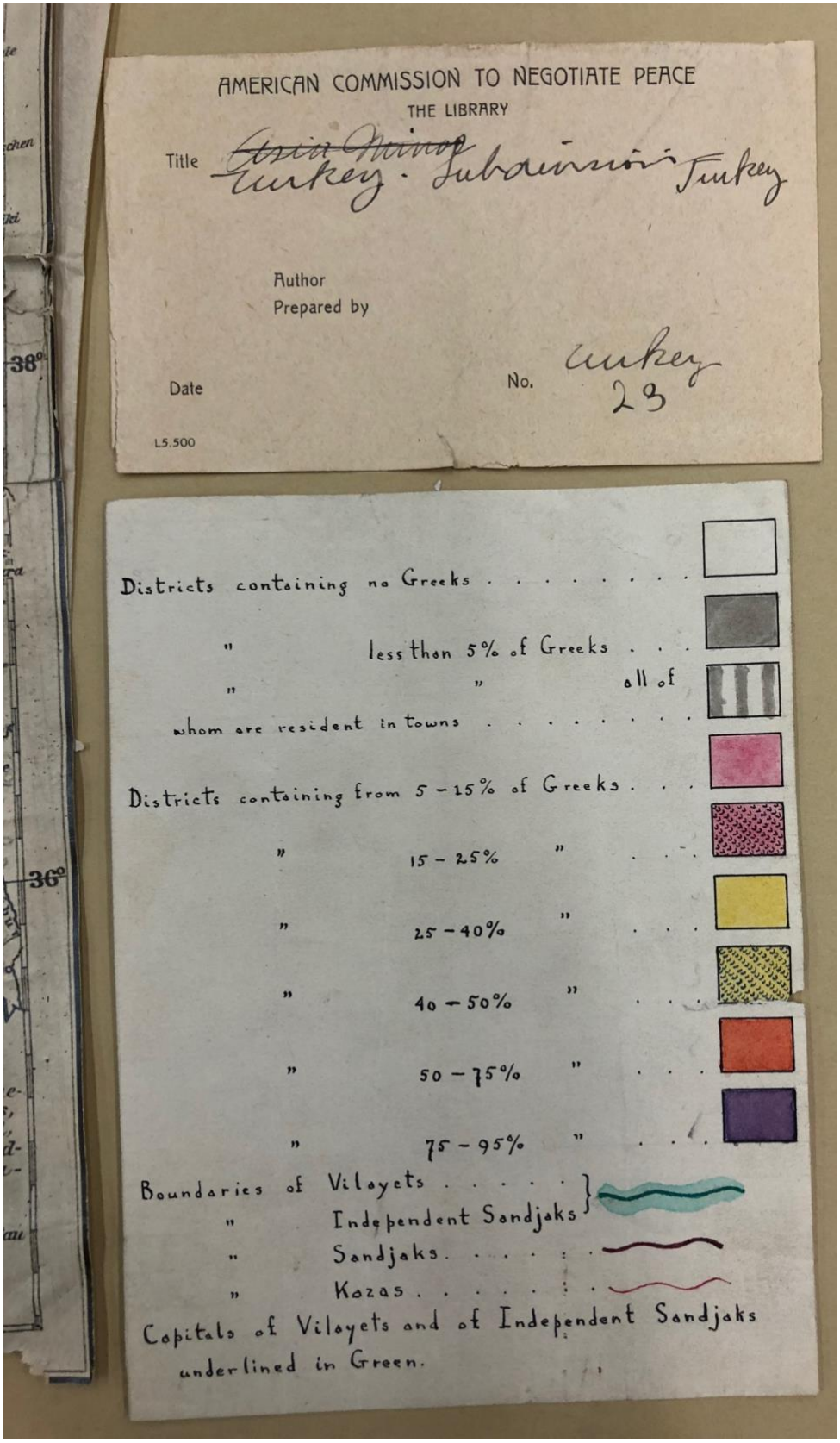
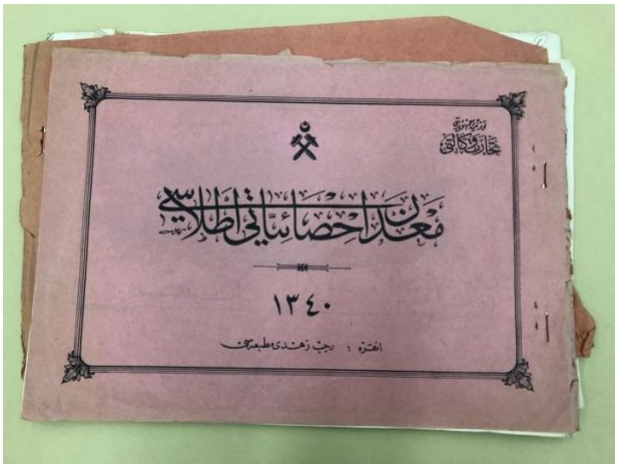
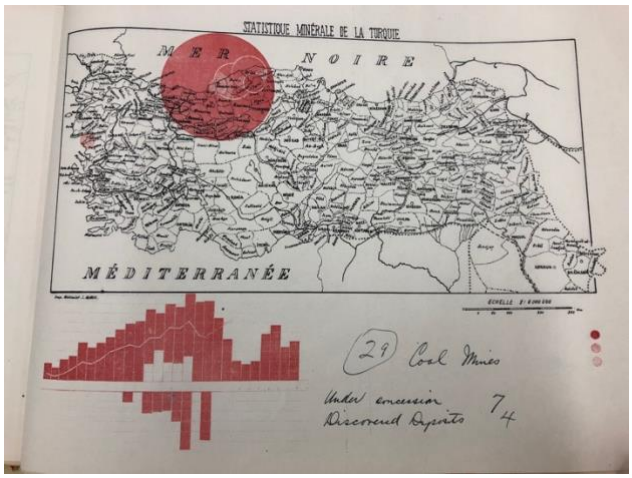


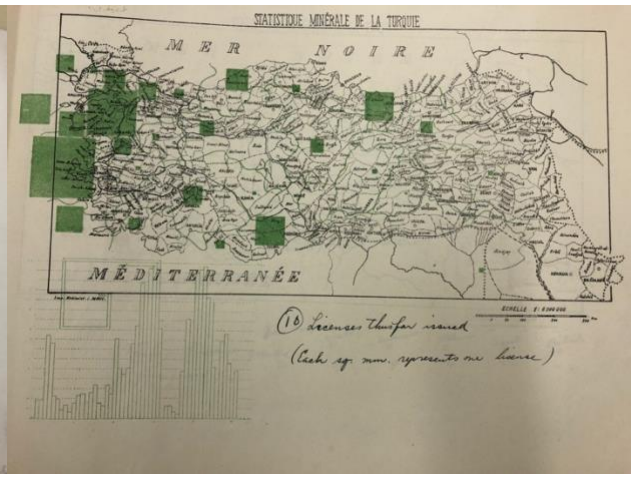
Figure 17.3: Percentages of Greek Population at Kaza Level (Focus on Map Legend)

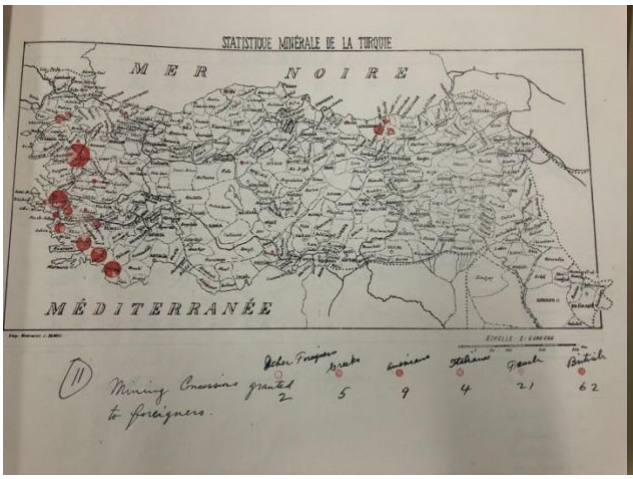
A final spatial factor of importance to the delineation of borders that was apparently considered by the Commission was the very pragmatic distribution of natural resource wealth. This factor was of great importance to the high-political and geostrategic ambitions of the parties involved in the treaty negotiation and border delineation, so it is hardly surprising that attention was paid to the spatial distribution of exploitable mineral reserves by the academics tasked with making palatable proposals. In the Western Asia Division's records, the most direct proof of this also comes in the form of cartography most unlike the handmade thematic maps previously examined. The Commission possessed an undated Atlas of Mineral Statistics that was published by the Ottoman government in both Ottoman Turkish and French, pertinent selections of which are depicted together as Figure 18 for simplicity of analysis. This remarkable item contains over 35 maps depicting estimated and proven deposits of coal (lignite and bituminous), arsenic, gold, zinc, emery (corundite), magnesium, iron, and others, as well as depicting mining districts, foreign concessions, and total licenses issued. Cursory examination of these maps reveals that a significant portion of known mineral deposits in this period could be found in coastal and near-coastal western Anatolia in areas liable to have been delimited within the Zone of Smyrna. That resource distribution was deemed significant because the vitality of Smyrna itself arose out of its importance as a transit point for the natural wealth of raw materials. Hence where those resources lay in relation to the city and to any potentially occlusive borders were seen to be relevant to the boundary-delimitation process.

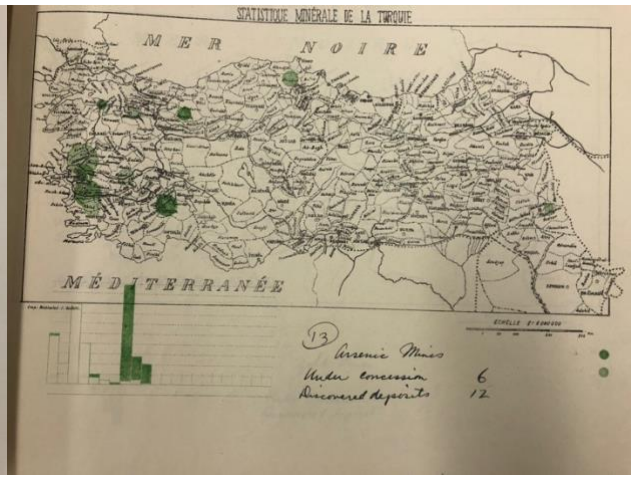

معادن احصائياتي اطلاسي
١٣٤٠


STATISTIQUE MINÉRALE DE LA TURQUIE
MER NOIRE
MÉDITERRANÉE
(29) Coal Mines
Under concession 7
Discovered deposits 4


STATISTIQUE MINÉRALE DE LA TURQUIE
MER NOIRE
MÉDITERRANÉE
Mining Districts
Administrative Map


STATISTIQUE MINÉRALE DE LA TURQUIE
MER NOIRE
MÉDITERRANÉE
(10) Licences thereof issued
(Each sq. mm. represents one licence)


STATISTIQUE MINÉRALE DE LA TURQUIE
MER NOIRE
MÉDITERRANÉE
(11) Mining Concessions granted to foreigners.
Italians 4
Germans 21
British 62


STATISTIQUE MINÉRALE DE LA TURQUIE
MER NOIRE
MÉDITERRANÉE
(13) Arsenic Mines
Under concession 6
Discovered deposits 12

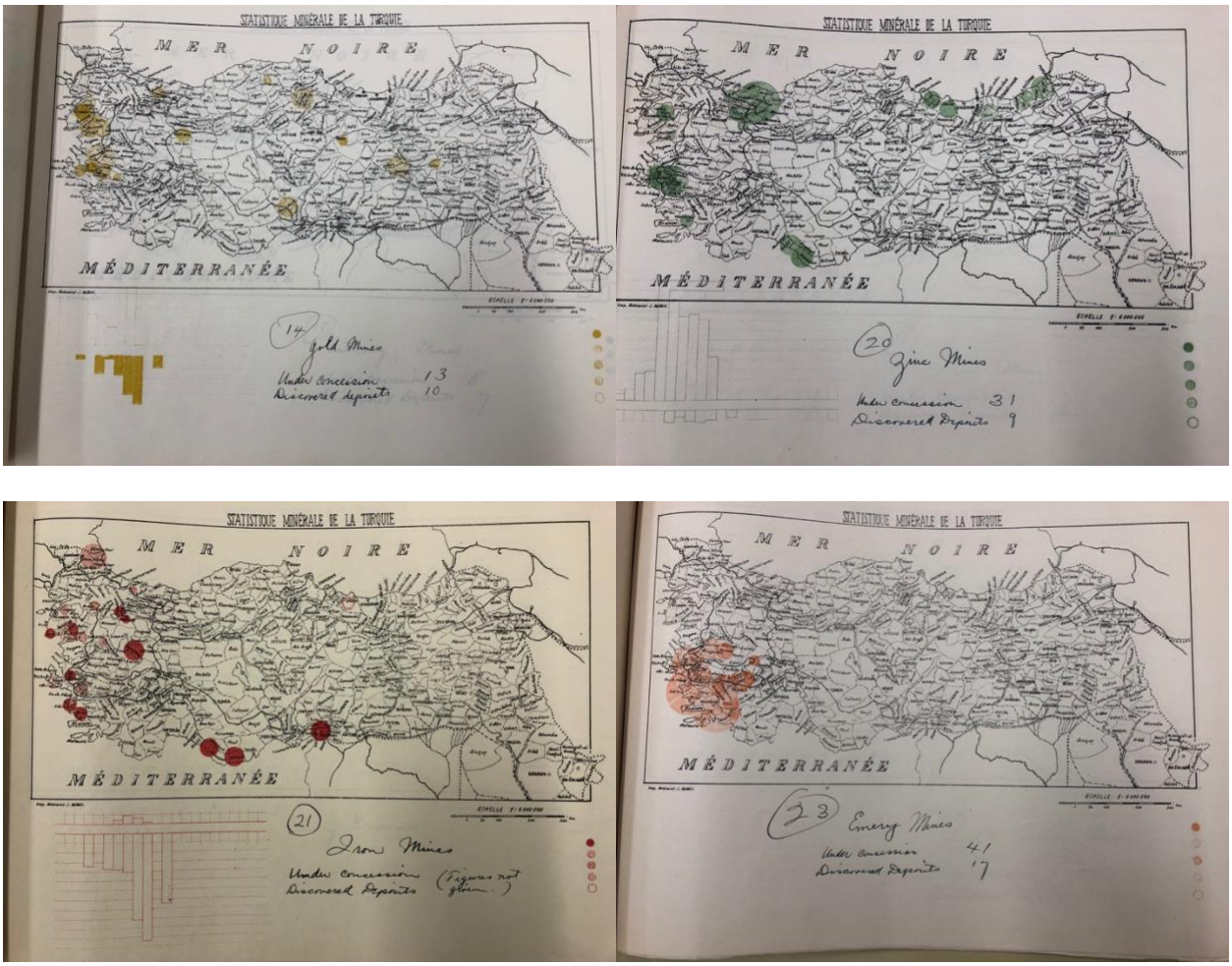


Figure 18: French-Language Ottoman Atlas of Mineral Statistics of Turkey

Prototyping Spatial Data Analysis: Scientific Ordering Revisited

The cartographic sources employed in the Greco-Turkish bordering process show that the geographic experts were adopting an approach that we might now call spatial data analysis. Seeking to address a hypothesis (on if a Greco-Turkish boundary in western Anatolia could be tenable/justifiable) and conduct a multivariate analysis without the aid of computational technology, these geographers seemed to have undertaken the project in such a way that a contemporary spatial scientist might reasonably be expected to under similar constraints. As such, what they were doing raises interesting questions for how we think about the Quantitative Revolution (QR) that affected

the discipline of Geography in the 1960s. That moment is frequently treated as a fundamental shift, (and it is undeniably so if purely technical methods are the focus of attention), but many of the innovations ascribed to it were integral to applied geographic practices in the bordering arena decades earlier.[107]

Reliance on the choropleth map is a case in point. Although this data visualisation method significantly predates the Inquiry, it had not been formally defined or elaborated by the time American Geographers assembled to assist in the post-World War I bordering process. Nevertheless, many choropleth maps, even some prototype bivariate choropleths,[108] can be found among the maps these spatial experts referenced and created. It was in no small way owing to the geographic work conducted in the Inquiry and the Commission that the term itself was coined; AGS chronicler John Kirtland Wright retroactively identified such mapping as it was employed in the Paris Peace Conference as 'choropleth' in 1938.[109] Interestingly, he did so while arguing against the use of such maps due to their propensity to obscure human subjectivity behind authoritative visual depictions of homogeneity.[110] Parallels can readily be drawn to the obfuscation of the perceived space of western Anatolia behind the conceived space of the cartographic representations, and it is exceedingly likely that Wright was responding to at least the general practices of Geography he observed at the time.

Such practices point to more than just a curious moment in Geography's past; they are suggestive of a longer-term trajectory that was well-underway before the QR and extends to this day in the form of the discipline's continuous reckoning with the nomothetic orientation of some its work and the attendant 'scientificisation' of its conclusions. The fastidiously crafted cartographic

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[107] Crampton (2003), 58
[108] See: RG 256.4 Inventory 5
[109] Wright
[110] Monmonier, Mark, "Wright On: Density Maps, Symbolic Landscapes, and the Cartographic Insight of John Kirtland Wright. (All Over The Map)," (*Mercator's World* 3, vol. 7, 2002)

products of the Inquiry show the degree to which the border delineation process was informed by very detailed (though by no means entirely accurate) geographic information. The experts tasked with making viable proposals for or against the Zone of Smyrna were thorough and their documents suggest the detailed and wide-ranging concerns that informed their border recommendations. Analysis of the Cartographic Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace reveals not only which geographic topics and theories were at play in the minds of many of the experts; it also reveals modes of thinking that dominated the academic discipline of geography in the United States at this time.

Overall, the cartography of the Commission as examined here is most clearly evidence of the assumptions and values that were baked-in to the applied geography that became so influential as a political tool in the bordering process. While the 'usual suspects' of geographic interest like routes of transportation infrastructure, population densities of municipalities, or the location of natural resources easily lent themselves to be privileged spatial information, the cartography also reveals the cultural and ethno-linguistic dimensions that were depicted as equally causal, or deterministic. In the business of spatialising a new, scientific ordering of the world, then, Environmental Determinism and civilizational clashes were projected on maps with the same universality as physical geographic data. Even though Determinism was being actively contested at this time by geographers like Carl Sauer and John Kirtland Wright, such contestations were not reflected in the methods the American geographers employed.

The American contribution to spatialising the Zone of Smyrna was not the sole decisive force in the end, but it offers valuable insight into the very real values and geographic perspectives that allowed it to arise in the first place. The deep ideological and philosophical assumptions that directly impacted the cartography created by experts and applied to a high-staked public policy decision were nowhere directly stated; only though lengthy historical exploration has it been

foregrounded here at all. This is only one such meaningful moment where geography (and geographers) played an outsized role in directly affecting such policy decisions. Considering the stakes of Geography being afforded such a role in the practice of spatial data science, it is incumbent on geographers to be conscientious of the values and assumptions they incorporate into their work. I ultimately argue that geographers should not shy away from applied practises of the discipline as they have been elaborated here, but instead be transparent in their engagement with disciplinary assumptions and humble in recognising the unintended externalities of their work.

CHAPTER V

DISSOLUTION AND MEMORY IN LANDSCAPE AND DISCIPLINE – A DENOUEMENT

Bilmeli ki, milli benliğini bilmeyen milletler, başka milletlerin avıdır.
[One should know, nations that do not know their identity are the prey of other nations]
– Mustafa Kemal (1923)

Regardless of the scientific justifications considered in constructing the Zone of Smyrna, the resulting political-territorial construct proved utterly untenable. The Zone effectively came to an end in September of 1922 after the ongoing Greco-Turkish War turned decidedly against Greece.[111] Seeking to solidify Greece's gains and cripple the Turkish National Movement that was contesting their claims, the Greek army overextended itself into the heart of Anatolia well beyond the decided bounds of the Zone of Smyrna. After a series of decisive battles that stayed their drive towards Ankara, Greek forces were routed by Turkish Nationalist troops and beat a hasty, disorganized, and destructive retreat to the coast. In an almost para-geographic parable, Greek control retracted back to the Aegean littoral, where broken military units and some refugees were evacuated to the Greek islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Samos immediately off the coast. Turkish forces swiftly occupied the territory ceded, and only three years, three months, and 26 days after Greek forces entered Smyrna, Turkish Nationalist forces led by Mustafa Kemal (who for his mythic role in the Turkish Wars of Independence would later be granted the name "Atatürk" [Father of the Turks]) marched unopposed through the city.

[111] A more detailed account of the pivotal moments of the Greco-Turkish conflict can be found in 'Appendix A: Timeline of Select Pertinent Events.'

The aftermath of the Zone of Smyrna's collapse sent shock waves that extended far beyond the scope of this analysis, and in fact linger to the present day. Sometime during the evening of September 13, the Great Fire of Smyrna began, leading to the virtually complete destruction of the Greek, Armenian, and European quarters of the city, a humanitarian crisis of monumental proportions for those affected populations, and the still ongoing blame each party attributes to the other for starting the fire. It would take another 10 months for the end of the Zone to be formalized in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne that entirely negated the 1920 Treaty of Sèvres. This treaty-negotiation process also ratified the Greco-Turkish population exchange whereby the remaining Orthodox population of Turkey was deported and resettled in Greece, and the smaller Muslim population of Greece was likewise sent away to Turkey. The resulting involuntary migration decisively ended the ongoing Greco-Turkish ethnic conflict in Anatolia by largely homogenising the ethnic landscape; to this day both Turkey and Greece remain some of the most ethnically homogenous states in Europe, according to their own metrics.[112] These events surrounding the life and death of the Zone of Smyrna remain central in the national imaginations of both countries, and the interactions over shared space that marked Greco-Turkish relations in this period are still echoed in other unresolved territorial disputes in the Aegean Sea and on Cyprus. While the continued interaction and intertwined geographies of the Turkish and Greek national projects neither started nor ended with the Zone of Smyrna, the process of delineating and negating it represents a climax in their competitive interaction.

The remnants of these processes of border delineation amid ongoing ethnic conflict can still be encountered on the landscape of western Anatolia, and clues to the past avail themselves to those

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[112] *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation: Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, Edited by Nikiforos P. Diamandouros, Thaleia Dragona, and Çaglar Keyder, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 7*

*It is important to note that these metrics selectively denies the separate existence of such ethnic groups as the Kurds in Turkey (considered *Dağ Türkleri* or 'Mountain Turks' in an official capacity) or Slavic-speakers in Greece.

with an eye for detail. Place names on a modern-day map is the first to yield such clues: the complete removal of ethnic Greeks from Smyrna's environs emptied large swaths of the built environment of towns and whole villages, and while the Great Fire of Smyrna largely cleared away the urban environment, other settlements were simply resettled by new inhabitants patched together from the far reaches of the defunct Ottoman Empire. This spatial redistribution of previously displaced populations melded with the patriotic climate surrounding the establishment of the Republic of Turkey led to the renaming of formerly Greek settlements that had formerly gone by Greek names. Not only were Turkish-language names reapplied where they had already existed, but some newly resettled places that had historically only gone by Greek-derived names adopted distinctively nationalistic names. There are several settlements in İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi that are in some variant the namesake of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, with the preeminent example being Kemalpaşa, which had been the suburb by which the Turkish forces entered Smyrna and had been known as Nif (from the Greek 'Nymph'). Even more small townships and villages that fell within formerly Greek-populated areas have bold patriotic names, a particularly grandiose example being the township of 75. Yıl Cumhuriyet (75 Year Republic) approximately 15 km east of Kemalpaşa, and its neighbouring township of 85 Yıl Cumhuriyet (85 Year Republic) just down the road! Some aspects of the built environment that do remain and are useful indicators of the past Greek presence in settlements are former Greek Orthodox churches, most of which have been converted into mosques like Hayrettinpaşa Mascid in Ayvalık (seen in Figure 18) or general-purpose cultural centres like Ayios Haralambos in Çeşme (interior seen in Figure 19). These structures can usually be distinguished from other historic places by their prominent semi-circular apses protruding from the east side of the buildings. Their centrality and size in an urban centre are useful, but not definitive, indicators of the former prominence of the Greek community that would have been in the locale. These remnants are poignant reminders of the physicality of shared space and the complex ideas and

identities that were articulated on the ground through the making and unmaking of the Zone of Smyrna. As physically manifested, they reveal how much more 'real' the impacts of the remote border delineation process truly were.

Figure 19: Hayrettinpaşa Mascid, Ayvalık*
* Note triple apse on the right and added minaret on left

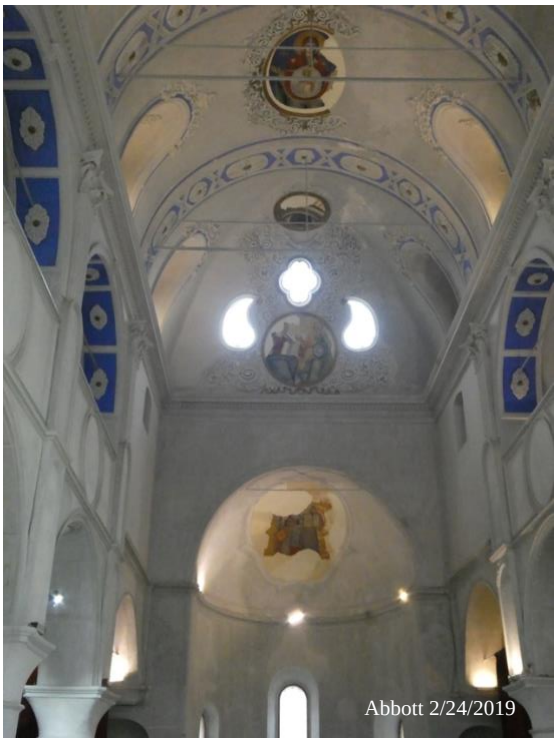

Figure 20: Interior Apse Structure and Intact Icons of Ayios Haralambos, Çeşme

Memories of this long-undone bordering process remain etched not only in the landscape subjected to it. Perhaps more pervasively and with less acknowledgement, the process by which the Zone of Smyrna was spatialised, and consequently manifest, by geographic experts left traceable echoes in scholarship and mapping practices. The American Geographers, whose handiwork was employed here, would go on to dominate their field and advance the discipline based on their experiences and contributions to this ultimately failed exercise in bordering.

While extensive and ongoing scholarship has pointed out the importance of the larger Paris Peace Conference in setting the discipline of Geography in America on its track for the 20th Century, this research opens the possibility for further exploration of the particular lessons gleaned from this case as they impacted such prominent geographers as Isaiah Bowman, John Kirtland Wright, and others. This account has highlighted the assumptions and shortcomings that were incorporated into

an otherwise carefully justified border decision. These were a product of a geographical imagination that played a major role in shaping the mapping approaches underlying the decision that was ultimately made. Research building off this foundation has the potential to draw critical attention to the role of the geographer as an instrument of applied public policy. Like one-hundred years ago, geographers today are called upon as experts to produce knowledge in the service of the state. This research serves as a cautionary note to those involved in such efforts—reminding them that their engagement is not divorced from the geographical imaginaries that dominate thinking in our time. Indeed, an overarching goal of this study is to suggest that geographers actively engaged in policy decisions regarding borders should be attentive to how ideology has played into historic cases, for such attentiveness can encourage careful reflection on the assumptions and ideological predispositions they carry with them as they contribute to the decision-making process.

APPENDIX A:

TIMELINE OF SELECT PERTINENT EVENTS

6 October 1910	Eleftherios Venizelos takes office as Prime Minister of Greece for the first time
8 October 1912 – 18 July 1913	First and Second Balkan War: Greece acquires territorial concessions in Macedonia and Thrace from Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire
28 July 1914	Outbreak of First World War (WWI) in Europe
November 1914	Triple Entente declare war on Ottoman Empire, drawing Ottomans into WWI alongside Central Powers
February 1915-January 1916	Dardanelles Campaign (Battle of Çanakkale): French, British, and colonial forces attempt amphibious assault near Gallipoli but fail to advance inland. Ottoman commander Mustafa Kemal mentioned in dispatches
6 March 1915	National Schism in Greece: pro-neutrality King Constantine I forces pro-Entente Venizelos to resign
21 October 1915	In order to support Serbia, Entente forces land in and encamp around Salonica at the invitation of Venizelos, deepening the National Schism
May 1916	United Kingdom, and France secretly ratify Sykes-Picot Agreement to establish spheres of influence in post-war Middle East
August-Sept. 1916	Pro-Entente 'Provisional Government of National Defence' established in Greek Macedonia under Venizelos in opposition to Royalist government in Athens
December 1916	*Noemvriana* or 'Greek Vespers': Armed clashes in Athens lead to Entente recognition of Provisional Government
20 April 1917	Ottoman Empire severs diplomatic ties with the United States after their war declaration against Germany
June 1917	King Constantine I resigns and Alexander elevated to throne. Venizelos returns to Athens to head government. Greece declares war on Central Powers.
30 October 1918	Armistice of Mudros concludes ceasefire between Ottoman Empire and Entente forces
11 November 1918	Armistice Day: Ceasefire concluded between Allied powers and Germany, end of WWI in Europe
12 November 1918	Forces of United Kingdom and France (later joined by Italy) occupy Constantinople and the Dardanelles/Bosporus forts
18 January 1919	Opening of Paris Peace Conference
15 May 1919	Greek 1st Infantry Division lands in Smyrna with Entente naval support and occupies city, scattered violent clashes ensue; Outbreak of Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922)
19 May 1919	Appointed Greek High Commissioner Aristeidis Stergiadis arrives in Smyrna to establish civilian administration
22 June 1919	Amasya Circular: Turkish officials opposed to Allied occupation issue declaration of Turkish territorial integrity, signalling birth of the Turkish National Movement
September 1919	Sivas Congress: Turkish National Movement leaders headed by Mustafa Kemal lay out resolutions opposing occupation and territorial dismemberment known as the *Mısak-ı Milli* (National Pact)
12 February 1920	Ottoman Parliament assembled in Constantinople ratifies Turkish nationalist *Mısak-ı Milli*
16 March 1920	Entente occupation force in Constantinople disbands Ottoman Parliament and arrests Turkish nationalists
April 1920	Turkish National Movement-led Grand National Assembly convenes in Ankara, Mustafa Kemal elected president
June 1920	Greek Summer Offensive: After anti-Nationalist Ottoman occupying forces were repelled, the Greek Army (with limited support from British units) pushes beyond Zone of Smyrna to capture settlements surrounding the Sea of Marmara and in the Menderes River valley
10 August 1920	Treaty of Sèvres signed

28 August 1920	Greek troops occupy Uşak in Anatolian interior, continuing advance beyond Zone of Smyrna
25 October 1920	King Alexander dies unexpectedly from an infected monkey bite, throwing Greece into succession crisis
November 1920	Snap Greek parliamentary elections remove Venizelos from power as PM, replacing him with Dimitrios Rallis
6 December 1920	Constantine I reinstated as King by plebiscite. Venizelist supporters in the military are promptly purged, and relations with Entente powers are iced
9 January 1921	First Battle of İnönü: First Turkish victory of war, but both sides tactically retreat from battlefield
25 January-12 March 1921	Entente powers convene conference in London to amend Treaty of Sèvres with representatives from Grand National Assembly. No agreements are reached.
16 March 1921	Treaty of Moscow: Soviet Union and Grand National Assembly codify agreement of friendship
26-31 March 1921	Second Battle of İnönü: Turkish victory over numerically-superior Greek forces marks turning point in Greco-Turkish War
27 June-24 July 1921	Greek forces personally overseen by King Constantine I push deep into Anatolia and capture Kütahya, Eskişehir, and the pivotal railway hub of Ayfonkarahissar. After success, Greek forces do not pursue broken Turkish units, allowing them to regroup in defence of Ankara.
23 August- 13 September 1921	Battle of Sakarya: Greek forces driving on Ankara are held at the Sakarya River, checking any further Greek advances into Anatolia
October 1921	France concludes Treaty of Ankara with Grand National Assembly, ending Franco-Turkish War (1918-1921) and leaving Britain as only Entente power in support of Greece in ongoing Greco-Turkish War
March 1922	Second Conference of London: Entente propose modifications of Treaty of Sèvres that eases reparations and arms limits but retains zones of occupation, which are rejected by Grand National Assembly
26–30 August 1922	Battle of Dumlupınar: Turkish general offensive led by (now Field Marshal) Mustafa Kemal dislodges Greek defensive positions around Ayfonkarahissar and routs Greek forces, who begin disorganized retreat to Aegean coast
30 August 1922-7 September 1922	As Turkish forces pursue routed Greek Army in drive towards Smyrna, Greek forces conduct 'scorched earth' policy of torching settlements while withdrawing, leading to widespread destruction of Uşak, Manisa, Turgutlu, Alaşehir, Salihli, and others as they fell into Turkish hands
8 September 1922	Greek forces and civil administration under Stergiadis evacuate Smyrna
9 September 1922	Liberation of İzmir: Turkish cavalry enter Smyrna via Nif (Kemalpaşa)
11 September 1922	Venizelist military officers declare revolution and oust royalist government in Athens, leading to the trial and execution of four high-profile royalist officials including PM Dimitrios Gounaris and General Georgios Hatzianestis, Commander of the Army of Asia Minor
13 September 1922	Revolutionary military forces King Constantine I to abdicate
13-22 September 1922	Great Fire of Smyrna
16 September 1922	Last Greek troops evacuated from Zone of Smyrna at Çeşme
27 September 1922	George II succeeds his father Constantine I as King of the Hellenes
11 October 1922	Armistice of Mudanya: ceasefire between Entente and Grand National Assembly
14 October 1922	Greece accedes to Armistice of Mudanya
1 November 1922	Grand National Assembly moves to abolish the Ottoman Sultanate
17 November 1922	Sultan Mehmed VI leaves Constantinople peacefully for exile on British Malta
November 1922	Conference of Lausanne opens, with the Turkish delegation headed by İsmet Paşa (İnönü), the British delegation headed by Lord Curzon, and the Greek delegation by Eleftherios Venizelos
24 July 1923	Treaty of Lausanne signed, ending hostilities, enacting Greco-Turkish Population Exchange, supplanting Treaty of Sèvres, and recognizing Turkey in modern-day bounds (with the exception of Hatay Province)

APPENDIX B:

INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

Modern Turkish	***Greek*/Ottoman**	**English Translation *G*/O**	**English Trans. Mod.**
Gumuşdag	Gumush Dagh	Silver Mountain	→
Kuşadası	*Skalanova*[113]	{footnote}	{footnote}
Çinarköy	Chinar K	Old Village	→
(Yeniköy)?	Akche Ova	White Creek Plain	New Village
Selçuk	Ayasoluk	"Agios Theologos" (St. John the Theologian)	Seljuk
Germencik	Deirmendik	Little Mill	→
Ortaklar	Balachik	Tie/Conjunction	Mates/Partners
Söke	*Sokia*	N/A	
Boz Dağ	Bos Dagh	Bald Mountain	→
Ödemiş	Odemish	N/A	
Manisa	*Magnesia*	Magnesium	→
Alaşehir	*Philadelphia*/Alashehr	Sublime City	→
Sahlili	→	N/A	
Görenez Dağ	Geurenez Dagh	Seeing Mountain	→
Gölmarmara	Mermer Geul	Marmara Lake	→
Burhaniye	Kemer	Arch	Burhanettin (Ottoman Prince)
Kum Çayı	Kum Chai	Sand Creek	→
Akselendi	Akshalan	Whiteflood	→
Kavakalan	Kavakalan	Poplar Stump	→

[113] The name *Kuşadası* comes from the Turkish words *kuş* (bird) and *ada* (island), as the island has the shape of a bird's head (when seen from the sea). Known as *Ephesus Neopolis* (Greek: Ἔφεσος Νεὸπολις) in the Byzantine era, and later as *Scala Nova* or *Scala Nuova* under the Genoese and Venetians.

Kırkagaç	Kirkagach	40 Trees	→
Akhisar	Ak Hissar	White Castle	→
Soma	Soma	???	???
???	Charpaijik (Tepe)	Little Bed Hill	???
Köylüce	Keuiluje	Luke's Village	→
???	Cape Dahlina	???	???
Kemalpaşa	Nif	Nymph	Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

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Map Citations

Figure 1: "Zone of the Straits, Etc." Lt. Col. Lawrence Martin. Aug. 1920. Unknown scale.

Figure 2: "Contemporary Visual Reconstruction of Zone of Smyrna." Cy Abbott. Google Earth Pro. June 6, 2022.

Figure 3: "1910 Ottoman Railway Map." Osmanlı Devleti. Atatürk Kitaplığı, 1910. Unknown scale.

Figure 6: "Smyrna." F. A. Brockhaus. Jan. 1912. 1:20,000 m. scale, 1:150,000 m. (inset) scale.

Figure 7: "Vilayet de Smyrne." Vital Cuinet. *La Turquie D'Asie: Géographie Administrative, Statistique, Descriptive Et Raisonnée De Chaque Province De L'Asie-Mineure*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1896. Unknown scale.

Figure 13: "Density of Population by Vilayet," Map 26. Series 4, Box 7, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the Library; Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Record Group 256. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. 1:4,000,000 scale.

Figure 14: "Kleinasien," Map 26. Series 4, Box 7, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the Library; Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Record Group 256. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. 1:3,500,000 scale.

Figure 15: "Pan-Turanian Area," Map 15. Series 4, Box 7, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the Library; Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Record Group 256. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. Unknown scale.

Figure 16: "Railroads in Turkey," Map 2A. Series 4, Box 7, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the Library; Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Record Group 256. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. 1:7,400,000 scale.

Figure 17: "Turkey, Showing subdivisions and Percentages of Greeks" Map 23. Series 4, Box 7, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the Library; Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Record Group 256. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. 1:3,500,000 scale.

Figure 18: "Mineral Resources of Turkey in Asia" Item 27. Series 4, Box 7, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the Library; Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Record Group 256. National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. Unknown scale.

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